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DR. KEITH ON APABHRAMŚA.

By KEŚAVA PRASAD MĪSRA.

A PROLIFIC and voluminous writer as Dr. Keith is known to be, he may well be called the Hemacandra of Scotland. No branch of Sanskrit literature has escaped his untiring and ever-busy pen and no topic contained in the Vedas down to the *Vaidā-prācavimsatikā* has been denied appreciation, of course in the language and style so peculiar to him. Of his latest achievement, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, he has devoted the first part to the investigation of the languages, and just like his great predecessor, he has written on the Apabhramśa language also.

In his verdict on Apabhramśa he has mainly touched on two points: firstly, that the scheme constructed by Sir G. Grierson for the derivation of modern vernaculars from the various local Apabhramśas is merely a theoretical scheme and will not stand investigation, for the evidence of texts and even of the literature proves clearly that Apabhramśa has a different signification, and secondly, that the essential fact regarding Apabhramśa is that it is 'the collective term employed to denote literary' languages, not Sanskrit or Prākṛit, and that Apabhramśa is a quite different thing from what is known as the vernacular (देशभाषा). Relying on the authority of Dandin he has laid special stress on the term Apabhramśa being applied to the idioms of Ābhīras, etc., appearing in poetry, for it were they who infused into Prākṛit a measure of their own vernacular and sought to create a literature of their own by producing Apabhramśa and spreading it along with their civilisation as a literary language from the Panjāb to Bihār.

As regards the first point it can safely be admitted that unless and until sufficient materials are at hand, it would be rather risky to support the view of Sir G. Grierson. But his hypothesis is sure to gain ground at last, for the reasons so far furnished and materials so far supplied by scholars seem quite favourable to it.

Dr. Keith has, however, modified his sweeping remarks against the hypothetical scheme by admitting a considerable amount of resemblance to Apabhramśa in old Gujarātī, but denying the same in other cases.

But it would not be out of place here if I present some substantial matter in support of the hypothesis so summarily dismissed by Keith, which every student of philology also will, I am sure, have some hesitation in explaining away with any show of cogency. The language which I speak at home is a patois of the so-called Eastern Hindi, assumed by Grierson to have been derived from Ardhamāgadhi Apabhramśa, and is one spoken in and around Benares.

I propose now to convert some of the Apabhramśa verses cited as examples in the Apabhramśa section of the Prākṛit Grammar by Hemacandra into the patois and to point out some Ardhamāgadhi traits in the conversion. This, I hope, will go a long way towards convincing my readers of the soundness of the scheme under discussion, and will plainly show that Apabhramśa elements are not only to be found in those western languages alone, which Keith has been at pains to connect somehow or other with Ābhīras, but in the eastern languages also, and that Apabhramśa was so popularly used for some time that its traits are still noticeable in its offshoots:—

दिषद्वा अन्ति भट्टपदहि पदहि मयोरह पच्छि ।

अं चच्छिदं तं माविषद् होतुं करत न चच्छि ॥ ७५ ॥

दिनको (For the use of दिन ३३० दिनाकर खलंगालि-१२३० व्या०; अत्र विहायतं अत्र विनु—कुमारपाल-प्रतिबोध) आर्षं भट्टपदेव पदार्थं मयोरह वात् । अवन (ल. कवपुपु-३३० व्या०, टी०) वादव (From Skt. * √ वद)

to exist, अपभ्रंश, cf. मग्गेहिं निहिंवि पवहइ Ibid. २५) तवन मानव, होई करत मत (Skt. मा तावत्) रह (cf. लुससरि सिरमह रहइ (प्राकृत पिमल १११).

N.B.—Wherever I have used words in the conversion not derived from those in the text, I have referred to their original sources, of course in the Apabhramśa language.

सन्ता भोग जु परिहरइ तसु कन्तहो बलि कोसु ।

तसु दइवेबावि मुष्टिभटं जसु खलिहउते सीसु ॥ ७६ ॥

आकस (cf. अं अकसइ हे व्या. ७५) भोग जे सोइव (cf. बाह बिछोइवि Ibid. १६०) नेह कन्ताक बलि [कवल] जाव (cf. बलि किचउते मुअणम् Ibid. १३) तेकर (cf. असुकेगं हेकारउए Ibid. १३८) वैयव [से] मुहल जेकर (cf. १३८) खलइ सीस ।

पुतें जाए कवणु गुणु चवणु कवणु मुएण ।

जा वणो को मुहडी चामेजइ चवरेण ॥ ८४ ॥

पूत भइल (See रंभा मज्जरी-११) कवन गुन, अवगुन कवन मुअले (पा. पि. १६०) जेकर (see above) बापेक मुहडी चोपल जाय अउरे [से].

षो गोरी मुहनिजेचउ बहलि जुकु सियंकु ।

चलु वि जो पारहवियतणु सो किबै भवई निसंकु ॥ ९३ ॥

ऊ गोरी [के] मुह [से] जीतल बहरे जुकल मयंक; आनां जे धूसल (Skt. ध्वस्त from $\sqrt{\text{ध्व}} =$ to be vanquished) से कैस (Skt. कौश) धूमव (see हे. व्या. ४११७; पा. पि. १६०) निसक ।

साव सजोनी गोरडी नवखो कवि विसगण्ड ।

महु पथालेउ सो मरइ जासु न जगइ कठि ॥ १२३ ॥

साव सजोनी गोरिया (cf. गोरी तिमह अउतु १५) नोखी कोई विसके गांठ (Mark the dissolution of the compound) महु उलटव (See उलट, देसीना. ७, ८९) से मरइ जेकरे (cf. १३८) न जगव गरे (cf. गलि मवि-अरा नबीस १४५)

एक कुहुल्लो पंचहिं रुदी

तहं पचहं वि लुचंलुच रुदी ।

बाहिणुए तं पर कहि किं नन्द

जेतु कुहुल्लं चण्णल्लन्द ॥ १३१ ॥

एक कुहुल्लो पांच [से] केपी तेह पांचो क बां जुवेजुसा (Skt. जुतजुस, $\sqrt{\text{जु}} =$ to separate; cf. Persian جدا) रुदी । बाहिनी, तवन पर कहीं काहे (cf. कहि डिउ सिरि आपनइ ९४). [अ] नन्दन जोहिन कुदुनो छल्लनी (Skt. स्वच्छन्द = अप्पल्लन्द).

सिरि जरखंडी लोचडी गलि मनिचडा न बीस ।

तो वि गोइडा कराविया मुदए लइईस ॥ १४४ ॥

सिर जरखंडी लुगरी गरे मनिचो न बीस । तबो गोइ करउलेस भोली (cf. भाली मुधि म गइउ करि, प्रबन्धविन्ता-मणि) कइचईड (बइस is also a rustic form of the patois).

I think this will suffice to prove clearly what I have said before. For translation of the verses, see Pischel, which I have purposely refrained from giving here, in order to make the comparison clearer and more independent.

I wish now to draw the attention of my readers to some of the words which are used in the verses and the patois, and which are important from the Apabhramśa point of view, my further object being to point out some Ardhamāgadhi traits therein, with a view to prove that the etymological relation of Eastern Hindi with Ardhamāgadhi Apabhramśa is not spurious, but is based on substantial grounds:—

- (1) जवन, तवन, कवन in the patois are purely Apabhramśa forms partly noticed by Hemacandra in किं: कार्यकवचौ वा ८५१३६०.
- (2) बहइ, रहइ etc., of Apabhramśa are pronounced as बरव, ररव etc., in the patois simply for the reason that इ and व are interchangeable.
- (3) Instead of को, जो, सो in the Apabhramśa taught by Hemacandra, the use of के, जे, से in the patois is simply due to Ardhamāgadhi influence.

- (4) कबल, भबल, मुबल, गबल, घुबल, चोबल etc., are all past participles having the pleonastic suffix बल peculiar to Māgadhi Apabhramśa hinted at by Hemacandra in his *sūtra* 8, 4, 427.
- (5) कर in सेकर, जेकर etc., and क in कन्नाक, पौचोक etc., are derived from केर of Apabhramśa advocated by Hemacandra in 8, 4, 422.
- (6) The resemblance between खलिहड and खलह, चम्पिहड and चोपलकाव, बहलि and बहरे, लुक्क and लुकल, भवली and नोली, कुडुली and कुडुली, कहि and कहाँ, चम्पलछन् and छन्, लोचली and लुगरी is quite sufficient to show the genetic affinity of the two languages, and leaves no room for such doubts as Keith has entertained about their relations.
- (7) Disappearance of case-endings is a recognized characteristic of Apabhramśa, and instances are not rare even in the above few quotations. When this practice came into vogue the great syntactical confusion was sought to be avoided by the addition of the new postpositions to the shrunken and worn-out forms of Apabhramśa. For example, take खदरे, पौचो, etc. These, though being themselves inflected forms, require से, क, etc., to assert their morphological position in a sentence. This tendency can also be noticed even in Apabhramśa itself. The phrase—बप्पी की मुहरी furnishes an instance in point.
- (8) The use of र for Māgadhi ल, as evinced in खदरे for खलि, गरे for गलि, etc., is a well-marked tendency now, but perhaps at one time was the rule in central and western Māgadhi (see Dr. S. K. Chatterji's *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, para. 52).
- (9) The pleonastic suffix ड or डड is very common in Apabhramśa. Our patois also has preserved it in मुखडा, बलडा, लोथडा, etc.
- (10) The nominative in ड, the commonest feature of Apabhramśa, has been confined in the patois to proper nouns only. रामू, नतकू, पसीदू, बैगकू are examples of this.
- (11) Compounds like गोरिमुहनिडिअड, परिहविबतण, etc., are such literary artifices as every language is bound to contrive when it begins to put on poetic trammels.

From what has gone before, the reader will see at a glance how closely a thousand year old language is related to its daughter of the day, thereby disproving the segregation advocated by Keith on the strength of meagre evidence. This affinity constitutes internal evidence which is doubtless worth more than a hundred slender hypotheses to the contrary.

The second point remains to be considered now. Dr. Keith says that Apabhramśa is a name given to some literary languages, which were nowhere spoken and were different from Sanskrit and Prākṛit. But this assertion contradicts the same Rudraṭa on whose authority he has relied so much. Rudraṭa declares in very plain words that among the languages, the sixth, i.e., Apabhramśa, is of many kinds on account of the difference of lands where it was spoken—बडोऽथ भुरिमेसो देसविशेषादपभ्रंशः Keith has unsuccessfully tried to narrow down the broader sense of the statement by taking देस विशेष to mean only the lands of Ābhīras and Gurjaras, etc., though his conscience itself is not clear, as he, in disagreement with what he says here, has written on page 34 that "But once Apabhraṇṣa had become popular, perhaps through the activity of the Ābhīra and Gurjara princes it spread beyond the west and various local Apabhraṇṣas arose, as is recognized by Rudraṭa." I cannot quite follow the arguments advanced to connect the Apabhramśa language so exclusively with Ābhīras and Gurjaras.

The term Apabhramśa for the first time appears in the Mahābhāṣya in connection with language, and etymologically it means 'corruption' or 'deterioration' of norm. This corresponds exactly with the Vibhramśa or Vibhraṣṭa of Bharata, which is nothing but a particular linguistic phenomenon. The word Apabhramśa, then, had nothing to do with the Ābhīras, nor had it acquired its later connotation, viz., people's dialect or dialects and

vehicle of literature, like the various Prākṛits. When Sanskrit was standardized, any deviation from the norm meant Apabhraṃśa, and it is what Daṇḍin has expressly told us by *संस्कृतान्यदपभ्रंशमिति*.

But, in obedience to philological law, Sanskrit could not maintain its sway for ever, and it began to deteriorate gradually. At this juncture, as the structure of the language was still almost the same and considerable foreign matter had not found its way in, cultured society tolerated this corruption of the vocables at the hands of their own people and gave to the speech the significant name of Prākṛit—'natural,' 'common' or 'ordinary' language. In course of time even this less favoured speech became the idol of its votaries in whom it inspired the same respect and zeal as its predecessor. This also died a natural death yielding place to a tongue which not only inherited the legacy reserved for it, but also high-handedly added a large amount of foreign matter to it. This was too much to digest and assimilate, and an altogether new language was therefore the result of this surfeit. It began practically to lose its inflectional character, *इ, णि, इ* taking the place of old case-endings. This was doubtless an utter deterioration of the norm, and Āryan people could not help calling it, though indignantly, *apabhraṃśa*—'corruption' or 'deterioration.' The investigation whether the foreign matter pertained to Ābhīras or Gurjaras concerns ethnology more than philology, and does not therefore deserve elaborate discussion here. What can be positively asserted here is that the refined Prākṛits became turbid by the admixture of some very coarse unrefined and vulgar matter. It was possibly Ābhīras who first thrust their vernacular into Prākṛit. And the disappearance of Sarasvatī (the river as well as the speech), attributable to their abhorrence of it (*vide Mahābhārata, IV, 20, 798*), is very significant, in this connection. At first the mixture came to be called *आभीरोक्ति* or *आभीरी*, after them. There is mention of this *आभीरोक्ति* in the oldest document (*Naṭyaśāstra*, 18, 44, Benares edition, 1929) extant in this field of literature. But when this corruption introduced by Ābhīras or Gurjaras developed into a widespread linguistic phenomenon and was imbibed by almost all the Prākṛits of different countries, the appellation *आभीरोक्ति*, being unsuited to the wider sense, was confined to the proper *आभीर* dialect. Markaṇḍeya in his *Prākṛit-sarvasva* has clearly indicated that fact by mentioning *आभीरी* as different from *Apabhraṃśa*. Daṇḍin by saying *आभीरादिभिः कान्देशपञ्चम इति स्तुतः* has only reminded us of the original sense of the term, and nothing more. Had *Apabhraṃśa* been from beginning to end connected exclusively with Ābhīras or others, it could not have flourished so much nor comprised so vast a literature as to claim the careful attention of such conservative Sanskrit poets as Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.

Of textual evidence there is an abundance, but I shall cite here only a few examples to show that Dr. Keith's allegation that *Apabhraṃśa* was never a vernacular and that it was different from Sanskrit and Prākṛit is baseless.

Namisādhū, while commenting upon the same passage of the *Kāvya-lamkāra* (II, 12) of Rudraṭa, which has been the basis of Keith's verdict, quoted above, has the following remarks on *Apabhraṃśa* :—

तथा प्राकृतमेवापभ्रंशः । स चान्देशपञ्चमराजोराम्यत्वमेवेन त्रिषोक्तस्त्रिषोक्तसामुक्तं मूरिभेद इति । कुतो देश-विशेषात् । तस्य च लक्षणं लोकादवसेयम् ।

The importance of the passage lies in the fact that Namisādhū (1) recognizes *Apabhraṃśa* as one of the Prākṛits themselves, (2) names the varieties laid down by others before him as being *upanagara*, *Ābhīra* and *grāmya*, (3) expressly says that they are many more than three, and, what is most important of all, (4) points to the people themselves as the best source to learn it. The last point is most significant as showing that by the time of Namisādhū, who finished his commentary in 1069 A.D., the *Apabhraṃśa* of many dialects had not ceased to be spoken by the common people.

In the following quotations there is an express mention of the fact that Apabhraṁśa was a vernacular :—

देशेषु देशेषु पृथग् विभिन्नं न शक्यते लक्षणतस्तु यत्नम् । लोकेषु यस्यापभ्रंशसंज्ञं त्रयं हि तदेकविंशत्यधिकम् ॥

(Vinudharmottara, Book 3, ch. 7)

अप्रभ्रंशं तृतीयं च तदनन्तं नराधिप । देशः वा विशेषेण तस्यान्तो नैव विद्यते ॥

(Ibid. B. 3, ch. 3)

अप्रभ्रंस्तु यच्छब्दं तत्तद्देशेषु भावितम् ।

(Vāgbhaṭa's Kāvya-lamkāra, 2-3.)

‘देशोद्देशे स्वदेशीः’

देशस्य वृत्तमगधादेशः प्रकृतस्य तस्मिन् सति स्वत्वदेशसंबन्धिनी भाषा निबन्धनीया इति । इयं दशगुण्य प्रायोऽप्रभ्रंशे नियततीति ।

(Rāmacandra's Nāṭyadarpaṇa, with his own commentary. MS. in Baroda, leaf 124. being edited for G. O. Series.)

‘भाषाः षट् संस्कृत-दिक्काः’

भाष्यन्ते भाषाः संस्कृत प्राकृत मागधी नीरसनी पेशाव्ययप्रसङ्गलक्षणाः

(Hemacandra's Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi, with his own commentary, 2, 190.)

[Quite contrary to this, Keith says that “Hemacandra also does not identify Apabhraṁśa with the vernaculars.”]

Besides a Prākṛit work named *Kuvalayamāllā*, written in 778 A.D. by a Dāksīṇya Cinho-dyotānāchārya, has recorded many informing and interesting topics concerning the vernaculars of the time. It gives a very lively and vivid description of Apabhraṁśa, which displays the vivacity and power of absorption of a living and current language :—

× × × × अश्वत्थं × × × सकय-पाय-उभयसुदासुदयसमत्-गरुतवगिरं नवपाय
सजल्यत्वाहुरपन्वाक्षियागरिणदसरिं समविसम पण्यकुधियपियपण्णीसमुल्लाव सरिसमणोदरे ।

(Jaisalmer Bhaṇḍār, Palm leaves 57 and 58).

i.e., Apabhraṁśa is now gentle, now rough and turbulent like the mountain rivulet swollen by the rains of the fresh monsoon clouds, is graceful equally with corrupt and uncorrupt words belonging both to Prākṛit and Sanskrit like the playful ripples, is fascinating like the amorous babbling of a lady piqued in a love quarrel.

The above work also contains some lively conversations in the living language of the time, which are very important from the Apabhraṁśa point of view and leave no room for any objection whatever to the acceptance of Apabhraṁśa as a vernacular.

In order to differentiate Apabhraṁśa from vernacular, Keith has resorted to the *Kāmasūtra*, which, as he thinks, “in enumerating their [i.e., of hetairai] sixty-four accomplishments, includes knowledge of vernaculars as well as of literary speeches (*kāvya-kriyā*).” “Moreover it [*Kāmasūtra*] preserves the interesting notice that a man of taste would mingle his vernacular with Sanskrit, as is the way with modern vernaculars, not with Apabhraṁśa.”

Unfortunately both the arguments based on the *Kāmasūtra* are wrong. In the first Dr. Keith has taken the textual term *kāvya-kriyā* to mean literary speeches, but it never conveys that sense. It always means ‘the composition of poems’ only,—and can never, therefore, be contrasted with what is meant by ‘vernacular.’ As regards the second argument, the plausible inference of Keith that Apabhraṁśa never drew upon Sanskrit, as modern vernaculars do, is nullified by the above quotation from the *Kuvalayamāllā* and by Rājasekhara, who expressly says in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* that—

‘संस्कृतमपि भाषां लक्षित्वा लिखन्तं पठेत्’

(*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* ch. 7, p. 33.)

(Apabhraṁśa should never be recited but by making it more graceful by the intermingling of Sanskrit with it.)

N.B.—I am indebted to the writer of the introduction to the *Apabhraṁśa Kāvya-traya* for utilizing his valuable quotations extracted from MSS.

FALSE STATEMENTS ABOUT KING JAYACHANDRA AND RAO SĪHĀ.

BY PANDIT BISHESHWARNATH REU.

JAYACHANDRA, king of Kanauj, has often been accused of having caused the downfall of the last Hindu kingdom in Northern India. His grandson Rao Sīhā also has been accused of having usurped Pali, by treacherously murdering the Palivāl Brāhmins of that place. No reasons are, however, offered for these suppositions, but the only argument resorted to by these critics is that these stories are handed down from generation to generation or that they are so mentioned in the *Prithvirāj Rāso* and in Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*.

In fact, none has yet taken the trouble of investigating the truth or otherwise of the problem. For the consideration of scholars I lay down my views on the subject here. The brief story of the *Prithvirāj Rāso* may be told as follows. Once Kāmdhāj Rāi, with the assistance of king Vijaypāl Rāthor of Kanauj invaded Delhi. At this, Tuṅvar Anangpāl, king of Delhi, requested king Someśvara Chauhān of Ajmer for help. Someśvara thereupon marched with all his forces and joined Anangpāl. A battle was fought in which the latter won a victory, and the hostile forces retreated. As a mark of gratitude for this timely succour, Anangpāl married his younger daughter Kamalāvatī to Someśvara and simultaneously his another daughter¹ to Vijaypāl of Kanauj.

In V.S. 1115 Kamalāvatī gave birth to Prithvirāja. Once Nāhaḍ Rāo, king of Mandor, had paid a visit to king Anangpāl of Delhi, and beholding the handsome features of prince Prithvirāja there, he declared his intention to marry his daughter to him. But later he abandoned the idea. On this Prithvirāja invaded Mandor in about V.S. 1129, and having defeated Nāhaḍ Rāo, took his daughter in marriage. Later, in V.S. 1138, Anangpāl, disregarding the right of his elder daughter's son Jayachandra, made over the kingdom of Delhi to Prithvirāja. Subsequently Prithvirāja having abducted the daughter of the Yādava king, Bhan of Deogiri, who was engaged to Virachandra, nephew of Jayachandra, the armies of Prithvirāja and Jayachandra had to meet on the battlefield. Sometime after this, Anangpāl also invaded Delhi to recapture it from Prithvirāja, on the complaints of his former subjects being now oppressed by Prithvirāja's coercive policy, but he did not succeed.

In V.S. 1144, when Jayachandra proposed to perform a Rājasūya-yajña and the *svayamvara* of his daughter Samyogitā, Prithvirāja, considering it inadvisable to confront him, thought out another plan to render both the above ceremonies abortive. He at first repaired to Khokhandpur where he killed Jayachandra's brother, Baluk Rāi, and afterwards eloped with Samyogitā. Jayachandra was therefore obliged to wage war against Prithvirāja. The latter managed somehow to escape, but as many as 64 of his generals were killed and his power was almost annihilated. According to the *Rāso*, Prithvirāja was 36 years of age when this event took place. So the date of the event must be Vikrama-samvat 1151.

The bravery of the young general Dhirasen Pundir in the struggle with Jayachandra attracted Prithvirāja's attention, and the king favoured him most. At this his veteran generals Chāmund Rāi and others became jealous and carried on intrigues with Shihābu'd-dīn. But Prithvirāja, being too much engrossed with Samyogitā, did not pay any heed to these affairs. His government, therefore, gradually showed signs of disintegration. This gave an opportunity to Shihābu'd-dīn to invade Delhi. Prithvirāja was obliged to come out with his army to meet him. On this occasion Rāval Samarsi of Mewār, his brother-in-law, had also joined Prithvirāja in the battle. But due to disorganisation of the army Shihābu'd-dīn eventually won a victory, and Prithvirāja was captured and taken to Ghazni. Shortly after this, it is related, Shihābu'd-dīn met his death at the hands of Prithvirāja at Ghazni, who immediately after killed himself.² Shortly after, Rainsi, son of Prithvirāja, attacked the Muhammadans of Lahore, to avenge his father's death, and drove them out. Thereupon Quṭbu'd-dīn marched

¹ Jayachandra was born to this lady.

² According to the *Rāso* Prithvirāja had died at an age of 43; so the date of this event comes to V.S. 1158.

against Rainai and killing him in the battle that followed, advanced further upon Kanauj. Hearing of this Jayachandra also arranged his army to encounter him. But in the battle that ensued Jayachandra was killed and the Muhammadans were victorious.

The above story cannot stand any historical test. The Kāmdhaj Rāi mentioned in it is a fictitious name, inasmuch as we know of no individual of that name in history. Similarly the name of Jayachandra's father was not Vijaypāl, but Vijayachandra, who lived not in the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era, but in the first half of the thirteenth century, as is evident from his copper plate grants³ and inscriptions of V.S. 1224 and 1225. Again, although the period of Anangpāl has not yet been precisely ascertained, yet this much is certain that Someśvara's third ancestor Vīgraharāja (or Vīśaladeva IV) had acquired possession of Delhi, which is borne out by the inscription⁴ of V.S. 1220 (1163 A.D.) on the pillar of Fīrūz Shāh at Delhi. Under these circumstances we do not understand how Someśvara could have gone to Delhi to help Anangpāl. Moreover, in the *Prithvirājaviṃśaya-mahākāvya*, which was written in Prithvirāja's time, the name of Prithvirāja's mother is mentioned not as Kamalāvatī, but as Karpūradevī,⁵ who is stated to be the daughter not of Tuṅvar Anangpāl, but of a king of the Haihaya dynasty (of Tripuri). In the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* also, the name of Prithvirāja's mother is mentioned as Karpūradevī. The author of the *Rāso* has mentioned the date of the birth of his hero Prithvirāja⁶ as V.S. 1115, but in fact Prithvirāja should have been born in V.S. 1217 (1160 A.D.) or somewhat later, as at the death of his father in about V.S. 1236 (1179 A.D.) he was a minor and his mother took charge of the administration.

Let us now consider the tale of Prithvirāja having married a daughter of Nāhaḍ Rāo, king of Maṇḍor. This, too, is an absurdity, because from an inscription of V.S. 894 of king Bāuka, who was tenth in descent from this Nāhaḍ Rāo, we conclude that the latter must have lived about V.S. 714, i.e., nearly 500 years before Prithvirāja. Sometime between V.S. 1189 and V.S. 1202 the Parihār dynasty of Maṇḍor had ceased to exist, having been overthrown by Chauhān Rāyapāla, whose son Sahajapāla ruled at Maṇḍor in V.S. 1202, as appears from his inscription of that year found at Maṇḍor.⁷ Besides this, the name of the prime ancestor of the Parihār dynasty of Kanauj was also Nāgabhaṭa (or Nāhaḍ). From the copper grant⁸ dated V.S. 813 of the Chauhān king, Bhartṛivaddha II, found at Hānsot, it appears that this Nāhaḍ lived in the beginning of the ninth century of the Vikram era. Further, the first Parihār conqueror of Kanauj, too, was Nāgabhaṭa (Nāhaḍ II), who was fifth in descent from the aforesaid Nāhaḍ. He had died in V.S. 890, as appears from the *Prabhāvakā-caritra*. No fourth Nāhaḍ besides these has been heard of in the history of India.

We have already mentioned above V.S. 1217 as the approximate birth year of Prithvirāja. In such a case it would certainly be impossible to assume that Anangpāl made over the kingdom of Delhi to Prithvirāja in V.S. 1138!

Further, the story of Prithvirāja having abducted the daughter of the Yādava king, Bhan of Deogiri, and of the consequent battle between Prithvirāja and Jayachandra, also seems to be spurious. The founder of the city of Deogiri was not Bhan, but Bhillama, who had founded the city about V.S. 1244 (1187 A.D.). Neither does this event find place in the history of Bhillama nor does the name Bhan occur in the pedigree of the dynasty. Similarly, Virachandra, the name of a nephew of king Jayachandra, occurs only in the *Rāso* and nowhere else.

We have mentioned above that an ancestor, third from Prithvirāja's father, had acquired possession of Delhi. Thus the talk of Tuṅvar Anangpāl's effort to regain his kingdom from Prithvirāja on complaint from his subjects about the latter's high-handedness is an untenable proposition.

³ Kielhorn's *Supplement to Northern List* (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, Appendix I), p. 13.

⁴ Above vol. XIX, p. 218.

⁵ *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 275 f.

⁶ The names of Prithvirāj's ancestors mentioned in the *Rāso* appear also to a large extent incorrect.

⁷ The Maṇḍor inscription referred to here is not dated, so far as we know. It has been transcribed by Rai Bahadur Dayarama Sahni, *Archæol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1909-10, pp. 102-3.—D.R.B.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 197.

There now remains the affair of the *Rājasūya* and *Svayamvara* ceremonies performed by king Jayachandra. Had Jayachandra performed such a grand ceremony as the *Rājasūya*, some mention of it would have been found in the inscriptions of that monarch, or in the *Ram-bhāmanjari-nāṭikā* by Nayachandra-sūri, of which Jayachandra himself is the hero. Fourteen copper plates and two stone inscriptions⁹ of Jayachandra have been found, the last of which is dated V.S. 1245¹⁰ (1189 A.D.). Although there are thus as many as sixteen epigraphic records belonging to him, not one of them contains any reference to his having celebrated a *Rājasūya*.

The story of Prithvirāja's elopement with Samyogitā seems to be a creation of the fertile brain of the author of the *Rāso*. Neither the *Prithvirājaviṣṇaya-mahākāvya* written in Prithvirāja's time, nor the *Hamīra-Mahākāvya* compiled in the last half of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era,¹¹ makes any mention of any such event. To rely on the story under these circumstances is to tread on uncertain ground. The dates¹² of the events given in the *Rāso* are alike incorrect.

The story of Mahārāval Samarsingh of Mewār being a brother-in-law of Prithvirāja and being killed in the battle with Shihābu'd-dīn, while helping his brother-in-law Prithvirāja, is also an idle tale. This battle had in fact been fought in V.S. 1249, whereas Mahārāval Samarsī died in V.S. 1359.¹³ Under these circumstances, the above statement of the *Rāso* cannot be admitted as either true or possible.

After this, there is the mention of Prithvirāja's son Rainsi, but in fact the name of Prithvirāja's son was Govindarāja.¹⁴ He being a child, his uncle Harirāja had usurped his dominion of Ajmer, whereupon Qutbu'd-dīn, having defeated Harirāja, had protected Govindarāja.

In the end there is the mention of an invasion by Qutbu'd-dīn against Jayachandra, but, according to the Persian histories of India, this invasion is said to have been made not after Shihābu'd-dīn's death, but in his lifetime, and that he himself had taken part in it. He was killed at the hands of the Gakkhars or Khakkars in V.S. 1262 (1206 A.D.). Besides, in the Persian chronicles there is no mention of Jayachandra's collusion with Shihābu'd-dīn.

When all these circumstances are taken into consideration, the historical value of the *Prithvirāja-rāso* becomes vitiated. Besides, even if we accept for a moment the whole story of the *Rāso* as correct, yet nowhere in that work is there any mention either of Jayachandra having invited Shihābu'd-dīn to attack Prithvirāja or of his having any other sort of connection whatsoever with the Muhammadan ruler. On the other hand, at various places in the *Rāso* we read of Prithvirāja's aggressive attacks, his elopement with the princess, his neglect of state affairs through his devotion to Samyogitā, his proud and overbearing behaviour towards his brave and wise general Chāmunda Rāi, whom he had sent to prison without any fault on his part and his high-handedness which gave rise to the complaints of the subjects of a state left as a legacy to him by his maternal grandfather. Along with this we also learn from the *Rāso* that his unwise steps obliged his own generals to conspire with his enemy Sultan Shihābu'd-dīn. In the light of these circumstances readers will be able to judge for themselves how far it is just to dub king Jayachandra with the title of Vibhishana and thus malign him as a traitor.

Let us now examine the attack made on Rāo Sihā, grandson of Mahārāj Jayachandra.¹⁵ Colonel James Tod writes:—

"Here in the land of Kher amidst the sandhills of Luni (the salt river of the desert) from which the Gohils were expelled, Sihaji planted the standard of the Rathors.

⁹ *Bhārat-ke-Prāchīn Rājyamāla*, part III, p. 108-110.

¹⁰ Annual report of the Arch. Survey of India (1921-22, page 120-121).

¹¹ Further there is no trace of Somavamsī Mukundadeva of Kāṭhka in the History of that period, whose daughter is mentioned as the mother of Samyogitā in the *Rāso*.

¹² Mr. Mohan Lal Vishnu Lal Pandya had however assumed the dates of the *Rāso* to be based on the Ananda Vikrama Samvat which he takes for granted on the basis of the words विक्रमसंवत् चन्द्र. According to this the Vikrama Samvat is arrived by adding 91 to the Samvat stated in the *Rāso*. Thus by adding 91 to the Samvat 1158, the date of Prithvirāja's death arrived at according to the *Rāso*, we come to 1249. This date alone can be proved to be correct by this method. But the other dates and the periods assigned to Nāhād Rāo, etc., still remain quite unreliable.

¹³ Above, vol. LV, page II, n. I.

¹⁴ *Bhārat-ke-Prāchīn Rājyamāla*, part I, page 283.

¹⁵ Sihā was a Rāthor and Jayachandra a Gāhādavāla. For an attempt at identifying Gāhādavāla with Rāthor, see Sir Asutosh Mookerjee *Silver Jubilee Volume, Orientalia*, Pt. 2, p. 261.—D.R.B.

"At this period a community of Brahmans held the city and extensive lands about Pāli, from which they were termed Pallivāls, and being greatly harassed by the incursions of the mountaineers, the Mers and the Minas, they called in the aid of Sihaji's band, which readily undertook and executed the task of rescuing the Brahmans from their depredations. Aware that they would be renewed, they offered Sihaji lands to settle amongst them, which he readily accepted.

"Afterwards he found an opportunity to obtain land by putting to death the heads of this community and adding the district to his conquests."

From this narrative it is evident that before rendering aid to these Pallivāl Brahmans Rāo Sihā had acquired possession of Mehwa and Kherdhar. It does not seem reasonable that an adventurer, hankering after land, should have renounced possession of these two large districts, merely to content himself with a few acres of land granted to him by his protégés, the Pallivāls. Further, he had not at that time enough men with him to look after his possessions of Kher and Mehwa as well as for keeping under subjection the Mers and Minas of the hilly tracts, who often overran Pāli. Besides, from the narratives of the old chronicles of Mārwar we learn that the Pallivāls of Pāli were a class of rich traders. It is nowhere recorded that they were masters of the town of Pāli; nor do we find any mention that Rāo Sihā had murdered them. In the temple of Somnāth at Pāli there is a stone inscription of V.S. 1209 of Solanki Kumārapāla, which shows that at that time the latter held sway over Pāli. It also appears from this inscription that one Bāhadadeva, a feudatory of Kumārapāla, ruled over Pāli at this time on behalf of Kumārapāla. There had also been one Ālhanadeva, a Chauhān feudatory and favourite of king Kumārapāla. An inscription dated V.S. 1209 of Kīrāḍu shows that this Ālhanadeva had acquired possession of the districts of Kīrāḍu, Rāḍadharā and Śiva by the favour of king Kumārapāla.¹⁶

On the death of Kumārapāla about V.S. 1230, his nephew Ajayapāla succeeded to the throne. From this time the power of the Solankis began to decline. Presumably the Minas and Mers might have taken advantage of this weakness and plundered Pāli, which was then one of the richest cities in the vicinity. In the inscription dated V.S. 1319 at Sundha of Chauhān Chāohigadeva it is stated that Udayasimha, father of Chāohigadeva, and great-grandson of the aforesaid Ālhanadeva, was master of the districts of Nāḍol, Jālor, Mandor, Bāhadmer, Ratnapura, Sānchor, Surāchand, Rāḍadharā, Kher, Rāmsin, and Bhinmāl. Udayasimha is also described in this inscription as invincible to the kings of Gujarāt.¹⁷ We have found four inscriptions of this king ranging from V.S. 1262 to V.S. 1306 at Bhinmāl. We conclude therefore that at sometime in this period, this Chauhān feudatory might have thrown off the yoke of the Solanki kings of Gujarāt. At the same time, when we consider the geographical position of the above-mentioned districts, we are led to believe that the city of Pāli, too, must have passed into the possession of the Chauhāns from the Solankis. So that at the time of Rāo Sihā's arrival in Mārwar, such an important city as Pāli must have been in possession of the Solankis or the Chauhāns. What circumstances, then, could have obliged Rāo Sihā to butcher his helpless and trading supplicants of the Brāhman caste so sacred to a Rājput for the possession of Pāli?

Besides this, when finding themselves too weak to ward off the marauding incursions of the hill tribes, these Brāhman had themselves applied to Rāo Sihā for help, and having gained experience of his prowess, and having appointed him to be their protector, how could they have ever dared to incur his wrath by an act of effrontery?

Thus automatically Sihā became master of the city, and so his interest lay in fostering its trade by conferring favours upon its merchants, the Pallivāl Brāhman, and not in laying waste the country by killing these traders, as is supposed by the learned scholar, Colonel Tod.

¹⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 70.

¹⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 78, v. 46.

ANCIENT SITES NEAR ELLORA, DECCAN.

BY K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

THE Ellora Caves take their name from the village which stands about a mile west of the scarp in which they are excavated. This runs north and south between two hills (2548 and 2800, Survey Sheet No. 46 P-4, 1 in. to 1 mile), the distance between them being about two miles. Above the caves and about three-quarters of a mile from them is Rauza (Khuldābād), a walled town, famous in the Deccan as a Mohammedan place of pilgrimage. It contains the tombs of Aurangzeb and his second son 'Azam Shāh, of Āsaf Jāh, the founder of the present ruling house of Haidarābād and of his son Nāṣir Jang, of Tāna Shāh, the exiled king of Golkōnda and of Malik Ambar, the Minister of the last of the Nizām Shāhis. It also contains the shrines of the three saints, Burhānu'd-dīn, who died in 1344, Zainu'd-dīn, who died in A.D. 1370, and Muntazbudin Zar Zari Bakhsh, who died in 1385. A few miles to the west there are also the shrines of Saiyid Khakea and Ganja Bakhsh, near by two large irrigation tanks. Except for the three shrines mentioned above, which were perhaps the nucleus of the town, Rauza dates from the time of Aurangzeb, who built its walls. The name Rauza ('garden,' and then 'tomb') being changed to Khuldābād, when after his death, the title *Khuld-makāni* ('Translated to Paradise') was given to Aurangzeb.

The ground falls away between Rauza and Daulatābād, the intervening escarpment being crossed by the Pipal ghāt, which is said to have been paved by certain of Aurangzeb's courtiers. Between the ghāt and Rauza is an ancient site of large extent, which is said to be known as "Buddra-vanti" or "Buddha-vanti" and to be associated with the "Yavana Rāja" (*Bilgrami and Willmott, Hist. and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, p. 725). Coins of Tughlaq Shāh are said to have been found there.

The hill fort of Daulatābād lies between the ghāt and the present railway line, the road from Ellora and Rauza here swinging north to Aurangābād, where it joins the Ajanta Road running north to Asīrgharh—this was the ancient high road to the north and was fed directly by three main routes from the coast. The first ran *viâ* the Nānā ghāt to Junnar and Paithan. The second ran near-by, *viâ* the Malsej ghāt to Utar and thence to Paithan. The third ran *viâ* the Bor ghāt to Poona and Ahmadnagar.

This last route was followed by Seeley when he visited Ellora. It is really part of a cross-line of communication which runs from Poona to Junnar to Nāsik (Clunes' *Itinerary*, No. VII) or from Poona to Ahmadnagar to Sangamner to Nāsik (Clunes, No. XXXVI), and takes advantage of the Bor ghāt, which seems to have been the easiest of the coast passes, although unfit for carts. Clunes' description of the Malsej ghāt is also applicable to the Nānā ghāt, which he neglects altogether as a practicable route: it is "perfectly passable by camels and elephants but.....their loads require to be taken off at the bottom.....there is a made road throughout." He describes the Nānā ghāt as the shortest route from Kalyān to Ahmadnagar, but says that its rock-cut steps are dangerous for the passage of cattle in the rains (p. 145). The thick jungle on the seaward slope of the ghāts is an added obstacle to both these routes, and also the fact that several lesser ghāts still remain to be crossed beyond Utar and Junnar. A third route from the coast ran *viâ* the Thal ghāt to Nāsik, Chandor and Malegāon (Clunes, No. LIV), at which place it was met by a third cross-line of communication from Daulatābād (Aurangābād) *viâ* the Ankai-Tankai gap. A fourth cross-line exists in the Daulatābād-Ellora-Kunur-Dhūlia route *viâ* the Gāotalā ghāt. This seems to have been the only dependable pass in the sweep of the hills between Ajanta and Ankai-Tankai, before the engineering of the Aurangābād-Devgāon-Kasari-Nandgāon road to the south of it. An alternate route to Ajanta may be taken *viâ* the Ellora ghāt, and is so marked in early maps (e.g., that published by Kingsbury, Allen and Parbury, 1825); but its last stages must be very difficult.

It must be pointed out that these several lines of communication are not definite routes, except where they are necessarily defined by hill-passes, fords and large commercial towns.

SKETCH MAP OF THE NORTH-WESTERN DISTRICT
to illustrate M¹K 4B Codrington's paper
62445

Scale of Miles



The intervening stages vary according to the state of the roads and the season of the year. It is reported that at the beginning of British rule there were "no made roads or lines of traffic fit for wheels." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVII, p. 327.) The Poona-Ahmadnagar road was one of the first gun-roads made, and served to draw much of the Berâr cotton traffic from the round-about Surat route. The seaward part of the Thal ghât route was put in order by the Pioneers in 1826. The Bor ghât was improved by Sir Arthur Wellesley in 1804, but Heber in 1825 found it unfit even for palanquins. It was not until 1830 that it was metalled and made fit for carts.

The age of these several routes can be estimated by the antiquity of the sites they link together. The Bor ghât, with its Buddhist rock-cut monasteries of Bhâja-Bedsâ and Karle (second century B.C.—second century A.D.). The Nânâ ghât bears inscriptions of the Sâtavâhana kings, and passes through Junnar (caves, first—second century A.D.) to Aurangâbâd (Vihâra caves circa 500 A.D.) and Ellora (early sixth century to mid eighth century A.D.) to Ajanta (second century B.C. and late fifth century A.D.) The Thal ghât route was fed by a coastal road from Sopara to Bhiwandi, which passed near Kânheri (caves, second century—fifth century A.D.) and led to Nâsik (caves, first and second century A.D.) continuing near by Ankai-Tankai and the foot of the Gâotalâ ghât, where there is the ancient site of Paṭṇâ and the Pitalkhorâ caves (first century B.C.). Moreover, Junnar is associated with the dynasty of Nahapâna, which was overthrown by Puṣumâyi, who was known to Ptolemy in connection with Paithan in the second century A.D. It is to be noted that the distant origin of many of the benefactors of the various Buddhist caves is a standing witness to the ease of communication in the early centuries of the era. Among them are certain persons who go under the name of "Yavana," perhaps as being of even more distant origin. It is in this sense that the Ellora legend mentioned above must be read.

With regard to the antiquity of Ellora as a cave-temple site, there is no sign of the existence of any community there before the beginning of the sixth century. The local version of the name is undoubtedly Verûl, or Yerûl and it has been therefore identified with the Vellûra of Varâhamihira's *Brihatsamhitâ* (XIV, 14, see *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 193) and also with the Vallûra of the Ghaṭotkacha cave inscription (*Arch. Survey Western Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 139). Furthermore, at Karle there are two inscriptions (Nos. 13 and 14) which record the gift of a village to the Saṅgha of Valuraka, which has also been identified with Ellora. These records stand in the name of Usabhadata and Vâsithîputa Puṣumâyi, and thus would considerably extend the antiquity of Ellora. However, the village mentioned in No. 13 is Karajaka, which has been identified with the modern Karanj near Bedsâ. Burgess therefore identifies this Valuraka with Karle itself. Finally in the Wardhâ plates the Râshtrakûta King Krishnarâja is extolled as a builder of Śiva shrines; and in the Baroda grant as the constructor of "a temple of wonderful form in the fountain of Elapura." This Bhandarkar identified with the Kailâsa temple at Ellora (*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 128). Fleet had previously identified it with Yellâpur in North Kanara (*Ibid.*, p. 162), but the presence of a later Râshtrakûta inscription in the Tin Thal cave (No. 15) at Ellora, and the style of the Kailâsa are consistent with Bhandarkar's identification.

The earliest caves of Ellora are Buddhist and date, as has been said, from the beginning of the sixth century. The earliest Brahmanical caves are early seventh century, while the Jain caves are eighth century. The village still ranks as an orthodox Śaiva *śrîtha*, and the little stream that leaps the scarp near cave XXIX is consequently dignified with the title of the Velgaṅgâ ('Ellora-Gaṅga'). Between the village and the caves is a temple and stepped well built by Abalyâ Bâi, wife of Malhar Râo Holkar of Indore, in the eighteenth century. In the village itself is the shrine of a Muhammadan saint which brings about miracles. To the south of the village stretches out the sickle-shaped embankment of a surface drainage tank, undoubtedly the most ancient object in the neighbourhood. The village itself has no claims to antiquity. Its history is subsequent to the history of the caves, the preservation of the continuity of the sanctity of the site being largely due to the annual fair, as is so often the case in India,

It has been stated that the caves at Ajanta fall into two groups, there being a complete hiatus between the early caves and the work of the great period of Ajanta, circa 500 A.D. The Vihāra caves at Aurangābād and the early caves (I—V) at Ellora are approximately of the same period, though a few years later, as minor developments in plan show. The expansion of the Aurangābād community, however, was limited, perhaps owing to geological difficulties, or perhaps owing to lack of water. The problem of lay support probably decided the matter: there is no sign of a village site of any size between the caves and the modern city, over three miles away. This evidence seems to suggest that in the early centuries of our era, when Nāsik, Junnar, Paithan, Karle and Kānheri were flourishing, trade deserted the Ajanta route, to return in the fifth century.

The history of Daulatābād is a long one. As Deogiri it is associated with the Yādava dynasty, which arose in the twelfth century, after the fall of the Western Chālukyas and the Kalachuris, who succeeded them. In 1294 Alāu'd-dīn, governor of Central India under Jalālu'd-dīn Khaljī, took it apparently by surprise, an event which marks the first Muhammadan intrusion into the Deccan. The place was ravaged in 1312 by Malik Kāfūr for non-payment of tribute. It revolted after the assassination of Alāu'd-dīn in 1316, but was retaken by Qutbu'd-dīn in 1318. In 1338 Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh conceived the idea of making it his capital and commanded the inhabitants of Delhi to remove thither, renaming it Daulatābād. According to Ibn Batūta it rivalled Delhi in size and splendour. Eventually it was absorbed into the Bahmanī kingdom. The near-by city, which finally came to be known as Aurangābād, was founded by Malik Ambar. The whole district passed into Mughal hands in 1632. Tavernier visited Daulatābād and the Ellora caves; and so did Thévenot; but he says that the prosperity of the ancient capital had greatly decreased.

Immediately above the caves at Ellora there is an ancient site of great interest. Its position may be described with reference to the three streams which find their way over the scarp. The first of these crosses the ghāt road about half way between the Guest House and the Kailāsa (cave XVI). The second stream runs down from the south corner of the curved embankment of a surface drainage tank, which lies on the high ground a little to the north of the Kailāsa and about half a mile east of it (i.e., between these two streams rises the hill in which the Kailāsa is cut). The third stream is the Velgaṅgā, which leaps the scarp immediately to the south of cave XXIX, which is provided with a water gate and steps down to the pool below. Between the second and third streams the ground rises about 400 feet, the general lie being easily discernible on the 1 in. map, which, however, does not mark the tank. Its local name appears to be Dūdhā Talāo (*dūdhiyā*, 'yielding milk') but the Dhāṅgar whom I questioned was rather sceptical of its purposes, for "who would build a tank on a hill-top?" It is in fact only just on the Ellora side of the watershed which gives rise to the Phūlmasta stream on the Daulatābād side. The embankment is of earth, and immediately to the north of it are two cross-tracks, one running north to the Velgaṅgā, the other east, presumably to join the Rauṣa-Sonkhedā track, which is marked on the map. Where they cross, these tracks are deeply worn beneath the surface of the land. Cultivation of a kind has evidently been carried on fairly recently, both on the plateau to the north of the tank and in the small triangular area, terraced in the hill-side immediately below the embankment. The whole area north of the tank is strewn, in the greatest profusion, with opal, bloodstone, and chalcedony artifacts and cores. These are somewhat larger than the average examples of Indian neolithic instruments. I found that fractured "blade" flakes were fairly common, and also an almost circular, beaked scraper, but could detect none of the well-known "pygmy" types. The large number of quartz crystals which also strew the ground do not seem to have been worked, although elsewhere in India and in Ceylon quartz implements are found in large numbers.

Along the Kailāsa Hill, approximately up to the line of the tank embankment, runs a double line, or "street," of roughly cut and laid stone platforms (*chabūtrā*). Just below the tank this

"street" is met at right angles by a series of *chabūtrās* in parallel lines, forming terraces along the slope of the hill. Near where the two "streets" meet there is a well-finished stone block about 16 feet long by 2 feet square. The tradition of this site has been preserved. The shepherd informed me that it was where the ancient emperors pitched their camp in the rains. To Dr. E. H. Hunt, later, he quoted the emperor Yunas (Yunas-Yunân), a local version of Alāu'd-dīn's princely name, also given by Grant Duff. Dr. Hunt found here a fragment of Celadon ware of the kind imported into India up to the end of the Mughal period, usually and significantly known as "Ghorī Ware."

ON THE TEXT OF THE MAHĀVIRACARITA.

By Dr. S. K. DE.

SINCE Dr. Hertel published, in January 1924, his striking monograph¹ on the textual problems connected with the *Mahāvīracarita*, much material on the subject has been made accessible by Todar Mall's recent edition of the drama published by the University of the Panjab.² It will not, therefore, be out of place to reopen the question and consider it in the light of the fresh data supplied by this new edition of the text.

Dr. Hertel very pertinently remarked that we did not possess any truly critical edition of the *Mahāvīracarita*, and that no edition gave even the scantiest critical material for settling the text. This reproach has now been happily removed by Todar Mall's edition, which is based upon ample manuscript material (18 Northern and Southern MSS.), and which gives very full critical apparatus.

The *editio princeps* of F. H. Trithen, published in London in 1848, was based on only three MSS., belonging to the India Office and the Bodleian, which have also been used by Todar Mall and marked by him as I₁, I₂, and W, respectively.³ The first of these MSS. is fairly old, being dated in *samvat* 1665 = 1609 A.D.; but the other two are comparatively modern, one being dated in *samvat* 1857 = 1801 A.D., and the other conjectured to have been copied for Wilson about 1820 A.D.⁴ Trithen's edition, however, gives no variant readings, nor any account of the MSS., but it admits collation of doubtful passages with their reproductions in *Alamkāra* literature. The next Calcutta edition of Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati with his occasional but very scanty glosses, published in 1857, was reprinted (without mention of the fact) by his son, and is thus substantially the same as the Calcutta edition of Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, published in 1873. Tārānātha appears to have used Trithen's edition, which he refers to in his Bengali preface as "the text printed in England," but he also consulted a MS. of the drama which existed in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library and which is presumably the same as the manuscript Sc of Todar Mall, complete in seven Acts.⁵ Nothing, however, is said about the extent and character of the MS. used, nor are any variant readings noted. Anundaram Borooah's edition, published in Calcutta in 1877 with a Sanskrit commentary of his own, is based on no independent MS. material, but is prepared chiefly with the help of the editions of Trithen and Tārānātha, as well as with the aid of readings of quoted passages in *Alamkāra* works; but this edition makes the first attempt at a systematic and running interpretation of the text in its Sanskrit commentary.⁶ The text in all these editions is frankly eclectic, but it follows one and the same

¹ Entitled "A Note on Bhavabhūti and Vālpātīrāja" in *Asia Major* I, 1, pp. 1-9.

² Edited with critical apparatus, introduction and notes by the late Todar Mall, Government of India Sanskrit Scholar at Oxford. Revised and prepared for the Press by Prof. A. A. Macdonell. Panjab University Oriental Publications, Oxford University Press, 1928. It is remarkable that although this edition is published in a revised form in 1928, no reference is made to Dr. Hertel's important article referred to above.

³ I₁ = India Office no. 1140-4136 (Eggeling's Catalogue, pt. vii, p. 1581); I₂ = India Office no. 943-4135 (Eggeling, *loc. cit.*); W = Bodleian MS. no. 260 (Wilson MS. 229b) noticed in Aufrecht's *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 136.

⁴ No date is given in the MS. itself, but see Todar Mall, p. xiv, and Hertel, p. 3.

⁵ No. 481-242 in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College*, pt. vi, p. 145. It is a modern copy made near Calcutta for one "Phīla-sāhaba" and dated in *samvat* 1879 = 1823 A.D.⁶

⁶ Tārānātha remarks in his Bengali preface that many passages of the text are obscure to him and he has not ventured to write glosses on them.

recension which was presumably universally accepted in Northern India.⁷ It may for practical purposes be taken as being represented by Trithen's *editio princeps*. Of later editions published in Bombay, Poona and elsewhere, the most noteworthy is that printed by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, and edited with Virarāghava's commentary by T. R. Ratnam Aiyar of Trichinopoly and S. Rangachariar of Srirangam. It gives no description of manuscript material utilised, nor does it notice any variant readings, except what is casually mentioned in Virarāghava's commentary itself. It is presumably based on Southern MSS., as its text agrees with the Mysore manuscript Mr of Todar Mall. This edition is important, not only because it gives the text of Virarāghava, but also because it presents for a portion of the text an entirely different recension, which has its origin probably in Southern India. Todar Mall's edition, however, brings to light a third recension, which is probably North Indian or rather Kashmirian, but which was hitherto unknown.

Todar Mall has given a fairly full account of the MSS. used by him, and it is not necessary to recapitulate it here. But it would be convenient to summarise at the outset the main differences between the three recensions mentioned above. Todar Mall divides his eighteen manuscripts into two groups: Northern (11 MS.) and Southern (7 MS.); but three different recensions for a portion of the text are distinguishable in them. All the eighteen Northern and Southern MSS. of Todar Mall, as well as all the printed editions of the drama, agree in giving the same text from Act I to the end of Act V, 46, the divergences being nothing more than the inevitable differences of reading of particular words or passages. Here also Todar Mall's Cambridge manuscript Cu (Northern), as well as his Southern manuscripts Mt, Mg, T₁, T₂ end.⁸ Material divergences however begin from this point, and for the rest of the text we mark three distinct recensions: (1) From Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII (i.e., to the end of the drama), the editions of Trithen, Tāranātha, Jivānanda, Borooah and Śrīdhara, as well as Todar Mall's eight Northern manuscripts (I₁, I₂, W, E, Sc, Md, Alw and Bo),⁹ give what has been called by Todar Mall Recension A and by Hertel the vulgata recension, this being the universally accepted text, or as Ratnam Aiyar puts it,¹⁰ *sarvatra pracalitah, pāṭihah*. (2) But Ratnam Aiyar's edition, as well as Todar Mall's single Mysore manuscript Mr, gives a different text for this portion of the drama (i.e., from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII), and this recension, marked by Todar Mall as Recension C¹¹, is expressly attributed to one poet Subrahmanya. At the end of Act VII the manuscript Mr reads (Todar Mall, p. 306): *asmin nāṭake vāliprakaraṇe 'daurātmyād aribhiḥ' (V, 46) iti śloka-paryantena grantha-sandarbhena Bhavabhūtiṇā tri-bhāga-parimitā kathā viracitā tataḥ 'avāṣyaṃ ca īreyaśvina mayā bhavitavyam'* (prose-passage preceding V, 47, in this recension) *iti vāli-vākyād ārabhya bhārata-vākyā-paryantena grantha-sandarbhena Subrahmanya-kaviṇā kṛtenopi kathāśeṣaḥ pūṛitah | tasya pollaru-vamśa-jaladhī-condaśya Veṅkṣedryastanābhavasya Veṅkṭāmbā-garbha-sambhavasya drāgevād-avāṣṭama-jñānasidhir astu*. Ratnam Aiyar's footnote repeats (3rd. ed., 1910, p. 224) these words up to the end of *kathā-śeṣaḥ pūṛitah*, but omits the rest, probably basing the footnote on a similar colophon in the MS. utilised for that edition. These two Recensions A and C, i.e., the vulgata and Subrahmanya's text, therefore, stand in sharp contrast to each other with regard

⁷ The Poona editions, both of which were published in 1887, one by S. G. Jyotishi and the other by Śrīdhara Śāstri with his own commentary, also follow this recension. There is also a Madras edition with the modern commentary of Lakṣmaṇa Śūri (New ed. 1904); but I have not seen it.

⁸ Mt and Mg appear to be nos. 12583 and 12585 mentioned in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, vol. XXI, pp. 8451, 8453. But there are three other MSS., probably more recent acquisitions, in the same Library, which have not been collated by Todar Mall, but which are described in the above Catalogue. These are: (1) no. 12584 (p. 8452), going up to the end of Act V, (2) no. 12586 (p. 8453), with Virarāghava's commentary, containing Acts I-VII complete and (3) no. 12587 (p. 8455) which breaks off in Act IV.

⁹ Of the remaining three Northern MSS. of Todar Mall, his Cambridge University manuscript Cu ends with V, 46; India Office MSS I₁ ends with Act V; Bengal Asiatic Society manuscript B follows Recension C.

¹⁰ This text is given by him as an appendix to his edition.

¹¹ This recension is given in Appendix B, p. 286f.

to the portion of the text between Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII. (3) But the third recension disclosed by Todar Mall's Kashmir and Bengal manuscripts K and B¹³ is somewhat peculiar. It is distinguished by reading a different text only from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act; for the rest of the text, i.e., for Acts VI and VII, it agrees with the vulgata or Recension A. After giving the full text of V, 46, the manuscript K notes: *etāvad Bhavabhūteḥ agre kavi-nāyaka-Vināyakaḥkair apūri*. From this point it adds a different text up to the end of Act V, and also for the last few syllables of the third foot and the whole of the fourth foot of V, 46.¹⁴

From what has been said above the following facts will be clear:—

(1) With regard to the text from Act I to the end of Act V, 46, there is agreement in all MSS. and editions of the drama.

(2) With regard to the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII we have (a) the vulgata or the Recension A, (b) the text of Subrahmanya and (c) the text of Vināyaka, which agrees partially with the vulgata in Acts VI and VII, but differs from the vulgata as well as from Subrahmanya's text in the portion from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act.

Now with regard to the text from Act I to the end of Act V, 46, there is not only universal agreement but we have also the fact that one Northern (Cu) and four Southern manuscripts (Mt, Mg, T₁, T₂) end at this point. It is also important to note that both Subrahmanya and Vināyaka undertake independently to supplement the text only after V, 46. There is the distinct evidence of Virarāghava who says:¹⁴ *etāvatyaeva Bhavabhūteḥ śūktiḥ/ itaḥ param tu Subrahmanya-nāmnah kasyacit kaver vaca iti mūla eva¹⁵ sphuṭṭabhaviṣyati/ 'avaśyaṃ ca' ityādi* (the prose passage immediately following V, 46) *Subrahmanya-kaver vacāṃśyapī prāyaśo vyākhyāsyante/*. This can only mean that the genuine text of Bhavabhūti was available to Virarāghava only up to the end of V, 46, and that he was apparently of opinion that this was the extent to which Bhavabhūti's text was composed, the remainder being a supplement written in later times by one (*kasyacit*) Subrahmanya-kavi. That this supplement came into existence some considerable time before Virarāghava is apparent from the fact that Virarāghava knew hardly anything of this "certain" Subrahmanya, but also from the indication given in his commentary that he must have used more than one MS. of Subrahmanya's text, of which he notices several variant readings. On the other hand, the manuscript K also indicates that the genuine work of Bhavabhūti extended up to the end of V, 46 (*etāvad Bhavabhūteḥ*) and that another supplement was composed by one Vināyaka Bhaṭṭa. From this, either of two conclusions is possible: (1) that the genuine text of Bhavabhūti was available to the scribes and commentators up to the end of V, 46, and, as we have two independent supplements composed respectively in Northern and Southern India only after this point, the rest of the work was lost, or (2) that Bhavabhūti wrote the work only up to the end of V, 46, and for some reason or other left the drama incomplete. We have no data to establish definitely the correctness of either of these conclusions. At the same time it is clear that the text up to the end of V, 46, is undoubtedly the work of Bhavabhūti himself. The rest was either lost or never written by the dramatist, and attempts were made in later times to supplement it (a phenomenon which is not unusual in Sanskrit literature) by (1) the anonymous vulgata text, (2) by Vināyaka Bhaṭṭa and (3) by Subrahmanya.

¹³ This agreement between Kashmir and Bengal manuscripts is notable; but Todar Mall's Calcutta Sanskrit College manuscript B follows the vulgata or Recension A. The manuscript B belongs to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

¹⁴ The reading of B is not clear from Todar Mall's description. At p. viii of the Introduction, we are told that "B is very fragmentary, covering as it does a little over two Acts"; and from p. xi it appears that it comprised Acts VI and VII, although we are not told what else it included. From the *earlier lectiones* noted in the text it seems that the MS. begins with the 4th pāda of V, 59, of Recension C (see p. 282) and ends with Act VII, following Recension C throughout.

¹⁵ This passage is given in the footnote to the commentary on V, 46 (p. 193) in Ratnam Aiyar's edition, with [in] Virarāghava's.

¹⁶ This reference to a later passage of the text can only mean (as Hertel interprets it) the colophon of one or all of Virarāghava's own MSS. of the text.

It is difficult to identify Vināyaka Bhaṭṭa. Of all the Vināyakas mentioned by Aufrecht, one Vināyaka Paṇḍita is quoted in *Śārngadhara-paddhati* (no. 1254), while another Vināyaka is mentioned as the author of a metrical *Pārva-pīthikā* to *Daiakumāra-carita*. It is possible, however, to identify Subrahmanya from the details given about him by the Mysore MS., which tells us that he was the son of Venkaṭeśa and Venkaṭāmbā and that he belonged to the Pollaru family. It appears to have been he who wrote a commentary on the *Prabodha-candrodaya*, called *Praṇḍha-prakāśa*,¹⁶ as well as a commentary entitled *Dharma-pradīpikā* on a treatise on Āśauka called *Abhinava-śaṭṭī*.¹⁷ In the opening verses of both these works the same parentage is given, but the name of the family is mentioned as Poṇḍūri.

With regard to Subrahmanya's supplement, or Recension C, which extends from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII, no question arises, as it is homogeneous and distinctly attributed to a particular author. But the vulgata (or Recension A) and Vināyaka's text (Recension B) have a large portion of the supplementary text in common, viz., the whole of the text of Acts VI and VII which is the same in both recensions. That this portion is spurious admits of no doubt, and both Hertel and Todar Mall have brought forward enough evidence to prove it.¹⁸ But how is it that both Recensions A and B have this portion in common, although they differ in giving two entirely divergent texts for the portion covered by the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act V?

Todar Mall has advanced (pp. viii, xviii-xix) a somewhat extraordinary theory that Bhavabhūti's original work must have come to a sudden close with Act V, 46, but that later on the dramatist revised this portion and brought the Act to a close. He maintains that the vulgata text or Recension A from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act represents this authentic added text of Bhavabhūti. The incomplete unrevised text up to the end of Act V, 46, is preserved in the MSS. of the Southern group; the revised completed text up to the end of Act V travelled to the North where it appears in the MSS. of the Northern group.

About the alleged revision of the original text the evidence does not seem to be very convincing. The fact that in some MSS. better readings are found proves nothing, especially in the case of an author like Bhavabhūti who is perhaps less careful in phrasing than most poets and naturally tempted later emendations. Again, Todar Mall himself admits (p. ix) that the readings of the Southern MSS. are at places decidedly superior to those of the Northern. This strikes at the very root of his hypothesis of revision, although Todar Mall attempts to explain this anomaly away by supposing that these occasional superior readings were inevitable in the South, which is assumed to have been the home of Sanskrit culture where Bhavabhūti's works were more frequently studied. Of this supposition no convincing evidence is produced.

For his hypothesis that the portion from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act in the vulgata or Recension A represents the authentic text of Bhavabhūti, the following arguments are put forward. It is necessary to consider them in detail:

(1) Todar Mall writes:—"The oldest known MS. I., which is dated *saṃvat* 1665 (= 1609 A.D.) runs without a break beyond V, 46, and does not mention that the portion of the Act after V, 46, is from the pen of a different author. Neither do the other MSS. belonging to Recension A come to a sudden stop in the middle of the Act. On the other hand, the MSS. of the other two recensions attribute the part preceding V, 46, and that following V, 46, to the end of Act V in clear words to different authors."

There are several inaccuracies in this argument. In the first place, the Cambridge University Manuscript Cu, an equally old Northern MS. supposed to be "a little over 300 years old," extends only up to V, 46, and its evidence cannot be lightly set aside. In the second place, if the MSS. of Recension A, which give the text without a break, do not mention (as the MSS. of other recensions do) that the portion after V, 46, is from the pen of a different author,

¹⁶ Noticed with extracts in *Descriptive Catalogue of Sansk. MSS. in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library*, vol. XXI, No. 12560, p. 8429.

¹⁷ Noticed in the same Catalogue, vol. V, No. 3011, p. 2240.

¹⁸ See Todar Mall, p. xix; Hertel, p. 8.

they also do not mention that Acts VI and VII are spurious. Applying the same argument, we shall have to consider these Acts also as the authentic text of Bhavabhūti. It is difficult indeed to conclude anything definite from the fact that some MSS. of Recension A stop without a break at the end of Act V, for other MSS. of the same recension carry on the text without break to the end of Act VII. On the other hand, the evidence of the other two Recensions B and C is not in favour of the genuineness of anything beyond V, 46. The Kashmirian manuscript K, which is dated in *samvat* 1674 (= 1618 A.D.), and which is therefore nearly as old as Todar Mall's I₁, considers only the portion ending with V, 46, as genuine, and regards *the whole of the remaining text* (i.e., even including VI and VII) as the supplementary work of Vināyaka. Four¹⁹ Southern MSS. also either (1) stop abruptly at V, 46, or (2) as in the case of the Mysore MS. or Virarāghava's text (Recension C), regard *the whole of the remaining text* (i.e., from V, 46, to the end of the drama) as the work of Subrahmanya. It is clear that both Vināyaka and Subrahmanya undertake to write a supplement of the work, each in his way, after V, 46, and not after the end of Act V. If Bhavabhūti's own text has been preserved in Recension A up to the end of Act V (as both Hertel and Todar Mall argue), then we are driven to the rather unwarranted conclusion that not only Subrahmanya but also Vināyaka took the unusual liberty of altering even the genuine text after V, 46, to the end of Act V. The very fact that both these authors were independently in agreement in completing the text only after V, 46, would make us pause before we seriously maintain that the Recension A preserves Bhavabhūti's genuine text up to the end of Act V.

(2) Todar Mall's second argument is more important. He points out that *Mahāvīracarita* V, 49, in Recension A is cited (with the words *yathā Viracarite* or *yathā Mahāvīracarite*) in the Avaloka commentary on *Daśarūpaka* II, 50 (ed. Hall) and in *Sāhitya-darpana* (on VI, 30, ed. Durgāprasād, 1915, p. 309), and infers from this that "evidently the authors of these old works on *Alaṃkāra* considered the text of Recension A [i.e., from V, 46, to the end of that Act] as the genuine text of Bhavabhūti." In considering this argument, it must be noted that the *Sāhitya-darpana* cannot be taken as an old work on *Alaṃkāra* and that the context shews that it merely borrows or copies this illustrative quotation from *Daśarūpaka* in connexion with the discussion of *sāttvātī vṛtti* in the heroic and its four divisions. The citation in the *Daśarūpaka*, which alone we need therefore consider here, cannot however be so lightly brushed aside. But this single²⁰ citation by itself cannot, in our opinion, be taken as having a conclusive force. It only shows that Dhanika, author of the Avaloka commentary, regarded this verse as a part of the genuine text, and nothing more. It only indicates that in Dhanika's time, as in later times, the whole of the vulgata text²¹ came to be generally accepted as genuine in the North (as *sarvatra pracalitah pāṭhaḥ*) and we need not therefore be surprised that he did not regard it as spurious.

(3) Todar Mall's third argument that this portion of Recension A (i.e., from V, 46, to the end of that Act) contains a couple of passages which appear to be repeated in the other dramas of the author, does not bear close scrutiny; for these slight repetitions of phrases (as in two cases in Act VI noted by Todar Mall himself) can be easily accounted for by the likely supposition that the unknown writer of the vulgata supplement wanted to imitate Bhavabhūti and probably appropriated these phrases from the latter.

(4) Todar Mall's fourth argument that Recension B runs to an unusual length and covers 75 verses (as against 16 of Recension A) need not be seriously considered; for this recension is distinctly ascribed to a different author, and the question therefore does not arise.

¹⁹ Viz., Mt, Mg, T₁, and T₂. Only Madras Oriental Library MS. No. 12584 and 12586 (see above footnote 8) end with Act V, but there is nothing to show that they belong to the Southern group. The Tanjore MSS. T₃ and T₄ are obviously fragmentary, the former breaking off in Act V, the latter containing only three Acts.

²⁰ The citation of *Mahāvīracarita*, V, 51, in *Sarasvatī-haṃsābharaṇa* (ed. Borooah, p. 351) is anonymous and proves nothing.

²¹ And not necessarily up to the end of Act V, for the absence of any quotations from Acts VI and VII proves nothing.

We are now in a position to conclude with great probability that (1) the text from Act I to the end of Act V, 46, forms the only authentic text of Bhavabhūti, and (2) that the vulgate or Recension A of the rest of the drama (and not merely of Acts VI and VII) is as spurious as Recensions B and C, which are expressly attributed to Vināyaka and Subrahmanya respectively.

But one question still remains unsolved. We have already noted that Acts VI and VII have identical texts in both A and B recensions. Only the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act V differ entirely in these two recensions, A giving a shorter and B a longer text for this portion. But Todar Mall's Kashmirian manuscript K, which presents Recension B and which is a fairly old MS. dated in 1618 A.D., reads after V, 46: *etāvad Bhavabhūteḥ / agre kavi-nāyaka-Vināyaka-bhaṭṭair apūriḥ*. Now as this MS. (as well as B which gives also Recension B) includes Acts VI and VII and does not end with Act V, and as this inscription occurs after V, 46, the word *agre* must be taken to refer to the rest of the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII. In other words, Vināyaka must be taken as responsible not only for the text between Act V, 46, to the end of that Act, but also for Acts VI and VII in Recension B. But the text for Acts VI and VII in Recension B is identical with the text for those Acts in Recension A, which therefore must also be the work of Vināyaka, but which was indiscriminately incorporated into the anonymous Recension A. In other words, the Recension A extends only from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act and does not include Acts VI and VII, for which it merely borrows the text of Recension B.

Todar Mall, however, appears to take *agre* as referring only to the portion between Act V, 46, to the end of that Act. In other words, he appears to think that Acts VI and VII in both Recensions A and B are of anonymous authorship; but with regard to the text between Act V, 46, to the end of that Act, the Recension A is anonymous, while Recension B is the work of Vināyaka. But unfortunately there are no data to establish this point. I am inclined to believe, for reasons given above, that the whole of the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII is the work of Vināyaka. For the portion between Act V, 46, to the end of that Act, it is probable that there originally existed the longer text of Vināyaka in Recension B, but subsequently a shorter, anonymous text (as represented by Recension A) came into existence, receiving universal acceptance and even superseding the original text of Vināyaka.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON ASOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS.

Rock Proclamations.

- (1) *ekachā* in *ekachā samājā* at Girnār (RP. I); variants: *ekatya* (Kāśī, Jaugada), *ekatya* (Mānselā). Restored in Sanskrit, it would be *ekatya*, formed after the fashion of *adāki-ṣṭya*, *amātya*, *ihātya*, *niṣṭya* of Sanskrit (Pāṇini, IV, 2, 98, IV, 2, 104; *Kāśīkā*, pp. 316, 318), where, however, the formation is possible only from *avyayas*.

The meaning given to the term by Hultzsch (*C.I.I.*, vol. I, p. 2) namely, 'some' ("But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious.....") is unacceptable. It does not bring out the significance of *ekatya*. The text is not *ekā bhāṭjā*, but *ekachā samājā*. *Ekātya* means 'of one,' i.e., single-show *samāja*, as opposed to those where, as Professor F. W. Thomas has pointed out (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 394), fights or contests took place. These latter were held between animal and animal, man and animal, or man and man, resulting in sights of cruelties, blood or death. These *samājas* were prohibited, following the policy of mercy proclaimed in *dharma-lipi* No. 1. Those *samājas* where a single living being performed,

i.e., non-duelling ones, were not prohibited. The description in the royal document is accurate and positive and not, as Hultzsch makes it, indefinite and undefined ('some').

(2) *Dharma-lipi*.

Hultzsch translates this by 'rescript on morality'; Bühler, by 'religious edict.'

In 1915 (*Modern Review*, Calcutta, Jan., 1915, p. 81) I pointed out that the rendering 'edict' was inadmissible. Some of the *dharma-lipis*, e.g., Rock series II, VIII and X, are not orders; they merely record facts. The term 'rescript,' connected as it is with Roman imperial edicts or Papal orders, is open to the same objection. The word *lipi* is explained, so to speak, by Asoka himself by its use in the Sārnāth record. Two *lipis* of the same *śāsana* are directed to be dealt with, one *lipi* (*idā lipi*) of which was to be 'deposited' (Hultzsch) or 'inscribed' (Venis) in 'your office,' i.e., the office of the *amātyas*. Here *lipi* is a despatch, a document or a draft, used in the secondary sense of a 'copy.' *Śāsana* is the *rāja-śāsana* of the Kautīliya *Artha-śāstra* (c. 31, or II, 10), the royal edict or order. *Lipi*, therefore, is not 'edict' or 'edict.'

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ, TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT WITH AN INTRODUCTION, AN ARGUMENT AND A COMMENTARY BY W. DOUGLAS P. HILL. xii + 303 pp. 8vo. Oxford: University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1928.

The Bhagavadgītā still holds its sway over the Hindu mind as being one of the most admirable and saintly poems ever brought forth by the human intellect. It still seems to interest and stimulate Western scholarship as much as it did a hundred years ago; and there is certainly not a year that passes without conferring upon us some learned contribution towards the understanding of this text—whether in one of the very numerous periodicals of Europe, India or America.

It is thus with every reason that Mr. Hill, formerly of King's College Cambridge, and a late principal of Jay Narayan's High School at Benares, has undertaken to re-edit the Bhagavadgītā together with an introduction and an English translation. Let us admit at once that he has succeeded quite well with his not very easy task, and that he has given us a very useful handbook for lectures as well as for private studies. The text is admirably printed, like everything issued by the Oxford University Press. The English translation is clear and fluent and gives a very good idea of the not always very pellucid arguments of *Śrī Bhagavān*. The introduction contains what we might expect to find there, viz., a collection of notices on Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and his cult, together with an exposition of the main doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā; there is also an ample and generally very helpful conspectus of the main contents of the poem. The commentary on the text limits itself to paraphrasing the native commentators. We might have wished it somewhat otherwise, but we shall by no means argue this point, as that is mainly a matter of taste. The present writer has already found opportunity to use Mr. Hill's work as a text-book for a series of lectures, and he can warmly recommend it for its sound qualities.

On the questions dealt with in the introduction we shall not dwell here, as they will partly be touched upon in a separate article in this journal. As for the doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā, the main impression of the present writer is that they have been strongly overrated. The poem in its present shape contains a most marvellous jumble of sublime doctrines and nonsensical platitudes; but that probably has got something to do with the origin and growth of the text. Anyhow, the astounding hypothesis of the late Professor Garbe concerning a Sāṃkhya and a later Vedānta version explains nothing, as it remains entirely fanciful.

The Bhagavadgītā pretends to be a text with next to no *variae lectiones*, and consequently the text of Mr. Hill is on the whole identical with the

editio princeps of Schlegel (and Lassen). The present writer has, however, pointed to the quotations from the Bhagavadgītā by Albīrūnī¹ as indicating the existence of another text, and he still believes this to be the case. Professor F. O. Schrader, who on this point cherishes a different opinion, has pointed out the existence of a text containing 745 verses²—instead of the traditional 700—which is in fact mentioned already in the *M. Bh.* vi, 43, 4-5. But the summary of that text given by Professor Schrader proves it to be extremely doubtful whether it can really claim any great age at all. Thus there is no room for textual conjectures although a few verses seem strongly to invite suggestions. To quote one or two instances: in 3, 23-29, we find the actual text reading thus:

Yadi hy ahaṃ na varteyaṃ jātu karmaṇy alan-
drītaḥ |

Mama vartmā nu varttante manuṣyāḥ pārtha sar-
vaśaḥ || 23 ||

Utsideyur ime lokā na kuryām karma ced ahaṃ |
Samkaraṣa ca kartā Ayām upahanyām imāḥ
prajāḥ || 24 ||

As these verses stand the latter half of v. 23 must needs form a sort of parenthesis, which is rather awkward. But this half-verse is identical with the second part of 4, 11, where everything is in order; and I should think it very probable that in our passage the text originally ran thus:

mama vartimānu vartteran manuṣyāḥ pārtha sar-
vaśaḥ |

which would make the whole a well defined and unimpeachable sentence. And in 11, 12, it would certainly ameliorate the sense to a considerable degree if we were allowed to read thus:

divi śūryasahasraśya bhaved yugapad nāhitā |
yadi bhāḥ sadṛśī na sydd bhūtas tasya mahāt-
manah ||

instead of the traditional *sadṛśī ed sydd*, etc., which is certainly rather tame.

But these may be futile speculations. There are, however, several passages where we feel we must disagree with the learned author on points of translation, textual criticism, etc. And we shall now allow ourselves to touch upon a few of these passages.

In 1, 7, *nibodha* hardly means 'learn' but rather 'mark,' 'observe.'³ In 1, 10, *aparyāpta* and *par-yāpta* form an old *crux translatoris*. They cannot, however, mean 'too weak' and 'too strong' which in the mouth of Duryodhana sounds absurd; the sense must rather be that of 'full' = 'tightly closed,' 'packed together,'⁴ which tallies fairly well with the next verse. 1, 23, does not, of course, form a continuation of 1, 22, but is a self-contained sentence; Schlegel correctly translates the words: *yatayamānān auckṣe*, 'ham ya etc' *tra samāgatāḥ* by 'proelia-

¹ Cp. *JRAS.* 1925, p. 802.

² Cp. *Aus Indiens Kultur Festgabe für R. v. Garbe* (1927), p. 171 f.

³ Schlegel correctly translates 'animadvertē.'

⁴ Cp. e.g. *M. Bh.* xv, 186: *dadṛāṣi . . . paryāptāni bṛhantī ca* and *Kumdras.* III, 54: *paryāptapūṣaśabakāvanamrd*, where the sense is somewhat the same.

turos equidem intelligo istos, qui huc convenere.' In 2, 2, Mr. Hill, like other translators, renders *Kaśala* by 'despondency'; but it is in reality identical with *moha*.⁵ The verse 2, 11, has been correctly rendered by Mr. Hill, though it was at one time the object of a rather fanciful emendation,⁶ which might perhaps have been mentioned in the commentary. On the curious construction of 2, 35, there is not the slightest remark though it has been commented upon by various scholars.⁷

On the verse 2, 46, there is a somewhat extensive literature, cf. Pavolini, *Album Kern*, p. 141 sq.; Fritzsche, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Philosophie u. Soziologie*, xxi, 354; Belloni-Filippi, *ZDMG.*, lviii, 379 sq.; Jacobi, *ibid.* lviii, 383 sq.; Schrader, *ibid.* lxi, 336 sq. Of all these scholars, Professors Pavolini and Schrader have, with the help of the native commentaries and parallel passages from Indian literature, interpreted the passage quite intelligibly; it simply means: 'as much use as there is in a tank when everything else is flooded by water,' etc. In 2, 53, the rendering of *śrutini-pratipannā* by 'perplexed by what is heard' is probably a slip, as it gives not the slightest sense; it must mean 'turned away from holy lore (*śruti*).'⁸ In 2, 54, Boehtlingk, *Sitz. ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1897, p. 8 sq., wanted to read *bhāḍa* for *bhāḍa* which is, of course, fanciful; in the second half of this verse the translation ought to run thus: 'Does the man of steadfast mind talk? Does he sit? (immovable)? Does he move about?'

With the verse 3, 13 cp. (except Manu iii, 118) RV. X, 117, 6, as well as Professor Sieg, *Sagenstoffe*, p. 9, and the present writer, *ZDMG.*, lxvi, 46. In the translation of 3, 16, we ought to reject the word 'with,' and read 'he who . . . turns not the wheel,' to obtain the correct sense. *Lokasāṅgraha* in 3, 20 (and elsewhere) scarcely means 'guidance,' but rather 'support' of the world.

In 5, 4, 'children' should, of course, be 'fools.' In 5, 8, *manyeta* is not very aptly rendered by the simple 'thinks.' As for 5, 10, the present writer would venture the humble question whether a lotus-leaf can really be 'smeared' by water; the English word, anyhow, does not here render the real sense of *lipyate*. In 5, 11, *dimasuddhaye* most probably must be co-ordinated with *saṅgam tyaktvā*. In 5, 17, the words: 'their stain by knowledge cleansed' would translate an expression *jñānanirddh. autatamaḥ* but not the present reading '*nirddh. āta*'; and in 5, 18, *vinaya* scarcely means 'humility.'

Samkalpa in 6, 2-24, is not exactly 'purpose,' but rather 'wish.' And in 6, 43, I doubt whether *tato bhāḍa* really means 'thence . . . once more'; per-

sonally I should rather prefer 'still more than formerly.' In 8, 17, the translation correctly presupposes that we read *ya* for *yad* which is, however, in Mr. Hill's text. And in 9, 33: *lokam imam prāpya* will most probably mean: 'thou who hast come into this world.'

Pārve catvāro manavaḥ in 10, 6, must, no doubt, go together and not as *pārve catvāro + manavaḥ*. Likewise in 10, 13, *Asita* and *Devala* are not two separate persons, but the well-known old seer *Asita Devala* who visited the child Siddhārtha, the future Buddha.⁹ In 10, 28, 'the Forefather Kandarpa' should be 'the Procreator K.' The translation, in 11, 30, of *tejobhir āpūrya jagat samagram* by: 'thou fillest the whole universe with the glory,' would be correct if for 'glory' were read 'flames.' In 11, 32, *te'pi tadā* are correctly rendered by Schlegel: 'te solo excepto.' In 11, 37, the translation of *taparam* by 'that Supreme' is senseless; the correct rendering is found in the quotation given in the footnote. And in 17, 19, *mūḍhagrāhṇa* is less aptly rendered by: 'with fond conviction.'

We have also noted some slight misprints in the Sanskrit text which may perhaps be mentioned here. Thus in 2, 37, read *bhakeyase mahim*; in 2, 53, *śhḍeyati*; in 4, 22, *nibadhyate*; in 5, 14, *karmaphala-samyogaḥ*; in 6, 23, *yogo, nirviṣṇacetasa* (thus correctly the translation); in 9, 15, *ekatreṇa*; in 11, 16, *śivārāpa* (thus the translation); in 14, 26, *brahma-bhāḍya*; in 15, 4, *prapadye* (cp. p. 238, n. 1); in 18, 31, *pārtha*. In 11, 41, *mahimānam tavedam* is probably not a misprint though Schlegel-Lassen have the correct *tavemam*; and in 11, 43, the author mentions the correct reading *guror gariyān* in the footnote, but without making use of it in his text and translation—*gurur gariyān* is, of course, next to senseless.

Dr. Rajwade some years ago published a fairly extensive list of grammatical and literary misdoings committed by the author(s) of the *Bhagavadgītā*.¹⁰ That paper, in spite of its usefulness, was in the main a failure, for epic texts like this one cannot be judged by the standards of Pāṇini and Patañjali or of the authorities on *Alaṅkāra*. But, no doubt, the *Bhagavadgītā* contains shocking things from a grammatical point of view such as *praevisyadhvam* (3, 10), *nivasiyari* (12, 8), *mā ācaḥ* (16, 5) or the vocative *he sakheti* in 11, 41.¹¹ Mr. Hill has, however, withheld his opinion on these absurdities, which is perhaps the wisest course to follow.

We have allowed ourselves to criticise a few minor points in Mr. Hill's work. But on the whole we have found it thoroughly satisfactory and should like to congratulate him upon his fair amount of success.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

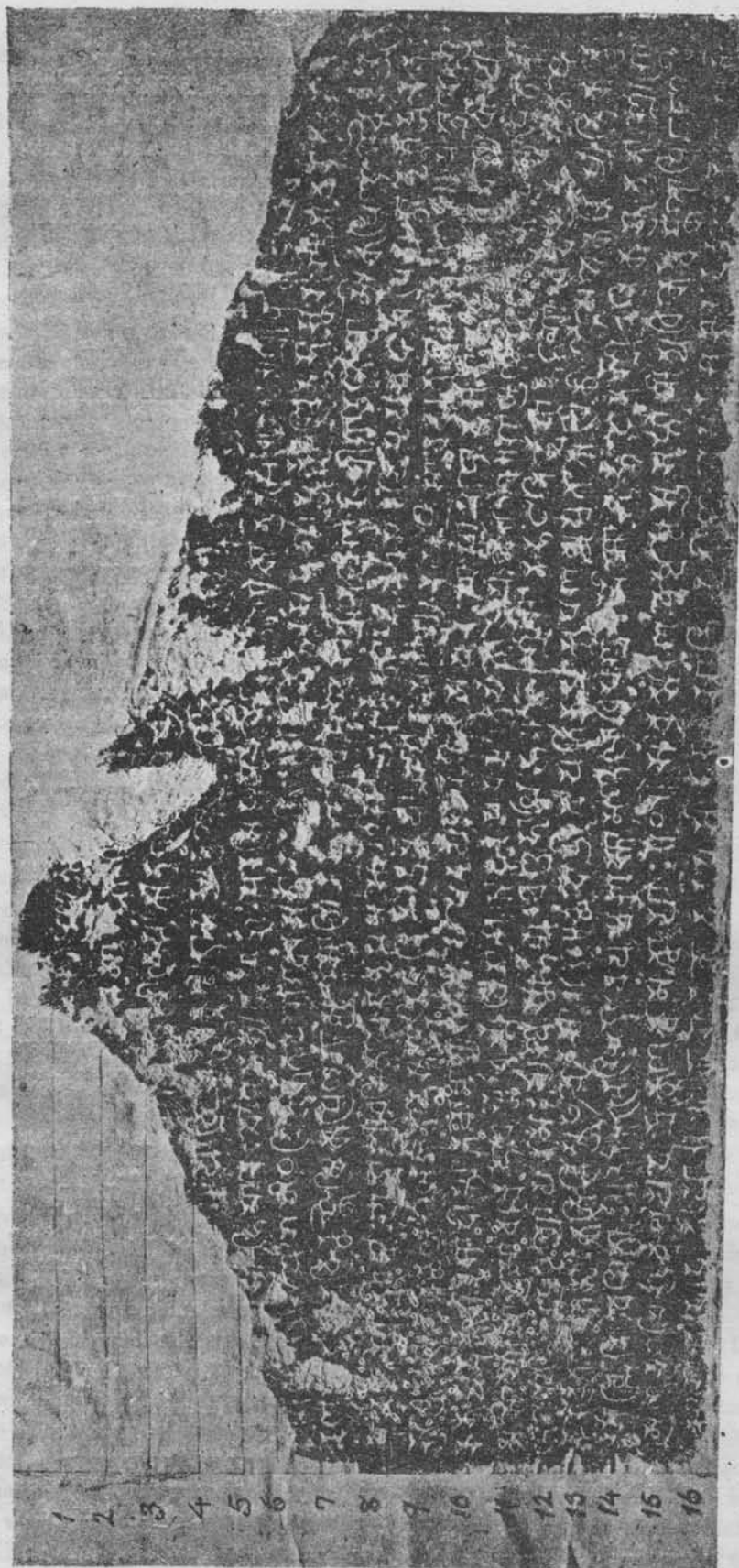
⁵ Schlegel correctly: 'perturbatio.'

⁶ Cp. Speyer, *ZDMG.*, lvi, 123 sq., contra Boehtlingk, *ibid.* lvi, 209; Oldenberg, *Goett. Nachrichten*, 1919, p. 332, n. 3.

⁷ Cp. Schlegel-Lassen, *Bhagavadgītā*, p. xxix n.; Johansson, *Monde Oriental* ii, 84; Rajwade, *Bhandarkar, Comm.*, vol. p. 329.

⁸ On him cp. Windisch, *Festschrift B. Kuhn*, p. 6 sq. ⁹ Cp. 2, 61.

¹⁰ Cp. Bhandarkar, *Comm.*, vol. p. 325 sq. ¹¹ As for this last form I do not believe in Rajwade's explanation (*sakhe'ti*) but rather think with Lassen that it is due to the (correct) form *sakheti* in the previous line.



NĀSŪN INSCRIPTION OF ĪSĀNABHĀṬA, V. S. 887.

Note.—Scale 11/20 ths of original.

NASUN INSCRIPTION OF ĪSĀNABHĀṬA OF VIKRAMA SAMVAT 887.

By R. R. HALDER.

THIS fragmentary inscription, engraved on the back of the lower part of a broken image, was found at Nāsūn in Kharwā estate in Ajmer-Merwāra by Thākur Gopālasimha of Kharwā, who presented it to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer. It was noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Museum for the year 1920-21.

The inscription consists of 16 lines, comprising twenty verses followed by nearly three lines of prose at the end. The upper part of the stone being broken and its surface having peeled off at several places, much of the writing has been lost, and the letters here and there are indistinct.

The characters are of the northern type of alphabet, generally known as *Kuṭila lipi*, and belonging to the ninth century A.D. They include some letters which are generally found in inscriptions of earlier date. For instance, ऌ of ऌड in l. 6; ऌ of 'एड्डु' and 'एड्डे' in ll. 7 and 13, respectively; ऌ of 'देतो' in l. 11; ऌ of 'नट' in l. 12; ऌ of 'हीना' in l. 13; ऌ of 'जज्ज' in l. 16, etc., show their earlier forms. The subscript *u* and *ā* are written in different ways, as in 'कुंपी' (l. 5), 'कुता' (l. 13) and 'पुव्व' (l. 6); 'दूरतः' (l. 8), etc. Similarly, ऌ is written differently, as in 'गुभा' (l. 12), 'हीशान' (l. 14), and 'शते' (l. 15). The numerical symbol for 7 in 17 (l. 11) and in 887 (l. 15) is also worthy of note.

The language is Sanskrit with some occasional mistakes, which are shown in the footnotes accompanying the text. In respect of orthography the following may be noted:—

Consonants are doubled (1) with a superscript *r*, as in 'विनिर्गत' (l. 6), 'वर्क' (l. 10), 'निर्देश' (l. 12), etc.; (2) with a subscript *r*, as in 'तत्ता' (l. 9), 'यत्ता' (l. 9), 'यद्व' (l. 15), etc. *v* is used for *vi* in 'वृव्व' (l. 8), *Anusvāra* is used for nasals in 'कंपी' (l. 5), 'एड्डे' (l. 13), 'एव्व' (l. 15), etc. Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The contents of the inscription may be thus summarised:—

After the first fifteen verses, the meaning of which is not clear (the verses being incomplete), the inscription records the name of Īsānabhāṭa as the son of Dhanika in verse 16. Verse 17 eulogises the god Śiva, while the next verse informs us that the image of Nīlalohita (Śiva) was set up by the *guru* (preceptor) Gāmuṇḍasvāmī. In verse 19 we are told that the verses were composed by Kṛṣṇa, son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, by the order of Īsānabhāṭa. In the prose lines at the end, we are informed that this *Prakāśī* was written by the chieftain Īsānabhāṭa, son of Dhanika, for the sake of his *guru* Gāmuṇḍasvāmī; that the idol was caused to be made by the monk Jajjasvāmī, and that the inscription was engraved by Daddaṭa, son of Atigaṇḍita. The prose portion (l. 15) also contains the date as the second day of the dark half of Vaiśākha, samvat 887, corresponding to the 4th April 830 A.D.

The year is given in words as well as in symbols.

The inscription records the installation of an image of Śiva by Gāmuṇḍasvāmī. It has also some historical interest in that it mentions the name of the chieftain Īsānabhāṭa, son of Dhanika. Now, the date of Dhanika, according to this inscription, may be placed about Samvat 867 (A.D. 819), if a rule of twenty years be assigned to Īsānabhāṭa. This date of Dhanika agrees with that of the Guhila chief Dhanika ruling at Dhavagartā (Dhōr in the Jahāzpur district of the Udaipur State) and mentioned in the Pabōk inscription¹ of Dhavalappadeva, dated Harṣa Samvat 207 (A.D. 813). Thus, from these two inscriptions it would appear that the two Dhanikas are identical and that this chieftain ruled over that part of the country which extended from Nāsūn (the findspot of this inscription) to Dhōr. Another ruler named Dhanika, belonging to the Guhila family, is mentioned in the Chātsū inscription¹ of Bālāditya, in which, as opposed to the present inscription, he is said to be the great-grandson of Īsānabhāṭa. He, therefore, appears to be a different person from the Dhanika of this record, who is said to be the father of Īsānabhāṭa. Again, from the Chātsū inscription we know that

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 11.

Dhanika mentioned therein was the fifth predecessor of Harṣarāja, who was contemporary² with the imperial Pratibāra King Bhoja (V. S. 900-38; A.D. 843-81) of Kanauj. His date will therefore, fall about S. 820 (A.D. 763), if an average rule of twenty years be assigned to each of his successors. Thus from the dates as well as from the genealogies given in two inscriptions (Chātsū and the present), it is probable that these two Dhanikas were different persons and flourished at different periods, though they may both have belonged to the Guhila family. Similarly, it might be shown that there were different Śānabhaṭas.

It will be seen, moreover, from the above that the Guhilas, besides their main branch ruling at Nāgda, Āhāḍa (Āghāṭa) and Chitor, etc., were also in control of the territory extending from Chātsū in Jaipur State to Dhōr in Mewār, most probably in subordination to the imperial Pratibāras of Kanauj, who at the period in question held sway over nearly the whole of Rājputāna.

Text.³

1. — — — — — प्रशान्त — — — — —
2. — — — — — समा — त — — — — —
3. — — — — प — जीजया चनुम — — पय — — — —
4. — — — — सा याति व — छ — दातास्य भुंको — ति व स्य — — — —
5. स्यामिमानः⁴ दोषमस्यैकमाहुः परमिह यदसौ [सर्व] लोकांनुकंपी ॥ १५ ॥ श्रीवक् प —
6. गा [मुण्ड] स्वामियोगपीठविनिर्गतेयोगेश्वरं मत्वा न — छि — : उत्तरसुमगा ।
पूर्वपश्चिममास्करः श्रीचवदातः — —
7. रच — द्व — त⁵ विच्छद्दौषिकपिण्डनामुण्डस्वामिनं श्री — — श्वर श्री — — श्वरी
श्रीगाण्डस्वाम्येकपिण्डयैकमूर्ति [१] —
8. परे तस्मिन्जीनाः श्रुत्वा श्रीचनिकात्मजो नृप चसौ श्रीमान पुर्वोभटः ।
भरौचर्मैकवि⁶ पृथ्वदमपि स्याकानृतं दूरतः
9. ⁸साधुं सज्जनवच्छलं⁹ खलजनखस्तं¹⁰ सुखि ज्ञानिनं । द्रष्टया¹¹ पाद [द्व]¹² तस्य
न मतिस्तान् [त्स]¹³ तत्ताः गतः ॥ १६ ॥ यज्ञास्तौ गु —
10. व कथदक्षैस्सप्तो दीप्त्या न बोष्णास्य सा निःशेषे नृपः — — म परः
पापापहो दर्शना — — — भवदस्य धीरय —
11. भवी श्रीमानुभावज्ञमः धर्माधर्मैकविनाशकापर पद¹⁴ प्रातिर्यसो भायते ॥ १७ ॥
गामुण्डस्वामिशुरुणा स्थापितो नी —
12. जलोहितः । द्रष्टव्योयं¹⁵ नमःस्यश्च स्मर्तव्यश्च शुभाभिभिः¹⁶ ॥ १८ ॥
श्रीमानभटनिर्देशाद्भटगोविन्दसूनुना कुण्डे —
13. न रचिताः श्लोकाः कतिचिन्मुदचेतसा ॥ २० ॥¹⁷ ¹⁸छद्दोहीना यति भट्टा
¹⁹अपराधयुता अपि कीर्तिमेते करिष्यन्ति कर्तु —
14. र्मांश्च निवेदिताः ॥ २१ ॥²⁰ लेखिता चेयं प्रसस्ता मण्डजाधिप श्रीमदीशान —
भटेन श्रीधनिकसूनुना श्रीगा —
15. मुण्डस्वामिमुर्वैयं यदत्त²¹ धूष चर्मत्वार्याः²² ॥ • ॥ संवत्सरसतेष्वष्टषु
सप्ताशीत्यधिकष्वुत्तोपि ८८७ वै —
16. शाक यदि द्वितीया ॥ • ॥²³ कारावकोक्ष²⁴ तपसीजज्जस्वामि । उत्कीरवा²⁵
चेयं प्रसस्ता देवतेनातिगवादिस्तुतेन [॥]²⁶

² *Bp. Ind.*, vol. XII. p. 12.

³ From the stone.

⁴ Read °मानो.

⁵ Read विच्छद्दौ.

⁶ Read भूर्धर्म.

⁷ Read मियं.

⁸ Read साधुं.

⁹ Read °वत्सलं.

¹⁰ Read °वस्तं.

¹¹ Read दृष्टया.

¹² Read °द्वय.

¹³ Read तथा गतः

¹⁴ Read °प्रातिर्यतो.

¹⁵ Read नमस्त्वय.

¹⁶ Read १८.

¹⁷ Read १९.

¹⁸ Read छद्दौ.

¹⁹ Read °शुद्धं.

²⁰ Read २०.

²¹ Read मुण्ड.

Read साम्बन्धस्वार्थाः

²² Read कारापको.

²³ Read तपस्वी.

²⁴ Read उत्कीर्या.

²⁵ Read सुतेन.

BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

BY CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

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

Vaiṣṇavism.

Every religion is found to have a philosophical system of its own on the basis of which the doctrines and tenets peculiar to it should be explained. And Neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal was not an exception to this rule. It also evolved a full-fledged philosophy of its own, which, in course of time, came to be known as Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava philosophy. This is properly a sub-school of Vedānta, being based primarily on the Madhva system, though it was influenced by the Nimbārka and Ballabha schools as well. But it differs in some points at least from the system of Madhva. Thus, according to the latter, the object of adoration is Viṣṇu alone, no divinity being ascribed to his consort Lakṣmī. But according to the Gaudīya school, Viṣṇu together with his consort should be worshipped. Devotion in conjunction with action, assert the Mādhyas, leads to salvation. Devotion, pure and unmixed, is the cause of salvation—this is the view of the school of Caitanya. According to the school of Madhva, salvation can be attained by Brāhmaṇ devotees alone, but the Gaudīya school is more liberal and asserts the equal right of all, irrespective of any distinction of caste, to that supreme goal of life. The most prominent distinguishing features of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism are (1) the doctrine of *Acintya-bhēdābheda* (incomprehensible difference—non-difference), (2) prominence given to *śrīnāṇāṇāṇā* of Kṛṣṇa, in contradistinction to the different Vaiṣṇava schools of the South.

The work which the followers of this school regard as the most important and authoritative is the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. This Purāṇa, they suppose, was composed to elucidate the Vedānta *sūtras* and is regarded by them as the *commentary* on the said *sūtras*. Thus the major portion of the philosophical works of this school is covered by direct commentaries on the Bhāgavata and by independent works composed to elucidate and systematically present the views of it. Of direct commentaries mention may be made of the works of Sanātana, Jīva, Viśvanātha, Baladeva. Besides these, the *Brhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* of Sanātana and *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* of Rāpa, which is an abridgement of the former, deal with the teachings of the Bhāgavata.

The most important, popular and scholarly work that sets forth in detail the philosophy of the Bhāgavata is the *Bhāgavata*° or *Śaṭ-sandarbhā* of Jīva Gosvāmin (Ed. by Syamala Gosvāmin, Calcutta). It consists of six books, viz., *Tattvasandarbhā*, *Bhāgavata*°, *Paramātmā*°, *Śrīkṛṣṇa*°, *Bhakti*° and *Prīti*°. The present work is stated to have been based on a work of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the famous disciple of Caitanya, which appears to have been fragmentary and incomplete. An abridgement of this voluminous work, presumably by the author himself, is the *Sārasaṃgraha* (CS., X, p. 96).

But works on the Bhāgavata alone could secure no recognition for the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas among those of other provinces, for a school was required to have commentaries on the Vedānta *sūtras*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* and *Upaniṣads* to entitle itself to that recognition. And, it is told, that it was to win that recognition for this school that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa composed a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra*, called the *Govindabhāṣya* (Purana Karyalaya, Calcutta—1301 B.S.). This embodies the doctrines peculiar to the system. Baladeva flourished sometime in the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus possibly he was chronologically about the last among the host of scholars who, from time to time, commented on that highly popular work—the *Vedānta-sūtras*. But this was not the only work that Baladeva composed. Like Rāpa and Jīva, he was a polymath, writing on a variety of subjects—philosophy, rhetoric, prosody, etc. Other philosophical works composed by him were:—(1) Commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* (published by the Gaudīya maṭha, Calcutta), (2) Commentary on the ten *upaniṣads*, *Īśa*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Māṇḍukya*, *Aitareya*, *Tait-*

tīrīya, *Cchāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, (3) *Siddhāntaratna* or *Bhāṣya-pīṭhaka* (Saraswati Bhavan Series), (4) *Prameya-ratnāvalī* (S.S.P. Series), an elementary treatise on the Vaiṣṇava philosophy of Bengal. This work follows the school of Madhva *in toto*, as is indicated by the author in the introductory portions of his work. (5) *Vedānta-syamantaka*, which seems to deal with the elements of the Vedānta philosophy.

It was probably about the time of Baladeva that Anūpa-nārāyaṇa Śiromaṇi, who was apparently a follower of the school of Caitanya, wrote a gloss entitled *Samañjasādhūṭī*¹⁶ on the *Vedānta-sūtra*. At the end of his work he dedicates it to Caitanya and refers to Rūpa and Svarūpa in respectful terms. But as he was not one of the recognised *gopādmins* held in high respect by the Vaiṣṇavas, his work is little known.

Similar fate seems to have attended other works also which were composed from time to time. Of these, reference may be made to the *Tattvadīpikā*—a short Vaiṣṇava treatise of great interest by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, the great Naiyāyika and teacher of Caitanya (Sarasvati Bhavan Series—vol. IV, p. 68).

Buddhism.

Traces of Buddhist Culture in Bengal.

Bengal was pre-eminently a land of Buddhism, at least before the revival of Brāhmanism took place finally during the Sena rule, though previous attempts to consolidate Brāhmanism are traditionally believed to have been made by kings like Ādiśūra and Śyāmalavarman. The Chinese pilgrims refer to Buddhist monasteries in different parts of Bengal, which were all centres of Buddhist culture. She lived under the rule of Buddhist kings—the Pālas—for several centuries together. Bengal produced fine Buddhist icons and some of the greatest Buddhist scholars whose names are known far and wide. Though from about the eighth century most of these scholars of Bengal had their field of activity outside Bengal in the universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, and sometime in far-off Tibet, there can be no gainsaying the fact that there were centres of Buddhist culture in Bengal as well up to a fairly late period. The Mahāvihāra of Jagaddala, the locality of which is not yet known, but which is believed to have been somewhere in Bengal, is even supposed to have been to Bengal what Nālandā was to Magadha (JBORS., 1919, p. 508). Buddhist works were studied and copied here as in other *viḥāras*. And we know of two Buddhist works copied in Bengal during the reign of Harivarmadeva (*circa* eleventh century). These are *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* (R. D. Banerji—*Baṅglār Itihāsa*—2nd ed., p. 304), and *Laghukālacakraṭīkā* (A.S.B.—I., No. 67). The latter work, as is recorded in the manuscript itself, seems to have been recited on the banks of the river Veng in Jessore for five times. It was under the Sena rule that Brāhmanism strongly asserted itself in Bengal at the instance of Ballāssena, who is supposed to have reorganised Hindu Society in Bengal in its entirety and placed Brāhmanism on a solid foundation. But there is evidence of Buddhist culture in Bengal as late as the fifteenth century, if not later, when a manuscript of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva was copied at Venugrāma in 1492 V. S. (A.S.B.—I., 19).

And it seems that, in spite of the efforts of Sena kings and those that followed them, Buddhism lingered on in some form or other difficult to be distinguished from the more popular Brāhmanism. And this has been shown by Mm. H. P. Shastri in his '*Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal*.'

Bengal's Contribution to Buddhist Literature.

Old Buddhist works would naturally be expected to be found in plenty in this land of Buddhism. But curious though it may seem, that is far from the actual state of things. Very few Buddhist works of Bengal are known to have been found in their Sanskrit original, and even those that have been found were discovered in places that were far from Bengal—in

¹⁶ A manuscript of the work is in the S. S. P.

Nepal for instance. It was in Nepal also that the Buddhist works copied in Bengal were found. A good many works, however, fortunately for us, are preserved in their translations, in Tibetan in which the locality of the authors is found to have been mentioned in many cases.

Candragomin.

The earliest Bengali Buddhist scholar of whom we know anything was perhaps Candragomin, who belonged to the school of Asaṅga. He is stated to have been a grammarian, philosopher and poet, and enjoyed high renown in the Buddhist literary world. He is supposed to have flourished sometime about the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era (Nariman—*Lit. Hist. of Sans. Buddhism*, p. 100). It is known from Tibetan records that he was born in Varendrī in Bengal (Tārānātha—pp. 148 ff., 159 ff., *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*—S. C. Das—p. 95, 139).¹⁷ Several works of his are known. Of these, *Śiṣyalekhā-dharma-kāvya*, which is in the form of an epistle by the author to his disciple, propounds the Buddhist doctrine in elegant *kāvya* style (Nariman—*loc. cit.*). We know at least two more works composed by him. Of these, *Lokānanda*, which exists in a Tibetan version alone, is a drama (*Sanskrit Drama*, Keith, p. 168), and *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* (edited by Dr. Bruno Liebich—Leipzig, 1902) is an independent original grammar.

Śīlabhadra.

After him probably came Śīlabhadra, the teacher of the great Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. He is stated to have been the author of several well-known treatises (*On Yuan Chwang*—Watters—vol. II, p. 109, 165). But unfortunately none of his works are known to have survived. Some of his works are preserved in their Chinese translations.

Śāntideva.

After Śīlabhadra we may mention Śāntideva, who is supposed to have written sometime between 648 to 816 A.D. (H. P. Shastri—*Bauddha-gāna-o-dohā*—Introd., p. 23). In the Tanjur his home is stated to have been in Zahore, which has been sought to be identified with a small village called Sābhār in the District of Dacca (see under Śāntarakṣita *infra*). The Tibetan writer Tārānātha, however, in his History of Buddhism assigns him to Śurāstra. But Mm. H. P. Sastri is inclined to take him to be a Bengali, one ground for this, among several others, being that one of his works contains passages in Bengali (JBORS., 1919, p. 502-3). Śāntideva was a great and well-known scholar of Buddhism. Some of his works deal with Buddhist Tantra. Two of his works—*Śikṣā-samuccaya* (Ed. by Bendall—*Bibliotheca Buddhica*—St. Petersburg, 1897) and *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*Bib. Ind.*)—have been published.

Śāntarakṣita.

The next name is that of Śāntarakṣita, who was a great scholar of Buddhism of his time and was the High Priest of the monastery of Nālandā. His fame travelled beyond the limits of India, and he was invited by the king of Tibet to preach Buddhism in the land of snow. In compliance with this invitation, Śāntarakṣita proceeded to Tibet and was fully successful in his great mission. In fact it was Śāntarakṣita who first laid the foundation of Buddhism in the land where Bon fetishism was the prevalent faith. It is, however, a matter for great regret that we get no light about his life and works from any Indian source. All that is preserved of him is in Tibetan. He is called Śāntarakṣita, Śāntirakṣita and Ācārya Bodhisattva in Tibetan. Details about his life-story as contained in Tibetan works were collected by that great Tibetan scholar, S. C. Das, in vol. I of *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* where he definitely calls Śāntarakṣita an inhabitant of Gauḍa, and also by Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana in his *History of Indian Logic* (p. 323). The latter work represents him as having descended from the royal family of Zahore, which has been identified on phonetic grounds with the small village of Sābhār in the district of Dacca (Bengal), where ruins of old palaces and other

¹⁷ I am indebted for these references to Drs. N. P. Chakravarti and P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University.

objects testifying to its antiquity and splendour have been found. (B. Bhattacharya—Foreword to *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. xiii.) The locality was no doubt a centre of Buddhism. It was about this region that the great Buddhist scholar, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, was born, and many Buddhist Tāntrik images are said to have been found there.

As regards the time when Śānta flourished, we are informed by Tibetan works that he erected the monastery of Sam-ye in Tibet in the year 749 A.D., and that he died there in 762 A.D. Thus he lived in the first half of the eighth century of the Christian era.

As has already been stated, he was a great scholar. He was well-versed not only in the texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but also in different systems of Indian philosophy, which he quotes and refutes in his monumental work *Tattvasaṅgraha* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series). This work gives a brilliant exposition of Mahāyāna Buddhism in relation to other systems of Indian philosophy, of which the shallowness is sought to be established. He wrote a good many works, of which very few have been preserved in their Sanskrit original. The only works of which the Sanskrit originals are known to exist are two, *Tattvasaṅgraha* and *Tattvasiddhi*. Besides these, he wrote several other works which are available now only in their Tibetan translations. Eight of these are mentioned by Mr. Bhattacharya (*op. cit.*, pp. xx, xxi). It will be noticed that most of these works related to Buddhist Tantra.

Jetāri.

Next in chronological order would probably be Jetāri, whose father was a Brāhman named Garbhapāda, who lived in Varendri at the court of Rāja Sanātana, a vassal of the Pāla kings. The famous Dīpaṅkara (born in 980 A.D.), when very young, is said to have been sent by his parents for education to Jetāri. King Mahāpāla (who ruled up to 940 A.D.) is said to have conferred on him the title of *Paṇḍita* of the University of Vikramaśilā. He thus seems to have flourished in the beginning of the tenth century. He was the author of three works on Buddhist Logic, which are found in their Tibetan translations.¹⁸

Dīpaṅkara.

Now we come to Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, who, as has already been stated, was a pupil of Jetāri in his early years. He is also known by the name of Atīśa. Nothing definite is known of him from any Indian source. We are fortunate in getting a fairly detailed account of his life and works in Tibetan works, on which was based the long and informing account of him given in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. I, p. 9 ff. From the latter we know that Dīpaṅkara was born in 980 A.D. in the royal family of Gauḍa at Vikramapura in Baṅgala. His father was Kalyāṇa Śrī, and his mother Prabhāvatī. He probably belonged to the same Kṣatriya race from which Śāntaraksita had hailed. His name before his initiation was Candragarbha. At a comparatively young age he became a great scholar, versed equally in Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist lore. As a reward for his great scholarship he was made the High Priest of the monastery of Vikramaśilā. At the repeated invitation of the king of Tibet he went to that 'forbidden land' to reform the Buddhism of Tibet, which had much degenerated at that time. He worked hard for the regeneration of Tibetan Buddhism and met with his death at the ripe old age of seventy-three in 1053 A.D. at a place in Tibet near Lhasa, far away from his native land. He is still held in high respect all over Tibet and has almost been deified therein. He wrote a good many works, none of which, however, are known to exist in their Sanskrit original. Twenty works of his, of which the translations are found in the Tibetan Tangur, have been mentioned by S. C. Das in his article already referred to.

Ratnākara Śānti.

Ratnākara Śānti flourished sometime about the tenth century. He may be identical with Śānti, two of whose songs in Bengali are known to have come down (*Bauddha-gāna-o-dohā*—H.P.S., Intro., p. 28). He was the author of a good many Buddhist works, of which

¹⁸ The account of Jetāri is based on that of Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

several belong to Buddhist Tantra, while two of his works on Buddhist logic are known (*Ibid.*—Appendix on list of Buddhist Tantra works, S. C. Vidyabhusana—*op. cit.*, p. 343).

Luipāda.

Another Buddhist scholar who has almost been deified and held in high respect, not only in some parts of Bengal but also in Mayurbhanj, Nepal and Tibet, is definitely called a Bengali in the Tanjur. He is stated to have been assisted in his *Abhisamayavibhanga* by Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna (H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*—Intro., p. 15). He thus seems to have flourished about the middle of the tenth century. His connection with Bengal is definitely referred to in the Tanjur. He was the author of several Buddhist Tāntrika works, which are found in the Tanjur.

Rāmacandra.

We may next mention another Bengali scholar, whose field of activity was in Ceylon, where his name is still held in great honour. His name is Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī, on whom was conferred the dignified title of Bauddhāgama-Cakravartī by Parākramabāhu, the then ruling king of Ceylon. Fortunately for us he has left behind much useful personal account in his works. In the colophon of his works he calls himself *Gaṇḍa-deśīya* (one who belongs to the Gaṇḍa land) and once at least *Sad-Gaṇḍa* (a respected Bengali). In the concluding verses of his *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā* he refers to Rāhula—the celebrated Buddhist scholar of Ceylon—as his teacher through whose teachings he embraced Buddhism. Even before his conversion he seems to have been a great scholar and was proficient in Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Śruti, Smṛti, Mahākāvya, Āgama, Alaṅkāra, Chandaḥ, Jyotiṣa and Nāṭaka. He hailed, as he himself says, from the village of Viravati, the present location of which is not known. His father was Gaṇapati and his mother Devī. He refers to two of his younger brothers—Halāyudha and Āṅgīrasa. His time is approximately known from the date of composition of his *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*, which was 1999 Buddha era, or 1245 A.D.

A fact that is important from the view point of social history is that in all his works he calls himself both a follower of Buddhism and a Brāhmaṇa (*bhāṣura*, *dharma-devaḥ*, *kṛtī-suraḥ*). It should be noted that even Maṅgalamuni, who translated Rāmacandra's *Bhakti-sataka* into Sinhalese, calls him a *devīya*.

Three works of Rāmacandra are known :—

1. *Bhakti-sataka*, which is in 107 beautiful verses, praises Buddha and Buddhism (published in Nāgarī by the Buddhist Text Society—1896, also in Sinhalese characters by M. P. Ekarayaka, Bharati Press, Colombo). 2. *Vṛttamālā*—a work on prosody, which incidentally gives an account of the celebrated monk Mahānetraprasāda (M. P. Ekarayaka, Bharati Press, Colombo). 3. *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*—a commentary on the well-known work on prosody, the *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedarabhaṭṭa (Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay).¹⁹

Some less known Buddhist Authors.

There were some other scholars also whose names are not as well-known as those mentioned above. The works of some of these are found in the Tanjur. We may mention the names of Vibhūticandra, Kṛṣṇācārya, Advayaṣaṅkara, the last two of whom are known to have composed works in Bengali also (Mm. H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*—Intro.; JBORS., 1919, p. 507-8). Besides these, one Pradīpavarman, who wrote a commentary on the *Uddānavarga*, is stated, in the introduction to the Tibetan translation of his work, to have hailed from Kāvā in Bhoṅgala or Bhangala, which may not unlikely be identified with Bengal (Rockhill—*Uddānavarga*, Intro., p. xii).

¹⁹ I am indebted to Prof. R. Siddhartha of the Ceylon University College for kindly supplying me with some valuable information regarding Rāmacandra's works and the place occupied by him in the estimation of the people of Ceylon.

A LIFE OF NAND RISHI.

By PANDIT ANAND KOUL, PRESIDENT, SRINAGAR MUNICIPALITY. (Retired.)

(Continued from vol. LVII, p. 224.)

The peon, on hearing this advice, repented and thenceforth desisted from troubling anyone.

A farmer named Sung once came to Nand Rishi and told him that he was dissatisfied with his past deeds and wanted to renounce the world and become one of his followers. Nand Rishi directed a disciple of his named Mung to make over to Sung the duties he was performing. For some time Sung performed these duties, and then took leave to go home to see his own family. At home his family were so pleased to have him back to live with them that they would not let him return to Nand Rishi. A long time thus elapsed. Nand Rishi once remembered him, remarking—

Av Sung tsat tsyung,

Nit bihendvyâv Mungun vâs.

Aei zon bhavi suna sund sung ;

Wuchhon hat, lach tah eds.

Aei he tâzi thavahon ukharas ;

Charbari gandahos baras sati.

Chhuh nah tâzi, samih nah kharas ;

Din doh bhari gharas eatt.

Sung came, the heart was glad,

We kept him in Mung's place.

We thought he would become a golden weight ;

We shall see him outweigh a hundred, a thousand and a lakh.

Had he been a steed we would have kept him in the stable ;

We would have tied him with ropes attached to the door.

He is not a steed, not even an ass ;

He will spend his days at home.

When Sung heard that Nand Rishi was remembering him, he left his home and returned to his preceptor, to whom he remained devoted until his death.

A number of men once came to see Nand Rishi and hinted at his belonging to a low caste of watchers. Nand Rishi remarked :—

Push-dyul avazot :

Kheyas nah gur gupun tah gâv.

Suh yelih shâhas sheri wot,

Suh avazot drenh katih av ?

The flower-seller's *dyul* (grass with which a bouquet is tied) is of low birth :

Neither pony, nor cattle, nor cow will eat it.

When it reached the head of the king

Where did it [then] appear of low birth ?

Nand Rishi was once going through a forest, where he saw a number of men pretending to meditate on God, but living in ease and comfort and having no true love of Him. He rebuked them in the following words :—

Kali-yugi ghara ghara Rishi lagan,

Yitha pâlar lagan rangon.

Nish-budh atyant wâni lagan ;

Wawan nah muh kapas tah ann ;

Akrut khenas tsûran ulgan ;

Lukan tulih tah lagan wan.

The people of the *Kali-yuga* [iron age] in every house will pretend to be
rishis [saints],

As a prostitute does at dancing [she sings morality].

They will pretend to be innocent and extremely gentle ;
 They will not sow beans, cotton-seeds and grains (i.e., earn their
 bread by honest labour) ;
 They will excel thieves in living by unlawful means ;
 To hide themselves they will repair to a forest.

He further attacked hypocrisy in these words :—

Paran penah sati Rishi no banak—
Yandar-muhuli tul nah kala thud zāh.
Guphi atsanah Dai no labak—
Nāl tah gagur drāi nah wājih manzah zāh.
Shrānau sati manah no shrotsak—
Gāḡ tah wudur buḡh khati nah zāh.
Upas dinah sati Dai yud toshihe
Drālidan leli wai ladun nah zāh.

By bowing down, thou shalt not become a rishi—
 The pounder in the rice-mill did not ever raise up its head.
 By entering a cave, God cannot be attained—
 The mongoose and rat never come out of their holes.
 By bathing, the mind will not be cleansed—
 The fish and otter never ascend the bank.
 If God were pleased by fasting
 The indigent had never cooked food in the pot [in his own house].

A similar saying is found in Bāwā Nānak's teachings :—

Kām gāle sidh sādḡ ; khwōḡja khasiyān.
Dudh piwe sidh sādḡ ; bālak bachhyān.
Tan nāwe sidh sādḡ ; menḡak machhyān.
Nānak ! eat samōḡḡ, so gal achhyān.
 A saint may subdue desire ; [it is extinct in] eunuchs.
 A saint may drink milk ; [it is done by] infants and calves.
 A saint may wash his body ; [it is done by] frogs and fish.
 Nānak ! speak the truth. Those words are good.

Once Nand Rishi saw a hypocritical priest at a mosque twirling a rosary in his hand, who took six platefuls of rice, which were brought to him by six different persons at different times, to each of whom he said he had had no food at all that day. He then rebuked him thus :—

Tasbih chḡni chhem gunasḡ hisho ;
Murīd diḡit karān kham.
Sheḡ chiniḡ khetḡam hisham hisho ;
Teḡh ai pḡr tah rahzan kam ?
 Thy rosary is like a snake ;
 Thou bendest it on seeing the disciples.
 Thou hast eaten six platefuls, one like another ;
 If thou art a priest, then who are robbers ?

In regard to dislikes, which man or beast naturally have, Nand Rishi remarked :—

Gur, khar, wutsh dramas khare.
Watsḡis khare tām.
Nḡtis drālidas potsh khare.
Nushi khare zām.
 Pony, ass and calf are disliked by the vegetable-grower.
 The fleshy matter in the palate is disliked by the calf.
 A guest is disliked by the vile wretch.
 A husband's sister is disliked by the daughter-in-law.

Apropos of the proclivities of one's family members, Nand Rishi said :—

Kār chhai makaz wan deodāras—

Tsaiit kares guni lādi.

Gubur chhui tāzi bacha ākhiratas—

Ladit palana karus nodri.

Boi chhui phal kul bakhtāvaras—

Piyas muhim tah kares yāri.

Rani chhai khani andar piṭṭaras—

Wandas tah wathis kares yāri.

A daughter is like an axe to the forest of deodars—

It will fell it and make heaps of logs.

A son is like an Arabian colt in the world to come—

Thou canst put a saddle on him and ride.

A brother is like a fruit tree to a lucky person—

When there be need it will provide help.

The wife is like a quilt in a basket—

It will be of use in the winter and in the open.

War hajih mundare par nai āsihe ;

Nushi nai āsihe hash tah zām ;

Mugadamas patah nai phukadam āsihe ;

Gāmas tulihe shāmas tām.

If there were not a mallet for [use upon] a knotted block of wood ;

If there were not a mother-in-law and sister-in-law to the daughter-in-law ;

If there were not an overseer [to look] after the *lambardār* ;

He would harness the village till evening.

On the vicissitudes of life, Nand Rishi lamented thus :—

Hānzanih hānzān wulga pāzan ;

Haṇḍi bihan sabhan tah khash wāzan.

Sah atsan guphan tah ahl grazan ;

Hanih mandorih dōlan gāsh paharen.

Boat-women will serve *wulga* (one of the best kinds of rice) to boatmen ;

The sheep will sit to dine, and the cooks will be slaughtered.

Tigers will enter the caves and jackals will howl ;

Castles will remain deserted, and huts will have light.

Runāh pāliki ari nakh dī tas ;

Akh chhas nah paramats takhto sipār.

Trukhāh tih karān takandis rakhtas ;

Bakhtas budh chhai khimatgār.

A limbless [man] is being carried in a palankin by the able-bodied ;

He has not read a single section of the *Qurān*.

A clever man is folding his dress ;

In times of good fortune intelligence serves as a slave.

Lālan handen timan robakhānan,

Jānan dapān āsi uhrinui gatah.

Sundara dechham hāri wakhanan ;

Tadmara sati āsh duwān latah.

Tatik meh az dīhim kapas ruwān.

Meh wuchh, Nasarah, tosh tih wuchhnih gatah.

In those glittering halls of lords,

The great were told to shrink back,

I saw pretty damsels singing songs there ;
 They were sweeping the dust with yaks' tails.
 There I now observed cotton being sown.
 I saw, O Nasar, thou mightest also go to see it.

Nasru'd-din was one of the four disciples of Nand Rishi, namely, Nasru'd-din (Autar), Bamu'd-din (Bhām Sādbu), Zainu'd-din (Zaya Singh) and Latifu'd-din (Ādit Raina).

Nasar Bābā, bozto gurah sandi watsan.
Sorah sandih wuḍih āsih morah sund tāj ;
Vethah ārah hukhan henar grazan ;
Adah, ha mālih, āsi wāndar rāj.
 Nasar Bābā, listen to the word of your preceptor.
 The crest of the peacock will be on the head of a pig ;
 The Jehlam and its tributaries will dry up and the drains will roar ;
 Then, O father, will be the reign of monkeys.

Nand Rishi advised seeking good company and shunning the bad, contrasting the two in forcible terms. He shows that the rogue will wrong the good, attacking him with crooked words, if he is not careful.

Nunden satin doh din bharize—
Lagiyo shāh wulge kanz.
Badan satin zāh tih no phirze—
Atsizih nah tamanen būnan manz.
 Spend thy days with the good—
 The *shāh wulga* [one of the best kinds of rice] will get pounded.
 Never go about with the wicked—
 Do not walk close to pots covered with soot [else thou shalt get soiled].

On man's attempts to secure worldly objects, which, of course, result in disappointment, Nand Rishi observed :—

Sun trāvil sartalih riwum ;
Kartul phuyam karimas drāti.
Doh lug durah tai bānbari perum ;
Agun tshiwum būnah nah wāti.
 I cast off gold and hankered after brass ;
 I broke a sword and made a sickle of it.
 The day began to end, and in haste I commenced to light a fire [on the
 hearth] ;
 The flame went out, but the cooking pots were not ready.

In regard to the imperative necessity of devotion to God, Nand Rishi observed :—

Yin gharāh, gatshani gharāh ;
Kāngard gatsham tapani kitsai.
Gura ! kun wātah nah pilih nah nardāh ;
Sat chham chāni ākhir buh tsai.
 There is a moment for coming [birth] and a moment for going [death]
 A moment I want for devotion.
 O Preceptor ! I cannot reach anywhere nor can [my] arm reach thee ;
 I have faith in thee that I am thou after all.

Once Nand Rishi spoke about the futility of performing *namāz* without concentrating the mind on God :—

Puz yud bozak pānts numrak ;
Natah mād ai numrak rachhi nah mād ;

Shivas satin yalish myul karak ;

Sidhi tseh, Rishi Mâli, teli namâz.

If thou listeneth to truth, thou oughtest to subdue the five (senses, i.e., passion, etc.) ;

If thou lowereth only thy fleshly body, the fleshly body will not save thee ;

If thou maketh union with Śiva,

Then only, O Rishi Mâli, will prayer avail thee.

A Persian poet has rendered the above in the following couplet :—

Sar-râ bazamîn chi mi-nihî bahr-i namâz ?

Ân-râ bazamîn binih ki dar sar dâri.

Why art thou bowing down thy head on the earth for the sake of praying ?

Bow down to earth that which is in thy head (i.e., thy pride and arrogance).

In regard to natural disabilities, Nand Rishi once remarked :—

Dandah rust kyâh karih dânis ?

Hûnis kyâh karih mukhtahâr ?

Run kyâh karih khunih kamâne ?

Un kyâh zâne padmâne ?

Of what use is a walnut to a toothless person ?

Of what use is a pearl necklace to a dog ?

Of what use is a bow to an elbowless person ?

Of what estimation is a pretty woman to a blind man ?

"Come good, come evil, there is an end," was the subject on which Nand Rishi once spoke to his favourite disciple, Nasar Bâbâ, as follows :—

Vetha wâwas tan nani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.

Tun wugarah tah seni pani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.

Nishi rani tah wurani khani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.

Wurah batah tah gâlah gani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.

When the body was bared to the wind of the Jehlam, that day has passed, O Nasar.

When we had thin curry and unsalted vegetables only to eat, that day too has gone, O Nasar.

When the wife was near and warm clothing covered the bed, that day too has gone by, O Nasar.

When boiled rice and sliced fish were provided for us, that day also has passed, O Nasar.

Nand Rishi breathed his last at Rupawan village on 26th Ramazân (Shab-i-Qadr), i.e., 26th Poh, 842 Hijra (1438 A.D.) at the age of 63 years, 1 month and 20 days. His body was carried to Tsrâr, and was buried on the mound called Naffa Teng. His funeral was attended by thousands of people, among whom was the then king of Kashmir, Zainu'l-Âbidîn. Bâbâ Dâûd Khâkî, who was a highly learned man during the time of Ya'qûb Chak (1584 A.D.), wrote an epitaph in loving memory of Nand Rishi in Persian verse, which may be translated into English as follows :—

Shaikh Nûru'd-dîn Rishi, the preceptor of all *rishis*,

Was a good hermit and had much communion with God.

In addition to leading a retired and solitary life, he was also one of those in this world who keep fasts ;

He had given up eating flesh, honey, milk and onions for many years ;

He was a man of revelation and miracles and had a fine command of speech,

And he had no known spiritual guide, as a good-natured narrator has stated.

PERIODS IN INDIAN HISTORY.*

By F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

THE scheme submitted for discussion in the Indian Section of the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 19th, 1928, was to divide the historical period into three "Major" Divisions:—

1. Early, B.C. 600 to 300 A.D.
2. Medieval, 300 to 1500 A.D.
3. Modern, 1500 to 1900 A.D.

and to divide each of these into three "Minor" Periods.¹

Civilization is a "recurrent phenomenon" in India as elsewhere. There are periods of expansion and periods of shrinkage, of vigour and decay, of integration and disruption. The purpose of the discussion is not to supersede the periods already recognized by scholars and historians, but to correlate them with the ebb and flow of culture within India and beyond its borders. To this end dynastic terms such as "Sunga," "Andhra," "Indo-Greek" are unsuited, because they are applicable only to limited areas and are, in part, concurrent. Religious terms such as "Buddhist" or "Muhammadan" as applied to India are no more definite than the "Pagan," "Papal" or "Protestant" periods of Europe.² Even "Rajput," "Maratha," "Mughal" connote different periods in different areas. Terms are needed sufficiently elastic to cover accepted terminology in all areas. They should indicate *sequence*, and each period should stand in definite relation to those cycles of *fusion* and *fission* which make up Indian history.

I. Dynastic Periods.

The framework of Indian chronology is dynastic, and is based on the evidence of (1) inscriptions, (2) coins, (3) foreign writers, chiefly Græco-Roman, Moslem and Chinese. The adjustment of literary and archaeological material to the dynastic chronology is largely conjectural. The so-called "Indo-Sumerian" culture of Harappa and other sites, and also most of the so-called "Vedic" Period are outside the scope of this discussion.

The propriety of the "Major" Periods suggested, opening with 600 B.C., 300 A.D. and 1500 A.D. (roughly parallel to the Cambridge History scheme of Ancient, Medieval and Modern) is not challenged. There is some difference of opinion, however, as to how these Periods should be subdivided.

For the *Early Period* the divisions suggested are—

- I. 600—300 B.C.
- II. 300—1 B.C.
- III. 1—300 A.D.

I. The Period 600—300 B.C. answers roughly to the Hellenic Period³ of Europe, the Achæmenid Empire of Persia (558-330) and the close of the Chou Dynasty (1122—249) in China. In N. India it covers the rise of Buddhism and Jainism and the gradual consolidation in the Lower Gangetic Plain of the Saisunāga Kingdom of Magadha, culminating in c. 320 B.C. in the establishment of the Mauryan Empire. Foreign influence is represented by the Persian conquest of the N.W. (512) and the invasion of Alexander (327-324).

II and III. The Period 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. covers the Hellenistic Period in Greece and the rise to imperial rank of Rome, the Tsin and Han Dynasties of China and that of the Parthian Arsacids in W. Asia. In N. India this Period falls into two phases:—

- (1) The Mauryan Empire at its zenith under Asoka and its partition between (a) the Sungas, (b) the Andhras of the N. Deccan, (c) the Greeks from Bactria and (d) at a later stage the Sakas and Pahlavas from Iran.

* This scheme has been reproduced as submitted to the Indian Research Committee, R.A.I. (without diacritical marks).

¹ Many useful suggestions were offered in drawing up the scheme and in course of the discussion. These will be referred to as the points arise.

For brevity centuries are occasionally referred to by Roman numerals, with or (where the context permits) without the letters B.C. or A.D.

² Sind was "Muhammadan" in VIII A.D., South India was not "Muhammadan" even in XIII A.D.

³ More correctly, its zenith and decline; it began about 760 B.C.

(2) The rise and decline of the Kushan Empire in N.W. India and C. Asia, and the subsequent struggle between the Kushan Satraps and the Later Andhras.

The history of S. India in the Early Period is obscure, but two facts are certain; (1) in III B.C. Asoka was in touch with the three traditional Kingdoms of the South, Chera, Chola and Pandya; (2) in I A.D. Roman traders were busy in Malabar and the Tamil country, as numerous hoards of *denarii* and the *Periplus* testify.

Prof. Rapson suggests a slight re-adjustment of these subdivisions, viz. :—

"I. 600—350 B.C., characterised by Persian dominion in N.W. India and a number of independent Kingdoms in the valley of the Jumna and Ganges.

"II. 350—50 B.C., to include the extension of the Macedonian Empire to N.W. India and characterised by the subsequent rise of the Maurya Empire in India and the later Greek invasions.

"III. 50 B.C.—300 A.D. Roughly from the Partho-Scythian Empire in N.W. India to the rise of the Gupta Empire."

It is not very material whether "Early I" closes with 350 or 325 or 300 B.C. In any case the period 326—305 B.C. is a transitional phase in India, beginning with Alexander's invasion and ending in Seleucus I Nicator's treaty with Chandragupta, and the Maurya Empire is associated with Hellenistic rather than with Hellenic Greece, with the Seleucids rather than with Macedon.

On the other hand, Partho-Scythian rule marks a phase of disintegration; it is the Kushan epoch which was really formative. For the advent of the Kushans A.D. 50 is the most favoured date, but unfortunately this is not undisputed.⁴ The date I A.D. is suggested as a rough compromise.

As regards foreign contacts, the Mauryas were in touch with Mediterranean Greeks, the Kushans with Imperial Rome, but the main thrust came from China. In about 165 B.C. the Hiung-nu, foiled in their attempts on China, turned on their neighbours the Yueh-chi, and sent them hurtling across Asia to the Oxus valley. The impetus drove the "Scythians" on to the Bactrian Greeks and the Parthians, and nearly broke them (c. 138—123 B.C.). The last phase of the movement was the reconstruction of Yueh-chi power under the leadership of the Kushans. The Hans followed this up with the occupation of Turkestan and kept touch with the Yueh-chi till well into III A.D.⁵

For the *Medieval Period*⁶ the divisions suggested are—

I. 300—650 A.D.

II. 650⁷—1200 A.D.

III. 1200—1500 A.D.

I. The Period 300—650 A.D. corresponds roughly to the struggle between the Christian Roman Empire and the Persian Sassanids and the period of Chinese disintegration. The crucial event in Europe is the transfer of imperial headquarters from Rome to Constantinople, the beginning of that germanization of the Western Roman Empire which culminated in its destruction in 476 A.D. In N. India the period is divided into two phases by the Huna Invasion (c. 480—528 A.D.). It is commonly called the "Gupta Period," though in the later phase the Guptas cease to be imperial.⁸ The death of Harsha (647 A.D.) is, however, generally accepted as cardinal.

⁴ Some place Kanishka in I B.C., others in II A.D. ⁵ See Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 385.

⁶ Exception has been taken by some to the term "Medieval"; but the term is in frequent use, though in different senses, e.g.,

(1) S. Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, 720—1794 A.D.

(2) Prof. E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 147, 78—1000 A.D.

(3) J. Kennedy, *Imp. Gaz.* 2. 303, 650—1200 A.D.

(4) Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 7, c. 350—1200.

⁷ The year 650 seems preferable to the year 750 proposed in the original scheme.

⁸ Fleet's dating of the Imperial Guptas is challenged by Dr. Shama Sastry (*Arch. Rep. Mysore*, 1923, p. 23).

II. The Period 650—1200 covers the struggle between the Byzantine Empire and Islam, and the second great expansion of China under the T'ang Dynasty (618—907 A.D.), and the subsequent struggle with the "Tartars" (Khitan 937—1125, Kin 1127—1234). In N. India it answers to the "Rajput Period" (the "Hindu Period" of Kennedy⁹), a period of conflicting states centring round Harsha's capital, Kanauj. Three phases may be distinguished. They correspond roughly to the three phases of the Caliphate, (A) zenith, (B) decline, (C) subjection (to the Seljuks, etc.).

A. 650—800, during which the running was made in turn by Tibet, Kashmir, (Karkota or Naga Dynasty), and the earlier Palas of Bengal.

B. 800—1000, when the hegemony fell to the Pratiharas (or Pariharas) of Bhinmal, to be challenged in turn by Rashtrakutas from the Deccan and Chandels from Mahoba, and broken by Mahmud of Ghazni.

C. 1000—1200, during which, the Ghaznavi cataclysm over, politics reverted to type, and power was fought for by Chandels, Palas, Paramaras of Malwa, Kalachuris of Chedi, Chalukyas of Gujarat, Senas of Bengal, Gaharwars of Benares and Chauhans of Delhi, till, in the last decade of XII A.D., the Ghori armies made a clean sweep of Hindu sovereignty right up to the borders of Assam.

It has been suggested that the "Hindu Period" should end at 1000 A.D. But, though the phase 1000—1200 is a clear cut interlude between the Ghaznavi and Ghori invasions, in character it belongs to the period which preceded it and not to that which followed. Muhammadan influence dates from the Arab invasion of Sind (712) or earlier; the Ghaznavi raids, it is true, brought the Panjab under Muslim rule, but the rest of N. India went on as before; politically the period 650—1200 A.D. is of uniform type, the new epoch begins with Muhammad Ghori.

III. The Period 1200—1500 covers the closing epoch of the Roman Empire and Mongol dominion in Asia. There are two phases, the tide turning in about 1350, when the Mings ousted the Mongols from China (1368) and the Ottomans displaced them in the West. In N. India the Delhi Sultanate, too, presents two phases; the ebb set in with the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq (d. 1351) and the disruption of his empire into the Provincial Sultanates of Kashmir, Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, Khandesh, and the Deccan Bahmanis.

In S. India the Medieval Period is more coherent. Apart from minor dynasties, which need not here be discussed, interest, in the period 650—1200, centres in the Chalukyas (Solankis) of the W. Deccan. Their history falls into three phases:

A. 550—753, during which the Chalukyas ruled at Badami (in Dharwar District in the S. of the present Bombay Presidency), and founded an Eastern Branch at Vengi (in the Kistna-Godavari deltaic plain).

B. 753—973, when the W. Chalukyas were eclipsed by the Rashtrakutas.

C. 973—1200, when the W. Chalukyas re-established their power and ruled from Kalyani (in Bidar District, Hyderabad).

In the first phase the Chalukyas were pitted against the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, in the second the Rashtrakutas established themselves in Gujarat also and penetrated even to Kanauj; their suzerainty was recognized generally by the States of the South, but the E. Chalukyas held their own; in the third phase the W. Chalukyas also ruled in Gujarat but in the S. and E. their power was successfully challenged by the Tamil Cholas, who in the course of XI A.D. coalesced with the E. Chalukyas and even penetrated to the Ganges Valley.

Disruption set in towards the close of XII A.D.; from 1162 to 1183 the sovereignty was usurped by the Kalachuris; their dominions were divided between (1) the Yadavas in the N.W., (2) the Kakatiyas in the N.E. and (3) the Hoysalas in the S.W., while the Cholas were

hard pressed by their Pandya feudatories and only saved from extinction by the intervention of the Hoysalas.

The Period 1200—1500 thus opens with S. India divided between four warring States. These lasted till the beginning of XIV A.D., when the armies of Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī of Delhi broke them. Out of the wreckage arose the Empire of Vijayanagar which held the Kistna against the Bahmani Sultans till 1500 and after.

Correlations, historical and cultural, between N. and S. India have not received the attention they deserve; events in the two areas are closely related. The Chalukyas and their successors in title had to fight on two fronts (North and South), and sometimes the East, too, was hostile. Pressure from the North meant weakness on the South front; weakness in the North invited a northward move, or in the alternative, left them free to press southwards.

Thus in 620 A.D. the Chalukyas had to meet an invasion by Harsha, and this gave the Pallavas their opportunity; they took it; in 642 A.D. they captured Badami and the Chalukyas for a few years ceased to exist. Then Harsha died (647) and his empire crumbled; the Chalukyas recovered and from 655 onwards the Pallavas were on the defensive; the date ±650 A.D. is the real turning point.

So too in 1350 A.D., when the disruption of the Tughlaq Empire enabled Vijayanagar to consolidate the South.

Another interesting feature of S. Indian history is the concurrent decadence of Chalukyas and Cholas in 1150—1200, a decline presumably born of prosperity. A like thing happened in the closing years of XV A.D. when both Vijayanagar and the Bahmanis were the prey of revolution. The Bahmani Empire split into five separate Sultanates. Vijayanagar recovered unity under its third and most famous dynasty.

The *Modern Period* from 1500 A.D. onwards covers the zenith and decline of the Ottoman Empire, the revival of Persia under the Safavids and of China under the Manchus, and the first serious intervention in world history of the States of W. Europe.

In India the Sultanates gave place to the Mughals, whose collapse led to the Great Anarchy of XVIII A.D., followed by the British Peace.

To recapitulate; the epochs selected are—

1. **EARLY:**

- I. Pre-Maurya or Saisunaga.
- II. The Mauryan Empire and its dismemberment.
- III. The Kushans.

2. **MEDIEVAL:**

- I. The Gupta Empire and its disruption.
- II. The Rajput Period in the North and the Chalukyan Period in the South.
- III. The Delhi Sultanate, its expansion and decline.

3. **MODERN:** Mughal and European.

This scheme is more than "dynastic"; it is a record of political growth and decay, and politics is a very vital branch of cultural history. The reflection of these vicissitudes on other branches of culture may be tested by a few examples.

II. Cultural Periods.

1. *Language.*

A. ARYAN:

Linguists recognise two periods in the evolution of Sanskrit, I "Vedic" and II "Classical"; and three in the evolution of the vernaculars, (Prakrits) Primary, Secondary and Tertiary. (*Imp. Gaz.* i. 360).

The crystallization of the Vedic language into Sanskrit was completed some time in the period 600—300 B.C.¹⁰

¹⁰ The process of standardization presumably covered a considerable period, during which archaic and literary forms were used side by side. It culminated in the grammar of Panini to whom the date 350—300 B.C. is usually assigned, though some put him as early as 500 B.C.

The "Primary Prakrits" belong to the Vedic Period. The "Secondary Prakrits" cover the period 550 B.C. to 1000 A.D. The "Tertiary Prakrits" are the modern vernaculars. Their phonetic and grammatical evolution is parallel to that of the modern Romance languages from Latin.

Roughly speaking, for general purposes Prakrits dominate the Early Period, Sanskrit the Medieval Period and the modern vernaculars the Modern Period. The period 1—300 A.D. may be regarded as "transitional." Thus Prakrit was the language in which the Buddha and Mahavira preached, the Buddhist and Jain canons were compiled and Asoka's edicts engraved. Sanskrit, presumably, was the language of the learned few, and it is not till about 150 A.D. that it appears in public documents. Thence onward the use of Sanskrit grew apace, till under the Guptas it was recognized as the literary *lingua franca* of India. The effect on the vernaculars was unhappy; to evade the stigma of vulgarity they were sanskritized.

The supremacy of Sanskrit was not seriously challenged till the period 1200—1500 A.D., when modern vernaculars entered the field of literature; by the end of that period they were firmly established.

In the Modern Period yet another element was added under Mughal influence; W. Hindi, the vernacular of the Upper Gangetic Valley was persianized, and in the form of Hindostani became the *lingua franca* of all N. and C. India.

B. DRAVIDIAN:

The chief Dravidian languages of the South (Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam) preserved their identity throughout, though the vocabularies of all except Tamil became heavily sanskritized during the Medieval Period.

2. Script.

Two alphabets were used throughout the Early Period, viz. (1) Kharoshthi, (2) Brahmi.

Kharoshthi is of Aramaic origin and confined mainly to N.W. India (and C. Asia), and was probably introduced by the Persians; it lingered on till V A.D. but left no descendants. Brahmi, the parent of most Indian alphabets, is of Phoenician type, perhaps brought by traders from Mesopotamia.

Asoka used both scripts; so did the Kushans. Of Brahmi, Asoka used two varieties; in the break-up of the Mauryan Empire Asoka's North types were carried on by the Mathura Satraps and the Kushans, his South types by the Malwa and Gujarat Satraps and the Andhras.

The Guptas failed to standardize; they used both North and South types in several varieties. Diversity persisted and the Medieval Period presents a bewildering variety of scripts, two or more of which are often used at a time in the same area. Up to 650 A.D. the art of writing was unstable; North and South characters were strangely mixed. In the Middle Medieval Period, however, things got more uniform, local varieties disappear and by 1000 A.D. Aryan India writes in some form or other of Nagari; Dravidian India either in Kanarese-Telugu, or Tamil-Grantha, or Tamil. By the end of the Medieval Period the scripts differ little from their present-day form.

The Arabic scripts of India also tell their tale. Two scripts, *Kufic* and *Nashh*, existed side by side in Islam till XIII A.D., when *Kufic* went out of use. Hence *Nashh* was the script of the Delhi Sultanate. Meanwhile (in XIV A.D.) *Nasta'liq* developed in Persia under Pahlavi influence. *Nasta'liq* [with its variant (*Shikasta*)] became the dominant script of the Mughals.¹¹

(To be continued.)

¹¹ *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 29.

BOOK-NOTICES.

FALAKI-I-SHIRWÂNÎ, HIS TIMES, LIFE AND WORKS,
by Hadi Hasan. James G. Furlong Fund.
Vol. VI. The Royal Asiatic Society. 1929.

This short fasciculus of 98 pages constitutes an introduction to an edition of the complete extant remains of an early Persian poet, who lived in the first half of the twelfth century and was a pupil of the great poet Khâqânî, who lived from 1106 to 1185 A.D. It is not possible to fix the date of birth or death of Falaki with any accuracy, but it is clear from Khâqânî's reference to him that he died young and that the date ordinarily accepted for his death (577 A.H.) is much too late. Like his master, Falaki was a court poet of the small principality of Shirwân or Sharwân, which lay between the Christian kingdom of Georgia and the Caspian Sea.

There is no preface or introduction to this little book. The reader is left without any information as to the personality of the author, who does not explain how and why his attention was attracted to the works, of no great quantity or quality, of a comparatively insignificant poet, who, like 'Umar Khayyâm, was primarily an astronomer. There can be no doubt, however, that Mr. Hadi Hasan (assuming this not to be a *nom de plume*) is a competent and trained scholar, with a thorough knowledge not only of the Persian language and literature but also of western methods of criticism and the use of manuscripts. He shows a marked interest in questions of history and particularly of chronology. Chronological points arising out of the poems are handled with great skill and acumen. The way in which it is proved that two particular odes of Falaki must have been written in the years 521 and 522 A.H. is most interesting and also quite convincing. On some historical points aid has been obtained from numismatics.

The text of Falaki as determined by the present editor consists of 1197 couplets, 70 more than are included in the longest extant collection, viz., that which is contained in a manuscript in the Munich library. This Munich *diwân* comprises 20 *qasidas* in alphabetical order, 3 *tarkib-bands*, one prison poem, 5 quatrains and some *ghazals* and fragments, amounting altogether to 1135 couplets. Three of these couplets, however, occur twice over, and if we subtract these and two couplets proved to belong to Shams-i-Tabriz (i.e., to Maulânâ Rûmî) and three attributable to Qatrân, a balance of 1127 is left.

In addition to the couplets found in the Munich *diwân*, a collection of 108 couplets attributed to Falaki has been made by the editor, mostly from two MS. copies of an anthology arranged by Taqi'ud-din Kâshî in 985 A.H., which are in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

This would have given an aggregate of 1235, but out of this one couplet has been omitted as assignable to Adib-i-Shâbir, and a whole prison-poem of 37 couplets attributed to Sa'd-i-Salmân has also been

excluded, leaving a balance of 1197, as previously mentioned.

From the poems of Falaki which have been quoted and translated by the editor in this introductory fasciculus, it is impossible to form a high opinion of Falaki's poetical merits. A fairer estimate of their value may perhaps be formed when the whole works are available *en masse*. This introduction is certainly a first-rate piece of work. The manner in which such diverse questions as the date of Falaki's death, his relations with Khâqânî, and the correct name of the Shirwân king who imprisoned Khâqânî—this is shown on metrical grounds combined with evidence from the Georgian chronicles to have been Akhsatân—and to whom Nizâmî dedicated his *Lailâ* and *Majnûn*, and many other debateable points have been handled, must command no small degree of admiration from those who are interested in Oriental scholarship.

R. P. DEWEHURST.

BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTREME
ORIENT, Tomes XXVI, XXVII. 11 x 7½; pp. 552
and 703. Hanoi, 1927 and 1928.

These Bulletins, replete with matter of value to all scholars interested in the Far East, maintain the high standard for which they are so widely known. Volume XXVI is dedicated to the memory of M. Charles Maybon, whose zealous and fruitful labours in various capacities were prematurely cut short in that year through a fatal accident when he was on leave in France. The contents include a French-Mân dictionary, being an important study of the language of the *Kim-di-mun*, 'the people who live at the foot of the mountains,' in Tonkin and the adjoining Chinese territory, by M. F. M. Savina of the *Société des Missions Étrangères* of Paris, and a selection of three Japanese lyrical dramas, with a translation of the Japanese text, a translation in French and numerous annotations by Lt.-Col. Renondeau. In addition to these longer articles, we have an interesting note by M. Henri Marchal on certain peculiar architectural features of the Nak Fan remains, not observable elsewhere in Cambodia, and a description of excavations at two sites at Quang-binh in Annam written by the late M. L. Aourousseau, whose sad death since we deeply deplore.

In volume XXVII Col. Renondeau continues his study of Japanese lyrical dramas, adding five more plays to those published in the preceding volume. The following article by M. Henri Parmentier forms the eighth of his series of *Notes on Indo-Chinese Archaeology* and deals with the modifications undergone by the Bayon in the course of its construction. In anticipation of a larger work which he contemplates, M. Parmentier sets forth in this article reasons for holding that the Bayon as extant differs from the edifice originally planned and that numerous religious elements of the decoration have been

altered, chiefly with a view to suppressing the Buddhistic features and substituting Śaivite forms. As will be remembered, this question has also been dealt with by Prof. L. Finot, as well as by M. P. Stern in his recent work on the Bayon and the Evolution of Khmer Art. We next find a very interesting account of the Tea Khmu, one of the mountaineer tribes scattered over Lai-châu and Phongsaly, by MM. Henri Roux and Tran-van-chu, illustrated by appropriate photographs, and concluding with a short Khmu vocabulary. Special attention may perhaps be directed to the scholarly and suggestive note by M. Victor Goloubew on the horse Balâha, the legend about which is the subject of a group of sculpture at Nak Pan, of bas-reliefs at the Bayon and at Barabudur in Java and Pagan in Burmah, of a panel on a Mathurâ railing in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and of a fresco in Cave XVII at Ajanta.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS. THE SAUNDARANANDA OF ĀSVAGHOṢA. CRITICALLY EDITED WITH NOTES BY E. H. JOHNSTON. xv + 175 pp. 8°. Published for the University of the Panjab, Lahore. Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1928.

The Panjab University Oriental Publications have hitherto brought us two very valuable works in new and thoroughly revised editions, viz., Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, edited by the late Todar Mall and Professor Macdonell, and Āsvaghōṣa's *Saundaranandakāvya*, edited by Mr. Johnston. The latter work has not been long known, and the only existing edition—that by MM. Haraprasad Shastri in the *Bibliotheca Indica*—in spite of its obvious merits, does not satisfy the craving for a real critical edition. Mr. Johnston has brought to this very difficult task his undoubted critical acumen and his most thorough acquaintance with the works of Āsvaghōṣa; and he has succeeded in giving us a text which is perhaps not perfect—for that were to ask for too much under the present circumstances—but as excellent as could with every right be expected.

Of manuscripts there are only two known, both belonging to the Library of H. H. the Mahārāja of Nepal. Of these, the old palm-leaf one is generally trustworthy but has, unfortunately, been much damaged in various ways and is now incomplete. The younger paper manuscript, dating probably from the eighteenth century, seems complete but is badly written and gives much material which cannot be used without being duly corrected. Beside the manuscripts, Mr. Johnston has also availed himself of the *editio princeps* as well as of several well-known papers by Speyer, Hultzsch, Gawronski, Professor Jacobi and other scholars. In this way he has constituted his text, which does undoubtedly contain obscure passages, but which can still be read rather fluently and with a fair amount of pleasure.

On a few minor points we should like, with due respect and diffidence, to differ from the learned editor; but these are points of very limited importance. Thus, e.g., in iv, 39, we ought undoubtedly to read with Gawronski *pradhydnasūnya sthira-niscaldkṣi* instead of "sthita" of the manuscripts. Likewise in v, 52, the conjecture of Hultzsch—*prad-pyamdneṣu*—alone seems correct. In i, 3, the second ca certainly must be superfluous; and there is a small number of very unimportant and easily corrected misprints, upon which we shall, of course, not enter here.

We allow ourselves sincerely to congratulate Mr. Johnston upon his undoubtedly great success as an editor of a very knotty text. If we be not misinformed, he is now preparing a translation of the *Saundarananda*, which will certainly be of great value and interest to his fellow-scholars. We express a hope that after achieving this task, Mr. Johnston will contemplate re-editing the *Buddhacarita*, which, in spite of Cowell's excellent edition, is in bad need of going through a thorough revision. No living scholar would be better prepared for such a task than is Mr. Johnston.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS, vol. III, Part IV, by RAO BAKA'DUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI. Pp. 441 to 480, with Preface, Introduction and Index to vol. III, pp. xvi + 22 + 44. Madras, 1929.

Chōlas and Pāṇdyas have been neighbours since the days of Aśoka. The frontier between them is marked by the group of hills that lie to the north of Madura and by the arid course of the (Southern) Vellār, which carries their storm water to the sea. More than once the Pāṇdyas pressed northwards into the fertile Kāvēri-fed Chōla-mandalam ("Coromandel"), and the Cholas, when in turn they pushed southwards, treated the Pāṇdyas with respect, and appointed "Pāṇḍya" governors to rule them.

The records of Pāṇḍya history are all too meagre, though the Pāṇḍya city of Madura was the home of Tamil literature. Of the pregnant period that preceded the rise of the Chōla Empire in the tenth century almost nothing was known till the discovery of the Vēlvikudi and Sinnamanūr Plates (1906-7). The former was edited by H. Krishna Sastri in vol. XVII of *Epigraphia Indica*, the latter is the main theme of this fourth (and last) part of vol. III of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Parts I and II of which were issued by Hultzsch in 1899 and 1903, Part III by Krishna Sastri in 1920.

Clearly and concisely Krishna Sastri tells how the Pāṇḍyas, during the pietist reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor, Amōghavarsha (814-877), advanced against Chōlas and Pallavas as far as the Ponnaiyār, fought stoutly in the plains which Clive and Lawrence afterwards made famous, till finally, after Amōghavarsha's death, the Chōlas took the Pāṇḍya capital, and broke their power.

Seven Chôla plates of minor interest are also published in this issue. In an Introduction to the completed volume Krishna Sastri sums up the history of the Chôlas down to the conquests of Râjendra I in the Ganges Valley and Sumatra. But the Preface, alas! is by another hand, for Krishna Sastri did not live to see this last work of his through the Press. In his ripe scholarship, and that of his predecessor, Venkayya, Hultzsch's labours have borne splendid fruit, and Krishna Sastri's death is a grievous loss to epigraphic research and to the many friends he was always so willing to help and advise.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, a successor of proved merit, has given the finishing touches to Krishna Sastri's work, and it is he who edits the minor Chôla plates.

F. J. RICHARDS.

GESETZBUCH UND PURĀṆA. (INDISCHE FORDSCHUNGEN begründet von A. HILLEBRANDT, in zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von B. LIEBICH. HEFT 7.) J. J. MEYER. xiii + 122 pp. 8°. Breslau, M. and H. Marcus, 1929.

Dr. J. J. Meyer, shortly after publishing his very bulky translation of the *Kautilya* and his important work, *Über das Wesen der indischen Rechtschriften*, has now produced still another volume dealing with the interrelations between Purāṇa and law-book in Ancient India. The work is mainly a polemic against Dr. H. Losch, who, in his thesis on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, tried to subvert the previous arguments of Dr. Meyer and to prove that the *Smṛiti* has been pieced together from fragments taken out of the Purāṇas, and that no individual authors of Hindu law-books existed.

Dr. Meyer pleads his cause in a spirited way, and his work as usual is full of learned and valuable information. Personally the present writer feels inclined to think that Dr. Meyer's arguments carry a good deal of weight and are, as a rule, of a stronger nature than those of his opponent. It is, therefore, a great pity that this book, like the previous one, should show a lack of proper arrangement and be couched in a language that is only partly understandable.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

FOLKTALES OF THE LAND OF IND, by MN. VENKATASWAMI with a foreword by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Madras Methodist Publishing House, 1927.

Mr. Venkataswami is a well-known student of Indian folktales, and has in this book given one more instalment of his efforts in preserving those to be found in Southern India. He states exactly the provenance of each tale, has classified his collection and has drawn up, evidently with much labour, an index of their contents which should be valuable to students. He has also added notes on points peculiar to India which require explanation. The book is thus of value to students in general.

The preface is somewhat grandiloquent for a book in English, but Sir N. Chandavarkar's foreword is frank and interesting. The story he tells of his childhood (p. xi) reveals a breadth of religious view on the part of purely Hindu parents, which should put to shame many a Christian teacher of childhood. Of the *Notes*, I select, for the benefit of readers of this journal, that on Gandharva Laws of Marriage (p. 17): In the absence of a priest the contracting parties enter a temple and in the presence of the deity garland themselves or throw wreaths of flowers on each other's neck and thus they are said to become man and wife in perfect legitimate manner. The right of contracting Gandharva marriages is vested in royal personages, and this too only permitted in the absence of priests.

Altogether the book is not one to be lightly set aside by the student.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LES CHANTS MYSTIQUES DE KĀṆHA ET DE SARAHĀ.

LES DOHĀ KOṢA (en apabhraṃśa, avec les versions tibétaines) et LES CARYĀ (en vieux-bengali) avec introduction, vocabulaires et notes éditées et traduites par M. SHAHIDULLAH. xii + 234 pp. 8°. Paris, 1928.

Scholars interested in the study of religion, as well as in that of philology, will feel thankful to Mr. Shahidullah for providing them with an edition, with introductory and explanatory notes, of these interesting mystic songs of Kāṇha and Sarahā. The *Dohā-Koṣa* are the only Buddhist texts in Apabhraṃśa that have so far become known, and their importance has been pointed out in brief already by Professor Jacobi.¹

To call these works Buddhist is, of course, scarcely correct, for what they preserve of the old doctrine of the followers of the Enlightened One is next to nothing. It is more suitable to speak of them as Tantric; and their vocabulary, as explained by Mr. Shahidullah (p. 9 sq.), is of the specifically Tantric trend which may well evoke interest, but which is mainly—like the doctrines it is used to interpret—of a very repulsive nature. However, in the history of Indian (and Tibetan) religion, *Tantra* has played and is playing a great rôle. And no one interested in the manifold developments of what, for want of a better name, we persist in calling Hinduism, can venture wholly to look away from it, unsavoury though it be from every point of view.

The grammatical parts of Mr. Shahidullah's work are sound and full of interest. With his etymological suggestions we are not always at one, but, having found opportunity to go into some detail elsewhere,² we shall not enter upon that thorny subject here. On the whole Mr. Shahidullah is to be congratulated for having achieved a good and sound piece of work.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ *Op. Smakumdracarita*, p. xxvii.

² In a review shortly to be published in *Le Monde Oriental*.

NOTES ON KHOTAN AND LADAKH.

(From a Tibetan point of view.)

By PROF. A. H. FRANCKE, PH.D.

(Continued from vol. LVIII, p. 152.)

IV.

The End of Buddhism in Turkestan.

After the year 745 A.D., when the Uigurs had beaten the other Turkish tribes, who were related to them, their power increased in Central Asia. It was only balanced by that of the Tibetans, who were, however, soon weakened by their internal religious wars, which became disastrous when king Ral-pa-can was murdered by his brother Glañ-dar-ma, and when Buddhists and Bonpos fought for the supremacy. These quarrels lasted till c. 840 A.D. and robbed Tibet of her entire power, so that Turkestan became an easy prey to the Turks.

As regards Islām, it had been at the gates of the country since the eighth century, but not before the middle of the tenth century, when the ruler of Kashgar accepted its doctrines, did it become a danger. Then large portions of Turkestan were conquered by the Muhammadan Turks: Yarkand, Khotan, Kuchā, and finally the most eastern territories. That was the time of emigration of the Turkestan Buddhists into India and Tibet. It apparently started in the days of Glañ-dar-ma, and continued during the tenth and eleventh centuries, coming to an end about the year 1200 A.D. It had two principal phases: the first was the enmity of the Bonpos to the Buddhists in the ninth century, and the second the enmity of the Muhammadans to the Buddhists in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This emigration is referred to in the prophecies of Li-yul and Gośringa. Rockhill gives an extract about it in his *Life of the Buddha*. It was found also embodied in the list of kings of Khotan, evidently in the wrong place, and had to be taken out of the context and treated as a separate chapter.

Rockhill's story (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 240 f.) is somewhat as follows: 1500 years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, there was a king of Khotan, who was an unbeliever and persecuted the priests. Irreligious ministers and other enemies confiscated the buildings of the Buddhists, and so the congregation assembled in the Thsar-ma Monastery and resolved to emigrate. After a number of miracles, Vaiśravaṇa, in the shape of a white ox, led the emigrants to Thsal-byi, whence a message was sent to the king of Tibet, who at the time was the seventh successor to the king who had introduced Buddhism into Tibet. His wife was a Chinese princess, a Koñ-jo. The king of Tibet invited them to come, and they soon arrived at Bru-shal or Gilgit. There they were joined by more emigrants from An-tse (Kuchā), Shu-lig (Kashgar), Tokara (near Kuchā), Gilgit and Kashmir. In Bru-shal they were told that the king of Tibet was a Bodhisattva. They went to him, and lived for three years in peace in Tibet. Then an epidemic broke out in the country, which carried off many people. Even the queen was seized by it and died. The king thereupon ordered the emigrants to leave the country. At first they went to Gandhāra, where they became witnesses of the murder of the king by his brother, similar to that of Ral-pa-can. Finally they went to Central India, where they came to rest.

Rockhill, in searching for the Tibetan king who lived seven generations after Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, came to the conclusion that he must be Ral-pa-can, although there is no evidence that this king was married to a Chinese princess. This king might certainly have welcomed Buddhist emigrants; but, as he could not be credited with turning them out after a stay of three years only, Rockhill decided that this unfriendly act was executed by his murderer and successor, Glañ-dar-ma.

Now let us leave Rockhill, and let us try to explain matters from a Tibetan point of view. As regards Tibet, the first great persecution of Buddhists certainly took place under Glañ-dar-ma, the Bonpo, c. 814 A.D. Although it was started in Tibet, it may have passed over to Turkestan; for in those days Turkestan was a province of the Tibetan empire. If we examine the names of the Tibetan officers and soldiers stationed in Turkestan at that time, we notice that Buddhist names are very rare among them. Most of the names are of

the Bonpo type, and, as the Bonpos were fierce enemies of the Buddhist cause, it is only natural that they should have destroyed Buddhist sanctuaries not only in Tibet, but in Turkestan as well. These Bonpos may also have tried to seduce from Buddhism the authorities of Turkestan, the kings of Khotan and Kashgar. How far they succeeded in this attempt, we do not know. But, as it is stated in the prophecies that "there came up a king, who was not a believer," that idea may not be without foundation. Although it is very difficult in the case of the Turkestan ruins to fix the date of their destruction, Sir Aurel Stein as well as Dr. von Lecoq believe in the probability of a number of buildings being destroyed a long time before the Musulmans entered the country.

The second period of devastation is that connected with the Musulman conquest between the tenth and the twelfth centuries; and that the writer of the Khotan prophecies knew of those times also is plainly shown by his account of the emigration. He says that the Buddhist emigrants not only came from Turkestan, but from Kashmîr and Gilgit as well, and such an emigration from these last countries is only known to have occurred in Muhammadan times. The country they went to is not Lhasa-Tibet, but Ladakh or Western Tibet, Lhasa-Tibet was in a state of rebellion and turmoil for several centuries after Glan-dar-ma, while Western Tibet was not only at rest and in prosperity, but was then enjoying the second establishment of Buddhism within its limits. The Guge kings are well known as heralds of the Buddhist cause, and the inscription of Tabo shows plainly that the kings of Leh were united with them in the same aim.

Let us now turn our attention to the repeated statement of the prophecies, that the king of Tibet of the time of the emigration was a Bodhisattva. It is interesting to note that one of the Ladakhî kings of those times actually had the name of Bodhisattva (Byan-chub-sems-dpâ). He was a cousin of the Guge king Byan-chub-'od, together with whom he is mentioned in the Tabo inscription. Byan-chub-'od in 1038 A.D. invited Atîsa to Tibet, and this circumstance led to a great revival of Buddhism in that country. This period is occasionally referred to as that of the second introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, as stated before. We learn from the contemporary Tabo inscription that Byan-chub-sems-dpâ of Leh was then "the great king," and Byan-chub-'od of Guge was his vassal. Both monarchs seem to have taken orders, and on that occasion they may have received their Buddhist names.

The popular tradition of Ladakh has much to tell about the immigration of Kashmîr monks into Ladakh in those days, and of the erection of several monasteries.⁹ And it may be that the report of the turning out of the Buddhists after a stay of only three years is not without foundation; for although the rulers may have wished to lodge all the exiled Buddhists within their territories, the productive power of the country did not allow them to keep them all. Even nowadays, the government of Kashmîr, in co-operation with the British Indian government, is obliged to limit the number of visitors to Ladakh each summer. If that were not done, the many European visitors to Ladakh would soon cause a famine. So it is quite probable that in the eleventh century the multitude of Buddhist exiles from Turkestan, Kashmîr, Gilgit (and even the Panjâb) was greater than it was possible to feed in Ladakh; and the outbreak of an epidemic may have been used as a plausible reason for turning the greater part out again.

After the rigorous introduction of Islâm into Turkestan, the country deteriorated in many respects, but the influence of Chinese culture made itself felt again. This is shown by the numerous Chinese coins dating from c. 1000-1200 A.D., which are found at so many ruined sites in Turkestan. This has also been shown by our table of collected Chinese coins. Muhammadan coins are much rarer in Turkestan. As regards Buddhism and Christianity, they seem to have lingered on in poor health for some time in Turkestan, and in the days of Timûr they came to a sudden and tragical end.

As regards remains dating from these times of persecution and emigration, besides the coins mentioned above, there is not much to be shown. Paper scraps with Arabic writing are occasionally found among old Tibetan and Śākya rubbish, but these have not yet

⁹ See Lha-luñ temple, M.A.S.I., No. 39, p. I.

प		pra	पु
ग		bha	भ
च		ma	म
ज		ma	मा
झ		yo	या
त	तु	ro	र
ता	ता	va	व
ठा		vā	वा
द		śa	श
दा		śa	शं
धा	प	hā	हा
नि	नि	[hya]	[ह्य]

INDIAN CHARACTERS ON CLAY TABLETS FROM LEH. CONTAINING A
YE-DHARMA FORMULA.
(Circa 1000 A.D.)

Dr. Spitzer script.

been made an object of earnest study. But a few antiquities which come from the Ladakh side may prove to be of interest. The pilgrims from Turkestan and Kashmîr apparently brought their matrices for clay tablets, to be used at burials, with them and used them in their new Ladakhî home; and it is remarkable how many clay tablets found in Ladakh are covered with writing. In many cases this writing is not Tibetan, but an Indian script of the tenth or eleventh century. On the accompanying plate, Dr. Spitzer has collected all the Indian characters found on such tablets as come from the vicinity of Leh. As Bübler's tables show, the characters are those of c. 1000 A.D. The similarity of type and design of the tablets becomes noticeable on a comparison of some of the Leh originals with those represented in *Serindia*.

V.

Nubra-Khapulu.

When going to India from Turkestan, most people go by way of Yarkand. The Buddhist teacher, who is said to have taken that route from Roruka, probably also passed through that town. But as the ancient trade road lay a little to the north of the present route, the then caravanserai of Yarkand may also have been situated a little to the north of the present town. The town of Roruka has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein with Phimo or a place near by (Ho-lao-lo-chia). This is the locality where, according to Hsüan-tsang, as well as in popular tradition, the great rain of sand and jewels took place, which buried the town, whose sinful people had once covered a holy man with sand and earth, playing him a bad joke. This is one of the places of Turkestan where local tradition is in agreement with the *Divyâvadâna* tale of Roruka. Another identification is more of iconographic interest. In the treasure caves at Qyzil near Kuchâ is found a picture representing king Rudrâyana of Roruka with his wife dancing before him. (See picture No. 34 in E. Wadschmidt's *Gandhâra*.) This shows that this legend was well known in those parts of Turkestan. Now a place a little to the north-east of Yarkand is, according to my opinion, connected with another tale of the Roruka legend. When I was in Yarkand in 1914, I asked the Aksakals if they had any information of remains of Buddhist antiquities in the vicinity. They said that there was a site with ruins in the desert between Yarkand and Karghalik, which had been visited by several travellers, among them Sir George Macartney; but none of them had found anything besides an old pair of leather boots. Each disappointed archaeologist had apparently buried this pair of boots again when he discovered them, and this may account for the fact that his successor had the same surprise again. This tale of the Aksakals I had almost forgotten when I was reminded of it by my study of the Roruka tale in the *Kanjur*. There we read that the teacher Mahākātyāyana had made up his mind to visit India. When he was on the way to the Sindhu, a goddess, who had her abode on the northern road, asked him to leave her a keepsake, that she might worship it. Then Mahākātyāyana remembered the following words, once pronounced by the Buddha: "In the middle land people can do without boots (*pula*) furnished with leather-straps!" Thinking of this, he made a present of his boots to the goddess. The latter ordered a sanctuary to be erected for them, which became known by the name of Pulasthandila (*lham-gyi-gzhi*). It is probably this "boots-sanctuary" which was found by all these travellers on the old Yarkand-Karghalik road. As regards the kind of boots buried here, we have a nice illustration of them in *Ancient Khotan*, plate LXI. The boots shown in this picture are of the same kind as the boots worn nowadays in Turkestan. They are much used on long rides in winter.

When travelling to Ladakh by way of Yarkand, the first country with traces of cultivation reached after a long march of nearly 20 days across the Kuen-lun, Karakorum, the Dabzang-plain and the Sa-ser glacier, is Nubra. The name of this province is Tibetan and means 'western district.' [The name occurs already in a document of the eighth century excavated in Turkestan (MI. IV, 8).] It is interesting that many local names on the road, right up to the Nubra valley, are of Turkish origin, e.g., Karakorum, Gumbas, Chung-tash, Koroldawan. Also the Tibetan speaking inhabitants of Nubra are, according to Dr. K. Marx,

all able to understand a certain amount of Turkish. This is due to the Yarkand-Ich road which leads through this province of Ladakh.

As popular tradition has it, in former days Nubra formed part of Baltistán. This may be correct. As Nubra is situated on the Shayog river and on a tributary to the same, it may have formed part of the principality of Khapulu, which is found in the lower valley of the Shayog; but Khapulu also was a vassal state of the Ladakh kingdom, at least during the last centuries of this empire. In earlier times Khapulu seems to have been independent and a dangerous rival of Ladakh. That was in the days of the famous king Stobs-yab-sgo-pa, who is called Sultân Yagu in Cunningham's list of Khapulu kings. [Yagu developed from the Tibetan *Yab-sgo (pa)*.] In Cunningham's list Sultân Yagu is placed eighteen generations before Sultân Bairâm, who can be dated, and belongs to the sixteenth century. Eighteen generations would mean about six centuries, so that we should have to place him in the tenth century. This king Stobs-yab-sgo-pa is also found named in the *Zaṅs-dkar Chronicle*. There he appears as the robber of the queen, and is placed in those early days when Zaṅs-dkar was still part of the Kashmir state, that is previous to 1000 A.D. In a popular song (see *Ind. Antiquary*, 1909, Ten Ancient Historical Songs, No. IV), we hear of Yab-sgo-pa's victory over the Ladakhis on the shores of Lake Mon-dur. This lake, which was not yet identified when this song was published, can be located now. It is the lake Thso-mo-ri-ri (Tsomorari on the map) of Rub-cu. On the lake is situated the solitary monastery of Dkor-mdzod, and in its vicinity are found ancient graves called *mon-dur*, that is 'graves of the Mons' (Indian mountain tribes). About one point we may be certain. In the days of old king Yab-sgo-pa the religion of the principality of Khapulu, including that of Nubra, was Buddhism. When Islâm entered Baltistán we do not know for certain, but it appears that it did not enter all parts of the country at the same time.

From the first part of the sixteenth century we have, however, some little information. At that time Khapulu was ruled by Sultân Bairâm, who lived occasionally in Nubra, where he left an inscription, in which he is called Bhagram-mir. Going by this name, he was apparently a confessor of Muhammadanism. In Nubra he was suddenly overtaken by the Turkomans (c. 1532 A.D.) who had crossed the Karakorum range and the Sa-ser pass. He had to choose between taking their side or giving up his rule altogether. He elected to take the former course, and as Bahram Chu (Jo) he showed them the way to the principality of Shigar. Thus we read in Mirzâ Haidar's *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî*. At this point the history of Nubra seems to branch off from the history of Khapulu. Khapulu as well as its chief, Sultân Bairâm, became entirely Muhammadan, whilst Nubra under Thse-dbañ-brtan-pa and, after him, under the Ladakhi kings, remained Buddhist. That this Mughal invasion of Khapulu took place about the time when it changed its religion, is further indicated by the age of the principal mosque of Khapulu, Chag-Chang, which is believed to be 400 years old. (See Miss Duncan's *Summer Ride*, pp. 200-239.) Thse-dbañ-brtan-pa was apparently one of the last native rulers of Nubra and, probably, of Khapulu origin. His name is found in an inscription from Shun-dar (Hundar), where also his son, Mgon-po-rnam-rgyal, is mentioned. Later inscriptions give only the names of Ladakhi kings, who made Nubra their summer resort and called it Ldum-ca, or 'fruit-garden.' The first Ladakhi king who paid a long visit to Nubra was Grags-pa-'abum (1400-1440 A.D.), the founder of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty of Ladakh. His name is found in an inscription at Khyuñ-rdzoñ-mkhar, the castle of Shun-dar.

The principality of Khapulu remained in the hands of the Ladakhi kings when it had become Muhammadan. Every now and then, the Chief of Khapulu was attacked by one or other of the Balti tribes during the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and in every case he promptly applied to the Ladakhis for help. (See *Minor Chronicles*, XVI, XVII.)

At first sight it may appear astonishing that the valley of the Shayog river was divided so distinctly into a Muhammadan and a Buddhist half. The reason for this fact may be found in the character of the road along the Shayog river from east to west, which, after

leaving Nubra, is so bad that hardly anybody can venture to travel on it : it is hardly ever used nowadays. In spite of this difficulty of communication between Nubra and Khapulu proper, Muhammadanism has ventured on another raid into Nubra, and has been successful in one respect. It has conquered the lowest castes of inhabitants of Nubra, viz., the castes of the blacksmiths and musicians. They have become adherents of the Shia sect. These people dress quite differently from the rest of the population of Nubra. The hair of the men is no longer plaited into a long pigtail, but allowed to hang down over the ears at half length, similar to the modern custom of European ladies. Also the cap worn by the musicians is that of the Baltis. As Nubra has got this little touch of Muhammadanism, Khapulu has also preserved a few relics of its former Buddhism. Let me mention first of all the telescopic trumpets, which are found in all Lamaistic monasteries. They were not abandoned in Khapulu, when the state became Muhammadan, but were kept up and used at every festivity of whatever character. Then when Dr. de Filippi visited this country, he found there the ruins of stoves for burning the dead. This custom also was given up on the change of religion, for the Muhammadans bury their dead. It is very probable that on proper search several inscriptions of the Lamaistic formula *Om-maṇi-padme-hum* will be found in Khapulu, as have actually come to light at the neighbouring town of Khar-maṇ : but up to the present nobody has searched the country properly.

A still further attack of the Muhammadans on Nubra was made at a later date, viz., during the reign of king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, in the first part of the sixteenth century. The mother of this king, the daughter of the Balti chief 'Alī Mīr Sher Khān, who had married 'aJam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, remained Muhammadan all her lifetime. She is credited with the erection of three mosques : (1) one in Leh, (2) one in Tiñ-mo-sgañ and (3) one in Sñun-dar (Hundar) in Nubra. This queen died when on a visit to Nubra, and was buried in front of her own mosque. The peasant who had to look after the grave became a Buddhist in later years. This did not hinder him from performing his duties, and he regularly lighted the lamp inside the mosque. But after his death decay set in, and the mosque soon became a heap of ruins, when suddenly in 1918, the Muhammadans of Sñun-dar (the musicians) woke up to their duty, and rebuilt the mosque.

When I travelled through the Nubra valley in 1914, I found no antiquities of importance until I entered the side valley of mKhar-gsar ('new castle'), below mKhar-rdzoñ. (All the inscriptions mentioned above had already been traced by some of my Tibetan friends on former visits to the valley.) This place (mKhar-gsar) is situated on a little brook, a tributary of the Shayog, and consists of four farms nowadays. As the site round about the houses is filled up with extensive ruins of *stūpas*, visitors are led to believe that here must be the site of a former Buddhist establishment of some importance. Besides the *stūpas*, there were several graves, and we noticed that many of the *stūpas* were filled with Buddhist clay tablets inscribed with an ancient type of Indian characters, which date from early mediæval times. As stated above, these tablets may point to the period of emigration of Buddhist monks from Turkestan, Kashmir and India. My companion, Dr. Körber, took several photos of this interesting site. I never heard of the fate of these pictures, and was highly astonished to find them as illustrations in Laufer's *Milaraspa*, published in the *Folkwang Verlag*.

One local name found in Nubra, and mentioned above, is of historical importance ; it is the name of the town of Sñun-dar (Hundar). The word *sñun-dar* or *sñon-dar* is found in the report of the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. There it is stated that the times from Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po to Glañ-dar-ma, viz., 600-830 A.D., are called *sñun-dar* or 'first spread' of Buddhism. Then follows a period of downfall and persecution. After the year 1000 A.D., when Atiśa visited Tibet, follows a period called *phyi-dar* or 'later spread' (of Buddhism). The local name of Sñun-dar, found in Nubra, seems to testify to the fact that Buddhism was introduced here during the times of the first spread of Buddhism.

(To be continued.)

SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ.

By PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D., UPSALA.

I.

THE Bhagavadgītā since a very remote period occupies a high position among the sacred books of the Hindus. Of native commentaries, composed by more or less famous authors from the great Śaṅkara onwards, there is certainly no lack; and modern scholars, European, Hindu, and American, have produced an astounding mass of books and papers dealing with this famous text from various points of view.¹ However, many problems connected with the Bhagavadgītā still remain unsolved, and there is not even unity of opinion among scholars concerning the elementary questions of the origin and development of the poem. Such being the case, it may perhaps be pardonable if a scholar who, like the present writer, can lay claim to no special authority on problems of this wide scope, still ventures a few remarks on some of them. It goes without saying that no final solutions will probably be reached within the scope of the following scanty pages; however, a few scattered remarks will perhaps not be found altogether without value. It also goes without saying that of all literature, ancient and modern, connected with the Bhagavadgītā only very little can be taken into account here. That a certain book or paper is not quoted in the following pages does not, however, necessarily mean, that it has not come under the writer's perusal.² These short preliminary remarks may serve alike as an explanation of, and an excuse for, the pages that follow.

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To the Indian commentators, quite naturally, the problem of the original shape of the Bhagavadgītā does not present itself. To them it has always been a text of great authority and sanctity, an *upaniṣad* (as it styles itself) or a *smṛti*,³ and there could, of course, be no question of criticising it according to the principles of European scholarship. Already at a very early time a completely uniform text of the Gītā with next to no *variae lectiones* had been established; and although we now know, thanks to the learned investigations of Professor F. O. Schrader, that there does really exist another and more extensive text of the poem, this one does not seem to have played any important part with the Hindu *pandits* of yore.⁴ Textual problems as we know them scarcely exist in India; and they would, of course, be totally non-existent in the case of a text enjoying the enormous authority of the Gītā.

The Bhagavadgītā, through the translation of Sir Charles Wilkins (1785)⁵ became known in Europe during the very infancy of Sanskrit studies, and soon evoked great interest and admiration. In 1823 A. W. von Schlegel edited a critical text of the poem together with a Latin translation, which is still perhaps the best one available.⁶ And in 1826 there appeared a paper by the great Wilhelm von Humboldt, entitled *Ueber die unter dem Namen*

¹ A good and fairly complete bibliography is found in the preface of the Dutch translation of the Bhagavadgītā by Boissvain (3rd ed., 1919).

² It seems, however, unfortunate that I have not had access to a paper by Mr. D. S. Sarma in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. iii, pt. i, entitled *One of the Sources of the Bhagavadgītā*.

³ According to the commentaries, the author of the *Brahmasūtras* considered the Bhagavadgītā to be a *smṛti*. To this question we shall return presently.

⁴ Cp., however, Schrader, *Festgabe R. von Garbe*, p. 178 f.

⁵ This translation is generally said to have been the first one of a Sanskrit work printed in Europe. That, however, is scarcely quite correct, as already the well-known book by Abt. Roger *De Open-deure tot het verborgen Heydendom* (1661, reprinted by Professor Caland in 1915) contained, as an appendix, a translation of the *Vairāgya-* and *Nīti-Sādhana*. Translations from Sanskrit that were possibly made by Jesuit Fathers have so far not been published.

⁶ Schlegel's edition was extensively reviewed by several scholars, amongst others by Langlois, J.A., iv, 105 f., 236 f.; v, 240 f.; vi, 232 f. Against this rather severe and partial review Schlegel defended himself (J.A., ix, 3 f.), and he was strongly defended by von Humboldt, *Ind. Bibl.*, ii, 219 f., 328 f.

Bhagavadgītā bekannte Episode des *Mahābhārata*, which is still not only readable but one of the most important that has hitherto been published on the subject of the *Gītā*.⁷

Humboldt, apart from his philosophical remarks, which may here be left alone, made some sagacious observations on the original shape of the work (p. 46 f.). That it was from the beginning divided into chapters or cantos seemed to him a natural conclusion. He found, however, that the poem could be brought to a perfectly befitting end by stopping with the eleventh canto and adding to this the verses xviii, 63—78. Canto xviii again, according to him, marks no real stop, as after it there might as well follow any number of chapters. Humboldt also called attention to the obvious differences that prevail between cantos i—xi on the one hand and xii—xviii on the other.

These sagacious observations have, however, been generally left unnoticed. During the eighty years that passed between the publication of Humboldt's paper and the first edition of Garbe's translation (1905) but little was suggested concerning the original shape of the *Gītā*. Thus Weber⁸ regarded the poem as having been patched together from various pieces, and Holtzmann⁹ forty years later (1893) was not averse to the suggestion that the *Bhagavadgītā* had undergone more than one redaction. Hopkins¹⁰ also found that the *Gītā* had "clearly been rewritten by a modernising hand," and that on the ground of its contents and metre alike. And Deussen,¹¹ to depart slightly from the chronological order, found that the *Gītā* had been put together from three fairly equal pieces, viz., an ethical one (cantos i—vi), a metaphysical one (cantos vii—xii), and a psychological one (cantos xiii—xviii). Probably no one with the exception of Deussen himself ever felt fully convinced that such could have been the case.

But of the efforts to divide up the whole of the *Bhagavadgītā* into widely differing parts none has become more famous than that of the late Professor Garbe.¹² His theories are too well known to need any detailed repetition. He sees in the present *Gītā* the result of two quite different redactions: in the old and original one the cult of the supreme God Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu is based on the philosophical system of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, while the later redaction tries to graft upon this uniform and logical exposition the pantheistic doctrines of the Vedānta. Thus this curious jumble of discrepancies and illogical arguments resolves itself into what is really two different works. To Garbe, who cherished these opinions, the quite obvious conclusion was that it would be possible to divide the poem into these two different parts. And consequently we find that in his translation he printed with different styles the original part and the Vedantic additions of the poem. The result of this analysis is that out of the 700 verses of the *Gītā*, 170 are rejected as being later additions. Garbe, of course, does not claim absolute authority for his statements, and he willingly admits that there may still be some verses that have escaped his criticism.

Several scholars expressed their unhesitating acceptance of Garbe's theories; and the present writer well remembers that at one time, shortly after he had commenced his Sanskrit studies, they were quite fashionable. The scholar who gave his most unreserved applause to them was one of great authority, viz., Professor Winternitz.¹³ Not only was he quite at one with Garbe in rejecting those 170 verses, but he wanted to delete from the original poem another 200 verses, which seemed to him to be of a later date. However, his otherwise most sound judgment seems momentarily to have left him, when he looks upon the dry and

⁷ This paper has been printed in the *Abh. d. hist.-phil. Klasse d. Kgl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1826, pp. 1-64.

⁸ *Cp. Ind. Stud.*, ii, 394.

⁹ *Cp. Das Mahābhārata und seine Teile*, ii, 163 f.

¹⁰ *The Great Epic of India*, p. 234 f.; *cp. also* p. 225, and Garbe, *Die Bhagavadgītā*, p. 24, n. 1.

¹¹ *Cp. Der Gesang des Heiligen, eine philosophische Episode des Mahābhārata* (1911).

¹² *Cp. Die Bhagavadgītā aus dem Sanskrit überetzt mit einer Einleitung über ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt, ihre Lehren und ihr Alter* (1905; 2nd ed., 1921); *cp. also Indien und das Christentum* (1914), p. 228 f.

¹³ *Cp. VOJ*, xxi, 194 f.

uninspiring canto xii as being the very acme of Gītā poetry, while the sublime canto xi appears to him to be quite miserable trash. We feel sorry to admit that in this case Professor Winternitz's arguments seem to us just as little conclusive and convincing as those proffered by Garbe himself.

However, Garbe's theory did not meet with acceptance from all sides. Opposition came from scholars of very great authority, such as Oldenberg and Professor Jacobi, an opposition upon which we shall shortly dwell.

Oldenberg, in an article called *Bemerkungen zur Bhagavadgītā*,¹⁴ somewhat strongly criticised the theories of Garbe from two different points of view. He himself, like some other scholars,¹⁵ has made it highly probable that there existed once an older *śeṣvara sāmkhya*, which did not deny the existence of *brahman*, the Universal Soul. The argumentation of Oldenberg as usual shows his brilliant *sens commun*, and we cannot abstain from quoting the following words, which ought to be carefully borne in mind by every scholar concerned with Indian modes of thought: "Trifft dies¹⁶ zu, so entfällt damit die Möglichkeit, aus dem Durcheinandergehen von Äusserungen, welche die charakteristische Sprache des Sāmkhya reden und von Bekenntnissen zum Brahman auf Übereinanderlagerung verschiedener Schichten zu schliessen. Wer diesen Schluss sieht, scheint mir allzusehr in den Anschauungen der grossen klassischen Lehrtexte und der Polemiken, die in späterer Zeit zwischen Sāmkhya und Vedānta hin und her gingen, befangen zu sein, das fertig entwickelte in die Zeit, wo die Entwicklung noch im Fliessen war, zu übertragen." Oldenberg also emphasizes the need of carefulness in suggesting the existence of an original *nirīśvara yoga*. We should like to add that the very nature of the Yoga appears to us totally to preclude such a supposition.¹⁷

However, Oldenberg also attacked Garbe's theories in detail, proving by numerous examples that the verses rejected by this scholar did often destroy the connection of ideas pervading different cantos, and that consequently this method of rejecting all the verses savouring of Vedānta could only lead to further confusion.¹⁸ It seems to the present writer that everyone who carefully reads through the original text together with Garbe's translation can only whole-heartedly subscribe to this criticism by Oldenberg. To quote only one instance which has been partly touched upon by Oldenberg; Garbe rejects the verse iv, 24:

brahmārpaṇam brahma havir brahmāgnau brahmaṇā hutam |
brahmaiva tena gantavyam brahmakarmasamādhinā ||

but wants to keep the following one (iv, 25);

daivam evāpare yajñam yoginaḥ paryupāsate |
brahmāgnāv āpare yajñam yajñenaivopajuhvati ||

This, of course, is pure assumption; but it becomes even worse when we find that in the translation the first *brahmāgnau* is rendered by: "das Brahman ist im Opferfeuer," while the second one is said to mean: "in dem Feuer der Heiligkeit"! The following verses (iv, 26—30), which describe various kinds of sacrifices, are all preserved by Garbe, who, however, rejects the concluding one (iv, 32):

evam bahuvīdhā yajñā vitatā brahmaṇo mukhe |
karmajān viddhī tān sarvān evaṃ jñātvā vimokṣyase ||

A method which operates in this way seems to me worse than no method at all.

¹⁴ *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1919, p. 321 f.

¹⁵ Cp. Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden*, p. 206 f.; *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1917, p. 218 f., as well as Dahmann, *Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie*, p. 5, and Edgerton, *A. J. Phil.*, xiv, p. 7 f.

¹⁶ Viz., the suggested existence of the *Śeṣvara Sāmkhya*.

¹⁷ Cp. also Jacobi, *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 721 f.

¹⁸ Oldenberg admits that the vv. iii, 9-18, which contain the general theory of sacrifice, may possibly be an interpolation. This may be possible, or even probable, but not on the grounds adduced by Garbe. Cp. also Jacobi, *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 720 f.

If, however, Oldenberg's criticism must needs evoke our consent, his own reconstruction of the original Bhagavadgītā would scarcely do so to the same degree. After all, Oldenberg finds that the first great part of the poem ends with canto vi. and the second with canto xii, while the last six cantos are to him obviously a later addition.¹⁹ His arguments, and seemingly also his results, are different from those of Deussen; but on the whole he has, like him, divided up the poem in an unnatural and nowise convincing way.

After the issue of Garbe's second edition Professor Jacobi published a review of his book, which drew from the translator a somewhat spirited reply and gave rise to still more articles from the two combatants.²⁰ The arguments, however, are chiefly of a philosophical nature and cannot be repeated here. All that can be said is that Professor Jacobi, with his unsurpassed mastery of the later philosophical *sūtras*, has made out a seemingly strong case for himself but which would scarcely be very convincing to anyone who did not for other reasons doubt the validity of Garbe's theories. The latter scholar's first reply seems rather happy, and he is, for example, no doubt right in his suggestion that the date of the Brahmasūtras cannot be fixed with any certainty in the way attempted by Professor Jacobi. The two last contributions to the discussion, however, are mainly a display of learning, which in this case can lead to no tangible result.

Garbe's theory of a theistic (Sāṃkhya) and a pantheistic²¹ (Vedānta) Bhagavadgītā that have been melted into one can scarcely be refuted on purely historical reasons, as we are too fragmentarily informed of the chronological interrelations of the various philosophical systems. And the judgment of his method in rejecting or preserving verses will always be purely subjective, although to an unbiassed mind it seems obvious that he has rather spoilt the text than restored it. However, Garbe's argumentation, of course, presupposes that Sāṃkhya (Yoga) and Vedānta existed as real philosophical systems at the time of the first and second redaction of the Bhagavadgītā. For, only if they did exist as such and are, within the text of the Gītā, discernible as such, can there be any talk of separating the special tenets of each philosophical system in the way that Garbe has tried to do it. That this is not the case has, however, been proved in an incontrovertible way by Professor Edgerton in an excellent article,²² which has attracted by far too little attention. We shall allow ourselves to quote a few conclusive words from that (p. 5 f.), words that prove without possibility of refutation the exact state of things as far as the Gītā is concerned: '*Nowhere*²³ is there a suggestion that it²⁴—or Yoga either—means any particular system of metaphysical truth. In the Gītā Sāṃkhya and Yoga are not metaphysical, speculative systems, not what we should call philosophies at all, but ways of gaining salvation; that and nothing else. Moreover, that and nothing else is what they are in all Indian literature until a late time—until far down in the Christian era.'²⁵ If such be the case—and I cannot think that anybody

¹⁹ Oldenberg, following Professor F. O. Schrader (and Professor Jacobi), thinks that the real Gītā begins with the verse ii, 39: *eqā te 'bhihitā sāmṁkhye buddhir yoge tv imam ānu | buddhyā yukto yathā Pārtha karmabandham prahāsyasi ||* We shall return to this point presently.

²⁰ Cp. Jacobi, *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 715 f.; 1922, 265 f.; Garbe *ibid.*, 1922, 97 f., 604 f.

²¹ Certain German scholars—e.g., Professors Otto and von Glasenapp—nowadays prefer a new expression 'theopanistic' or 'theopantistic' instead of 'pantheistic.' *Chacun a son goût*; but it scarcely seems possible that a term, senseless in itself, should gain any permanent favour.

²² *A.J.Phil.*, vol. xlv, pp. 1-46.

²³ *Viz.*, in the Bhagavadgītā.

²⁴ *Viz.*, Sāṃkhya.

²⁵ In the last part of his article (p. 36 f.) Professor Edgerton has nicely defined the real sense of the words *sāṃkhya* and *yoga*. The first one according to him means something like 'method (of salvation) based on calculation,' the second one means 'disciplined activity,' etc. "Sāṃkhya seeks salvation by knowing something; yoga by doing something." The present writer long ago (*ZDMG.*, lxx, 846 f., in a review of Professor Tuxen's excellent Yoga book) had suggested that yoga in reality means something like 'practice' (the practical division of the sāṃkhya-yoga system which is in reality one, cp. *ekam sāṃkhyaṃ ca yogaṃ ca yā pātyati sa pātyati*, etc.); and he feels very pleased to find his humble suggestion fully corroborated by a scholar so well at home in these matters as is Professor Edgerton. On a curious use of the word *yoga* (= *nyāya* or *vaiśeṣika*) cp. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 854 f.

would be able to controvert the argumentation of Professor Edgerton—there can, of course, be no talk whatsoever about separating the tenets of different philosophical systems within the *Gītā*—simply because there are none.²⁶ And in such case we need not further trouble ourselves with the ingenious but impossible theories of Garbe.

Other scholars go to the opposite extreme and find in the *Bhagavadgītā* a work of complete and insoluble unity. For instance, Professor Oltramare, in a lecture presented to the 17th Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, which has since been printed,²⁷ considers that the whole of the *Gītā*, as we have it now, belonged to the original *Mahābhārata*, and that this text is a uniform whole and without any internal discrepancies. A young Sanskritist, M. Étienne Lamotte, whose name we meet with for the first time in a recently published work,²⁸ holds much the same opinion, and we come to know through him that other renowned scholars, like MM. de la Vallée Poussin and Formichi, are also convinced of the original unity of the *Gītā*. With all due respect to these prominent authorities we would fain suggest that if the unity of the poem can possibly be maintained on purely philosophical grounds, it cannot be upheld because of the manifold other difficulties that would ensue from such a theory. The opinions of these scholars are the reverse of those of Garbe; but in reality they are just as unacceptable.

We shall, however, now make an end with this rapid survey of former opinions and put forth in the following our own modest suggestions.

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Some twenty years ago Professor F. O. Schrader published a short but important paragraph²⁹ on what he called the 'old' *Bhagavadgītā*. In this passage he gave it as his opinion that the original *Gītā*, which belonged to a 'pro-Vaiṣṇavite *Mahābhārata*,' came to an end with the verse ii, 38, of the present text. To this oldest *Gītā* there might, however, possibly have been added a few more *ślokas* of the same tenor ere the *Bhāgavatas* fixed upon it and made it the introduction to the present text.

Several years later Professor Jacobi in a short paper³⁰ arrived at results which are not very unlike the conclusion of Professor Schrader. Jacobi regards canto i of the present *Gītā* as belonging to the original epic text; and out of canto ii he selected verses 1—6, 9—12, 18, 25—27 and 30—37, to which he has finally added xviii, 73, as a fitting conclusion to the whole. He emphasizes, however, that this reconstruction is only a tentative one.

In a similar way Oldenberg³¹ wanted to reconstruct the oldest part of the *Gītā*. According to him it should have consisted of canto i and canto ii, vv. 1—38. Still he admits the possibility of vv. 26—27 and 38 being later additions.

(To be continued.)

²⁶ Professor Edgerton's conclusions should not be contested because *sāṃkhya* and *yoga* are mentioned in the *Kauṣīlyā*. First of all that work does not with certainty belong to the fourth century B.C.; and then the translation of the words *sāṃkhyaṃ yoga lokāyataṃ cety ānētsikī*, which have been badly misinterpreted, has been put right by Professor Winternitz (*Indologica Pragensis*, i, 2 f.)

²⁷ *Op. Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xvii, p. 161 f.)

²⁸ *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* (Société Belge d'Études Orientales), Paris, 1929.

²⁹ *Op. ZDMG.*, lxi (1910), p. 339 f.

³⁰ *ZDMG.*, lxxii (1918), p. 323 f.

³¹ *Op. Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. Goettingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1919, p. 332 f. Oldenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 334, n. 1, quite correctly criticises the very formal way in which Professor Jacobi has tried to explain the words *anāryajūṣaṃ asvargyam akṛitlikaram* in ii, 2.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE S. CHARLES HILL.

I. *The Caste System peculiar to India and its bond of union.*—Of all the many strange things with which the European meets in India, the strangest is the Caste System. At first it may appear ludicrous or even cruel and repellent, but the more one sees and thinks of it, the more it grips the imagination, until at last it gets to be simple, natural and inevitable. On this subject Professor Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 1923, pp. ix-x) writes :—“The political unity of all India, though never attained perfectly in fact, always was the ideal of the people throughout the centuries. The diverse peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture or civilization utterly different from any other type in the world. That civilization may be summed up in the term Hinduism. India primarily is a Hindu country, the land of the Brahmins, who have succeeded by means of peaceful penetration, not by the sword, in carrying their ideas into every corner of India. Caste, the characteristic Brahman institution, utterly unknown in Burma, Tibet and other border lands, dominates the whole of India and exercises no small influence over the powerful Muhammadan minority.” And again (*ibid.*, p. 42) :—“Talk about the abolition or even the automatic extinction of caste is futile. The system grew up of itself in remote antiquity because it suited India, and will last for untold centuries because it still suits India on the whole, in spite of its many inconveniences. Hindu society without caste is inconceivable. Reformers must be content to make the best of a system which cannot be destroyed.”

II. *Nature of Caste. Its strength and power of absorption.*—The word *Caste* is of Portuguese origin and simply denotes Purity, i.e., Purity of Birth or Breed. Under this system the whole Hindu population is divided into distinct groups, the members of any one of which neither eat with nor intermarry with the members of any other, and even in some cases consider themselves defiled by the touch or even shadow of members of certain of the lowest groups. Whilst the system is aristocratic in that birth is considered essential to the possession of certain qualities, it is democratic in the fact that the system is based solely on the goodwill of the whole of the people, that the members of each group are all theoretically on an equal footing and that the importance of a man is based on character and not on wealth, rank, position or even ability.

How strong the system is, is shown, as Dr. Farquhar tells us (Smith's *Oxford History*, p. 281), by the fact that Caste has found its way back into every Hindu sect that has disowned it. It has absorbed whole bodies of invaders like the Marâthâs. It has even affected people protected by definite and clearly stated forms of religion, which teach the equality and brotherhood of all men, like the Muhammadans and the Portuguese, who have been long settled in the country. The descendants of the Portuguese in the Sundarbans are said to have formed themselves at one time into seven castes.

III. *Increase in the number of castes intended to preserve Caste Purity.*—Accepting absolutely its divine origin, Hindus will sacrifice anything and everything to the preservation of the purity of their caste, yet, whilst any cause, however slight or accidental, is considered sufficient reason for expulsion from one's caste, the usual punishment, if it can so be called, is the formation of a new caste when the breach is great or intentional, and of a sub-caste when it is slight or accidental. Thus the expulsion or secession of one or more members from a caste merely results in the formation of a new caste or sub-caste, pure in itself and leaving the purity of the parent caste undefiled. The final effect of this particularity, continued through many centuries, is that now there are more than 2,000 castes or sub-castes, which, in respect of their modes of origin, have been classed in the *Imperial Gazetteer* under the following types, viz. :—(1) Tribal, (2) Functional or Occupational, (3) Sectarian, (4) Castes formed by crossing, (5) National, showing traces of more elaborate organization than the Tribal, (6) Castes formed by migration and (7) Castes formed by changes of custom. But neither from this classification, nor from the arrangement of all the castes into a list of graduated importance, as has been attempted for the purposes of the Census, is any light thrown upon the origin of Caste.

IV. *The four original castes.*—In fact such mechanical treatment of the subject tends rather to increased obscurity, and we have to go back to the ancient tradition, in accordance with which all Hindus were originally divided into four castes only, viz., "The Brahmans, destined to fulfil the high functions of spiritual priesthood and to show the way of salvation to their fellowmen, [who] issue from the head of the Creator; the Kshatriyas, endowed with physical force and destined to undergo the fatigues of war, [who] have their origin in the shoulders and arms of Brahma; the Vaiśyas, whose duty it is to provide the food, the clothing and other bodily necessities of man, [who] are born in the belly of the god; and the Sudras, whose lot is servitude and rude labour in the fields, [who] issue from his feet." (Abbé Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs*, p. 47.) Of these castes, the first three are considered twice-born and are entitled to wear the sacred thread, though the Vaiśya receives it only upon marriage. From this it will be seen that the Hindu legislators, like all social legislators, holding as a cardinal principle (Dubois, p. 30) that every member of the community should be useful, prescribed for each caste its peculiar public duty, but as State exigencies often ignore all rules, so also they allowed the necessary latitude. Thus we are told by Dubois (pp. 31-32): "It must here be remarked, however, that the four great professions without which a civilized nation could not exist, namely the army, agriculture, commerce and weaving, are held everywhere in the highest esteem. All castes from the Brahman to the Pariah are permitted to follow the first three, and the fourth can be followed by all the principal classes of Sudras." From this we may, perhaps, conclude that, originally, it was not so much the occupation as the way in which and the motives from which it was followed that distinguished the different castes.

All Hindus, included in the hundreds (the *Imperial Gazetteer* says nearly 2,400) of now existent castes, belong to one or other of the four original castes and some suppose, therefore, that the whole Caste System is only the Indian modification of a division of Society into four classes—priests, warriors, cultivators and artisans—such as once existed in Persia, Egypt and Arabia; but if that were all that is to be said upon the subject, why should the system have collapsed everywhere else and yet retained such extraordinary vitality in India?

V. *Suggested reason and occasion for the institution of the Hindu Caste System, viz., the necessity of finding a stable system of Society after the breakdown of an older civilization.*—The Article on Caste in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (I, 348) concludes with the statement that "the origin of Caste is, from the nature of the case, an insoluble problem. We can only frame more or less plausible conjectures, derived from the analogy of observed facts." This is certainly true if by *origin* we mean the name of its author and the date of its institution, but, if we mean the *cause* and *object*, I think it is one of those things, like names in large letters on a crowded map, the very obviousness of which makes them hard to discern. If it can be shown that any course of intelligent action or thought leads definitely and inevitably to a particular end, desirable or otherwise, it is, I think, not unreasonable to suppose that this end was the cause or motive, i.e., the origin, of that course of action or thought. In this case, as Vincent Smith observes (*Oxford History*, p. 41):—"The chief attribute of the Caste System is its stability." Is it then not more than probable that the reason for establishing this system was the hope that in it would be found a permanent basis for a stable form of Society? Again, if it is clear that a particular course of action or thought would, in all probability, be suggested by only one particular kind of event, and if it were known that such events had repeatedly happened in times not far removed, is it not most probable that such an event did actually happen and did furnish the occasion for that course of action or thought? Now the search for a more stable form of Society would not suggest itself as a problem for serious consideration in a time of social rest or peace, but would be most likely to do so after some great upheaval like a revolution or *coup-d'état* or after some great catastrophe like a foreign conquest, followed by the breakdown of the Social system and resulting, in the former case, in the slaughter or flight of the late rulers and, in the latter case, in the flight of those of the conquered people, naturally

the boldest and most intelligent, who refused to submit to the yoke of a foreign and perhaps barbarous conqueror. In the case of the Aryans I do not think it likely that they left their original home in consequence of a rebellion or *coup-d'état* which expelled a dethroned prince or an unpopular teacher, because in that case the very fidelity which had caused them to follow him into exile would almost certainly have caused them to perpetuate and not, as the Aryans did, conceal or even forget his name. I think it more probable that they were the refugee remnant of a conquered people, who would not submit to their conquerors and, with their priests and petty chiefs, set out for a new country. Under such circumstances their leaders, horrified at what had happened, might well have cast about in their minds to discover what were the causes of decay that had brought about the fall of their State and have anxiously sought for some system of Society, which offered a greater probability of permanent strength or which would, at any rate, enable them to retain their social organization and so bear such a catastrophe with equanimity. That the Caste System is capable of achieving the latter object is shown by the energy with which the Hindus adhere to it, at the same time as they show an apparently extraordinary apathy to the form of government and indifference to changes in it, which has attracted the attention of many observers of Indian life and to which I shall have occasion to refer again. We now know that, in what we are still forced to call prehistoric times, more than one great civilization rose and fell either from internal decay or overwhelming external pressure. Is it not then most likely that the reason why the Aryan invaders of India, a cultured people as we gather from their early literature, left their own country to seek a new home was some such great catastrophe and that the Caste System was the system devised by them to prevent the possibility of its recurrence or, if it occurred, still to retain their Social System?

VI. *Reason why the name of the Hindu Legislator is unknown.*—It has already been observed that the Hindus ascribe the origin of the Caste System to divine inspiration, as Manu (*Institutes of Manu* compiled by the sage Bhrigu between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. See Vincent Smith's *Oxford History*, p. 42) taught in symbolic language, when he said that the four great castes sprang directly from the body of Brahma. But in order that any teaching, divine or human, shall be immediately and willingly accepted by the masses it must be in complete accord with Reason and Religion, meaning here by Religion the accepted belief as to the relation of Man to the Supreme Being. It is, I think, highly probable, though our knowledge on this subject is but meagre, that the Caste System, as originally promulgated, not only appeared eminently reasonable, but was also in complete accord with the religious beliefs of the early Aryans.¹ That we do not know the name of the sage or prophet through whom the inspiration was delivered, or the time in which he lived, is not really relevant, for the self-effacement, which he made the chief characteristic of the true Brahman, would naturally have prevented him from allowing his name to be known, not only as a personal duty, but in humble and pious recognition of the fact that all good ideas come to Man not of himself but from the Supreme Being. For similar reasons he would present his scheme not as a new discovery but as a reformation of modern abuses in the original divine plan.

VII. *Increase in the number of castes a means of preserving caste purity. Interrelation of the different castes. Brahman perfection. Rajput honour.*—Turning then to the Caste System as it now exists, one's first conclusion, from seeing so many castes and these daily increasing in number, would be that, far from the system forming a stable basis for Society, it encourages a blind instinct towards disintegration, but looking a little closer we see, as I have already pointed out, that the mere formation of a new caste is in itself an effort to preserve caste purity, being merely an acknowledgment of the necessity, according to the divine plan, for the creation of a new type of man, which will add to the perfection of the

¹ The Abbé Dubois (*Hindu Manners*, p. 30) says:—"These ancient lawgivers . . . anxious to provide durable and inviolable rules for the different castes comprising the Hindu nation, saw no surer way of attaining their object than by combining in an unmistakable manner those two great foundations of orderly government—religion and politics."

ladder or scale of castes, which is the national ideal that binds all Hindus together whatever their caste may be. Nowhere do we find amongst the Hindus any evidence of that centrifugal and hostile tendency of portions of Society to withdraw from the main body and to form Trades, Guilds and other Fraternities organised to protect their own interests against those of the community. As a new leaf draws life from, and gives life to, the plant upon which it grows, so each new caste takes strength from and, at the same time, nourishes the parent system. Further, as a matter of fact, though we talk of higher and lower castes and though the haughtiness of the Brahmans is now proverbial, no caste was originally considered superior or inferior, except in the sense that its bodily type represented a more or less advanced stage in the human habitations which must be, in turn, occupied by the Soul. The *Bhagavadgītā* says :—"The wise regard a Brahman gifted with knowledge and modesty, a cow, an elephant, a dog and a Swapaka [i.e., one whose duty it is to carry out unclaimed dead bodies] as alike." In other words, though in the Sudra the body is predominant, in the Vaiśya the Reason, in the Kshatriya the Heart, and in the Brahman the Soul, all castes are equally manifestations of Brahma though of different qualities. The relation between a higher and a lower caste is then more like that between an adult and a child than that between a noble and a serf of the same nationality.

VIII. *Caste distinctions entirely dependent upon Character.*—Instead therefore of allowing ourselves to be misled by the outward show of Hinduism we must concentrate our attention on what the Hindu religious writings tell us of what is required of true members of the different castes. According to the *Bhagavadgītā*, to be truly wise one must have learnt :—

(1) To control the Body in its appetites and desires, so that it does not injure itself or impede the free action of the Soul.

(2) To act for the benefit of the community without hope of reward or even care whether one's action is successful or not, so long as one's duty, as laid down by the requirements of Caste, is performed.

(3) To act towards all others without partiality.

(4) To resign oneself with absolute patience to pain and suffering and loss and to feel no exultation in success.

"He, my servant, is dear unto me, who is free from enmity, the friend of all nature, merciful, exempt from pride and egoism, the same in pain and pleasure, patient of wrongs, contented, constantly devout, of subdued passions and firm resolves, and whose heart and mind are fixed on me alone.

"He also is my beloved, of whom mankind are not afraid and who of mankind is not afraid : who is free from the influence of joy, impatience and the dread of harm.

"He, my servant, is dear unto me, who wants nothing, is just and pure, impartial, free from distraction of mind, and who has renounced every enterprise. He also is worthy of my love, who neither rejoiceth nor findeth fault ; who neither lamenteth nor coveteth, and, being my servant, hath renounced both good and evil. He also is my beloved servant, who is the same to friend and foe, in honour and dishonour, in cold and in heat, in pain and in pleasure ; who is unsolicitous about the event of things ; to whom praise and blame are as one ; who is silent and pleased with whatever cometh to pass ; homeless and who is of a steady mind." (*Bhagavadgītā*, XII.) In other words, to fit oneself for the position of a Ruler, one must have overcome all human weaknesses and renounced all material rewards. This is possible for the Brahman born, almost if not wholly impossible for any other. It is not necessary to enter upon the requirements of other castes, for the above is sufficient to show that what differentiates them is simply Character, and we can appreciate what Elphinstone says (Smith's *Oxford History*, pp. 431-2) of the Rajputs, who are Kshatriyas :—"A Rajput warrior, so long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in." For all castes the saying of the *Bhagavadgītā* holds good, viz. :—

"One's own duty [i.e., *dharma* or caste rules] though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Better is death in one's own duty ; another's duty is full of danger."

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

VEDISCHE MYTHOLOGIE, von Alfred Hillebrandt; second and revised edition in 2 vols.; vol. I, 9½" x 6½"; pp. 547. Breslau, 1927.

All Sanskritists are familiar with the late Professor Hillebrandt's long-pursued and deep study of the Vedas. This is a second and revised edition of his *Vedische Mythologie*. The matter has been re-arranged and many improvements made in the manner of presenting it, while several portions have been rewritten. After preliminary sections on Uṣas, the Aśvins and Agni, the main portion of the volume is devoted to the elaboration of his well-known views on the importance, or even predominance, of the moon in the religion of Vedic times. The many developments in research and criticism that have been made since he first propounded his ideas on this subject have not caused him to change his opinion to any substantial extent, nor convinced him that any of his critics had come to a more correct interpretation. If the *soma* element of the sacrifice (the plant and its juice that supplied the *amṛta*) be rightly accepted as a symbol or synonym of the moon—so intimately associated in early mythology with immortality and resurrection—we must admit the importance of lunar beliefs at the time; and we are disposed to agree with M. Auguste Barth that Professor Hillebrandt has correctly equated *soma* with the moon; but it is doubtful whether some other equations proposed can be considered as established.

Since Professor Hillebrandt first formulated his conclusions on this subject, the investigations of several students of the past have disclosed the great antiquity of moon worship and its possible ascendancy even over that of the sun among primitive peoples. The influence of old moon myths may perhaps survive in the frequent references to 'pressers' and 'non-pressers' (of the *soma*) and the insistence upon the importance of securing the aid of Indra, who was so devoted to the ambrosial juice, with which he is even identified. We have abundant evidence also, of course, in the *RV.* of the high importance attached to the power and influences of the sun, no less than ten hymns being devoted to Sūrya as the sun-god. We must not, as Professor Hillebrandt is careful to point out, regard the *RV.* as a mythology of primitive times (*Urmythologie*) nor even as the beginning of Indian mythology, but only as a section, or reach, in the ever-flowing stream of mythological conceptions. The primitive mind incorporated new ideas with the old traditions, treating them as new aspects or attributes, till the old myths gradually became overlaid or transformed. To cite a single example, Indra himself loses his pre-eminent position, surviving the Vedic period as the patron deity of the Kṣatriyas. To-day he is almost insignificant, though still regarded as the rain and storm god in popular belief. Traces of the old distinction between the followers of the sun and moon cults are probably to be found in the ethnic divisions of the *sūryavamśi*

and *soma-* (or *andra-*) *vamśi* races, to which the proudest clans in India yet trace their ancestry.

In Appendix II Professor Hillebrandt deals very exhaustively with the questions of the identity and domicile of the Paṇis, so often referred to in the *RV.*, and he has conclusively established—as has in fact been generally accepted—that Paṇi was the name of a people or tribe, and not merely a term for a 'miser' or 'non-giver' or 'unbeliever.' The further suggestions of a geographical nature made in this appendix as to the locale of certain tribes mentioned in the *RV.*, such as the Paṇis, Pārāvatas, and Brāyās, and the original Sarasvatī river, are, as he himself justly claims, of wide-reaching import; and when the ancient history of the area between India and Irān has been more fully elucidated by archaeological exploration, his views may prove to be well founded.

The work has been excellently printed, and the indexes provided are most useful. The second volume is now appearing.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE DOLMENS OF THE PULNEY HILLS, by the REV. A. ANGLADE, S.J., and the REV. L. V. NEWTON, S.J. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 36; pp. viii + 14, with 7 plates. Calcutta, 1928.

Fifty years ago the rude stone monuments of South India were much in fashion, but archaeologists seem to have grown shy of the awkward problems they present. Meanwhile the monuments themselves are vanishing under the ruthless march of "civilization"; the road contractor is fast converting them into road metal. Fathers Anglade and Newton deserve thanks for retrieving a few facts from the wreckage. The megaliths of the Palni Hills (so usually spelt) are in several features unique. Wisely concentrating on the monuments of a limited area, the authors of this monograph have done a very thorough piece of work. Digging and theories they leave to experts; but their evidence, set forth by map, plan, photograph, and concise description, is a record of solid value.

Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities* (vol. I, 1882), contain much information regarding the distribution of megaliths in S. India, but his lead has not been followed. The publication of this Memoir is a welcome augury of reviving interest. Many secrets of India's past are locked up in these ancient monuments, and, even if they be deemed unworthy of the law's protection, a descriptive list of those that survive would be a useful basis for future research.

F. J. RICHARDS.

BIBLIOTHEQUE DES GEOGRAPHES ARABES, Tome I, Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe, par Gabriel Ferrand. 9½" x 6½"; pp. xii + 272. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1928.

M. Ferrand is rendering a paramount service to students of the history of geographical knowledge by making available to those not acquainted with Arabic the most important texts of the early Arab geographers. He is thus supplementing the work

done by the learned M. J. de Goeje of Leyden in editing the original Arabic texts in his *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*. No more competent scholar could be found for this task than M. Ferrand, who has already done so much to elucidate the geographical knowledge of the Chinese and Arabian and other early travellers and writers in his works, *Le Kouen-louen, l'Empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya, Voyage du marchand Sulayman, le Tuhfat al-albab*, etc. In the present volume the editor has incorporated the results of the researches of another great Orientalist, the late M. Léopold de Saussure, a brilliant member of a famous scientific family and perhaps the best authority on the subject of the early Chinese knowledge of astronomy. In fact M. de Saussure's *Commentaire des instructions nautiques*, recorded in response to certain references made to him by M. Ferrand on points that seemed at first sight to defy interpretation, is one of the most valuable documents that has yet appeared in this connexion. From it, for example, we obtain a clear explanation of the exact meaning of the terms *igba'*, *dhubbân*, *tirfâ* and *bâshî*, so frequently used in the Arab sailing instructions and so often misunderstood. This volume constitutes an indispensable introduction to the study of the records of the Arab navigators. We congratulate the learned editor on its publication, and look forward to the appearance of the other volumes of the series now in the press or in course of preparation.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

DIE RAMA-SAGE BEI DER MALAIEN, IHRE HERKUNFT UND GESTALTUNG. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität. I.) 123 pp. By A. ZIESENIS. Hamburg, 1928.

The Mahâbhârata, through the magnificent exertions of the Bhandarkar Institute and its able leaders, is now being critically edited, by which many of its central problems will obtain their final solution. For the second great epic, the Râmâyana, nothing like that is being done or could, perhaps, so far be done.¹ Its versions are manifold and differ so strongly that we may well feel diffident whether at any time they could be proved to derive from one and the same original. But probably there existed a quite old cycle of legends connected with Râma, the son of Dâsaratha, the main part of which was at an early date set into immortal verses by the Âdikavi. From this common stock were derived Northern, Southern and Eastern Râmâyanas, which cannot, of course, represent exact counterparts of the epic of Vâlmiki, but which, though mostly of a decidedly late origin, may well have preserved older materials not known to or discarded by the poet of yore.

With the spread of Hindu culture to the Eastern Archipelago the tales of Râma and Lakshmana, Sîtâ,

Râvana and Hanuman also began to spread amongst the inhabitants of Java and Bali, whose monuments and literature alike testify to their great popularity with the inhabitants of those islands. Some years ago (1925), Dr. Stutterheim, in his book *Rama-Legenden und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesien*, gave an excellent contribution towards our knowledge of Indonesian Râma lore. At the present moment Dr. Ziesenis, of the University of Hamburg, has followed up such researches along independent lines and has tried to form a distinct opinion on the origin and development of Javanese Râma legends.

That the Râma tales should have been carried to Indonesia from Bengal and Coromandel as well as from the Western coast of India seems possible enough, and Dr. Ziesenis seems to have made such a theory entirely probable. Perhaps his arguments would have carried still more weight had he made more profound researches in the available Indian materials as well as in the older European literature dealing with Indian mythology.² Polier, whom he repeatedly quotes, is a good and generally reliable source, but there are older ones of far greater interest and value. Concerning Indian versions of the Râmâyana, two articles by Sir George Grierson in *BSOS.*, iv, 11 sq., v, 285 sq., might have been of use to the author; but the later one was perhaps not available when his book went into print.

We are not quite at one with the author in his arguments concerning the date of Hikâyat Sî Râma (p. 112 f.), as they seem scarcely quite cogent. However, we cannot enter upon such a problem here, and wind up with expressing our hope soon again to meet with Dr. Ziesenis in a field of research where he is apparently perfectly at home.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

DJAWA. TIJDSCHRIFT VAN HET JAVA-INSTITUUT. Vol. IX. Nos. 2 and 3, May 1929. Secretariaat van het Java-Instituut, Kadipolo, Solo.

The whole of this issue is taken up with an article of 120 pp. by B. van Tricht entitled *Living Antiquities in West Java*. It is divided into two parts—(1) The Badoejs, (2) Goenoeng Ségara. The information contained in the article was obtained on an expedition undertaken by Prof. J. Bocke, Prof. C. D. de Langen and the author in the hope of making a medical examination of the Badoejs in South Bantem, whose secular isolation must have had important anthropological and physiological results. From this point of view, however, the expedition was a failure owing to the passive resistance of the people.

Many interesting facts, however, about the religious beliefs and worship, the social organization and the ethnography of this interesting people were observed and are recorded in this article.

M. J. B.

¹ It should be clear to everyone that I am not here speaking of the Vâlmiki-Râmâyana but of the old epic which may possibly be at the bottom of that as well as of other versions.

² To quote one instance: on p. 82 the author has a theory concerning the relation between Śiva and Hanuman. But older writers are acquainted with a tradition according to which H. was generated by Śiva and Pârvatî in the shape of monkeys.

THE SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL LIFE OF THE SANTALS CULLED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

By BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

THE Santals are a large tribe of cultivators of the Dravidian family, who have as their nucleus the Santál Parganas or 'Sontalia.' But they are found scattered at intervals over a strip of Bengal which stretches for about 350 miles from the Ganges to the Vaitarani, and is bisected by the meridian of Bhagalpur, or 87° east longitude. According to the latest census report the numerical strength of the Santals in 1921 was 2,265,285, of which 33% were returned as Hindus.¹ They are therefore one of the largest aboriginal tribes of India; and at the present moment they certainly number well over two millions of human beings, claiming a common origin, speaking one language, following similar customs, and so on.

In physical appearance the Santál may be considered as an almost perfect specimen of the Dravidian type. He is a well built man, standing about 5' 7" in height and weighing about 9 stone; but he lacks the refined and delicate features of the Aryans, neither is he distinguished by the oblique eyes of the Mongolian races. His skin colour varies between dark brown and almost jet black. The Santál nose has the same proportions as that of a negro; his mouth is large; his lips, thick and protruding; hair, coarse, black, and sometimes curly. The large preponderance of dolichocephalism among them² excludes, however, all possibility of Mongolian affinities.³ The face of the Santál is round rather than oblong or square; his lower jaw is not heavy, and his cheek-bone is higher than that of a Hindu. He is "more squarely built than the Hindu, with a forehead not so high, but rounder and broader; a man created to labour rather than to think, better fitted to serve the manual exigencies of the present, than to speculate on the future or to venerate the past."⁴

The present generation of the Santals have no notion as to their origin, and everything is enveloped in a dark veil of mystery. They have no written documents, which might give any clue as to their possible origin, or as to the probable date of their arrival in India. The earliest fact of which the Santals have been conscious was the proximity of great mountains, which would probably mean that they came south from the region of the Himálaya mountains, but when or how we do not know. According to the traditions of the Santals, before the birth of man, the Great Mountain stood alone among the waters and talked to himself in solemn solitude. Then he saw that birds moved upon the waters, so he put them on a water lily, and let them rest there. Later, huge prawns were created, who raised the rocks from under the waters, and the water-lily along with the rocks. Various kinds of creeping things spread over the rocks, and by the command of the Great Mountain the rocks were covered with earth. Then the Lord of all made grass grow on the earth. Last of all man was created from a wild duck's (*hasdak*) egg, which was laid on the water lily. From this egg the first human pair, Pilón Haram and Pilón Burhi, a brother and a sister, were hatched, and these in turn became the ancestors of the seven tribes of men.⁵ These two human beings were at first naked, so the Great Mountain clothed them, and became the culture hero of the Santals; to the man he gave ten cubits of cloth and to the woman twelve cubits—it was sufficient for the man, but not for the woman.⁶

¹ *Census of India, 1921*, vol. i, India, Part I, Report by J. T. Marten (Calcutta, 1924), p. 112, *87.

² Cf. B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale* (Paris, 1927), Appendix B, No. 5 [p. 163].

³ B. Bonnerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, Seventh edition (London, 1897), p. 146.

⁵ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 148, 461; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 21. Cf. E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 209; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, p. 76; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totalism and Exogamy* (London, 1910), vol. i, p. 7.

⁶ The myth seems to be influenced by the Hindus; if not of Hindu origin. There is a Bengali proverb which says: *Meyeder bára háth kápare káchá náí*, meaning "Although women have pieces of cloth twelve cubits [*háth* is about 18 inches] long, yet they have no *káchá* [the left end of the *dhoti* (cloth for men) made to pass between the legs, which gives men an appearance of wearing breeches. Women's dress looks like a skirt]. The similarity of the statement and the exact measurement of the cloth are, to say the least of it, very suggestive.

Then the man and the woman were faint, and the Great Mountain commanded them to make a strong drink. This they made in the following manner. He gave them a handful of heaven, and bade them put it in a pitcher of water. After four days this had become a strong drink. He ordered them to drink it, but before doing so they were to make a libation of it.⁷

Seeing afterwards that the human race was liable to be exterminated, the Great Mountain made the man and woman get drunk with this strong drink. In their inebriate condition the first human pair copulated,⁸ as a result of which seven children were born to them; these children soon multiplied, and became the forefathers of the Santāl race.

The most ancient residence of the Santāls within their memory was pargana Ahuri in Hāzāribāgh district. From there they migrated west towards Khoj Kamān, where the greater part of them were destroyed on account of their wickedness. They say that during the first stage of human existence nearly the whole of the human race was destroyed by fire falling from heaven.⁹ After numerous other migrations they took up their abode at Campā, where they remained for several generations. Finally the Hindus drove them away from Campā, and they settled in Sāont,¹⁰ where they reigned for a period of over two hundred years. From this last place too they were driven away by the Hindus. They fled to Mānbhūm, where their Rāja adopted the Hindu faith. But the people were unwilling to accept the Hindu religion, so they left their king to reign over the Hindus, and themselves emigrated to the Santāl Parganas, where they remain to the present day.¹¹ With regard to their migrations, Hunter says¹²: "In this time (i.e., soon after the human race was multiplied) they dwelt in Hihiri Pipiri, but when the land could not hold them they journeyed to Chae Champa; and when Chae Champa would not hold them they journeyed to Silda; and when Silda would not hold them they journeyed to Sikar, and from Sikar they journeyed to Nagpur, and from Nagpur to the north, even to Sir."

Although ethnologically the Santāls belong to the great Dravidian family of the human race, linguistically they are a branch of the Mundā (once called 'Kolarian') family.¹³ The principal occupation of the Santāls is tilling the soil, and they cultivate principally rice, which is their staple food. As huntsmen they are alike skilful and intrepid; their principal weapons for this sport are bows and arrows. The arrows are of two kinds: heavy, sharp ones for the larger kinds of game, and light ones with a broad knob at the point for small birds. In their habits they may be called nomadic, but gradually they are settling down. They have a highly pronounced artistic sense; they are very fond of music and dancing, and are themselves great adepts with the flute—a native bamboo instrument with holes burned in it—; and they play these flutes in a very melodious manner. As a rule the Santāl women are extremely fond of finery as they understand by the term. A fully-equipped Santāl belle carries two anklets, and perhaps twelve bracelets, and a necklace weighing a pound, the total weight of ornaments on her person amounting to about thirty-four pounds of bell-metal. "A greater weight," says Sherwill, "than any one of our drawing room

⁷ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 148, 451.

⁸ For stories of incestuous unions see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London, 1893), vol. ii, p. 85; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (New York, 1922), vol. iii, p. 534, s. v. "Incest"; E. Durkheim, "La prohibition de l'inceste," *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. i (1896-1897), and references quoted there.

⁹ B. Bonnerjee, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 21, quoting (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (London, 1919), vol. i, p. 196 f.

¹⁰ See (Sir) G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iv (Calcutta, 1906), p. 30.

¹¹ B. Bonnerjee, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 21 sq.

¹² (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 149.

¹³ See Col. E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 207; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*; *Ethnographic Glossary* (Calcutta, 1892), vol. ii, p. 224 f.; (Sir) G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iv, p. 30; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 300; B. Bonnerjee, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 22.

belles could well lift."¹⁴ And of Santál men at a feast, Hunter says that "if all the colours of the rainbow were not displayed by them, certainly the hedgehog, the peacock, and a variety of the feathered tribe had been laid under contribution in order to supply the young Santál beaux with plumes."¹⁵

The secret of Santál homogeneity lies in the family system. Their classification depends not upon social rank or occupation, but upon the family basis. Every Santál feels himself a member of a corporate body; he is the kinsman of the whole race, and the only difference he makes between his own sept or clan and others is that "he thinks the relationship between himself and his clanswomen too close to permit of intermarriage."¹⁶ The Santál family is patriarchal. The children belong to the father's sept, although daughters, when married, go over to their husbands' septs.

The Santál tribe is divided into twelve septs (*pari*) and 198 or more sub-septs (*khunt*).¹⁷ Of these twelve septs, six bear the names of different animals, such as wild goose, nilgau (a species of antelope, *Boselaphus tragocamelus*), falcon, pigeon, lizard, and sheep; two have names of plants: betel palm, grass; one has the name of the constellation Pleiades; and three have doubtful names. Both the septs and sub-septs are exogamous and totemic. No man may marry into his own sept or sub-sept, but he may marry into any other sept, including his mother's, although he is not allowed to marry into his mother's sub-sept.¹⁸ The twelve septs and 198 sub-septs are as follows:¹⁹

1. HASDAK (wild goose).

15 sub-septs:

<i>Bedwâr Hasdak</i>	<i>Kâhu Hasdak</i>
<i>Çil Bindhâ Hasdak</i>	<i>Kêlûâr Hasdak</i>
<i>Kârd-gujiyâ Hasdak</i>	<i>Kuhi Hasdak</i>
<i>Kundâ Hasdak</i>	<i>Næka Khil Hasdak</i>
<i>Jihu Hasdak</i>	<i>Obor Hasdak</i>
<i>Nij Hasdak</i>	<i>Sâdâ Hasdak</i>
<i>Rokh-lutur Hasdak</i>	<i>Sâukh Hasdak</i>
<i>Bojôâr (Boñdôâr) Hasdak</i>	

2. MURMU (nilgau).

29 sub-septs:

<i>Badar Murmu</i>	<i>Kudâ Murmu</i>
<i>Boâra Murmu</i>	<i>Lâh Murmu</i>
<i>Garh Murmu</i>	<i>Mundâ Murmu</i>
<i>Jihu Murmu</i>	<i>Nij Murmu</i>
<i>Kolhâ Murmu</i>	<i>Obor Murmu</i>

¹⁴ Capt. W. S. Sherwill, "Notes upon a Tour through the Râjmahal Hills," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xx (Calcutta, 1852), p. 584; E. Westermarek, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, p. 498.

¹⁵ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 185. See E. Westermarek, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 510.

¹⁶ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 202.

¹⁷ Sir James G. Frazer (*Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 300) says, "At least seventy-six sub-clans or sub-septs."

¹⁸ (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*; *Ethnographic Glossary*, vol. i, pp. 400 sq.; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, pp. 300 sq.; E. Westermarek, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii, p. 117. Moreover, the Hasdak and Murmu septs refused to marry each other (B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 23).

¹⁹ B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 23-25. The list is exactly the same as I gave in 1926 [my book was published in March, 1927], but since then I have found the same, with minor differences in F. Bradley Birt, *Chota Nagpur, a little-known Province of the Empire* (London, 1903).

<i>Pond Murmu</i>	<i>Manghi Khil Murmu</i>
<i>Sadda Murmu</i>	<i>Naeke Khil Murmu</i>
<i>San Murmu</i>	<i>Oara Murmu</i>
<i>Tika (Tilok) Murmu</i>	<i>Okh Murmu</i>
<i>Bitol Murmu</i>	<i>Powar Murmu</i>
<i>Gajar Murmu</i>	<i>Samakh Murmu</i>
<i>Handi Murmu</i>	<i>Sarjam Murmu</i>
<i>Jugi Murmu</i>	<i>Tirku Lumam Murmu</i>
<i>Kopiar Murmu</i>	<i>Tuti Murmu.</i>
<i>Kudam Murmu</i>	

3. KISKU (?)

15 sub-septs :

<i>Aq Kisku</i>	<i>Gach Kisku</i>
<i>Bitol Kisku</i>	<i>Katwa Kisku</i>
<i>Jabe Kisku</i>	<i>Naeke Khil Kisku</i>
<i>Manghi Khil Kisku</i>	<i>Obor Kisku</i>
<i>Nij Kisku</i>	<i>Pafi Kisku</i>
<i>Okh Kisku</i>	<i>Son Kisku</i>
<i>Sadda Kisku</i>	<i>Tika (Tilok) Kisku.</i>
<i>Badar Kisku</i>	

4. HEMBRON (betel palm, Piper Betle).

15 sub-septs :

<i>Badar Hembron</i>	<i>Gach Hembron</i>
<i>Dantela Hembron</i>	<i>Handi Hembron</i>
<i>Gu Hembron</i>	<i>Lath Hembron</i>
<i>Kuari Hembron</i>	<i>Naeke Khil Hembron</i>
<i>Manghi Khil Hembron</i>	<i>Obor Hembron</i>
<i>Nij Hembron</i>	<i>Sole Hembron</i>
<i>Sadda Hembron</i>	<i>Thakur Hembron.</i>
<i>Bitol Hembron</i>	

5. MARUDI (grass).

27 sub-septs :

<i>Babre Marudi</i>	<i>Buru Marudi</i>
<i>Bitol Marudi</i>	<i>Godo Marudi</i>
<i>Gach Marudi</i>	<i>Jugi Marudi</i>
<i>Jonok Marudi</i>	<i>Kedwar Marudi</i>
<i>Kada Marudi</i>	<i>Khanda Jogao Marudi</i>
<i>Khanda Marudi</i>	<i>Kulkhi Marudi</i>
<i>Khara Marudi</i>	<i>Miru Marudi</i>
<i>Manghi Khil Marudi</i>	<i>Nij Marudi</i>
<i>Naeke Khil Marudi</i>	<i>Pond Marudi</i>
<i>Obor Marudi</i>	<i>Rot Marudi</i>
<i>Rokh Latur Marudi</i>	<i>Sadda Marudi</i>
<i>Rupa Marudi</i>	<i>Tika (Tilok) Marudi</i>
<i>Sidhup Marudi</i>	<i>Turku Lumam Marudi.</i>
<i>Bhoso Marudi</i>	

(To be continued.)

PERIODS IN INDIAN HISTORY.

By F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired).

(Continued from p. 37.)

3. Literature.

Literature, elsewhere the bed-rock of history, is in India a chronological quagmire. Up to about 500 A.D. its dating is purely conjectural.

In Sanskrit literature two main periods are usually postulated, the "Vedic" and the "Classical," corresponding to the two periods of the Vedic-Sanskrit language before and after its grammatical fixation; to the Vedic Period are assigned the Vedas, the Brahmanas Upanishads and Sutras, to the Sanskrit Period the Epics, the Puranas and the Law Books. It is impossible to say when the Vedic Period ceased and when the Sanskrit Period began, for, as Dr. Barnett points out, "one pandit might write in a sub-Vedic style at the same time as another is writing almost classical stuff."

Moreover, Epics, Puranas and Law Books received their present form a little before or a little after the beginning of the Medieval Period and are the product of a long period of revision and amplification of much older materials. That the development of Sanskrit Literature from VI B.C. to IV A.D. was continuous most scholars are agreed, but the actual form of the several works that have survived prior to their final recension is a matter of inference.

The partial eclipse of Sanskrit literature is of political origin; the political dominance which the priestly caste had achieved in the Upper Gangetic plain by 600 B.C. was not acceptable to the laity of Bihar, and the eastward drift of Brahmanic culture provoked a revolt. In Bihar "the Kshatriyas," writes Dr. Barnett, "asserted themselves as *de facto* rulers of society and forced the Brahmins to accept them and to buttress up the royal power with a theory of divine right." Buddhism and Jainism are Kshatriya movements; their literature is Prakrit, and the older parts of the Epics are Kshatriya documents. Dr. Barnett suggests 500—150 B.C. as the "Kshatriya Period"; the period 150 B.C.—300 A.D. he would call "Proto-Classical," the period in which the Brahmins reconstructed their culture on new foundations and the Epics assumed their final form.

By the close of the Early Period the Brahmins had achieved success and the Medieval Period opens with the "Golden Age" of Classical Sanskrit, the age of the Drama and Lyric, of Science, Art, and Philosophy, of a culture which before long saturated India from end to end, and gave to Indian civilization a unity as distinctive as that which Græco-Roman culture has given to the warring states of Medieval and Modern Europe.

The shock of Muhammadan conquest fell heavily on the homeland of Sanskrit literature, and from 1000 A.D. onwards culture became provincialized. The Period 1200—1500 A.D. is relatively sterile.

Vernacular literature of Aryan stock belongs mainly to the Modern Period, though its beginnings go back to XII A.D. Of Dravidian literature Tamil is the richest and most ancient; some would place its "Augustan Age" in II A.D. A new epoch begins with the Saiva Saint Sambandhar who flourished 650 A.D. Between that date and 1200 A.D. the *Tirumurai* and the *Nāḍiyira-prabandham*, the canons of the southern Saivas and Vaishnavas respectively, were completed, and with XIII A.D. begins a third epoch.

Kanarese literature, too, presents similar phases; though the earliest extant work dates from about 850 A.D. Till near the close of XII A.D. the writers are almost exclusively Jain; the period 1200—1500 is dominated by the Lingayat movement; the succeeding centuries by the Vaishnava revival.

Telugu literature is still more recent, the earliest work dating from XII A.D., and the "Golden Age" is that of Krishna Raya of Vijayanagar at the opening of XVI A.D.

4. Religion.

The religious evolution of India may be resolved into five periods of florescence and decay. The periods overlap, and through each run various "streams of tendency" which freely blend and branch.

A. The "Nature Worship" of the Rig-Veda petered out in the sacerdotalism of the Brahmanas somewhere about 600 B.C. It was replaced by

B. The Pantheistic Philosophy of the Upanishads which elaborated (1) the so-called "Brahman-Atman" (World Soul) metaphysics and (2) the doctrine of Transmigration, the foundation on which Buddhism and Jainism built.

The Period 600—300 B.C. covers both the formative period of these two religions and also the period of their systemization in the form of condensed aphorisms (*Suttas*, *Sūtras*), affected alike by Buddhists, Jains and Brahmanas. By the close of this period the greater part of the Buddhist and Jain canons was probably in being.

C. The Period 300—1 B.C. opens with the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion of Asoka. The Mauryan collapse is associated with a movement, partly reactionary and partly new, which in the succeeding period saturated and undermined Indian Buddhism.

Of this "Proto-Classical" movement the dominant *motifs* are (1) Theism and (2) Incarnation. The evolution of the Mahabharata is typical. This Epic, scholars say, is the product of eight or ten centuries or more of "editing." Three main strata are traced—(1) the Bharata Lays, (2) the Pandu Epic, (3) the Didactic Epic. The lays are perhaps pre-historic, the Pandu Epic is assignable roughly to the Kshatriya Period, the Didactic to the Proto-Classical. In the lays Krishna is human, in the Pandu Epic a Demi-God, in the Didactic "All-God." The Ramayana has a parallel development. Rama begins as a man and ends as an incarnation of Vishnu.¹²

But this is only one aspect of the bewildering syncretism of cults and philosophies, old and new, that characterizes the age. As to dates, the "Middle Epic" may, perhaps, be assigned to the Period 300—1 B.C., as in it the Greeks are much in evidence, and the final redactions to the Period 1—300 B.C. (or a little later) when, under the Kushans, Buddhism, affected by prevailing fashion, evolved a pantheon of its own. By the end of the period transition was completed, the main Sects and Philosophies of Hinduism were in being.

The Gupta Period is secular in tone; spiritually it is a time of decadence; sectarianism elaborates itself in the Puranas and towards the end of the period Buddhism and Hinduism are corrupted by Tantric influence.

D. The next movement, the gospel of Bhakti (Devotion) comes from the South. To the Period 650—1000 A.D., as already stated, belong the sacred canons of the Tamil Saivas and Vaishnavas (Alvars).

On the philosophic side Kumarila in Bihar (c. 700—750) and Sankara in Travancore "remade" the ancient Brahmanism,¹³ dealing thereby a deadly blow to waning Buddhism. The phase 1000—1200 A.D. is one of decline. In N. India the Pala Dynasty, last stronghold of Buddhism, was undermined by the militant Hinduism of the rival Sens, and with the Ghori conquest Buddhism vanished. In the Deccan Jainism, the state religion of Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas, was dethroned by a double reformation, (1) that of Ramanuja who developed and improved on the tradition of the Alvars, and (2) the so-called Lingayat revolt

¹² E. W. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 398.

¹³ Hopkins, *Religions of India*, 437.

against Brahmanism; which is associated with the downfall of the Kalachuris. In the North at Brindaban, the birthplace of Krishna, the cult of Radha, Krishna's consort, arose.

E. The last movement is the Neo-Vaishnavism of N. India centring round the cults of Rama, Krishna and Radha. To XIII A.D. belong the Krishnaite teachers Madhva, Vishnuswami and Nimbarka, who prepared the way for the modern sectarianism of Vallabha and Chaitanya. The tradition of Ramanuja was carried north by Ramananda (c. 1400—70) and developed under Muslim influence at the opening of the Modern Period into the deism of Kabir and the Sikhs.

5. Art.

A. Sculpture.

Two major periods of Indian sculpture are recognized—I Early c. 400 B.C.—300 A.D. II Medieval 300—1200 A.D.¹⁴

Of the Early Period (apart from pre-Mauryan remains) there are three phases :—

- I. Mauryan, in which two strains run concurrently : (a) Persian, (b) indigenous.
- II. Bharhut-Sanchi, in which Greek influence intrudes, but the Buddha is never portrayed in human form.
- III. Gandhara-Amravati, in which Graeco-Roman influence is dominant and the Buddha is figured in human form.

Mauryan and Bharhut-Sanchi coincide roughly with the Period 300—1 B.C. and Gandhara-Amravati with the Period 1—300 A.D.

Sculpture of the Medieval Period is disappointing ; under the Guptas it attained its highest expression, and then became stereotyped by text-books of priestly rules, and underwent little change in the succeeding centuries.

B. Architecture.

The architecture of the Early Period is mainly a matter of *stūpas* and rock-cut caves ; of structural buildings only foundations and pillars survive.

Of what may be called the " Early Cave Period " there are three main groups, (1) Magadha (of Mauryan date), (2) Orissa (all Jain of about 1 B.C.)¹⁵ and (3) Western India. The last named group shows an interesting evolution in two stages, to the earlier of which belong Bhāja, Kondāne, Pitalkhorā and Ajanta 10, to the later Bedsā, Ajanta 9, Nāsik 3 and 8 and Kārli. The dates assigned to them range from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.

It was in the Medieval Period that the art of building attained its highest development. The few surviving structural temples of the Gupta Period are remarkable for the beauty of their ornament rather than their size. Cave architecture, too, entered on a second period of vitality in VI and VII A.D.¹⁶ The seventh century again marks an epoch, for it was at this time that the " styles " of N. and S. India (Himalayan, Indo-Aryan, Chalukyan and Dravidian) took shape.¹⁷ The " Golden Age " of stone temples runs from about 900—1200 A.D., the zenith being reached at different times in different areas.¹⁸

¹⁴ Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*.

¹⁵ *Camb. Hist. India*, I, 638—42.

¹⁶ The chief sites for this " Later Cave Period " are Ajanta, Aurungabad, Badami, Ellora, Dhamnar and the Seven Pagodas.

¹⁷ In the District of Bijapur, e.g., the prototypes of several different styles are found together.

¹⁸ The best work in Kashmir belongs to VIII and IX, in Khajuraho to X and XI, in Orissa it ranges from 650 to 1000 A.D., in Mysore (Chalukyan or Hoysala) from XI to XIII, while the Tamils worked out a tradition of their own which runs continuously from VII to XVII.

Except in the South the impact of Islam was usually fatal to the old tradition, but the hand of the Indian craftsman is traceable in the buildings erected by the Sultans and their Mughal successors. In the South the Dravidian tradition of the Pallavas was carried forward by the Cholas, the Pandyas and the rulers of Vijayanagar and Madura well into modern times.

C. *Painting.*

Two great periods of Indian painting are known.—I the Ajanta Period and II the Rajput-Mughal Period. The Ajanta frescoes of caves 9 and 10 are assigned to I A.D., the rest to the period 350—650 A.D. From 650 to 1500 is a blank. The Rajput and Mughal schools belong to the Modern Period.¹⁹

6. *Coins.*

The coinage of India embodies three great traditions, I the Greek, II the Gupta and III the Muhammadan. These are associated respectively with the Early, Medieval and Modern Periods.

In the Early Period indigenous and immigrant influences run side by side, as in sculpture.

In the Period 600—300 B.C. the indigenous tradition is represented by crude "punch-marked" pieces of silver and copper of weights corresponding to those prescribed in the Code of Manu. How long they continued to be issued is not known. Towards the end of the period they were superseded in some parts by cast coins and "single-die" types. Coins of Persian and Athenian types were also current.

The Period 300—1 B.C. is marked by the superb coins of the Bactrian Greeks, based on a Persian weight standard with bilingual legends (Greek and Kharoshthi) and occasional Indian devices. The Sakas and Pahlavas followed Bactrian models, but with diminished skill.

The Period 1—300 A.D. is marked by a recovery in artistic merit under the Kushans; Greek feeling survives, but the designs and craftsmanship are Indian. The weight standards are Roman.

The Medieval Period opens well with the Gupta coinage, which in its variety and execution ranks among the finest examples of Indian art. But the Gupta tradition was short-lived; with the Huna invasions came a slump from which India did not recover till the Medieval Period was drawing to its close.

The Imperial Guptas followed Roman weight standards till the eve of the Huna invasion, when they reverted to the ancient standards of Manu. The Hunas introduced degraded silver imitations of Sassanian types and Attic standards of weight. These standards persisted right through the period with increasing degeneration till after the Ghaznavi raids. With the rise of the Rajput States the "bull-and-horseman" type became general.

The Arabs in Sind followed Baghdad models, but the early Sultans of Delhi continued the Rajput tradition, till the raids of 'Alau'd-din Khalji filled the Delhi treasury with gold, to be squandered by Muhammad Tughlaq in the most exuberant coinage ever issued by a single monarch. Then followed another slump till the reforms of Sher Shâh Sûr and Akbar established a new tradition which lasted till the British Raj.

(To be continued.)

¹⁹ The Jogimara frescoes of Ramgarh (Sarguja State, C.P.) are assigned to I B.C. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I. 643), but one sample does not make a Period.

NOTES ON KHOTAN AND LADAKH.

(From a Tibetan point of view.)

By PROF. A. H. FRANCKE, PH.D.

(Continued from page 45.)

VI.

Ladakh.

Ladakh is all that remains now of the ancient West Tibetan empire, and as I have found that Tibetanists, as well as native Lhasa-Tibetans, dismiss the West generally with a smile, let me say a few words in honour of this unjustly despised country. To my mind, the West is the most important province of the country, for every kind of Tibetan culture came from the West: even the dynasty of Sron-btsan-sgam-po seems to have originated there.

Tibetan historiography was the field of battle of two parties, bitterly opposed to each other, viz., the Buddhist and the Bonpo party. The chronicles of Ladakh, as well as other works, are the result of the strife between these two parties. According to the Buddhist conception, the line of Tibetan kings begins with Gnya-khri-btsan-po, who was an Indian prince of the Buddha's family. This beginning was introduced into Tibetan historiography probably about the time of king Ral-pa-can (c. 804-816). Formerly the Tibetan line of kings began with Rûpati or Spu-rgyal; and to this beginning point many passages in Tibetan historical books. Although prince Rûpati also comes from India, he is of Pāṇḍava origin. The following passages may be of interest in this connection:

(1) In the beginning of chapter IV of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (Ladakhi Chronicles) we read: "The head of the line is Spu-rgyal, the king of Tibet."

(2) In *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 77, where Prof. F. W. Thomas gives a translation of a prayer recited at the opening of a Buddhist monastery we read: "'Od-ldc-Spu-rgyal is called the first king of Tibet."

(3) In the old Lhasa inscription published and translated by Waddell (*JRAS.*, 1909, p. 949), we find the same name.

(4) This name is also found in the inscription discovered by the Japanese at Lhasa on the back of the stone containing the former inscription. There it is mentioned in line 5.

(5) In the *Chronicles of Ladakh*, on p. 79, we find the ancient Bonpo beginning of the book of Chronicles, where it is said that "king Bya-khri received the name of Spu-de-guñ-rgyal." The text then goes on to tell of the beginning of culture and of the Bon religion in Tibet. King Spu-(de-guñ)-rgyal is said to have resided at the castle of Yar-luñ, a place which was also connected with Gnya-khri-btsan-po. Three generations after Spu-rgyal, the book tells of the erection of Phyi-dban-stag-rtse, another of Gnya-khri-btsan-po's castles.

If we want to read the saga of king Spu-rgyal in full, we must look it up in S. Ch. Das' contributions published in *JASB.*, 1881, p. 211 f. There we read of an Indian general called Rûpati, who took part in the ancient war between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, and who ran away into the Tibetan mountains, disguised as a woman. This Rûpati accepted the Tibetan name of Spu-rgyal, and took his abode in that part of Tibet where is found mount Spu-rgyal or Spu-rgyul, near the point where the river Suttlej turns its course toward the south. At the foot of Spu-rgyal hill the small town of Spu is situated and, a few miles higher up, the village of Khab, which means 'royal castle,' is found. This is the country where people place the history of the first king Spu-rgyal. More than 1000 years later the kings of Guge arose, and they took the same country as their residence. As has been said, the Buddhist Tibetans later on would not accept Rûpati-Spu-rgyal as their first king, but invented another ancestor of Spu-rgyal, viz., Gnya-khri-btsan-po, as their first king. Now there are two accounts of king Gnya-khri-btsan-po, one current in the west, and embodied in the Ladakhi chronicles, and another current in the east, embodied in other chronicles. As I have shown in *JASB.*, 1910, No. 3, the Ladakhi account of the first king mentions a number of places

which are all found in Ladakh, while the eastern account mentions chiefly Yar-klun, a valley near Lhasa.

But whether east or west, we may be sure that all accounts of Gnya-khri-btsan-po are later fictions, and that the original tale of the first king of Tibet is that which arose about king Sru-rgyal in the Sulej valley.¹⁰ If we are now ready to accept the fact that the Tibetan dynasty took its origin in the west of the country, in the valley of the Sulej, several other historical events may be readily explained. In the earliest times it is stated that a castle of Khri-brtsegs-'abumgdugs was erected. Such a castle has not yet been found in the Lhasa district. But in the vicinity of Leh a very conspicuous castle-monastery called Khri-rtsé (Khri-brtsegs) is found. It is a place of considerable antiquity, and shows a great number of ruined walls, crossing each other in all directions. It seems to have had its origin in bygone times and to have been rebuilt from time to time. This ancient castle was eventually turned into a monastery.

Now let me refer to the story of the find of several symbols of Buddhism some centuries before Buddhism was actually established in Tibet. Those symbols of Buddhism are supposed to have dropped from heaven and to have been explained by some stranger (Bodhi-mör). This story can easily be explained if we accept that it took place in the west. Here, in the west, Buddhism was apparently established already in the days of the Kushāna kings (compare the Khalatse Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions) of the second century A.D. It was apparently the Dards, the original cultivators of the Indus valley, who adhered to it. Here it was possible to find Buddhist clay tablets (*thsa-thsa*), *stūpas*, even Buddhist books in Sanskrit. Here it is also possible that strangers who could explain the books and symbols may have appeared before the king.

The grand act of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was to make Lhasa the capital of Tibet, after his father had already advanced to its vicinity when he conquered Gru-gu, near Kham-ba-rdzoñ. Now, for the first time, the Chinese made the acquaintance of the Tibetan royal dynasty. All the ancestors of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po had remained unknown to them, probably because they had lived a long way off, i.e., in the west.

In this connection it is also interesting to note that one of the two great ministers of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, General Mgar-luñ-btsan, had his home in the west. His house is still pointed out at Shar-ago-la in Purig.

It is also probable that among the Tibetan soldiers who marched against Turkestan there were many people of the west, and therefore I consider it quite natural that several names of western localities should occur in the Turkestan documents. Prof. F. W. Thomas in his article, "Tibetan documents concerning Chinese Turkestan," *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 52, says: "References to Western Tibetan countries are, however, hardly to be expected, and in point of fact rare, in those documents." As I am of different opinion, I will give here a list of local names from the Turkestan documents, which certainly refer to the west:

1. Mñā-ris, nowadays used as the name of the Tibetan province east of Ladakh, but, as the Shel inscription plainly shows, the ancient name of the entire Ladakhī kingdom. (Mi. i. 3; Mi. XXI. 03; M. Tagh. a. II. 006. M. Tagh. b. I. 0036.)
2. Nañ-goñ, an old name of Baltistán, used still nowadays. (Mi. XXX. 8; Mi. IX. 6.)
3. Gle is the name of the capital of Ladakh; it is the Leh of the maps. It was a place of importance before the western empire was founded. Glechuñ (Mi. XXXI. i; Gleu. Tu. 116).
4. Pa-ldum is the name of the capital of Zañs-dkar, spelt dPaldum or dpal-dum, etc. (M. I. IX. 15.)
5. Ru-shod is still the name of the high plain of Ru-bcu, between Ladakh and Lahoul. It is called Ru-shod ('lower Ru') in contradistinction to Ru-thog ('upper Ru'), the well-known town close by. (Chronicles from Tun-huang II, 33-5.)

¹⁰ In the Tibetan Bonpo-chronicle, compiled in the fourteenth century, an abstract of which was published by Laufer in *T'oung Pao*, 1901, the two legends of Sru-rgyal and Gnya-khri-btsan-po are mixed up with each other. Although the first king is called a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas, he is called Gnya-khri-btsan-po

6. *Zhañ-zhuñ*. This is the name of the upper Sutelj valley, a very important province of the western empire (see Thomas, *Sa-ou*, 16).

7. Nubra, spelt *gNub-ra*, is found in *M. I. IV. 8*.

8. *Gtsaṅs-poi-'abrog-pa*, spelt, in accordance with the Ladakhī pronunciation, *rtsaṅs-poi-'abrog-pa*. It means the Dard population (who are called '*abrog-pa*' by the Tibetans) on the Indus. We might also think of the '*abrog-pa*' population on the Brahmaputra; but that river is spelt *gtsaṅ-po* and pronounced *tsaṅ-po*. That a portion of Ladakh was actually known by the name *rtsaṅs-po* in those days is proved by Hsüan-tsang, who gives the name Sampoho as that of a portion of Ladakh.—We find the reference in the chronicle from Tun-huang, I, 62 (A.D. 693), where the Brog-pas of the Rtsaṅs-po are called up to fight against the 'A-zha in Turkestan. It was quite a natural thing to call to arms the Dards ('*abrog-pa*') of the Indus, for they were the subjects of the Tibetan king.

In Chron. II, 70-71 (A.D. 696) we get the name of a town, apparently in the *rtsaṅs-po* district. It is *Zird-mdā*, where the Tibetan king resided for a time. *Zird-mdā* means 'the aiming arrow.' It is probably the ancient and full name of the village of *Mdā*, which is still the capital of the 'aBrog-pas of the Indus valley.

Several names occur in Turkestan as well as in Western Tibet, and it is, therefore, not advisable to locate them in Ladakh if we find them in the ancient documents. Let me mention *rGya*, an important and well known town in Upper Ladakh. Another place of the same name seems to have existed near Khotan. Then *Stoṅ-sde*, meaning according to Prof. F. W. Thomas 'thousand provinces,' according to my view 'empty (desert) province,' is a well known town in *Zaṅs-dkar*; but according to the documents a place in Turkestan on the Chinese frontier seems to have had the same name. 'A-zha, a tribe, which is, according to the Ladakhī chronicles, one of the Tibetan tribes, called *Se-'a-zha*, but according to the results of Prof. F. W. Thomas' researches there are certainly other 'A-zha tribes between Khotan and China.

Now let me add a few words regarding Leh (*Gle*). A place called *Gle-chuñ*, even *Gleu*, is certainly mentioned in the Turkestan documents. Ancient ruins in the Leh valley, in particular the graves in the vicinity of the *Tu-bkra-shis-'od-mtho*, show that Leh is a place of considerable antiquity. In the chronicles of Ladakh Leh seems to be a place of little importance, however, until c. 1400 A.D., when the Ladakhī kings pay a little more attention to it by providing it with a few buildings. In the fifteenth century they make it the capital of the country. The name of the town is explained by the natives as being derived from *gles*, or *lles* (*lles*=sheepfold). In ancient days the nomads are supposed to have travelled through the Leh valley, and to have there established their sheepfolds. This explanation of the name is corroborated by the fact that the neighbouring village below Leh is called *Dgar-ba*. And the word *dgar-ba* also means 'sheepfold.' To modern people a name meaning 'sheepfold' for a town like Leh appears extraordinary, because nowadays nomads are not seen in the vicinity of Leh; and the present people of Leh keep their sheep and cattle in stables connected with their houses. But about 2000 years ago, when the Gilgit Dards began to found their colonies along the Indus, they must certainly have met with Tibetan nomads in the entire territory of the Indus valley. I have met traces of former nomads even as far down as *Khalatse*. On the plain between the villages of *Tiñ-mo-agañ* and *Ba-lu-mkhar* there are low walls, called *lhas*, or sheepfolds, which the natives explain as the work of ancient nomads. It is such low walls which are supposed to have been the beginning of Leh.

The ancient graves of Leh, which were described for the first time in my book *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, point to a later time, when a dynasty with high culture was established at Leh. In that book I expressed the view that these graves might belong to the "Kingdom

of the Eastern Women," which, according to Sui-shu, might be looked for in Ladakh. Now I see that Dr. A. Herrmann of Berlin also, in his contribution to Sven Hedin's work, *Southern Tibet*, places this kingdom in the same region. He mentions also Ru-thog as a possible site. But graves of this particular type have, up to the present, been found only at Leh and at the town of rGya.¹¹ When we locate the kingdom of the Eastern Women in Ladakh, we are confronted with the difficulty that another name of Ladakh in those times was Khrom-ge-sar-gdan, or 'market, throne of Gesar,' and it is not easy to imagine that a kingdom which is called after Gesar, the mythical hero, was governed by women. Thus we hear that the Tibetan princess, who married a king of Khotan in the seventh century, is called a princess of Khrom-ge-sar; but it is quite possible that just in the beginning of the seventh century the change from an 'empire of women' to an 'empire of heroes' had been completed, for then the emperor of entire Tibet was Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, and he was decidedly against the matriarchate. When, in c. 930 A.D. Skid-ldo-nyi-ma-mgon conquered the West of Tibet, he found in Leh a dynasty of 'descendants of Gesar,' apparently descendants of the kings of the seventh century. With regard to the 'Kingdom of the Eastern Women' we are also told that an Indian script was in use there. That is nothing extraordinary, for as we have seen, in Kushāna times the greater part of Ladakh was in touch with Kushāna culture; and, as the Ladakhī inscriptions prove, Ladakh was also influenced by Kashmīr and North-Western India in later times.—Let us now, once more, turn to the history of the introduction of the Tibetan script by Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, who, as the chronicles tell us, himself knew Sanskrit, Nowārī and Chinese. He sent his minister Thon-mi to Kashmīr (as the Western chronicles have it), to learn to read and write Sanskrit, and after that he was urged to form a Tibetan alphabet. The Indian script, from which the Tibetan alphabet was derived, was plainly a kind of north-western Gupta; and this script could profitably be studied in Kashmīr, where there were several famous Buddhist monasteries at the time. The chronicles speak of two teachers of Thon-mi,—one was called Señ-ge-sgra, Simhanāda, the other Li-byin. The name Li-byin was translated by S. Chandra Das as Līpidatta, 'clerk.' There can be no doubt, that the syllable *byin* is generally translated by the Indian word *datta*, 'given,' 'gift.' If the word preceding the syllable *byin* is the name of a deity (*deva*, etc.), the name Devadatta corresponds exactly to our name Theodore, Isidor, etc. Now in the Tibetan language we find several names in which the syllable *byin* is connected with a local name. Thus, in the Ladakhī chronicles a hero called Khri-bdun-yul-byin is mentioned under king Guñ-sroñ'adu-rje (679-705 A.D.) This name I translated by 'blessing of the country Khri-bdun.' We might just as well say 'gift of the country Khri-bdun.' Another name of this type is the name Mñā-ris-byin, which has to be translated as 'gift of Mñā-ris,' Mñā-rsi being the name of Western Tibet. Encouraged by these examples, I feel now inclined to translate the name Li-byin by 'gift of the land Li.' Li is the Tibetan name for Khotan; and the name Li-byin would thus point to Khotan as the bearers' place of origin. Until now a great number of ancient Tibetan documents with personal names beginning with the syllable *Li* have been excavated. The bearers of all these names were apparently natives of Khotan. Such names are: Li-mñan, Li-snañ, Li-bu-god, Li-shir-de, Li-sa-bdad, etc. These names tend to convince me of the fact that the name of Thon-mi's teacher has also something to do with Li (Khotan). And, in this connection, it is of some importance that Professor R. Hoernle also wrote in *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 492:—"The Tibetan script agrees with the Khotanese script in making the vocalic radical *a* (ཨ) to function as a consonantal radical, and this fact shows quite clearly that the Tibetan script was introduced from Khotan."

I shall not go as far as that, or as I did formerly in stating that the Tibetan script was altogether brought from Khotan. But with regard to the method of writing initial vowels, as pointed out by Dr. Hoernle, I must really say that here we have a peculiarity in which the Tibetan script agrees so closely with that of Khotan that we must accept the fact that a

¹¹ Compare also my note on Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo, etc., *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 489-90.

certain influence on the formation of the Tibetan script was exercised by Khotan; and the presence of a teacher in Kashmir called Li-byin might explain this fact.

To suit the requirements of the Tibetan language, Thon-mi had to invent several characters for his alphabet. These were called *rañ-gis-byas*, 'selfmade.' At first there were six, then seven of them. In an old manuscript they are called *riñs*, but this may be a mistake for *rañ-gis*.¹² It is remarkable that the Tibetan alphabet very soon spread over the whole country and became generally known. Thus in the eighth century, as proved by the Turkestan documents, it was used by officials, soldiers, monks, cooks and peasants, in short by everybody. As exact dates are, however, missing in those documents, it is very difficult to decide which is the oldest Tibetan document left to us. Among the famous inscription stones of Lhasa, five of which were published by Waddell (*JRAS.*, 1909, II) the oldest seems to be his Potala pillar inscription B: for in it king Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan's father, Khri-lde-gtsug-btsan, is mentioned as king. This would take us back to the middle of the eighth century. Of the seventh century, no datable document of Tibetan script has as yet been found. With regard to the west, I am convinced that there also we have several documents of the eighth century. Let me refer to: (1) the Balu-mkhar inscription published in this journal (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 203 f.); (2) the old Balti inscription (Lho-nub-mñā-mdzad-rgyal-po); and (3) an inscription of the Indus valley between Saspo-la and Snyuñ-la. This inscription was published by myself in *ZDMG.*, vol. LXI, Tafel I, No. 7. As I could not translate it at the time of publication, I left the question open. Now that I have profited from my study of Turkestan documents, and seen the inscription again (October 1914) I venture to present the following reading of it: 'aphar-ma-'adi-la-lam-rdzeg-byuñ. "At this difficult (passage) the road was completed." This means that the road along the river was exceedingly difficult to construct, just in the place ('aphar-ma) where the inscription was carved. When this difficulty was overcome, the road could easily be completed. What hindered me at first from reading this short inscription, was the fact that I could not recognize the letter *r* contained in it. The letter *r* was written like an inverted *n*. This strange form of *r* I have now met so often in documents from Turkestan that I can read it safely. Two other letters also of ancient type are found in this inscription, viz., the 'a-chuñ with a stroke to the right hand side, and the letter *dz*, which is written like the present letter *j*. All this makes it certain that this inscription must be dated about the middle of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. It is of a certain historical interest, for from it we learn that the principal road along the Indus valley lay along the river in the eighth century, that is at a time when no powder for blasting was available to the people who constructed it. But this extraordinary road seems to have lasted for a short time only. When it broke down, the so-called 'upper-road,' which passed by the villages Lte-ba-Tiñ-mo-sgañ, He-mis-shug-pa-can and Li-kir, and avoided the river Indus from Khalatse to Bab-ago, was constructed. It was only after the conquest of Ladakh by the Dogras that the ancient road along the Indus was built again with much blasting of rocks; and nowadays people travel once more as they did 1000 years ago, and the ancient inscription is seen again from the modern road.

Even after the early Indian times of Western Tibet, the west was distinguished by many brilliant names. The great teacher and translator Rinchen-bzañ-po, the contemporary of Atiśa, belonged to the west, where many of his buildings are still extant; the philosopher Mar-pa, the teacher of Milarapa, had his home in Zañs-dkar. Other famous names are connected with Spyi-ti, Mañ-yul, Gu-ge, Mñā-ris, Guñ-thañ, even Baltistān (sBal-ti-dgra-beom). But the west has not yet had an advocate, and it will probably still be some time before its importance is generally recognized. But we may be sure that this time will come!

¹² As stated by Laufer.

Appendix to Notes on Khotan and Ladakh.

Note 1.

When I had completed my article on Khotan and Ladakh I was pleasantly surprised by the publication of Sir Aurel Stein's splendid volumes of *Innermost Asia*.

On plate VII we find a document from Mazâr Tâgh, which may interest us again in our study of both these countries, Khotan and Ladakh. This plate gives a most excellent representation of a drawing of horses with a groom. The picture is mutilated, but, nevertheless, it can be seen that it represents a fine artistic effort. Besides, it is furnished with a Tibetan inscription of four lines, the right half of which is unfortunately lost. A small portion of another line of writing is also found at the bottom of the page. This inscription is of some importance, as it appears to refer to the representation on the picture. It reads as follows :—

1. *rtsañs-rmañ-rogs-gis-yon-du-pul-ba, rta*
2. *'adon-po-smon*
3. *zhi-rab-du-byuñ*
4. *rgya-drug, spy (an)-r (ab)*

At bottom :—

5. *gyo-g Yu*

Translation :—

1. Rmañ-rogs from Rtsañs gave as an offering : horses
2. The reciter, Smoñ
3. *zhi* (four ?) entered the order
4. 600 (or 106) *Sp (yan)-r (as)*

At bottom :—

5. pieces of turquoise

From the first line we learn that horse, like those represented in the picture were apparently offered to a monastery by a certain Rmañ-rogs, who either came from the district of Rtsañs, or belonged to the clan of Rtsañs. In the second line, the word 'reciter' (*'adon-po*) refers to a monk who recites religious books and is paid for that. The syllable *smoñ* may be the first part of the word *smoñ-lam*, 'prayer.' Prayers might also be paid for. In the third line the word *zhi* cannot be translated with certainty; *rab-du-byuñ-(ba)* is used for 'entering the order.' Unfortunately we cannot make out who enters the order, whether the sacrificer or some other person. Of the fourth line I do not venture to say anything. The fifth line contains only the words 'sherds of turquoises.' These stones might also be an offering.

GENERAL REMARKS.

As regards clan names and names of localities, which indicate the homes of Tibetans, it is remarkable that both these kinds of names are placed before the personal name. The reason is probably that many of the clan names are in reality local names. They indicate the locality from which a certain clan emigrated before it settled in the district where it is now found.

In my paper, *A Language Map of W. Tibet* (JASB., 1904, p. 362 f.), I wrote of the clans of the little village of Khalatse. By the names of these clans it could be proved that more than half of the population of this village had emigrated from Gilgit. If *rtsañs* is a clan name, it would show that the ancestors of Rmañ-rogs once emigrated from the Rtsañs district. Now, where is that district? We find it also mentioned in Chronicle II, 62, the ancient

Tibetan annals quoted by F. W. Thomas in his article entitled *Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 54), where we read :

Rtsaṅ-chen-poi'abrog-skos-nas, blon-che Khri-'abrin, 'A-zha-yul-du-mchis-par-lo-gcig, which may be translated as follows :—

"Having called up the Brog-(pa) of Rtsaṅ-chen-po (the great river), the great minister Khri-'abrin went into the 'A-zha country—thus one year."

Regarding the words "the great river" we might think of two rivers known as Gtsaṅ-po, viz., the Brahmaputra and the Indus. I believe that here the Indus is meant. The Brahmaputra runs through middle and eastern Tibet, i.e., through districts in which the pronunciation of the word *gtsaṅ-po* is *tsaṅ-po*. Hence the name of the province on its borders is Tsaṅ. The Indus in its course through Ladakh, however, is called Rtsaṅ-po, or even Rtsaṅ-po; hence the portion of Ladakh which is found on its banks was called Rtsaṅ(s)-po, or Rtsaṅ(s). As here in our documents we find the forms Rtsaṅ-po as well as Rtsaṅs, which plainly point to the Ladakhī pronunciation of the clan or local name, it is very probable that they refer to the Indus.

It is of interest also, that the inhabitants of the Indus valley below Hanu are called 'aBrog-pa. They are Dards and were Dards probably also 1200 years ago. In the days, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po they were called to arms by the Tibetan kings, to fight against the Chinese and the 'A-zha, just as they were called up 80 years ago by the Ladakhī kings to fight against the Dogras.

There are 'aBrog-pa of Tibetan origin also on the banks of the Brahmaputra, as we know from Mrs. David Neel's book, *Arjopa*; but that in Chronicle II, 62, by the words *Rtsaṅ-po-chen-poi-'abrog* the Indus valley is meant, and not the Brahmaputra valley, is quite clear from the spelling of the word *gtsaṅ-po*, viz., *rtsaṅ-po*.

That Ladakh as a whole was also known by this name in those days we learn from Hsüan-tsang, who gives *San-po-ho* or *Sam-pa-ha* as a name of the country. This appears to be the Chinese rendering of the name Rtsaṅs-po. We find this name in his definition of the frontiers of Suvarṇagotra. The personal name of the donor, Rmaṅ-rogs, reminded me of another document I had once seen; and when I looked through Sir Aurel Stein's collection of Mazār Tāgh documents I found it in the document numbered Mazār-Tāgh bI. 00104. This document is in a very bad state of preservation. Not only is the right half torn off, but elsewhere also words are mutilated. In the first line we read that it was written by Rmaṅ-rogs, whose clan name is not given, to a certain nobleman called Pan-khri. Also in this letter, horses are mentioned. Line 8 speaks of *rita-sse (se-bo)*, 'grey horses,' and in line 9 we find the words *chibs-mchibs-pa*, 'riding on horses.' This makes it probable that the writer of the letter and the sacrificer of horses were one and the same person. Perhaps another point deserves mention. In line 5 we read the words *khyim-paṅ-du*, which mean 'on the occasion of abandoning the house,' and may refer to the fact that at a certain time the writer was going to enter the order.

That horses as well as other animals were brought to Buddhist priests as sacrificial offerings, is known from literature, as, for instance, from *glin-bzā-choe-skyid-kyi-rnam-thar*, where we read :—(1) *yon-la-khrab-gnyis-rita-pho-mo-gsum-gYag-bcu-bdun, zhin-gnyis-rnams-phul-nas, beṅo-ba-zhus*. (Translation) 'As an offering I brought 2 cuirasses, 3 male and female horses, 17 yaks and [presented] 2 fields, and asked for a blessing.'

(2) *bekaṅ-bshags-brgya-thea-gnyis-byas-pai-yon-la-rita-bzai-po-gcig, gYu, mdzo-ri-ba-gcig-byas*. (Translation) 'As an offering for a two hundred-fold copying (or reciting) of the book *bekaṅ-bshags* I gave a good horse, turquoises, a valuable *mdzo*.'

From this it is apparent that horses, yaks, mDzos and other useful animals and also turquoises were brought to the priests as religious offerings.

About the custom of breaking jewels to pieces, we read the following in Mr. D. Macdonald's recent work, *The Land of the Lama* (p. 83):—"Most of these images are covered with gold-leaf

and in one or two of the older institutions, that have become pilgrim centres, they are encrusted with rough uncut gems." On page 84, he adds: "The bases of some images are filled with crushed gems. This prevents any venal lama from stealing them for the precious stones inside them, while they still have the value of the gems enclosed." Thus the inscription on the picture, besides explaining its meaning, presents us with an interesting view of Buddhist life in Turkestan during the eighth century.

Note 2.

As regards the wedge-shaped wooden writing tablets from Turkestan called *kīlamudrā*, I wish to state that this form of writing tablet is still preserved and is in use in Ladakh. Two equal boards of wood (wedge-shaped) are connected by a nail joint at the narrow end. They are used for writing on the inside, and then tied by a string at the wider end, when closed together. As far as I know, this form of writing tablet is found only in Ladakh, and not in Lhasa or Tibet proper. It is found in Turkestan only in the Kharoṣṭhī period, i.e., in the second and third century A.D. As the Kharoṣṭhī script was also in use in Ladakh at that time, it is probable that these tablets were then introduced from Turkestan. This form of tablet is one of the few surviving links which connect the civilization of Turkestan with that of Ladakh.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE S. CHARLES HILL.

(Continued from p. 54.)

(IX) *Actual existence of true Brahmans and true Brahman Hindu States. Brahman Rule.* If any one objects that nowadays he nowhere finds such Brahmans as these and nowhere any Hindu State, which follows the true Hindu tradition, one would do well to remember that the system is now some 4000 years old (Smith's *Oxford History*, p. 8) and to ponder upon what was written about the Brahmans and Hindu States by European observers as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. About 1762 Luke Sraffton, a servant of the East India Company, wrote in his *Reflections* (and was approvingly quoted in his *Empire Mogol* by the Scots-Frenchman Jean Law, who, like Sraffton, had spent much time in the interior of India) as follows:—"Such of the Brahmans who are not engaged in worldly pursuits are a very moral, superstitious, innocent people, who promote charity as much as they can to men and beasts, but such who engage in the world are the worst of the Gentoos [i.e., the Hindus], for, persuaded the waters of the Ganges will purify them from their sins, and being exempted from the utmost rigour of the Courts of Justice under the Gentoo Government, they run into the greatest excesses." This, it should be remembered, was in the northern parts of India, where alien influences were strongest, for the Muhammadans had conquered Bengal more than 500 years earlier. A little later the French missionary, the Abbé Dubois, writing of the Brahmans of Southern India, says (*Hindu Manners*, p. 104):—"The original Brahman is described as a penitent and a philosopher, living apart from the world and its temptations and entirely engrossed in the pursuit of knowledge, leading a life of introspection and practising a life of purity.....The simple and blameless lives led by the primitive Brahmans, their contempt for wealth and honours, their disinterestedness and, above all, their extreme sobriety attracted the attention of the Princes and the people." Even in the good Abbé's time the Brahmans, he says (*ibid.*, p. 159), formed a class of men in tone and manners infinitely superior to the other Hindus, and there were certain villages inhabited almost entirely by Brahmans. This last statement emphasizes the Brahman love of seclusion, natural enough in men inclined to meditation, which led some of the more devout to a life in the forest, accompanied only by their wives, or to the absolutely solitary life of the Sannyāsi. Naturally Europeans come rarely into contact and, still less often, into intimacy with the two last classes of Brahmans. "The hate and contempt which they cherish against all strangers,

especially against Europeans ; the jealous inquietude with which they hide from the profane the mysteries of their religious cult, the records of their learning, the privacy of their homes, all these form barriers between themselves and their observers which it is almost impossible to pass " (*Hindu Manners*, p. 12).

To return, however, to Sraffton. In spite of the corruption which he deplored in a portion of the Hindu community, he says :—" But in justice to the Gentoo religion and customs I must say that before the late wars between the French and us in the Carnatick [i.e., Southern India] country, which is chiefly divided into little Indian Rajaships, human nature in no part of the world afforded a fairer scene of contemplation to a philosophic mind." Another Company's servant, John Zephaniah Holwell, wrote in 1765 (*Interesting Historical Facts*, p. 193) of the subjects of a Bengal Raja, Gopal Singh, whom he describes as of the " Rajput Brahmin " tribe :—" It would be almost cruelty to molest these happy people, for in this district are the only vestiges of the beauty, purity, regularity, equity and strictness of the ancient Indian Government. Here the property as well as the liberty of the people are inviolate ; here no robberies are heard of, either public or private." It was, in fact, a survival of the Hindu type of kingdom, in which the ruler was a Rajput, i.e., a Kshatriya, and his advisers were Brahmans.

From the above we may, I think, conclude that, before denying the existence of true Brahmans, one should look for them elsewhere than in public life and that the ideal Hindu kingdom is not a Utopian dream, but has actually existed in comparatively recent times and still exists in the hearts of the Hindus, that it was based upon a social system which secured the happiness and contentment and loyalty of all classes of the people, and that the later stages of corruption and confusion have been due to foreign intrusion, whether by land from Central Asia or by sea from distant Europe, whilst whatever unrest now prevails in India is caused by the incessant struggle of the Hindu Caste ideal against alien influences. So, at least, thought the Abbé, for he wrote :—" Under the supremacy of the Brahmans [in Muhammadan as well as Hindu [States] the people of India hated their [rules of] government while they cherished and respected their rulers ; under the supremacy of Europeans they hate and despise their rulers from the bottom of their hearts, whilst they cherish and respect their [mode of] government (*Hindu Manners*, p. 4)."

(X) *European objections to the Caste System. Hindu indifference to the form of and changes in government.*—The possibility of Caste as an effective social and political system being then demonstrated, one may notice some objections which have been brought against it. The first, as noted by Sraffton and Law, is that the division of the people into castes is a bar to individual development and hence to the material progress of the nation and that the diversity of interests creates such a want of national solidarity that the country lies defenceless against the attack of any invader. A second is that the prejudices created by Caste are so strong that they prevent the Hindu from receiving a purer form of religion. A third objection is that the Brahmans do nothing productive themselves and are therefore a useless burden upon the community.

As regards the first the Hindu might reply that the restrictions of Caste teach the individual what so few members of other civilizations know, namely the limitations of his powers and so save him from futile efforts towards the unattainable ; he would point to the material achievements of the Hindus at a time when Europe was only issuing from barbarism, whilst the Brahman, in his scorn for luxury, would point out that material progress alone, so far from leading to happiness and content, only increases the number of material desires and so leads to unrest. In a country where the wants of nature are so easily supplied as they are in India, it seems mere folly to create new wants and with them new evils. On the other hand, as Sraffton reflected, " It is this same division which has maintained the manufactures of the country in spite of all the vexations of the Muhammadans, since, as long as a son can follow

no other occupation than that of his father, manufactures can be destroyed only by the extermination of the nation itself." And the Abbé Dubois writes (*Hindu Manners*, p. 28):—"I believe caste division to be in many respects the *chef d'œuvre* of Hindu legislation. I am persuaded that it is simply and solely due to the distribution of the people into castes that India did not lapse into a state of barbarism and that she preserved and perfected the arts and sciences of civilization whilst most other nations of the earth remained in a state of barbarism." And again (*ibid.*, p. 34):—"It is to caste distinctions that India owes the preservation of her arts and industries. For the same reason she would have reached a high standard of perfection in them had not the avarice of her rulers prevented it." On the same subject Vincent Smith remarks (*Oxford History*, p. 42):—"That stability, although not absolute, has been the main agent in preserving Hindu ideas of religion, morals, art and craftsmanship. Monier Williams concisely observes that 'caste has been useful in promoting self-sacrifice, in securing subordination of the individual to an organized body, in restraining vice, in preventing pauperism.'"

As regards the defencelessness of a Hindu State against foreign aggression, the fact that the Kshatriyas, whose chief duty was war, formed one of the four great original castes shows that the founders of the Caste System did provide, in this caste, for the defence of the State what was, practically, the first standing army recorded in history. In most parts of India this caste has disappeared and the old legends seem "to show that the Brahmans, at least in the original seat of their power, had repressed the Kshatriya or warrior class (*Imperial Gazetteer*, I, 407)." But Sraffton and Law had no personal knowledge of the Rajput States in which the Kshatriya caste still survives. These were never really conquered by the Muhammadans or Europeans and still maintain their independence and dignity. Again, it was chiefly European interference which prevented the Marathas from establishing Hindu States throughout all India. When they first clashed with the British they already held the Mughal Emperors in their hands. The Gurkhas of Nepal, who claim Rajput origin (*Imperial Gazetteer*, II, 493), maintain a jealous independence in the mountains of India.

But, as a matter of fact, the easy submission of those Hindu States, in which the Kshatriyas had disappeared, to foreign attacks, assumes quite another complexion when we consider how indifferent the Hindus always were to the Governments under which they happened to live. Their allegiance was not to the Government but, as it still is, to the Brahmans. On this Dubois remarks (*Hindu Manners*, p. 4):—"The people of India have always been accustomed to bow their heads beneath the yoke of a cruel and oppressive despotism, and moreover, strange to say, have always displayed mere indifference towards those who have forced them to it. Little cared they whether the princes under whom they groaned were of their own country or from foreign lands. . . . Never did the fall of one of their despots cause the least regret; never did the elevation of another cause the least joy. . . . They have always considered themselves lucky enough if their religious and domestic institutions were left untouched by those who, by good fortune or force of arms, had got hold of the reins of government." Now, in Europe we are accustomed to think of the Political and Social systems of a country as one and the same thing, or at least as so closely connected that they cannot be separated. But these remarks of the good Abbé show that to the Hindu mind they are not only distinct, but separable in fact. His intimate life, the life over which he has control, the life which to the Hindu really matters, is altogether independent of the political conditions which happen to prevail. The Abbé, indeed, implies that this indifference is due to a kind of apathy or slavish submission but, from the Hindu point of view, it is only a sensible submission to what is unavoidable. He recognizes that just as there is weather everywhere and the wise man enjoys it when it is good without repining when it is bad, so there will always be some form of government wherever there are communities of human beings and a wise man should think of it as he does of the weather, namely something which he can enjoy

or guard against, but which he cannot control. The popular idea prevalent in democracies that the people can govern themselves is to him a laughable delusion. If they could, there would be no need of or possibility of a Government. Andrew Fletcher wrote to the Marquis of Montrose :—" I knew a very wise man that believed that if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." Fletcher's " very wise man " held the same opinion as the Brahmans. For whatever reason the Brahmans contrived or allowed the extinction of the Kshatriya caste in some of the Hindu States, it may, I think be taken for granted that they had determined to withdraw from politics so long as their position as social and religious rulers was left untouched. In a somewhat peculiar way the Brahmans had decided to be in the world and yet not of it.

As regards the religious objection that Hinduism prevents the people from accepting a purer form of religion, this is partly due to manners and customs which are strange and at times shocking to Europeans but which are based upon reasons of which they are ignorant or which they misunderstand. But mainly this objection is based upon the Hindu opposition to Christianity and the penalties imposed upon converts to that religion. To understand this one must look into the reasons why Hinduism, which allows absolute freedom of thought to its devotees, should now, for it was not always so, be specially hostile to Christianity.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

In the note published at pp. 57-58, above (Mar. 1929), reference was made to a communication received from Mahamahopādhyāya P. Bhaṭṭāchārya Vidyāvinod on the subject of his proposed identifications of the six countries mentioned by Hiuen-tsang as lying beyond Samatāṭa. The Mahamahopādhyāya, it will be remembered, is of opinion that Hiuen-tsang's *Mo-ha-chan-p'o* should be identified with Sampanago, and as comprising the whole of northern Burma. In this connexion attention is drawn to

the remarks of Mr. C. Duroiselle, Archaeological Superintendent, Burma Circle, published at p. 117 of the *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, for the year 1925-26, and especially to the footnote, which runs as follows :—

" A close examination of the ruins of the walls and of the bricks with which they were built tends to show that Hiuen Tsang did not refer to Sampanago near Bhamo."

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, Jt. Editor.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1927, published by the Kern Institute, Leyden. 12½ x 9½ in.; pp. x+143; 12 plates and 6 figures in the text. Leyden, 1929.

This valuable publication follows the same lines as in the inaugural volume for 1926, with two modifications, namely, that a separate section (IIA) has been formed to include all periodicals dealing with the archaeology, epigraphy and history of India proper, and that extracts from reviews in French and German have been printed in those languages, and not translated into English. In each case the change seems expedient.

The introductory chapter contains a survey of the more important features of the year's work, ranging over different parts of India as well as Siam, Indonesia and Iran. A note on the prehistoric civilization in the Indus valley naturally comes first; but, owing to the extraordinary delay in publishing full details of the work that has been carried out by the Archaeological Department at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, the editors have had to content themselves with printing extracts from a paper communicated by Sir J. Marshall to a London weekly journal. On

the other hand, we are supplied with some useful fresh information relating to the excavations carried out by Mr. A. H. Longhurst during the cold season of 1927-28 at Nāgārjunikonda in the north-west of the Guntur district, on the right bank of the Kistnā river, above Amrāvati. At this site no less than three Buddhist temples, two monasteries, three *stūpas* and several well-preserved sculptures of great interest have been discovered, which bid fair to justify the claim of the Nāgārjunikonda valley, put forward by Mr. Longhurst, to be the most important Buddhist site hitherto found in southern India. It will be remembered that three important Prākṛit inscriptions in Brahmi characters of about the third century A.D. relating to the southern Ikṣvāku dynasty were found in this locality a year or two earlier.

In connexion with the vexed question of the interpretation of the great rock sculpture, popularly known as 'Arjuna's Penance,' at Mahābalipuram, attention is drawn to Mr. Longhurst's description, printed at p. 103 of the *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, for 1924-25, of remains found on top of the rock indicating that there was once a masonry or brick

cistern there. In a further communication, it seems, Mr. Longhurst has suggested that on certain festival occasions this cistern would be filled "and the water allowed to flow down the cleft in the form of a cascade into the tank below, simulating the descent of a mountain torrent." The editors regard this evidence as corroborating M. Goloubew's identification of the sculpture with the descent of the Ganges from heaven. We have also a note by M. George Coedès on the excavations at P'ong Tuk in western Lower Siam, on the right bank of the Meklong river. The objects found, which include a Greco-Roman lamp and a Buddha statuette in Amrāvati style, appear to belong to the second and sixth centuries A.D.; and M. Coedès came to the conclusion that the local monuments had been abandoned previous to the arrival of the Khmers.

The bibliography seems to be complete as far as it goes. We are glad to learn that arrangements have been made to include information regarding publications appearing in Italy and Russia, and that it is hoped to do the same in respect of Japan. The printing is excellent, and the plates have been admirably produced. Altogether this second volume maintains the high standard of which the first gave promise.

C. E. A. W. O.

A HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, by H. G. Farmer. (Luzac & Co., 1929.)

Mr. Farmer has added to his reputation as a student of Arabian Music by this systematic study. He is already well known by his books on *The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory*, *The Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, *The Influence of Music: From Arabic Sources*, and some articles in the *Orientalist Journals*. He has the advantage of being both an Arabist and a musical man,—a rare combination. He writes with appreciation of the Arabian spirit in the Fine Arts and a true perspective, which can distinguish the indigenous genius of the Arab people from the outside influence which enabled it to express itself in the changing fashions of the Arabic and Islamic world.

He begins from the earliest times, when music played an important part in the mysteries of the soothsayer and the magic man. Definite records of pre-Islamic music are scanty. With the rise of Islam began the full record of every phase of Arab life and civilization, including music. Mr. Farmer reviews impartially the arguments for and against music in the controversies of early Islam, and details the various kinds of music which were held "permissible." He rightly draws attention to the spiritual music of the Sufis, who called in music as a handmaid to Islam. He reviews the various periods of Muslim history—the Orthodox Khilāfat, the Umayya period, and the Abbaside Khilāfat in three distinct periods. Under each head he considers the social and political factors

which determined the general musical culture, the theory and practice of music considered generally and without technical details, and notices the celebrated composers, singers, instrumentalists and writers on the theory, science, and art of music. A careful account is given of the evolution of the Arabian musical instruments, which may be read with Mr. Farmer's article on Meccan musical instruments in the current number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (July 1929). The three illustrations are taken from Arabic Manuscripts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and give us a glimpse of the Arabian *Shahrūd* and of the Arabian systems of musical notation.

It may be permissible to point out a few misprints. At p. 19, "elegaist" should read "elegiast." At p. 48, "Al-Hasan, the grandson of Khalif Ali," should read "Hasan, a son of Khalifa Ali." At p. 53, the date of Khalifa 'Uthman should read "644-56" instead of "644-68". The date is correctly given in other places. At p. 90, "Muqaddima" should be "Muqaddama." I would also suggest that the barbarous "Khaliphate" should be discarded in favour of "Khilāfat."

A. YUSUF ALI.

THE CHRONICLES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TRADING TO CHINA, 1635-1834, by H. B. MORSE, LL.D., vol. V (supplementary), 1742-74. 8½×5½ in.; pp. x+212. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929.

When the first four volumes of these *Chronicles* appeared in 1926, Dr. Morse recorded, in the Preface to vol. I, his regret that the Canton records of the Company for the years 1743-1753 were but fragmentary, while those for the years 1754-1774 were entirely missing from the India Office archives. Diligent search, however, brought to light certain duplicate copies that had been deposited in the Legation at Peking. We congratulate the editor on this discovery, which has enabled him to compile this supplementary, fifth, volume. The period concerned falls wholly within the long reign of the Manchu emperor K'ien-lung, famous not only for his warlike, but also for his literary activities. Though Canton was then the only open port, the commerce between Europe and China was rapidly attaining important proportions. The interminable disputes with the local Chinese officials and the frequent dissensions between the competing companies make it difficult to understand how any profitable trade could be carried on at all. The explanation will be found in the dogged resolution and indomitable spirit of the Company's servants disclosed by this chronicle. Though the records found be still very incomplete, Dr. Morse has succeeded in piecing together information on a variety of topics of much interest and value to students of the economic and commercial history of the eighteenth century.

C. E. A. W. O.

SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGITA.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., UPSALA.

(Continued from page 50.)

Unfortunately these more or less authoritative passages had slipped out of my mind when about a year ago I came to occupy myself somewhat more seriously with the Gītā in order to give a series of lectures on that text. However, after having formed my own opinions on certain important points in connection with the exterior constitution of the text, I found, with very great pleasure, that my own suggestions did at least partly concur with those of far more prominent scholars. Also to me it seems quite obvious that the verses following upon ii, 38, can in no wise have belonged to the original epic text. As, however, I cannot find with Professors Schrader and Oldenberg that the whole of ii, 1—38—with two or three possible exceptions—belongs to the old text nor feel quite convinced of the correctness of Professor Jacobi's view, I shall here give those parts of canto ii which to me undoubtedly seem to be old and original.³²

Canto ii.

t aṃ tathā kṛpayāviṣṭam āsrupūrṇākulckṣaṇam |

viṣidantam idam vākyam uvāca Madhusūdanaḥ || 1 ||

Śrī-Bhagavān uvāca |

katas tvā kaśmalam idam viśame samupasthitam |

anāryajūṣṭam asvargyam akīrtikaram Arjuna || 2 ||

klaibyam mā sma gamaḥ Pārtha naitat tvayy upapadyate |

kṣudram hṛdayadaurbalyam tyaktvottiṣṭha paramitapa || 3 ||

Arjuna uvāca |

katham Bhīṣmam ahaṃ saṃkhye Dronaṃ ca Madhusūdana |

iṣubhiḥ pratiyotsyāmi pūjārṇāv arisūdana || 4 ||

gurūn ahatvā hi mahānubhāvān

chreyo bhoktum bhaikṣyam ihaiva loke |

hatvārīhakāmāns tu gurūn ihaiva

bhuñjīya bhogān rudhīrapradigdhān || 5 ||

na caitat vidmaḥ katarān no garīyo

yad vā jayema yadi vā no jayeyuh |

yān eva hatvā na jijīviṣāmas

te 'vasthitāḥ pramukhe Dhārtarāṣṭrāḥ || 6 ||

kārpaṇyadoṣopahatasvabhāvaḥ

prcchāmi tvām dharmasammūdhacetāḥ |

yac chreyaḥ syān niścitam brūhi taṃ me

śiṣyas te 'haṃ śādhi mām tvām prapannam || 7 ||

na hi prapaśyāmi mamāpanudyāt³³

³² As for canto i there is no apparent reason for rejecting any verses; they may well be old and original all of them, though there is, of course, no absolute certainty that such is the case. Verse 10: *aparyāptam tad asmākam balam Bhīṣmābhīrakṣitam | paryāptam tv idam eteṣām balam Bhīṣmābhīrakṣitam* is a crux interpretationis. That Duryodhana should be made to say: 'Impar certamini est hic noster exercitus,' etc. (Schlegel) is apparently nonsensical. Either *aparyāpta* must mean something like 'not tightly closed' (cp. the use of *paryāpta* in *MBh.*, xv, 186) which would tally well with the exhortation in v. 11; or the text has been tampered with. Originally it may have run like this: *aparyāptam tad asmākam balam Bhīṣmaṃ virakṣitam* (cp. the exhortation to protect Bhīṣma in v. 11); and the not very common *vi-rakṣ-* was ousted by the more well-known *abhi-rakṣ-*. In v. 23 Duryodhana is called by Arjuna *durbuddhiḥ*. This does not mean *acceleration* (Schlegel), 'perverse' (Hill) or something like that. The native commentaries have the correct explanation (cp., e.g., *Madhusūdana: durbuddheḥ svarakṣaṇopāyam ajānataḥ*); it means 'unwise, stupid,' cp. *alpa-buddhiḥ* in xvi, 9. With v. 47 *rathopastha upāviśat*, cp. *MBh.*, iv, 41, 8.

³³ On *apanudyāt*, cp. Professor Rajwade, *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume*, p. 328.

yac chokam ucchosanam indriyāṇām |
 avāpya bhūmāv asapatnam ṛddham
 rājyaṁ surāṇām api cādhipatyam || 8 ||
 evam uktvā Hṛṣīkeśam Guḍākeśaḥ paramitapaḥ |
 na yotsya iti Govindam uktvā tūṣṇīm babhūva ha || 9 ||
 tam uvāca Hṛṣīkeśaḥ prahasann iva Bhārata |
 senayor ubhayor madhye viśūdanam idam vacaḥ || 10 ||
 Śrī-Bhagavān uvāca |
 asocyaṁ anvasocas tvam prajñāvādāms ca bhāṣase |
 galāsūn agatāsūms ca nānuśocanti paṇḍitāḥ || 11 ||
 svadharmam api cāvekṣya na vikampitum arhasi |
 dharmyūd dhi yuddhāc chreya 'nyat kṣattriyasya na vidyate || 12 (31) ||
 yadrocchayā copapannam svargadvāram apāvṛtam |
 sukhinaḥ kṣattriyāḥ Pārtha labhante yuddham idam || 13 (32) ||
 atha cet tvam imam dharmyam saṁgrāmaṁ na kariṣyasi |
 tataḥ svadharmam kirtim ca hitvā pāpam avāpsyasi || 14 (33) ||
 akirtim cāpi bhūtāni kathayiṣyanti te'vyayām |
 sambhāvitasya cākirtir maraṇād atiricyate || 15 (34) ||
 bhayād raṇād uparatam mamaṁyante tvām mahārathāḥ |
 yeṣāṁ ca tvam bāhumato bhūtvā yāsyasi lāghavam || 16 (35) ||
 avācya vādāmsca bahūn vadiṣyanti tavāhitāḥ |
 nindantas tava sāmāthyam tato duḥkhataram nu kim || 17 (36) ||
 tato vā prāpsyasi svargam jīvā vā bhokṣyase mahim |
 tasmād uttiṣṭha Karunteya yuddhāya kṣāntiśchayaḥ || 18 (37) ||
 sukhaduḥkhe same kṛtvā lābhālābham jayājayaḥ |
 tato yuddhāya yujyasva naiva pāpam avāpsyasi || 19 (38) ||
 tato Dhanañjayaṁ drṣtvā bānagāṇḍivadhārīnam |
 punar eva mahānādam vyasṛjanta mahārathāḥ || MBh., vi, 2533 || etc.

1. "To him, who was thus filled with compassion, whose eyes were distressed and filled with tears, and who was full of despair, Madhusūdana spoke these words :

"The Holy One said :

2. "Whence in this perilous time did this folly³⁴ come upon thee, meet for ignoble minds, leading to Hell, and causing disrepute, O Arjuna ?

3. "Yield not to unmanly behaviour, thou son of Prthā, it is not fitting to thee. Away with that smallness of heart belonging to mean souls (*kṣudra*) ! Rise up, O Scourge of thy foes !

"Arjuna said :

4. "How can I let fly my darts in battle on Bhīṣma and Droṇa, O Madhusūdana ? Worship crave those both, O Arisūdana.

5. "For, better it were to feed on alms in this world than to slay these highly venerable persons ; were I to slay my Gurus, even if they be greedy for wealth, I should have to eat blood-sullied food.³⁵

6. "Nor even do we know which is better for us : that we should conquer or they should conquer us. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra are there in the forefront—were we to slay them we should not wish to live.

³⁴ *Kaśmala* is generally translated by 'despondency' or something like that. It is, however, fairly identical with *moha* and means 'folly, illusion'—Arjuna is a fool not to discern his clear and obvious duty which leads either directly to Heaven or to universal kingship (ii, 37), *kaśmala* is spoken of as *mohaja* and is destroyed *hetubhir mokṣadarśanaiḥ* in MBh., i, 2, 156 (Poona ed. = i, 521 c.); it is *buddhināśana*, 'obscuring the intellect' in MBh., ii, 1652, etc.

³⁵ The latest translation (by Hill) is far too weak here.

7. "With my heart obscured by the darkness of compassion, with my mind gone astray on the question of duty, I ask thee: tell me right out which is the better part—I must be taught by thee; ³⁶ teach thou me who has come to thee.

8. "I cannot even see clearly what would dispel that grief which dries up my senses³⁷ though I might win on earth unrivalled mighty kingship, nay even sovereignty amongst the gods.³⁸

9. "Thus spoke Gudākeśa, the Scourge of his foes, to Hṛṣikeśa: 'I shall not fight,' he said to Govinda, and then became silent.

10. "To him in despair³⁹ Hṛṣikeśa, slightly smiling, spoke this word in the midst of both armies:

"The Holy One said:

11. 'Thou hast grieved for those who are not in need of grief—yet speakest thou not unwisely.⁴⁰ Wise men grieve not for dead nor for living.

12. (31) 'And further: considering thy caste-duty thou must not waver; for, there is nothing better for a noble warrior than a fight prescribed by his duty.⁴¹

13. (32) 'Happy, O son of Pṛthā, are those noble warriors who come upon a fight like this that meets them fortuitously (like) the gate of Heaven thrown wide open.⁴²

14. (33) 'Then if thou wilt not wage this lawful war thou wilt neglect caste-duty and reputation and fall into sin.

15. (34) 'And then all beings will tell of thy everlasting dishonour; and dishonour is much worse than death to a man of great reputation.

16. (35) 'The warriors on their high cars will think that out of fear didst thou shrink from battle; and those by whom thou hast been highly estimated will think of thee but lightly.⁴³

17. (36) 'And thy enemies will tell many unspeakable tales (about thee) mocking thy manly power⁴⁴—what could be more painful than that?

18. (37) 'If slain thou shalt go to Heaven; if victorious thou shalt reign over the earth. Therefore, rise up, O son of Kuntī, with a firm resolution to fight.

³⁶ Translations of these words such as 'I am thy disciple' and conclusions based on them are wholly wrong. Some commentaries quite correctly interpret śiṣya by kṣānārha (cp. Schlegel-Lassen, *Bhagavad-gītā*, p. 163).

³⁷ Cp. i, 29: *mukham ca pariśuṣyate*, and i, 30: *iva caiva paridāhyate*.

³⁸ i.e., if I might become a cakravartin or even Śakra devānām indrah.

³⁹ With *viśṭāntam*, cp. i, 28; ii, 1.

⁴⁰ On the words *prajñāvadāms ca bhāṣase*, cp. Speyer, *ZDMG.*, lvi, 123 f.; Boehtlingk, *ibid.*, lvi, 209; Oldenberg, *l.c.*, p. 332, n. 3. To me the passage seems perfectly clear (cp. also *MBh.*, xii, 6528: *dharma iva bhāṣase*). Professor Schrader has kindly furnished me with the various reading of the Kāśmīrī redaction which runs: *śāśvān anvaśocas tvam prajñāvan nābhībhāṣase*; this, however, to me appears to be only an 'emendation' of a seemingly unintelligible passage.

⁴¹ Cp. *MBh.*, vi, 646: *adharmah kṣātriyasyaiṣa yad vyādhimaranam grhe | yad ājou nidhanam yāti so'sya dharmah sandānanah ||*; *Viṣṇu* 3, 44: *nāsti rājānām samare tanutyaśasādho dharmah*, etc.

⁴² With this verse cp. *MBh.*, vi, 643: *idaṃ vaḥ kṣātriyā doṣam svargāyāpārtam mahat | gacchadhvam tena dakṣaḥ brahmaṇāca salokatām ||* Rajwade Bhandarkar Comm. Volume, p. 332, correctly remarks that in our verse one expects *iva* after *svargadvāram*.

⁴³ On the words *yeṣāṃ ca tvam bahumato bhūtvā yāsyasi lāghavam*, cp. Schlegel-Lassen, *l.c.*, pp. xxix, n. 167; Boehtlingk, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1897, p. 7; Johansson, *Monde or.*, ii, 84; Rajwade, *l.c.*, p. 329. The construction is bad, but scarcely worse than many others met with in the epic.

⁴⁴ The 'unspeakable tales' (*avācya-vādāḥ*) would probably allude not only to Arjuna's refusal to fight, but also to the rather dubious part played by him as Bṛhannala (on the name cp. *ZDMG.*, lxxii, 226) in the court of Virāṭa. The earlier part of the Virāṭaparvan, where the Pāṇḍavas make a rather ridiculous display of themselves, must certainly belong to the old parts of the epic.

19. (38) 'Being indifferent to pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, make thyself ready for battle. Then thou shalt not fall into sin.'⁴⁵

20. "When the warriors on their high cars perceived Dhanañjaya grasping his arrows and the Gāṇḍivā⁴⁶ they again gave forth great shouts."

* * *

Thus, I venture to think, ran the original part of the text upon which, later on, the Bhāgavatas built up what is now known as the Bhagavadgītā. That the whole of the present poem starts from ii, 39, is a conclusion which I hold more or less in common with Professors Schrader and Jacobi and with the late Oldenberg. However, I differ from these great authorities in totally rejecting also the verses ii, 12—30, which have been retained wholly or partly by previous authors.

That little part of canto ii which I find it possible to retain as part of the original Mahābhārata contains the exhortation of Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna to rise up in arms and take part in the battle. But in these verses, just as little as in those preceding and in canto i, we find not the slightest trace of those doctrines which are characteristic of the present Bhagavadgītā. There is not a word here of resignation, of *Yoga*, etc. 'Take part in the battle,' says Kṛṣṇa, and :

hato vā prāpsyasi svargam jīvā vā bhokṣyase mahīm.

'Either live and conquer the earth, or die and go to Heaven, the paradise of Indra.'⁴⁷—these are the ideals of a chivalrous class and period, in a way strikingly like those of the Scandinavian Viking time when the brave man did either win power and riches or go, sword in hand, to the very material paradise of Valhall. Be it far from me to deny that the doctrine of metempsychosis was known to those *preux chevaliers*. But it was of no great consequence, as valour and fulfilment of the *svadharma* would assure for them a life in Heaven of so long duration as to appear nearly eternal. Not to obey the *svadharma*, however, would lead, not to *svarga*, but to Hell. And as the *svadharma* of the nobleman-warrior is to fight and conquer or die in battle, Arjuna's unmanly resolution is only a sort of folly (*moha*, *kāsmala*) which is soon dissipated by the fiery words of Kṛṣṇa.

In such surroundings the explanations regarding rebirth and immortality contained in vv. ii, 12—30, are singularly inappropriate. They have been strung on quite loosely to the words : *gatāsūn agatāsūnś ca nānuśocanti paṇḍitāḥ* in verse 11, and can never have belonged to the old epic text. We may also observe that within these nineteen verses there is quite a series of quotations from or more or less close parallels to verses belonging to other texts.⁴⁸ Verses 19—20 are closely related to *Kāth. Up.*, 2, 19. 18 and verse 29 to *Kāth. Up.*, 2, 7, while verse 13 is = *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 49 and verses 23—25 and 27—28 are with certain minor variants = *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 51—53. 29. 48⁴⁹; there is also a strong resemblance between verse 22 and *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 50. The passage ii, 12—30, is apparently of late origin and has partly been pieced together from quotations taken from older sources.

(To be continued.)

⁴⁵ Professor Jacobi, *ZDMG.*, lxxii, 324, finds a certain discrepancy between this verse and the preceding one. Of this I can trace nothing. If, however, we want to keep v. 33 we must needs keep this one too, as there is an apparent correspondence between *pāpam avāpsyasi* in that verse and *naiva pāpam avāpsyasi* here.

⁴⁶ The words *bāṇagāṇḍivadhārīṇam* apparently allude to i, 47; *evam ukto'arjunaḥ saṁkhye rathopastho upāśīkut | visṭjya saśaram cāpam śokasamvignamānasah ||* After hearing Kṛṣṇa's words Arjuna has again grasped his bow and arrows and is ready to fight.

⁴⁷ Cp. with this Arjuna's words in ii, 8 : *avāpya bhūmāu asapatnam iddham rājyam surūṇām api cādhipatyam.*

⁴⁸ Cp. Dr. G. Haas, *JAOS.*, xlii, 40 f.

⁴⁹ A comparison between *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 48, a-b : *avyaktādini bhūtāni vyaktamādhyāni cāpy aha* and *Bhag.*, ii, 28 a-b : *avyaktādini bhūtāni vyaktamādhyāni bhārata* seems to me not to leave room for any doubt that the Gītā version with its unnecessary *bhārata* is of a younger date.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE S. CHARLES HILL.

(Continued from page 75.)

Jean Law, rightly ignoring the crudities of popular belief and custom, tells us that from the learned Brahmans with whom he conversed, he learned that the Hindu was taught "to believe in a Supreme Being, who has created a regular gradation of beings, some superior, some inferior to men, the immortality of the Soul and a future state of recompense and punishment, which consists in its transmigration^{*} from one body to another, according to the life which it has led in the precedent state.....They own that errors have been introduced into their religion.....and ridicule the idolatry of the multitude, but maintain that it is necessary to humour the weakness of the common people and so will not admit the faintest doubt as to the divine character of their Legislator. Speak to them of the truth of the Christian religion, they answer that it may well be true, but that God has given to each nation its own laws and a form of worship different from others, which He has prescribed for them, which their ancestors have followed for thousands of years and which they have no reason to doubt that it pleases Him." Vincent Smith (*Oxford History*, p. 34) says :—"The members of any caste may believe or disbelieve any creed or doctrine, religious or philosophical, without affecting their caste position. That can be forfeited only by breach of the caste regulations concerning the *dharma* or practical duty of members belonging to the group. Each caste has its own *dharma* in addition to the common rules of morality as accepted by Hindus generally and considered to be the *dharma* of mankind." The Abbé Dubois (*Hindu Manners*, pp. 300-301) says :—"Before the character and behaviour of Europeans became well known to the people it seemed possible that Christianity might take root among them. Little by little it was overcoming the numberless obstacles which the prejudices of the country continually placed in its way. Several missionaries, animated by a truly apostolic zeal, had penetrated into the interior of the country and there, by conforming scrupulously to all the usages and customs of the Brahmans—in their clothing, food, conversation and general conduct in life—had managed to win the attention of the people and by dint of perseverance had succeeded in gaining a hearing. Their high character, talents and virtues and, above all, their perfect disinterestedness, obtained for them the countenance and support of even the native princes who, agreeably surprised at the novelty of their teaching, took these extraordinary men under their protection and gave them liberty to preach their religion and make what proselytes they could." Roberto de Nobili converted nearly 100,000 idolaters in the kingdom of Madura alone. "The French Mission at Pondicherry numbered 60,000 Christians in the province of Arcot and was daily making further progress when the conquest of the country by Europeans took place—a disastrous event as far as the advance of Christianity was concerned..... About eighty years ago there must have been at least 1,200,000 native Christians in the Peninsula, while now, at the very utmost they amount to but one half of that number." It is evident therefore that Hindu intolerance towards Christianity did not exist so long as the teaching of the new religion made no attack upon Caste, but was first excited by the bad conduct of the people, mostly English and French, who professed that religion. It was further accentuated when it appeared that a principal tenet of the followers of this religion was the equality of mankind and when the missionaries began to teach their converts to ignore caste distinctions. To a people accustomed for thousands of years to the idea of Caste inequality, this tenet was not merely shocking but patently opposed to the evidence of everyday observation and even contradicted by its very professors with their assumption of racial superiority.

* N.B.—This doctrine of Transmigration or Metempsychosis, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is not found in the *Vedas* but in the *Upanishads*, which latter are supposed to have been composed not earlier than 600 B.C., but this fact gives us no real clue as to when it was adopted in the popular belief.

So far, therefore, from Hinduism being aggressive, the charge of intolerance resolves itself into the fact that Hinduism resents attacks, as does every other religion.

The third objection is to the apparently idle life of the Brahmans. This charge, of course, is levelled against the Temple Brahmans and priesthood and so far is so similar to the charges brought against the priesthoods of other religions, which are maintained by common consent in all civilizations, that it would be idle to discuss it. It has no bearing whatsoever on the lives of the true Brahmans who have betaken themselves to a life of seclusion and meditation. Such Brahmans are not ignorant of the world. They have passed through the stages of study and married life and have renounced the pleasures of ordinary life only when they have performed its duties and experienced its cares. Their maintenance is no charge upon the community. At the same time their assistance is available as disinterested advisers or arbitrators whenever such services are needed. When one thinks how much of the trouble in western countries is due to mutual distrust between both individuals and classes, this in itself would be a sufficient justification of their mode of life, but there is another form of service rendered by them which is not easy to gauge and is very difficult to describe. In the first place, it is, I think, an acknowledged fact that there is no discovery in modern science, no fresh mastery over the powers of Nature, which has not been anticipated and, perhaps I may add, suggested to what we call practical men by imaginative dreamers to whose minds strange ideas have presented themselves when meditating in silence and seclusion. It is for the practical man to carry these into effect, but why should he despise the man whose mind first gave birth to the idea and made other men think about it until, in due time, the desire for its fruition arose and the means presented themselves? In most cases the practical man rejects as idle all those ideas which he cannot at the moment find means to carry out but he does not dare to say that they will never be carried out. Further, it is a known fact that in all countries and at all times there have been people who possessed powers inexplicable to the science of their time and any man who has been long in India will acknowledge that he has known or heard of, on unimpeachable authority, men amongst the Brahmans to whom such powers are ascribed. A European may doubt the superhuman character of these men, but he cannot deny their existence and their powers. It is evident that the knowledge and powers of these men are not the result of what we mean by scientific observation and experiment. Whence then were they derived? The Hindu would say they come by inspiration granted only to men who have devoted themselves to meditation and have renounced all possibility of personal advantage from the gift, but keep it stored up for the benefit of mankind at the right season. If this is so, it must be acknowledged that the existence of a class of men fitted to receive such ideas and such powers is a distinct advantage to the world in general.

With these remarks on the nature of the Caste System we may return to the question of its origin.

(XI) *Line of thought leading to the suggestion of the Caste System. Reasons for the impermanence of earlier civilizations and imperfection of various forms of government.*—As I have said, we cannot fix any date for the first institution of Caste, but signs of its existence can be traced to about 2000 B.C. It was either brought by the Aryan invaders or established soon after their arrival in India. That these invaders were a highly cultured race is proved by the sublimity of their early literature, which it is impossible to suppose could have been the product of barbarian minds. That they were few in number seems to me the natural conclusion when one considers that, as Vincent Smith has pointed out (*vide* the first paragraph of this paper), the Hindu policy was one of peaceful penetration only, and that an invasion by a great horde can hardly have been accomplished peacefully. This paucity of numbers is no mere idea of my own, for Mr. A. E. Gough remarks (*Philosophy of the Upanishads*, 1882, p. 4):—"Following Dr. Latham and Mr. Norris, Dr. Carpenter points out that it is only by an error that the ordinary Hindu population are supposed to be the descendants of this invading

branch of the Aryan stock. The number of individuals of the invading race were so small in proportion to that of the indigenous population as to be speedily merged in it. The only distinct traces of the Aryan stock are to be found in the Brahmanical caste which preserves, though with great corruption, the original Brahmanical religion and keeps up the Sanskrit as its classical language." It seems to me, therefore, that these Aryan invaders were, as I have already suggested, the refugee remnant of some great civilization and that their leaders, whilst seeking for a new home, worked out in their minds the problem of a stable basis for Society. The line of thought which they followed may have been somewhat of this nature.

As the stability of any social system must ultimately rest partly upon the fitness of the ruling power and partly upon the happiness and contentment of the governed, it was clear that any solution of the problem would depend upon the nature of the human individuals occupying either position. No people could be happy and contented if their rulers were greedy and tyrannical, and no rulers could make their subjects happy if the latter were ignorant and vicious. It was, therefore, necessary to enquire what it was in human nature which unfitted human beings either to rule or to be ruled.

Looking around them, these early philosophers saw that not only did different men desire different things, but that the same individual desired different things at different times and often, at any given time, did not know clearly what it was that he desired. Further, they saw that the strength of desire was by no means balanced by the knowledge how to satisfy that desire, and hence human action was more often the result of panic efforts to escape from a present evil than of a calm and intelligent examination of suitable means and a clear understanding of the object aimed at. Confusion of desire produced infirmity of will and so rendered reasoned and consistent action impossible.

An examination of the past showed that the founders of the earliest social systems recognized the general weakness of human beings and, despairing of the masses, had come to the conclusion that they could be controlled only by superior force. As long as this could be maintained and no longer, the State would be stable. They first thought to stabilize Society by picking out what appeared to be the best individuals of the tribe or nation, i.e., those with the greatest force of mind and body, in short the natural leaders, whom the mob followed instinctively, and establishing them *and their descendants, as the likely heirs of their superior qualities*, in a position of permanent power. Hence the growth of Theocracies, Despotisms and Aristocracies. In all these what was considered requisite in the ruler or ruling power was physical force to control and defend the people, wisdom to guide and provide, and comparative wealth which, while freeing the ruler or rulers from personal anxiety and the greed which would certainly lead to injustice, allowed leisure for thought and disinterested and dispassionate study of State problems.

How much leisure and freedom from worldly interests were considered essential for those who were to govern the people is to be seen in the exclusion from all share in public affairs of whole classes of people who now lay claim to it, which we find in *Ecclesiasticus* (Chap. 38, vv. 24—34) :—"The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure and he that hath a little business shall become wise." The peasant and the artisan are too much occupied with their work to have the leisure necessary for thinking upon public questions. "All these trust to their hands and every one is wise in his own work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited," but "they shall not be sought for in public counsel nor set high in the congregation; they shall not sit in the judge's seat nor understand the sentence of judgment; they cannot declare justice and judgment and they shall not be found where parables are spoken. But they will maintain the state of the world and all their desire is in the work of their craft." It was this leisure which the Brahmins, alone of all ruling bodies, provided for themselves, not by imposing a costly charge for their maintenance upon the governed, but

by renouncing all civic honours and material rewards and living in as simple a manner as Nature and the Climate would allow them.

The theory underlying these previous political and social systems, namely that all that was requisite for stability was strength and wisdom in the ruler and attention to his own business on the part of the subject, seemed sound enough at first, but it was based upon the false hypothesis that the ruling class and the class ruled would, by the hereditary transmission of their respective qualities, always retain the same relative position towards each other; but, sooner or later, the members of the ruling class were debauched by the easiness of their lives, dwindled in numbers relatively to the governed and, losing consciousness of real strength, out of fear became tyrannical, whilst the subject classes, forced to think by their sufferings, grew conscious of their brute strength and refused to submit to control. Hence came democracies, in which the people, fondly thinking that they governed themselves, really entrusted their destinies to the hands of leaders of no greater wisdom than themselves—and, as a natural result of the attempt to choose the wisest by the votes of the foolish, succumbed to the first powerful attack from an external enemy.

(To be continued.)

PERIODS IN INDIAN HISTORY.

By F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired.)

(Continued from page 64.)

III. Further India.

The periodicity of culture in Further India is a reflex of Indian history.

1. Ceylon.

The Sinhalese chronicles distinguish between the "Great Dynasty" and the "Lesser Dynasty" (Maha-vamsa and Sulavamsa). Why the distinction is drawn is not obvious, but it so happens that the Great Dynasty covers roughly the Early Period, the Lesser Dynasty the Medieval and Modern.

The history of Ceylon is a history of invasions from India.

The chief events assigned by tradition to the Period 600—300 B.C. are (1) the arrival of Vijaya, a prince of Bengal lineage, in the year of the Buddha's death, (2) the Sinhalese colonization and (3) the foundation of Anuradhapura (c. 370 B.C.), which remained continuously the capital till VII A.D.

The Period 300—1 B.C. is one of great activity, religious and political. It covers the conversion of Devanampiya Tissa (247—207 B.C.)²⁰ by a mission sent by Asoka (246 B.C.) and the establishment of Buddhism. From 177 to 101²¹ B.C. the sovereignty was usurped by Tamil invaders. Two other rulers of note succeeded them,—Duthagamani (101—77) and, after a second Tamil usurpation (44—29 B.C.), Vattagamani (29—17 B.C.). The Period 1—300 A.D. is one of stagnation.

The Medieval Period opens with a revival of religious activity under Gothabhaya (302—315) and Mahasena (325—352, the last ruler of the "Great Dynasty"). Then follows a series of dreary Tamil wars and usurpations. In about 650 A.D. there are indications of a change of policy; Ceylon interfered in mainland politics, aided Pallavas against Chalukyas, and Pandyas against Cholas; till XI A.D., when Ceylon became a Chola Province. The ejection of the Cholas was followed by a final outburst of Sinhalese vigour in the brilliant reign of Parakrama Bahu I (1153—86), who played a part in the disruption of the Chola Empire.

The Period 1200—1500 A.D. is one of decadence and recession. As early as c. 650 A.D. Anuradhapura gave place temporarily to the less exposed Polonnaruwa as royal residence. The shifting of a capital is a symptom of instability, and though Anuradhapura regained its status, Polonnaruwa was preferred at intervals, and became the permanent capital from

²⁰ Following the tentative chronology suggested by W. Geiger, *The Mahavamsa* (1912).

²¹ With one brief interval, 155—145 B.C.

c. 1070 to 1215.²² Then wandering began again, this time towards the S.W., and, ultimately, with the advent of the Europeans in XVI A.D., the remnant of Sinhalese nationality retired to the Kandyan Hills.

2. Burma.²³

The history of Burma is the product of three main ethnic factors—(1) Mon (Talaing), (2) Tibeto-Burman and (3) Tai (Shan). The Mons (of Austro speech) developed their culture in Lower Burma in Thaton and Pegu, the Tibeto-Burmans in Upper Burma in the Middle Irrawaddy basin, the Tai-speaking Shans, in the Yunnan hinterland.²⁴

Indian cultural influence is strong. Upper Burma apparently got its early culture by land from Bengal, Lower Burma by sea from S. India. Thus the early Buddhism of Upper Burma was Sanskrit-Mahayanist, of Lower Burma Pali-Hinayanist.

The chronology of the Early Period is not known. Dated history begins only with the Middle Medieval Period.

A. By about 650 A.D. the Pyus, "forerunners of the Tibeto-Burmans," had established a great city at Prome; their language was Tibeto-Burman; their script akin to that used in S. India in V and VI A.D. The Burmese Era (adopted later in Siam and Cambodia) dates from 638 A.D.

B. Some time after 800 A.D. the Pyus of Prome were overthrown and migrated, it is said, to Pagan. In course of time the Pyus appear to have merged in the Burmese nation.

C. The last phase of this Period saw Burma united under the enlightened Empire of Pagan. Anawrahta (1044—81) over-ran the South, captured Thaton (c. 1057) and assimilated the culture of the Mons. Henceforth Burma was the stronghold of Hinayana Buddhism.²⁵

The Period 1200—1500 A.D. is that of "Shan Dominion." It has two phases. Between 1200 and 1360 the Shans (with Kublai Khan behind them) over-ran the Irrawaddy valley and broke up the Pagan Empire into Shan principalities, notably those at Sagaing and Pinya on the Middle Irrawaddy and at Martaban near Thaton. In about 1366 came a move towards reconstruction with the founding of Ava in Upper Burma and the transfer of the capital of the South from Martaban to Pegu. This consolidation led to a generation of war between Ava and Pegu (1385—1417), followed by a period of internecine strife in Ava and the "Golden Age" of the Mons (1423—1539).

Early in the Modern Period Burma became once more united under the Toungoo Dynasty (1531—1752), a buffer state which grew up between Ava and Pegu and then destroyed them both. Toungoo had been an asylum for disgruntled Burmese, and was anti-Shan. In 1547 the new rulers entered on the last phase of the struggle with the Tai, the wars with Siam,²⁶ which lasted well into the nineteenth century. In 1740 came the Talaing Revolution, the last brief flicker of the Mons, followed by the Burmese Empire of Alompra (1752-1885).

3. Middle and Further Indo-China.

As in Lower Burma, so in the countries now known as Siam and French Indo-China, history begins with peoples of Austro speech and Indianized culture, Mons in the Upper Menam valley centring in Lamphun, Khmers in Cambodia in the Mekong valley, Chams in Champa on the Annam seaboard.

²² Except for a short interval (1026—54).

²³ This, and the succeeding sections on Indo-China and Indonesia, are largely based on notes kindly furnished by Dr. C. O. Blagden.

²⁴ The Tibeto-Chinese family of languages is divided into (1) Tibeto-Burman and (2) Tai-Chinese sub-families. To the latter belongs the language of the Shans. The Austro family includes among others the languages of Polynesia and Melanesia and Malaya, the Khmers of Cambodia, the Chams of Champa and about four million Munda speakers in Chota Nagpur.

²⁵ From c. 1181—2 (Kalyani inscription) Ceylon Buddhism began to replace the Thaton type, which probably came from Conjeevaram. See G. E. Harvey, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 56.

²⁶ The word "Shan" is a Burmanized form of "Siam," now restricted to the Northern Tai only.

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 Upanisads are counted as belonging to different Vedas, the vast majority consisting, of course, of Atharvāna Upanisads. 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 Atharvan' *Beid desumptum*, and Colebrooke enumerated it as the 35th and 36th Upanisad 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 *Pañcarimśa-Bḍhmand* of the Sāma-Veda,²⁷ for which latter suggestion there is certainly not the slightest reason. According to Colebrooke, however, Sāṅkara and Bālakṛṣṇa should have commented upon it as belonging to the Atharva-Veda, an assumption which has been eagerly endorsed by Weber.²⁸ The consensus of the other authorities seems to be that the *Kāthaka* is in reality an Upanisad of the Atharva-Veda.²⁹

This opinion, however, seems not to be too well-founded. I do not lay much stress upon the fact that the contents of our Upanisad is not much like that of the Atharvāna Upanisads 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 Atharvāna Upanisads. But the name, *Katha* or *Kāthaka*, is certainly inexplicable as that of an Upanisad belonging to the fourth Veda.³⁰ For, there cannot, of course, be the slightest doubt that this name *Katha* is identical with that of the old sage *Kāthā*, to whose school³¹ belonged that branch of the Yajur-Veda happily preserved to us with the name of *Kāthaka-Saṃhitā*. Judging from the name our Upanisad 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 Upanisad 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 *Bṛh. Ār. Up., i, 5, 23*. Verse 2, 5 is—with the exception of one single word—identical with *Mund. Up., 2, 8*³²; 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 *Bṛh. Ār. Up. iv, 4, 19*, and verse 6, 14 = *Bṛh. 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.

[1] I have not taken into consideration here the suggestion of Mr. M. R. Bodas, *JBRAS.* xxii, p. 69 sq., that *upanisad* should mean 'sitting down by the sacrificial fire,' as it is unnecessary and partly wrong.

²⁵ *Upanishad*, vol. ii, p. 299.

²⁶ Cf. Poley, *l.c.* p. 70.

²⁷ *Int. Stud.* ii, p. 195 sq.

²⁸ It is possible that the unexplained name *Kāṭhaka* in Anquetil Duperron's text (cf. *supra* p. 201, n. 2) has any connection with the attribution of our Upanisad to the Atharva-Veda?

²⁹ That School is called *Kāthā* by *Pāp. iv, 3, 107*, and is there mentioned together with the *Carakā* another school of the Black Yajus. There are the *Prāja-Kāthā* and the *Kapishāla-Kāthā*, 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 Upanisad of the Atharva-Veda.

KATHAKA UPANISAD

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY PROF. JARL CHAFFINER, UTAH

Kāthaka (or *Katha*) *Upanisad* is one of the best known amongst those often sublime and sometimes rambling texts known as *Upanisads*. Together with the *Chāndogya* 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 *Upanisads* which the unhappy Prince Muhammad Dārā Shikōh caused to be translated into Persian. For, we find it in Anquetil Duperron's well-known collection, as No. XXXVII, with the bewildering name *Kiduni*.¹ 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)². Other German translations are those by Böttlingk³, and by Professor Geldner⁴, as well as one of the three first *vollis* by the late lamented Professor Hillebrandt⁵. There are English translations by Max Müller⁶, by Whitney⁷, by Hume⁸ 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 *Upanisads*. Poley's translation, on the contrary, still seems to be quite good. Certain emendations of the text were suggested by Böttlingk 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 Vedās. 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; such as 'I am thy disciple' and conclusions based on them are wholly wrong. Some commentators, quite correctly, interpret *śūdra* by *śūdra* (cf. Schrader, *l.c.* p. 163).

Of literature on this *Upanisad*, 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 *Supplementum Secretum Legendae*, Paris (1802), pp. 299-327.

² Anquetil Duperron explains this by the words: 'Sanskreticē, Khmīhi, magnus, magni momenti: vel, *Kāthaka*, *thamimata* *śūdra* *śūdra*, which is, of course, impossible. (Weber, *l.c.* p. 195, gives no explanation. I can, unfortunately, find no probable explanation. No. XXXVII in Anquetil Duperron's collection is the *Kena*, which is there called *Kin*. However, Colebrooke (cf. Poley, *Abhandlung über die heiligen Schriften der Indier*, p. 70) mentions the *Kena* as the 27th of the Atharvan *Upanisads*. Is it possible that *Kiduni* is simply a misunderstood rendering of *Kena*?

³ On L. Poley of Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskritphilologie*, i, p. 94 *sq.*

⁴ *Bericht der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (further on quoted—*SB.*) 1890, p. 127 *sq.*; cf. *ibid.* 1891, p. 85 *sq.*

⁵ In Bertholet, *Religionsgeschichtliches Lexikon* (1908), p. 202 *sq.*

⁶ *Die Brahmanas und Upanisaden* (1921), p. 116 *sq.*

⁷ *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXI (1890), p. 88 *sq.*

⁸ On the *Upanisads* of the *Śaṅkhāyana* school, *Upanisad*, ed. Schlegel-Lesson, *l.c.* pp. xv, p. 187; Boettlingk, *l.c.* p. 187; Geldner, *l.c.* p. 187.

⁹ There is at least a translation by Roer which, however, I have not been able to see.

¹⁰ F. Belloni-Filippi, *La Kathaka Upanisad tradotta in Italiano*, Pisa 1904.

¹¹ The *Upanisads*, *Upanisad*, Stockholm 1902; and the late Professor H. F. Johnson in *Prananda Religion*, *l.c.* p. 158 *sq.*

¹² Cf. *Minor Upanisads*, vol. I, p. 14 *sq.*

of themselves, but certainly belong to the old parts of the epics.

THE SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL LIFE OF THE SANTALS CULLED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES:

By BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

(Continued from page 60.)

6. SAREN (the constellation Pleiades).

23 sub-septs :

<i>Badar (Manda) Sāren</i>	<i>Čenel Sāren</i>
<i>Biṭol Sāren</i>	<i>Guā Sāren</i>
<i>Dāntelā Sāren</i>	<i>Jugi Sāren</i>
<i>Jihu Sāren</i>	<i>Māl Sāren</i>
<i>Khāṇḍā Sāren</i>	<i>Mār Sāren</i>
<i>Mānjhi Khil Sāren</i>	<i>Nij Sāren</i>
<i>Nācke Khil Sāren</i>	<i>Okh Sāren</i>
<i>Obor Sāren</i>	<i>Rokh Lutuk Sāren</i>
<i>Pond Sāren</i>	<i>Sāṅkh Sāren</i>
<i>Sādā Sāren</i>	<i>Tilok Sāren</i>
<i>Sidhup Sāren</i>	<i>Turku Lumām Sāren</i>
<i>Barchir Sāren</i>	

7. TUDU (?)

19 sub-septs :

<i>Bābre Tudu</i>	<i>Biṭol Tudu</i>
<i>Bhokeā Tudu</i>	<i>Čuruch Tudu</i>
<i>Čigi Tudu</i>	<i>Garh Tudu</i>
<i>Dāntelā Tudu</i>	<i>Khārharā Tudu</i>
<i>Jugi Tudu</i>	<i>Lāṭh Tudu</i>
<i>Kuddām Tudu</i>	<i>Nācke Khil Tudu</i>
<i>Mānjhi Khil Tudu</i>	<i>Obor Tudu</i>
<i>Nij Tudu</i>	<i>Sidhup Tudu</i>
<i>Sādā Tudu</i>	<i>Tilok Tudu</i>
<i>Baski Tudu</i>	

8. BASKI (?)

16 sub-septs :

<i>Bhiḍi Baski</i>	<i>Bindar Baski</i>
<i>Henḍe Baski</i>	<i>Biṭol Baski</i>
<i>Jihu Baski</i>	<i>Hedwār Baski</i>
<i>Kuhi Baski</i>	<i>Lāṭh Baski</i>
<i>Mānjhi Khil Baski</i>	<i>Mundā Baski</i>
<i>Nij Baski</i>	<i>Obor Baski</i>
<i>Okh Baski</i>	<i>Sādā Baski</i>
<i>Sāru Gadā Baski</i>	<i>Sure Baski</i>

9. BĒSRA (falcon).

14 sub-septs :

<i>Baski Beśrā</i>	<i>Bindar Beśrā</i>
<i>Biṭol Beśrā</i>	<i>Garh Beśrā</i>
<i>Kahu Beśrā</i>	<i>Kuhi Beśrā</i>
<i>Lāṭh Beśrā</i>	<i>Mānjhi Khil Beśrā</i>
<i>Nācke Khil Beśrā</i>	<i>Nij Beśrā</i>
<i>Obor Beśrā</i>	<i>Okh Beśrā</i>
<i>Son Beśrā</i>	<i>Tilok Beśrā</i>

10. PAURIYÁ (pigeon).

8 sub-septs :

<i>Bábre Pauriyá</i>	<i>Bitol Pauriyá</i>
<i>Dántelá Pauriyá</i>	<i>Gaph Pauriyá</i>
<i>Jugi Pauriyá</i>	<i>Láih Pauriyá</i>
<i>Nij Pauriyá</i>	<i>Tiká Pauriyá</i>

11. ČORE (lizard).

10 sub-septs :

<i>Badar Čore</i>	<i>Bardu Čore</i>
<i>Dántelá Čore</i>	<i>Jihu Čore</i>
<i>Khándá Čore</i>	<i>Mál Čore</i>
<i>Náeke Khil Čore</i>	<i>Nij Čore</i>
<i>Obor Čore</i>	<i>Sádá Čore</i>

12. BEDIYA (BEDEYA) [sheep].

7 sub-septs :

<i>Bitol Bediyá</i>	<i>Mánjhi Khil Bediyá</i>
<i>Láih Bediyá</i>	<i>Obor Bediyá</i>
<i>Náeke Khil Bediyá</i>	<i>Tiká Bediyá</i>
<i>Gurh Bediyá</i>	

Of these septs and sub-septs, the "*Pauria* (pigeon) and the *Čore* (lizard) clans are said to have been so called because on a famous hunting party conducted by the tribe, members of these clans failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards respectively. Members of the *Murmu* (antelope) clan may not kill the species of antelope from which they take their name, nor may they touch its flesh.²⁰ Among the sub-clans or sub-septs (*khunts*) into which the *Saren* clans (*paris*) are divided we may note *Kahu* (crow), *Kara* (buffalo), *Chilbinda* (eagle-slayer), *Roh-Lutur* (ear-pierced), *Dantela* (so called from breeding pigs with very large tusks for sacrifice), *Gua* (areca nut), *Kachua* (tortoise), *Nag* (cobra), *Somal* (deer), *Kakra* (crab), *Rohi* (panjaun tree), *Boar* (a fish), *Handi* (earthen vessel), *Sikiya* (a chain), *Barchi* (spearmen), *Sankh* (conch shell), *Sidup* or *Siduk* (a bundle of straw), *Agaria* (charcoal-burners), and *Lat* (bake meat in a leaf platter).²¹ Many of the sub-clans observe certain curious traditional usages. Thus at the time of the harvest in January members of the *Saren* (Pleiades) clan and the *Sidup* (bundle of straw) sub-clan set up a sheaf of rice in the doorway of their cattle shed. This sheaf they may not themselves touch, but some one belonging to another sub-clan must be got to take it away. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Sada* sub-clan do not use vermilion in their marriage ritual; they may not wear clothes with a red border on such occasions, nor may they be present at any ceremony at which the priest offers his own blood to propitiate the gods. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Jugi* sub-clan, on the other hand, smear their forehead with vermilion (*sindur*) at the harvest festival and go round begging alms. With the rice they get they make little cakes, which they offer to the gods. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Manjhi* sub-clan are so called because their ancestor was a *manjhi* or village headman. Like the *Sada-Saren*, they are forbidden to attend when the priest offers up his own blood. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Náiki-Khil* sub-clan claim descent from a *náiki* or village priest and may not enter a house of which the inmates are ceremonially unclean. They have a sacred grove (*jadhirthán*) of their own apart from the common sacred grove of the village, and they dispense with the services of the priest who serves the rest of the village. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Ok* sub-clan sacrifice a goat or a pig in their houses, and during the ceremony they shut the doors tight and allow no

²⁰ [E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 212 f.; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, 226-228, and Appendix, pp. 125 f., (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 202 (as to exogamy of the clan and paternal descent).] I have given Sir James's references within square brackets.

²¹ [(Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, Appendix, pp. 125 f.]

SOME LITERARY NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE GOVINDALĪLĀMṬA.

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

THE *Govindalīlāmṭa* 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 वैतन्यदासविन्दमकुपश्रीरूपसेवाफलं
दिष्टे श्रीधुनायदासकृतिना श्रीजीवसंगोदगते ।
कान्ये श्रीधुनायमद्वयजी गोविन्दलालामृते
सर्गाय रजनीविनासवलितः पूरुस्तयोविश्वकः ॥

"This the twenty-third canto, full of nightly amours, in the *Govindalīlāmṭa* which is the fruit of waiting on Śrī Būpa, 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 :—

यादवविन्दमकुपश्रीरूपसेवाफलं

he cannot deny that the powers of these men are not to be compared with those of scientific observation and experiments. This too, the *Govindalīlāmṭa* was composed by Kṛṣṇadāsa who was a bee to the feet lotus of Śrī Chaitanya and Raghunātha.

possibility of personal advantage from the gift, but keep it stored up for the benefit of mankind. 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 *Saṅgānandavivṛṇḍā* 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 Library of the Government of India, 1887-1891, No. 1394; *Ibid.* for 1891-1892, Nos. 494, 495, 496; Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the India Office, vol. VII, No. 3878.

2 Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency for 1884-87, No. 350; Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Government of India, vol. IX, No. 32; Notices of Sanskrit MSS., By L. Mitra, vol. II, No. 521; Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum Library, No. 488.

3 A more literal translation of the verse would be, "This character of the amours of Govindalīlā (selected stories of his amours) was collected, etc. But this is tantamount to saying that the work was composed by Kṛṣṇadāsa."

4 The Bengali Bhaṭṭa family are supposed to be the descendants of this invading

the most numerous coincidences are with texts belonging to the Yajur-
Veda. We conclude from this that our Upanisad most probably belongs to that Veda
(the *Kāthaka* of it which is known as the *Kāthaka*).

preserves, though with an alteration, the original Brahmanical religion and keeps up the
Sanskrit as its classical language. It seems to me, therefore, that these Aryan invaders were
as I have already suggested, the refugee remnant of some great civilization and that their
leaders, whilst seeking a new home, worked out in their own minds the problem of a stable
basis for Society.

The story of Naciketas is found also in the *Tait. Br.* iii, 11, 8, 1-5, a text which must
undoubtedly belong to an older period than our Upanisad. We are told there that Uśan

Vājasravasa gave away all his earthly goods, and that his son, young Naciketas, three times
asked his father to whom he wanted to give him. At last the father answered him: "To
Death I give thee."

And when the boy started for the abode of Death a certain (divine) 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
thou hast done on 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! It says he, 'I choose a boon.' Then may I living
go to my father?" "Choose a second boon only," "Tell me the eternal reward of sacrifice and
good works," thus he replied. Then he told him about this Naciketa fire. Then, forsooth
his sacrifice and good works gave abundant fruit. He went: "Choose a third one," he said.
"Tell me how to ward off (*apajiti*) 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 Upanisad*. According to the latter
text Uśan Vājasravasa—otherwise the famous Uddālaka Āruri—gave away all his earthly
goods as *dakṣiṇas*. His young son Naciketas, when he saw the sacrificial cows being
led away, was seized by longing for the heavenly worlds 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."

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

On him cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii, p. 201 sq. and *infra*.
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 Vessantara-jātaka (*Jātaka*
547; *Jātaka-mālā* 7 etc.) But the situations are, of course, entirely different.

Thus the commentary.
The *Bibl. Ind.* edition incorrectly reads *me kṛtīm brāhmi*.

The commentary reads *apajiti*, probably only by misprint.

What, probably, though not necessarily, means that he had been celebrating a *Sarvamedha*.
cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-literatur*, p. 154.

The name is difficult, and the various explanations suggested are unsatisfactory. The Indian
analysis *Na-ciketas* (cf. *cit.*), which was endorsed by Böhtlingk, SB. 1890, p. 129 is, of course, without any
value whatsoever. But Professor Wackernagel in his *Altind. Grammatik*, I, 59 has quite correctly pointed
out that *ketas* is the term of *ketas* as the first part of a compound. There is no word *ketas* but
it would probably be found to have the same meaning, cf. *ketu*. Thus *naci-ketas* would mean about the same
as *naci-ketu* or *naci-ketu*, well-known epithets of Kāma. The son of Uddālaka Āruri, of course,
is *Śvetā-ketu* (cf. Professor Lüders, *Festschr. Wundt* p. 228 ff.); it is, anyhow, remarkable that both names,
Naci-ketas and *Śvetā-ketu*, seem to end in the same way. *Naci-ketu*—though probably originally colour-
name—can, however, not be identical with *ketas*.

They are of *infra* justice and judgment and they shall pay for it.

Hillebrandt, *Aus Brahmanas und Upanishaden*, p. 116, thought that we might find here an
obliterated trace of a *purvamedha* in connection with the giving away of all wealth. To me this
seems fairly probable, but it cannot be proved satisfactorily.

The Santāl weddings begin by the father of the boy sending a *rāi-bā* to the chosen girl's father. When a marriage offer is made, the girl's father receives it, and then, after consulting with his wife, says: "Let the youth and the maiden when these things may be talked over." A meeting is arranged at a fair, and, if the couple be satisfied, some trifling present is made to the girl, who publicly prostrates herself before her prospective father-in-law, thus showing that she is agreeable to the engagement. The girl's clansmen then visit the lad's village, where the future husband salutes them with a kiss, taking each of them on his knees for a minute,³⁶ and gives to each of them a small present. Then the lad's clansmen visit the girl's village; the bride-elect does exactly the same as the bridegroom-elect, that is, she salutes them and takes each in turn on her knee,³⁷ and makes some presents. This is done as a token of goodwill between the contracting parties, and these ceremonies complete the preliminaries pending the actual wedding.

The wedding ceremony itself takes place in a temporary shed erected for the purpose by the bride's clansmen in their own village. In this shed is placed a bough of the *mahū* tree, from which an intoxicating liquor is made, and under the bough is kept a pot of rice husked by the girl's family in a particular manner, soaked in water and coloured with a red dye.³⁸ On the arrival of the bridegroom the ceremony of purification begins by bathing him in water, which is drawn in a special manner. While the water destined for the nuptial bath is being drawn, one woman shoots an arrow into the water, and another slashes the water with a sword; afterwards two young girls collect the water in pots, and carry it home in procession.⁴⁰ After the bath, the bridegroom takes off his old clothes, and puts on new clothes which are stained with vermilion by the girl's clanswomen. The rice and red-coloured water kept in the shed are used for divining purposes. If the grain has germinated abundantly, there will be many children; if sparingly, there will be few; and if the seeds, instead of germinating, have rotted, the marriage is an ill-omened one. On the fifth day, the bridegroom, dressed in his new clothes, is carried on men's shoulders to the bride's house. The bride is put in a basket, and the procession marches out. The young couple sprinkle one another with water from the opposite sides of a cloth placed between them. The bridegroom calls out the name of a god, and lifts the bride out of the basket. The clansmen then unite the dresses of the bride and bridegroom together, after which the girl's clanswomen bring burning charcoal, pound it with a pestle (*tok*), and extinguish it with water as a symbol of the final dissolution of all ties of the bride with her father's sept.⁴¹ Moreover, the Santāl girl, after having eaten with her husband, becomes a member of his sept, and loses all connection with that of her father.⁴²

(To be continued.)

³⁷ Rev. E. L. Puxley of Rajmahal, quoted by (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 206.

³⁸ Rev. E. L. Puxley, *loc. cit.*

³⁹ Presumably the bough of the *mahū* tree and the pot of rice are symbolic of plenty for the pair, and red is meant as a protection against demons or the evil eye.

⁴⁰ Rev. A. Campbell, "Santāl Marriage Customs," *Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, ii, 313; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 421; B. Bonnerjee, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 26. Sir James Frazer says (*loc. cit.*) that the intention of shooting arrows and slashing with a sword is to awaken the spirit of the water, whom they are going to rob, and I too agreed with the explanation (*loc. cit.*); but on mature consideration I am inclined to think that the ceremony is meant as a rite of purification so that the water may be free from the unwelcome presence of any evil spirits. The arrow-shooting and the sword-slashing are evidently meant to frighten away the demons.

⁴¹ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 205 f.

⁴² E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 216; E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* (London, 1894-1896), vol. ii, p. 353; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii, pp. 449 f.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE PERSONALITY OF MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET, by A. YUSUF ALI, C.B.E. 8 x 5½ in.; pp. 23. London, 1929.

This is a reprint of a speech delivered in London at the festival of 'Idi az-ha, and conveys a brief but appreciative presentment of the author's impressions of Muhammad's personality in its spiritual and moral aspects. As the occasion called for brevity, the address was confined to the salient attributes of the Prophet's character—his purity of heart and his staunchness of purpose, unshaken by difficulties or opposition or even fierce persecution. Mr. Yusuf Ali concludes with an appropriate and eloquent epilogue, to the effect that if his co-religionists understand aright and observe the teaching of their Prophet, "then we [Muhammadans] shall not act vainly or arrogantly in this world, but we shall respect all other people as he respected all those with whom he came into contact, and thus realise the message which is the corner-stone of his ministry—the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

C. E. A. W. O.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NAGAI. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 8. Pp. vi+60, with 8 plates. Calcutta, 1928.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS FOR THE YEAR 1926-27. Pp. x+37, with 13 plates. Calcutta, 1929.

The monograph on the Nagai Inscriptions has been written by Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and contains a full description of four inscriptions found at Nagai (Nāgavāpi) in the Gulbarga district, not far from the well known site of Malkhed (the ancient Mānyakheta), relating to an educational institution founded and maintained under royal patronage. The establishment would seem from the contents to have been of a residential type, with provision made not only for boarding, but also for the clothing of its members, and the equipment and supervision of a library. The inscriptions, which belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are mostly in a fair state of preservation and are of deep interest for the history of such institutions in medieval times.

In the annual report Mr. Yasdani records very interesting details of several old temples at Pillalmar and Nāgūlpad, both of which places are situated in the Nalgonda district in the valley of the Musi river, a northern tributary of the Kistnā, and at Ālampur in the Raichur district, on the left bank of the Tungabhadra, about seven miles from Karnūl. The stone carving and the fluting of the pillars in the Someśvara and Ramesvara temples at Pillalmar, which date from the twelfth century, are remarkably fine examples of medieval workmanship. Temple No. 1 at Nāgūlpad, dating from the thirteenth century, also exhibits an exuberance of sculptural design and detail rarely excelled.

A special interest attaches to the temples at

Ālampur, in that they display the influence of diverse architectural styles, besides their wealth of graceful carving. It is gratifying to learn that the revised scheme for the establishment of a museum at Hyderabad has been sanctioned; that steady progress is being made with the preparation of the *Album* of Ajanta frescoes; and that an artist has been appointed to copy the frescoes at Ellora. The plates in this volume have been most excellently reproduced; but we notice that the numbers assigned to the Ālampur temples on the plates are not quoted in the description in the text.

C. E. A. W. O.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1928. Pp. v+121+44+12, with 15 plates. Bangalore, 1929.

The most important discovery recorded in this report is that of two very beautiful Hoysala temples situated near Nāḍkalsi in the Sāgar taluk, which appear from inscriptions on three pillars to date from the early part of the thirteenth century. From the views given on Plate VI and the line carvings on Plate IX it will be noticed that these temples present certain architectural and sculptural features worthy of more detailed illustration and commentary. They are reported to be in a very good state of preservation, which is possibly due to their secluded situation. Excavation work has now commenced at the ancient Chandravalli site near Chitaldrug, and though details are not yet available, the finding of coins belonging to the Śātavāhana, Duṭu and Chuṭu dynasties give earnest, we hope, of important discoveries to be made later. Perhaps the most interesting portions of this report are the notes recorded in Part II by Dr. Shama Shastri on *The Kannada Language under the Mauryas and Śātavāhanas* and *The Sringeri Math and its Gurus*.

Several of the plates have been badly printed.

C. E. A. W. O.

A STUDY IN THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ANCIENT INDIA, by DR. FRAN NATH, D.Sc., Ph.D.; pp. viii+172; Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XX; London, 1929.

This is a thesis approved for the degree of D.Sc. (in Economics) at the University of London, and, unlike most theses prepared for a similar purpose, it is not a mere compilation from previous works and records, but shows throughout abundant evidence of wide, original research and power of reasoning on independent lines. By "Ancient India," it should be noted, is meant India of the period in which the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya was compiled, which Dr. Fran Nath is inclined to place "at an early date, perhaps not later than the times of the early Gupta sovereigns." Having regard to the vast scope of the subject, the author has necessarily limited his survey to certain definite aspects, which he classifies under the headings of Territorial

Divisions; Administration; Weights, measures, coinage and rate of interest; Prices; Population of the country; Landowning classes; and Labouring classes. Under each of these heads Dr. Pran Nath propounds fresh suggestions that will command the attention of earnest oriental scholars, whose aim is to establish the true interpretation of many hitherto ambiguous or doubtful terms and ascertain the actual social and political conditions of those early days, as distinguished from the bolstering up of theories, whether fanciful or idealistic. He has raised several questions of basic importance for the interpretation of the old texts, of which only a few can be noticed here.

A difficulty has long been felt in reconciling with facts the figures given by Hsüan Tsang in respect of countries and towns, hitherto interpreted as meaning circumference or 'circuit.' Dr. Pran Nath suggests that we should understand the pilgrim as recording the superficial areas; and he draws a remarkable parallel between the figures given by the pilgrim and those contained in the *Bārhaspatya-artha-dāstra*. He then takes up the question of the real meaning of *grāma* as used in the ancient records, and he comes to the conclusion, for cogent reasons, that must, we feel, commend themselves to most impartial thinkers, that the term originally meant an 'estate' or fiscal village, the territorial unit in fact for the purpose of revenue assessment. His interpretation of *janapada* as an administrative territorial division only will not be welcome to those who prefer to regard it as representing a constitutional body. Dr. Pran Nath is disposed to hold that each *deśa* (country) was subdivided into *janapadas*, each *janapada* into *yanas* (modern *parganas*), and each *gana* into *grāmas*. He is led by the researches outlined in the first two chapters to suspect that some form of survey of culturable lands had been carried out in ancient times, a view which seems to find support from other sources. Dr. Pran Nath's investigations into the weights and measures, coinage, rates of interest and prices of food-stuffs disclose profound research and much acumen. His conclusions go to show that while in the previous centuries the variation had been slow, an enormous rise in prices occurred between the time of the *Artha-dāstra* and the tenth or eleventh century A.D., which he ascribes to the rapid change in economic conditions when the continent became widely convulsed by inroads and invasions from the north-west and west. To this cause may be added, perhaps, the intercourse that had developed by sea with distant countries both to the west and east of India. He shows that the Muhammadan conquerors of the land based their coinage—as well as their territorial and fiscal divisions—upon the systems already in force, and how the British Government have also followed in the same footsteps in adopting the ancient *pāna* under the name of *paisā* and the *deipāna* or *ddm* as the 'double pice' (*takā*), and how the ancient silver *bāṛhaṇa* is represented by the modern

cavannī (4 *ānās*), which still bears the old prohibitory ratio to the *paisā* (*pāna*), viz., as 16 to 1.

We believe he is the first to have made a considered, if but conjectural, estimate of the probable population of the 84 countries comprised in ancient India; and the evidential data requisitioned for this purpose have been utilized with much ingenuity.

In his chapter on the landowning classes Dr. Pran Nath exposes the misconceptions resulting from the loose translation of the terms *sāmānta*, *rājān*, etc., by 'king,' and he adduces grounds for regarding the social organization of ancient India as similar in many aspects to the feudal system pertaining in Europe in the medieval age. He is evidently not enamoured of the theories that aim at interpreting such terms as *gana* as signifying a republican form of government.

The monograph evinces a remarkable power of collating and assimilating evidence culled from a great variety of sources and, what are perhaps its most laudable features, a freedom from preconceived theories and a determination to direct research along its proper lines, towards the ascertainment of facts. Work like this is of real value.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND, by K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A., 9½ x 6½ in.; pp. 82. Madras, 1929.

This is a revised edition of a thesis accepted by the University of Madras for the Sankara-Parvathy prize. It is divided into four parts. Part I deals with the Nāgas and their traces in various parts of India, the evolution of the "Nāga cult," and the meaning of the *liāga*; Part II is devoted to the traces and influences of Buddhism and Jainism in the Tamil country; Part III to the Tamil temples; and Part IV to the growth of sectarianism and the dates of Sambandhar, Sundarar and others. A variety of subjects thus come under notice, and we confess to feeling some difficulty in following the thread of the author's argument as to the origin of Śaivism. The conclusion which we are led to form is that Śaivism was non-"Aryan" in origin, being an outgrowth from the cult of the Nāgas, who, whether the name refers back to their totem, the snake, or to their old association with 'hill and cave,' were certainly not "Aryan." It is interesting to note that Mr. Subramanian is convinced—and recent research fully justifies the conviction—that primitive Indian society was of a matriarchal character, and that most of the spirits to be propitiated were female. He rightly draws attention in this connexion to the significant fact that, with few exceptions, the village deities of India are goddesses. He considers that the phallic cult could not have flourished in the matriarchal stage, when the *śakti* cult was dominant, and that it "imposed itself on the latter with the suppression of the female and the evolution of patriarchal life. It was closely connected with Ancestor-worship and the Snake-cult." We could have wished, however, that some further light might have been thrown upon the evolution of Śiva himself.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL LIFE OF THE SANTALS CULLED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

By BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

(Continued from page 92.)

As a rule the Santals are monogamous,⁴³ and they remain faithful to one wife. They treat the female members of the family with respect⁴⁴; and a Santal wife is not only the ruler of the house, but her influence extends to social and political matters.⁴⁵ Second marriages are rare; when contracted they are mostly for the purpose of obtaining an heir; but even then the first wife is honoured as the head of the house.⁴⁶ According to Skrefsrud it is out of the question for a man to have more than one wife, unless he be a younger brother who has inherited his elder brother's widow; and if he has ten brothers older than himself, who die, he marries the widows of all of them.⁴⁷ And Man says that polygamy, though not exactly prohibited, is looked upon with disfavour.⁴⁸ Here it should be noted that though the Santals usually practise monogyny, yet there are traces of polyandry among them. We are told that among them, a man's unmarried younger brothers are permitted to share his wife, "so long as they respect his dignity and feelings and do not indulge in amorous dalliance in his presence"⁴⁹; and according to another account they retain this privilege even after they marry for themselves.⁵⁰ And, finally, Risley, one of our best authorities on Indian tribes, writes: "There seem to be indications that fraternal polyandry may at some time have existed among the Santals. Even now, says Mr. Skrefsrud, a man's younger brother may share his wife with impunity; only they must not go about it very openly. Similarly, a wife will admit her younger sister to intimate relations with her husband, and if pregnancy occurs, scandal is avoided by marrying the girl as a second wife. It will be of course noticed that this kind of polyandry need not be regarded as a survival of female kinship."⁵¹ And besides the facts mentioned above, every Santal girl is said to prostitute herself at least once in her life.⁵² To sum up then, the husband's younger brothers are allowed to share his wife, and the husband in his turn has access to his wife's younger sisters.⁵³

Divorce is rare among the Santals. It is fairly easy, but it cannot take place without the consent of both the husband and the wife, and of the husband's clansmen.⁵⁴ For this purpose five of the nearest relatives are assembled together before whom the injured party

⁴³ Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 13 vol. xxiv, p. 188.

⁴⁴ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 217; E. G. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, p. 15; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, p. 98.

⁴⁵ E. Westermarck, *ibid.*, citing L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne*, ved H. P. Børresen og L. O. Skrefsrud, p. 84.

⁴⁶ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 208; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 216.

⁴⁷ E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 9, citing L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne*, p. 74.

⁴⁸ E. G. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ C. H. Craven, "Traces of Fraternal Polyandry amongst the Santals," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lxxii, Part III (Calcutta, 1904), p. 89; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, iii, p. 123.

⁵⁰ L. O. Skrefsrud, "Traces of Fraternal Polyandry amongst the Santals," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lxxii, Part III (Calcutta, 1904), p. 90.

⁵¹ (Sir) H. H. Risley, *People of India*,² (London, 1915), p. 444; cf. *id.*, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 229.

⁵² *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii (July-September 1893), p. 212; *Folklore*, v (1894), p. 85.

⁵³ Cf. E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, iii, 265; C. H. Craven, *loc. cit.*; L. O. Skrefsrud, *loc. cit.*; E. A. Gait, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i, Report, p. 240; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, vol. ii, p. 309.

⁵⁴ E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, pp. 286, 299, citing L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne*, pp. 83 f.; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 208.

explains his or her case. The relatives, after hearing the case, pass judgment. If they decide to grant the divorce, the party seeking the divorce solemnly tears up a leaf before the little court, symbolizing that the marriage is at an end.⁵⁵

Of the other two great ceremonies of a Santál's life, his dismissal from the race is accomplished when he lies on his death-bed. For this purpose the *ojhá* (exorciser) rubs oil on a leaf in order to discover which witch or demon is causing the death. After death the body is anointed with oil tinged with red herbs, and placed on a bed or couch. Two brazen pots, one filled with rice and one with water, are placed beside the couch as a peace offering to the demons. When the funeral pyre is ready, the body is carried three times round it by five clansmen, after which the body is laid on top of the pyre. A cook is nailed through the neck by a wooden pin to the corner of the pile. Then the next of kin prepares a grass torch, walks three times round the pyre, and touches the mouth of the corpse with the torch. After that the clansmen, facing south, set fire to the pile. When the body is nearly consumed, they extinguish the fire, and the nearest relative breaks off three fragments from the skull, washes them in new milk coloured with red herbs, and places them in a small earthenware vessel. The last ceremony is performed by the nearest relative of the deceased. He takes the three fragments of the skull and a bag of rice, and goes to the sacred river.⁵⁶ Arriving there, he places the pot containing the three fragments on his head, enters the stream, dips completely under the water, and at the same time leans slightly forward so that the fragments fall into the current. Thus he accomplishes the last rite of uniting the dead with the fathers.⁵⁷

Besides the traces of fraternal polyandry already mentioned, the Santáls consider that a widow has a right to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but not his elder.⁵⁸ The law of inheritance of the Santáls is as follows. Primogeniture does not exist among them. On the death of a person all his sons inherit in equal shares; a daughter cannot legally inherit the property, but it is usual for her to receive a cow as her share. If a person dies without leaving any sons, his father inherits the property, and after them the male agnates. If there are no agnates, the daughter inherits, and her share of the property goes to her children. When a person dies, his widow looks after the property as an executrix for his sons; and if she remarries outside the family, the male agnates administer the property as long as the sons have not attained majority. Whoever has any relations in the male line cannot dispose of his property even to his son-in-law.⁵⁹ With the Santáls as well as with the Oráons of Chota Nagpur, the husband of a woman who has no brothers, if he stays in his father-in-law's house and works for him till he dies, inherits his property. In such cases the eldest son is named after his maternal, and not, as is usual among them, after his paternal grandfather.⁶⁰

Festivals play a very important part in the otherwise humdrum Santál life. Of all the festivals the *Sohrái* (or *Johorái*) is the most important. This festival is held in the month of *Pás* (December-January) after gathering in the rice harvest. It lasts five days in each village, but is generally protracted to a month by fixing different dates for it in the neighbouring villages. The ceremony consists in placing an egg⁶¹ on the ground, and driving all the cows of the village near it. The animal that first smells the egg is honoured by having its horns rubbed with oil.⁶² Public sacrifices of fowls are offered by the priests in the sacred

⁵⁵ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 208; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, p. 300; L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne*, p. 83.

⁵⁶ Dámodar ?—See below. Compare B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 71.

⁵⁷ Summarized from (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 208-210.

⁵⁸ (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 231; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 302.

⁵⁹ B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 26 citing (Sir) H. H. Risley, *People of India*,² p. 446.

⁶⁰ *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i, Report, p. 236, *286.

⁶¹ The egg seems to show that it is a fertility charm.

⁶² (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 163.

groves; pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed by private families, and these sacrifices are round-ed up with debauchery and drunkenness. During the *Sohrāi* festival the greatest sexual license is allowed, and all codes of decency are forgotten. Every one not married takes part in the general orgy which follows; but adultery is not allowed, neither is any infringement of the interdiction against persons of the same sept. But even in these latter cases, if committed during the *Sohrāi*, the culprits are punished less severely than at any other time.⁶³ By these symbolic promiscuous relationships they probably attempt to increase the growth of vegetation in the following spring. A few days after the *Sohrāi* there is another festival of practising with bows and arrows, of performing sword dance, and of similar sports. This is known as the *Sakrat*, and it lasts for two days.⁶⁴ The *Jātrā* festival takes place about February, and lasts for two days. Eight men sit on chairs and are swung round the two posts placed outside of every Santāl village.⁶⁵ About one month after the *Jātrā* the *Bāhā* or flower-festival comes round. This too lasts for two days. This is the time when the *Nāka* or *Nāikki* (*nāyaka*, priest) is specially honoured by having his feet washed in every household; in return he distributes flowers. Ceremonies are performed in the groves of trees outside of each village. Four chickens are offered to Mārang Buru, the great Santāl god, one coloured chicken to Jahir-erā, the primeval mother of the race, one black chicken to Gosāin-erā, a female divinity residing in the *śāl* grove, and a goat or chicken to the Mānjhi Harām, the late head of the village.⁶⁶ Nearly all the festivals of the Santāls are in some way or other connected with either sowing or harvesting. Thus the festival of *Ero-sim* takes place in each house at seed-sowing time; *Hariar-sim*, when the *dhān* (rice) has somewhat grown; *Horo*, when the rice is ripening, and so on. During the last mentioned festival, *Horo*, the first fruits of the rice are offered to the *Pargana Bongā* (district deity), along with a pig, which the men of the village eat afterwards in the *śāl* grove.⁶⁷ Another festival, which has died out now, but used to be practised formerly, was the *Carak Pājā*. Men used to put hooks through the fleshy part of their backs, and were swung round suspended by these hooks. Sometimes this swinging on hooks seems to have been intended to propitiate demons. Some Santāls asked Mr. V. Ball to be allowed to perform it because their women and children were dying of sickness and their cattle were being killed by wild beasts: they believed that the misfortunes befell them because the evil spirits had not been appeased.⁶⁸

Coming now to the religious life of the Santāls, we can do no better than quote the words of an eminent and at the same time a sympathetic authority, who says: "Of a supreme and beneficent God the Santāl has no conception. His religion is a religion of terror and deprecation. Hunted and driven from country to country by a superior race, he cannot understand how a Being can be more powerful than himself without wishing to harm him. Discourses upon the attributes of the deity excite no emotion among the isolated sections of the race, except a disposition to run away and hide themselves in the jungle, and the only reply made to a missionary at the end of an eloquent description of the omnipotence of God, was 'And what if that Strong One should eat me?'"⁶⁹ But this statement must not be taken

⁶³ (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 253; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 303; B. Bonnerjee, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 25.

⁶⁴ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 463.

⁶⁵ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *ibid.* For swinging as a magical rite, see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii, p. 52; B. Bonnerjee, *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology* (London, 1928), p. 163, s.v. "Maypole."

⁶⁶ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 463.

⁶⁷ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 463 f.

⁶⁸ V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India* (London, 1880), p. 232; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, p. 270, cf. *ibid.*, Note B, "Swinging as a Magical Rite," pp. 277-285, where a large number of authenticated data has been collected. See note 66 above.

⁶⁹ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 181.

to mean that the Santāls are entirely devoid of all religious sentiments. On the contrary, they are religious, that is if we accept a minimum definition of religion.

Auguste Comte had described the primitive form of religious consciousness as that in which man conceives of all external bodies as animated by a life analogous to his own.⁷⁰ This has since been designated as *polyzoism*, *panthelism*, or *panvitalism*. Comte himself was unfortunate in the choice of his expression, for he called it fetishism; but since the term was misleading, R. R. Marrett proposed 'animatism' as a term better suited.⁷¹ The German philosopher Hegel found the seed of religion in magic,⁷² and Sir James G. Frazer accepted Hegel's hypothesis.⁷³ Max Müller, building on philosophy and mythology, affirmed that "Religion consists in the perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man."⁷⁴ Herbert Spencer derived all religion from the worship of the dead, from his "ghost theory,"⁷⁵ and Grant Allen and Lippert were of the same opinion. Andrew Lang supposes, unlike those of the evolutionary school, that the belief in a superior being came first in the order of evolution, but was afterwards thrust into the background by the belief in ghosts and lesser divinities.⁷⁶ Jevons finds the primitive form of religion in totemism⁷⁷; and Émile Durkheim calls totemism the elementary form of religion.⁷⁸ E. Crawley interprets religion by the vital instinct, and connects its first manifestations with the processes of organic life.⁷⁹ And, finally, Wilhelm Wundt recurs to the primitive conception of the soul as the source of all subsequent developments.⁸⁰ Be that as it may, since we are not concerned here with the history of religion, but only with the question as to what it is, we may for our purpose take the minimum definition of religion: *A belief in the supernatural.*

If religion is a belief in the supernatural, the Santāl is an intensely religious person. He has all kinds of gods and demons inhabiting the sky, the earth and the elements of nature. Directly, he expects no favours from his gods; the only favour he hopes for is that his gods may leave him in peace, and with this object in view he tries to placate them to the best of his ability. His gods do not reward the good, but they punish the wicked; therefore his rites are infinitely more numerous than those of the Hindus, and his superstitious nature is ever on the look out for the gods.⁸¹ In order to placate his gods he has need of priests as intermediaries. His *nāke* (priest), by starving for many days, attains a state of half frenzy. He then answers questions through the power of the possessing god. All his actions and words are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has taken temporary possession of his body. While giving the answers, the priest's eyes bulge out and roll in a mad frenzy, his voice becomes unnatural, his face pale, and his general appearance thoroughly changed.⁸²

⁷⁰ *La philosophie positive*, ed. 1841, vol. v, p. 30.

⁷¹ *Folklore*, xi (1900), p. 171.

⁷² *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, ed. 1832, vol. i, pp. 220 f.

⁷³ *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. i, p. 53.

⁷⁴ *Natural Religion*, ed. 1899, p. 188.

⁷⁵ *Principles of Sociology*, vol. i.

⁷⁶ *Magic and Religion*, ed. 1901, p. 224. Cf. E. S. Hartland, "The High Gods of Australia," *Folklore*, ix (1898), p. 290.

⁷⁷ *Introduction to the History of Religion*, ed. 1898, ch. IX.

⁷⁸ *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*.

⁷⁹ *The Tree of Life*, ed. 1905.

⁸⁰ *Mythus und Religion*, ed. 1906, vol. ii, p. 177. On the subject of the origin of religion, see H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie," *L'Année Sociologique*, viii (1904), pp. 1 f.; W. Schmidt, *Die Ursprung der Gottesidee* [in this last mentioned work the opinions of other scholars have been criticised].

⁸¹ Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*,¹³ xxiv, p. 188; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 181 f.

⁸² Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xx, p. 571.

The Santals, therefore, have their own pantheon, in which fire and other elements of nature play a by no means unimportant part.⁸³ Mountains, rivers and other objects are almost deified. The Great Mountain, of which mention has been made before, is venerated above everything else. It has been identified as the eastern Himalaya, considered by them as their natal region; it is the Marang Buru, the divinity which watches over their birth, and is invoked with bloody sacrifices.⁸⁴ The Great Mountain represents neither man nor woman, but the life-sustaining providence necessary for the existence of either. It is invoked publicly as well as in private on all important occasions, such as, for example, in times of tribulation, in time of wealth, in health, in sickness, on the birth of a child, and on the death-bed; and bloody offerings are common. "Goats, sheep, bullocks, fowls, rice, flowers, beer, the berries from the jungle, a head of Indian corn from the field, or even a handful of earth; all are acceptable to the Great Mountain, who is in a sense lower than a Christian understands by the epithet, but still in a high sense the Common Father of the people. It was he who divinely instituted worship, who has journeyed with the race from its primitive home, shared its defeats and flights, and still remains with it, the symbol of the Everlasting and Unchangeable One."⁸⁵ In a long and erudite discussion, Hunter has attempted to identify this Santal divinity with the Hindu god Rudra or Siva.⁸⁶

The home of the Santal possesses no mighty rivers watering its shores; no river with rolling waves have the Santals seen. In fact, there is nothing there majestic enough for the honour of being deified. Were there any such rivers, there is no doubt that the Santals would have apotheosized it, or at least populated it with a horde of water-spirits. Their largest river is the Damodar, which is fordable even in a carriage during many months of the year.⁸⁷ The Santals regard it as sacred. If the death of a Santal occurs at a distance from the river, his nearest kinsman carries a little relic, and places it in the current to be carried to the ocean, the traditional origin and resting place of the Santal race.⁸⁸ This ceremony known as 'Purifying for the Dead' takes place once a year; and at other times hundreds of superstitious Santals repair to the banks of the Damodar to consult the prophets and diviners.⁸⁹ Instances have been known where the relatives of a person killed by a tiger or some other wild animal have tracked the animal for miles in order to bring back some relic, no matter how insignificant it may be, so that it could later be thrown into the Damodar.⁹⁰

Adjoining Santal villages there is a grove of the national *sāl* tree (*Shorea robusta*) which is regarded as a favourite resort of all the family gods of the community. These gods are feared by the superstitious Santals, for it is these gods that cause crooked limbs, leprosy, cramps, and so on. Hence they are appeased by offerings of goats and chickens. Men and women come to these groves; dance round them and chant songs in remembrance of the original founder of the community, who is venerated as the head of the village pantheon.⁹¹

The religion of the Santals, as well as everything else, is based on the family. Each family has its own household gods, who are two in number: the *Orāk-bongā* and the *Abge-bongā*.

⁸³ Sylvain Lévi, in *Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. xx, p. 682, s.v. "Inde." Cf. Bibhutibhusan Gupta, "Sāntāl jivan," *Prabhat*, Jaishtha 1332 [Bengali era], pp. 263, 266.

⁸⁴ Cf. Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology* (London, 1906), vol. i, p. 366, *186 [*A System of Synthetic Philosophy*, vol. vi].

⁸⁵ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 187; cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 13 vol. xxiv, p. 188.

⁸⁶ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 188 f.

⁸⁷ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 152 f.

⁸⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 13 vol. xxiv, p. 188. Herbert Spencer (*Principles of Sociology*, i, 202, *112 quoting Hunter) says that they are placed in the current to be conveyed to the far-off eastern land from which their ancestors came. And comments (*ibid.*) that it is "an avowed purpose which, in adjacent regions, dictates the placing of the entire body in the stream."

⁸⁹ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 153.

⁹⁰ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 154.

⁹¹ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 183.

Orák-bongá is the god of the hearth, and *Abge-bongá*, the secret god.⁹² These gods are worshipped with unknown rites—rites which are scrupulously concealed from all strangers. So "strict is the secrecy that one brother does not know what the other brother worships, and the least allusion to the subject brings a suspicious cloud upon the mountaineer's brow, or sends him abruptly at the top of his speed to the forest."⁹³ The only person to whom a Santál would reveal the name of his *Orák-bongá* and his *Abge-bongá* is his eldest son, and men are particularly careful not to reveal the names of these gods to their womenfolk, lest they acquire an abnormal power by being in possession of these holy names. During the sacrifices offered to *Orák-bongá* the whole family—men, women and children—takes part in them, but men alone are allowed to touch the food offered to *Abge-bongá*. These sacrifices take place once a year.⁹⁴ In addition to the family gods, the Santáls worship the ghosts of their ancestors,⁹⁵ especially during the *Sohrái* festival.

The Santáls believe in an external soul. They tell how a man fell asleep, and growing very thirsty, his soul, in the form of a lizard, left his body and entered a pitcher of water to drink. Just then the owner of the pitcher happened to cover it; so that the soul could not return to the body, and the man died. While his friends were preparing to burn the body someone uncovered the pitcher to get water. The lizard thus escaped and returned to the body, which immediately revived; so the man rose up and asked his friends why they were weeping. They told him they thought he was dead and were about to burn his body. He said he had been down a well to get water, but had found it hard to get out, and had just returned.⁹⁶ But, although they believe in a soul, they seem to have no definite conception of a future life. At most there is a vague idea of a life after death, where the spirits of the dead are engaged in the ceaseless toil of grinding the bones of past generations into a dust from which the gods may recreate children.⁹⁷ They believe also in disembodied spirits, who flit among the fields where they once tilled, and otherwise haunt the places where, during their life, they lived and laboured. These spirits too are mostly of an evil nature, and need to be pacified.

The Santáls seem to have venerated the wild beasts of the forest at a no very remote antiquity. Even down to our own times one of the most solemn forms of oath among them is sworn on a tiger-skin.⁹⁸ Besides the deities and spirits mentioned in the foregoing pages, they have a multitude of other demons, all of which need to be appeased.⁹⁹ The *Abgi* are anthropophagous ghouls; the *Pargana-bongás* are tutelary deities of the ancient deserted villages, roaming about the country till the time when they are fortunate enough to find a cave or a tree to dwell in. Then there are river-demons or *Dá-bongá*, well-demons or *Dáddi-bongá*, tank-demons or *Pákri-bongá*, mountain-demons or *Buru-bongá*, forest-demons or *Biri-bongá*, and so forth.¹⁰⁰ To sum up, then, we see that Santál religion is a mixture of mythology and nature-worship.

⁹² B. Bonnerjee, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 22, quoting (Sir) H. H. Risley, *People of India*,² p. 447.

⁹³ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 182.

⁹⁴ B. Bonnerjee, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁵ Cf. (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 182 f.; *Encyclopædia Britannica*,¹³ vol. xxiv, p. 188.

⁹⁶ *The Indian Antiquary*, vii (1878), p. 273; A. Bastian, *Völkerstämme am Brahmaputra*, p. 127;

(Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 38. Cf. *Panjab Notes and Queries*, iii, p. 166, *679.

⁹⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica*,¹³ vol. xxiv, p. 188.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 184.

N. B.—On p. 89, line 10, from bottom, in the quotation from Sir James G. Frazer, the word "begging" should be "asking"; line 5, "naik" should be "naiki"; and "sub-clan" should be "subclan" all the way through in the quotation. On p. 91, note⁹³ "Erresen" should be "Bhresen."

SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGITA.

BY PROF. JARL OHARPENTIER, Ph.D., UPSALA.

(Continued from page 80.)

From ii, 39, on there begins the real Bhagavadgītā, the lecture delivered by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. This lecture at certain places is broken by a question or a mild retort from Arjuna, which thus gives the whole the exterior shape of an *Upaniṣad*, a dialogue between a teacher and his pupil. The verses attributed to Arjuna are, however, with the exception of canto xi, remarkably few (*viz.*, ii, 54; iii, 1—2. 36; iv, 4; v, 1; vi, 33—34. 37—39; viii, 1—2; x, 12—18; xi, 1—4. 15—31. 36—46. 51; xii, 1; xiv, 21; xvii, 1; xviii, 1. 73). And it is certainly remarkable that while cantos ii, 39—x, contain twenty verses spoken by Arjuna, there are only five such verses to be found in cantos xii—xviii. Canto xi stands by itself in quite a separate category; for, out of its fifty-five verses no less than thirty-three belong to Arjuna. This same canto also totally differs from the others, because no less than thirty-six of its fifty-five verses are in *triṣṭubh*; while otherwise in the whole poem there are no more than altogether twenty verses composed in a metre other than the common *śloka*.⁵⁰

We may first of all fix upon one fact which seems perfectly obvious, *viz.*, that the eleventh canto is quite unlike the other parts of the poem. Exactly three-fifths of it are spoken by Arjuna, who is otherwise throughout the Gītā⁵¹ mainly a silent listener to the wisdom preached by Kṛṣṇa. And more than three-fifths (36 out of 55) of its verses are composed in *triṣṭubh*, a metre which seems otherwise to have been almost wholly foreign to the Gītā.⁵² It seems to me, therefore, probable that we have in the main part of canto xi, especially in the *triṣṭubh*, verses 15—50, the remnants of an old Bhāgavata hymn on the revelation of Kṛṣṇa as the Universal God to Arjuna. This hymn was taken up by the poet who composed the earlier part of the Bhagavadgītā; and in a very clever way he affixed it to the end of his poem—to this topic we shall revert presently. Whether he recomposed the introductory stanzas into the *śloka* metre, or whether those verses be his own composition is certainly a problem that must remain unsolved.

There is, however, scarcely any doubt that the last verses (51—55) of the present canto xi are a later addition. Compared with the preceding lofty, nay even sublime, *triṣṭubhs*, they are incredibly flat and nonsensical. I lay no great weight upon the fact that in v. 51 Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa by the name *Janārdana*, though after his preceding devotional language, this is somewhat disrespectful.⁵³ But his words here are wholly unnecessary, and the expression *rūpam . . . saumyam* is apparently coined on *saumyavapuḥ* in v. 50. The v. 53:

nāham vedair na tapasā na dānena na cejyayā
śakya evamvidho draṣṭum dṛṣṭvān asi mām yathā

⁵⁰ These verses are i, 26; ii, 5-8. 20. 22. 29. 70; viii, 9-11. 28; ix, 20-21; xv, 2-5. 15. Of these, ii, 20, is not very different from *Kāth. Up.*, 2, 18; ii, 22, somewhat closely agrees with *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 50; ii, 29, is possibly related to *Kāth. Up.*, 2, 7; ii, 70, is=*Viṣṇusmṛti*, 72, 7; viii, 9, has apparent parallels in the *Upaniṣads*, etc. (cp. Haas, *l.c.*, xlii, 41); viii, 11, is closely related with *Kāth. Up.*, 2, 15; on ix, 21 cp. Haas, *l.c.*, xlii, 12; xv, 2 f., are verses with strong connections in the *Upaniṣadic* literature. Ten or eleven of these verses consequently are quotations from older literature—from which the *Upaniṣads* and the *Viṣṇusmṛti* may also have borrowed—though they have probably been more or less altered by the redactors of the Gītā. The verses i, 26 and ii, 5-8, belong to the old epic text. Thus there only remain verses viii, 10, 28, ix, 20 and xv, 15, which to me all look uncommonly like some sort of quotations, though, unfortunately, I am not able to trace them. It appears as if the *triṣṭubhs* did not originally belong to the didactic poem which we now call the Bhagavadgītā.

⁵¹ With the exception, of course, of cantos i and ii, 1-11, 31-38, which, according to the suggestions put forth above, do not belong to the real Gītā.

⁵² The present writer has proved (cp. *ZDMG.*, lxxvi, 44 sq.; *Die Suparnasage*, p. 204 sq.) with examples from the *Rig Veda*, the *Jātakas*, the *Mahābhārata*, etc., that originally dialogues were nearly always composed in *triṣṭubh*. The epic dialogues, which are mainly in *śloka*, show a later literary development.

⁵³ To this I shall refer presently.

is only a deteriorated repetition of v. 48 :

*na vedayajñādhyayanair na dānair
na ca kriyābhīr na tapobhīr ugraiḥ |
evamrūpaḥ śakya ahaṁ nṛloke
draṣṭum tvad anyena kurupravīra ||*

The verses 54—55 preach *bhakti*, like so many other stanzas of the *Gītā*, and are not necessary here ; besides v. 55 :

*matkarmakṛn matparamo madbhaktaḥ saṅgavarjitaḥ |
nirvairāḥ sarvabhūteṣu yaḥ sa mām eti Pāṇḍava ||*

is strongly reminiscent of ix, 34 :

*manmanā bhava madbhakto madyājī mām namaskuru |
mām evaiṣyasi yuktvaivam ātmānam matpārūyaṇaḥ ||*

and also of other passages within the *Gītā*.

There are, however, a few verses at the very end of the present text which must, according to my opinion, have once followed immediately upon xi, 50, viz., xviii, 74—78 :

*Samjaya uvāca |
ity ahaṁ Vāsudevasya Pārthasya ca mahātmanaḥ |
saṁvādam imam aśrauṣam adbhutam romaharṣanam || 74 ||
Vyāsaprasādāc chrutavān etad guhyam ahaṁ param |
yogaṁ yogeśvarāt Kṛṣṇāt sākṣāt kathayataḥ svayam || 75 ||
rājan saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya saṁvādam imam adbhutam |
Keśavārjunayoḥ puṇyaṁ hr̥ṣyāmi ca muhur muhur || 76 ||
tac ca saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya rūpam atyadbhutam Hareḥ |
vismayo me mahān rājan hr̥ṣyāmi ca punaḥ punaḥ || 77 ||
yatra yogeśvaraḥ Kṛṣṇo yatra Pārtho dhanurdharaḥ |
tatra śrīr vijayo bhūtir dhruvā nītir matir mama || 78 ||*

Only here and in xi, 4. 9 (*mahāyogeśvara*) is Kṛṣṇa called *yogeśvara*, 'Lord of magic powers' ; and only in canto xi, where he reveals himself to Arjuna as the Universal and terrible God, is there any reason for him being thus styled. And verse 77 : *tac ca saṁsmṛtya saṁsmṛtya rūpam atyadbhutam Hareḥ*, etc., expressly tells us that Samjaya is still under the impression of the bewildering and horrible sight revealed to him as well as to Arjuna, as told in canto xi.⁵⁴

So far we have thus found that the *Bhagavadgītā* in its present state consists of a smaller part that belonged to the original epic text and is represented by cantos i and ii, 1—11, 31—38, and a larger part which—not to mention the interpolated verses ii, 12—30—runs from ii, 39 to xi, 50. The verses xi, 51—55 are of a later date, while xviii, 74—78, apparently at one time followed immediately after xi, 50. The verses xi, 15—50 are most probably the remnants of an old *Bhāgavata* hymn which was taken over by the author of ii, 39—x, and put in a fitting place at the end of his poem, to which it formed a most impressive final piece.

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Though it has not yet been specially emphasized, it is fairly obvious from what has already been said that I consider the older *Bhagavadgītā* to have ended with xi, 50—xviii, 74—78, and the remnant of the present text to be a later addition. For such a conclusion, though I have arrived at it simply by repeated study of the text itself, I can claim the assistance of the very highest authority. For, we are instantly reminded of the fact that Humboldt about a century ago laid it down as his own opinion that the *Bhagavadgītā* probably at one time ended with canto xi. To this older *Gītā* he wanted to add the verses xviii, 63—78, which he considered to be old and original.

⁵⁴ I should also deem it probable that Arjuna is in v. 78 called *dhanurdhara* because the poet who wrote that verse had in his mind the *Dhanajayam*...*bhāgūpādhārīnam* of MBh., vi, 2533, a verse that was to follow immediately after this one.

In this suggestion Humboldt, according to my humble opinion, was quite right, even though I personally differ from him in some less important details. His arguments are perhaps somewhat subjective and no longer quite valid. But there is not the slightest doubt that after canto xi there is the most marked and important division in the present text.

Of reasons for regarding cantos xii—xviii, 73, as an addition of later date, the work of an entirely different author, there is a sufficient number. First of all these cantos are not wanted, as with canto xi, the sublime hymn⁵⁵ on the revelation of the Universal God, the real Gītā has come to a most fitting end. The question of Arjuna in xii, 1 :

evam satatayuktā ye bhaktās tvām paryupāsate |

ye cāpy akṣaram avyaktam teṣāṃ ke yogavittamāḥ || 1 ||

is wholly unnecessary and stands in no relation whatsoever to the preceding parts of the Gītā, except to xi, 55. And it seems probable that the postaster who put together the tedious and—save a very few passages—most trivial cantos xii—xviii was also the author of xi, 51—55, verses, which we have already rejected as not belonging to the original Gītā. What this later author did was consequently that he took away the five final verses of the older text (now xviii, 74—78) and relegated them to the end of his own creation. In their place he put five other verses (xi, 51—55) of his own composition, meaning to bridge the gap between the older poem and his own inferior work. The introduction to the latter is formed by the question in verse xii, 1, which is one of the five out of the 231 stanzas of cantos xii—xviii that are put into the mouth of Arjuna.

Someone will perhaps raise the objection that in style and in choice of words there is no marked difference at all between cantos ii—xi and xii—xviii. Such an objection is, of course, of very limited value, as it was not impossible for a later author to ape the special style of his predecessor; and besides—apart from a sort of quasi-philosophical jargon—there is not much in the whole of the Gītā to separate its trend of style from the general one of the Great Epic.

Professor Rajwade some years ago published a paper on the grammar of the Gītā,⁵⁶ where he strongly censured a number of faults and mistakes, clumsy expressions, etc., which anyhow tend to show that the author or authors of this text at any rate did not side with the school of Pāṇini. Such, I take it, is more or less the case with all the epic poets; and as far as I am able to gather from Professor Rajwade's paper, there is no marked difference from this point of view between the earlier and later parts of the Gītā as I see them. Slight differences, however, seem to exist in the vocabularies used by the suggested authors of cantos ii—xi and xii—xviii.

Thus it is undeniable that the word *kṣetra*- in a philosophical sense⁵⁷ is only used by the author of canto xiii, with whom it seems to have been a favourite word, as it occurs (together with *kṣetrin*- and *kṣetrajña*-) in no less than eight verses out of thirty-three. Now, there can, as far as I am aware, be found no passage in the literature where *kṣetra*- occurs in this sense which is decidedly older than the Gītā; and there is no doubt whatsoever that *kṣetra*, 'body,' and *kṣetrajña*, 'soul,' are both late words which belong to the systematic terminology of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga.⁵⁸ The special Sāṃkhya term *guṇa*- occurs—together with derivatives like *traiguṇya*-, etc.—altogether ten times in cantos ii, iii, iv and vii, while we meet with it in more than twenty passages in canto xiii f. Again, out of the names of

⁵⁵ I have already mentioned above (cp. p. 47) that I can in nowise share the judgment of Professor Winternitz, *VOJ.*, xxi, 194 f., on canto xi. Oldenberg, *l.c.*, p. 331, n. 1, quite correctly speaks of the 'wundervoll schwungreiches Kap. xi.'

⁵⁶ *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume*, p. 325 f.

⁵⁷ The *kurukṣetra* and *dharma-kṣetra* of i, 1, do not, of course, fall within the scope of this remark.

⁵⁸ Cp. also Garbe, *Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, 2nd ed., pp. 267, 355. In this connection I should like to draw attention to *Kuṇḍarasambhava*, 6, 77: *yogino yaṃ vicinvanti kṣetrābhyantaravartinam*; for *yogināḥ* can here only mean the votaries of the Yoga system. And Kālidāsa's date is, according to my firm opinion, that of Skandagupta.

the three *guṇas* the derivatives *tāmasa-*, *rājasa-* and *sāttvika-* are all found in vii, 12, and besides, *rajas-* occurs in iii, 37, in its strictly philosophical sense; but otherwise this use of the words *tamas-*, *rajas-*, and *sattva-* is limited to the cantos xii—xviii.⁵⁹ On the other hand, *prāṇa-* occurs in xv, 14 and xviii, 33, while otherwise it is only found within the earlier part of the text. Likewise *māyā*, even in its later sense a word of Vedic origin, is met with in four verses in cantos iv and vii, while later on it occurs only in xviii, 61. Finally *nirvāṇa-* occurs only in vi, 15, and the compound *brahmanirvāṇa-* in ii, 72 and v, 24, 25—26⁶⁰; and *svarga-* occurs only in ii, 32, 37, 43 and ix, 21, together with the derivative *asvargya-* in ii, 2.⁶¹ It may be remarked that the word *brahmaloka-* does not occur within the *Gītā*, which seems to me strongly to confirm the suggestion of M. Przyluski concerning the original identity between this word and *svarga*.

Slight as are these discrepancies between the vocabularies of cantos ii—xi and xii—xviii, they are not entirely without importance.

There seems to me to exist another fact which has perhaps been slightly overlooked, but which also points to a certain discrepancy existing between what I venture to call the earlier and later parts of the present *Bhagavadgītā*.

In i, 21 c-d, Arjuna speaks thus to Kṛṣṇa :

senayor ubhayor madhye ratham sthāpaya me'cyuta ||

The reading *me'cyuta*, whatever be the text of manuscripts available at the present date, must be false; for this verse belongs to the original epic text, and to its authors Kṛṣṇa is not *Acyuta*, the Supreme God Viṣṇu.⁶² But the same word occurs also within the last lines of the *Gītā*, viz., in xviii, 73 :

na'ho mohah smṛtir labdhā tvatprasūdān mayūcyuta |

sthito'smi gatasaṁdehaḥ kariṣye vacanam tava

And it is easily understandable that from here the final redactor of the *Gītā* transposed it to i, 21⁶³; for then Arjuna would be made to address the Supreme Being as *Acyuta* the first and the last time that he speaks to him within the *Gītā*.⁶⁴

After these somewhat digressive remarks, let us follow, throughout the poem, the way in which Arjuna addresses his friend, in whom after some considerable time he is taught to behold the Supreme God. We shall then come upon the following list :

- i, 28 : Kṛṣṇa ; 32 : Kṛṣṇa, Govinda ; 35 : Madhusūdana ; 36 : Janārdana ; 37 : Mādhava ; 39 : Janārdana ; 41 : Kṛṣṇa, Vārṇeya ; 44 : Janārdana.
- ii, 4 : Madhusūdana, Arisūdana ; 54 : Keśava.
- iii, 1 : Janārdana, Keśava ; 36 : Vārṇeya.
- iv, 4 : bhavān, tvam.
- v, 1 : Kṛṣṇa.

⁵⁹ *Tamas-* in viii, 9, simply means 'darkness'; nor is it in x, 11, used in its purely philosophical sense. In vi, 27, the epithet *śānta-rajas-* means 'free from passion' (*rajas*=*rāga*-). Finally, *sattva-* in ii, 45 and x, 36, is not used as a philosophical term, and in x, 41, it simply means 'being.'

⁶⁰ On *brahma-nirvāṇa* and the ideas connected with it, cp. Senart, *Album Kern*, p. 104; Garbé, *Bhagavadgītā*, p. 65; Professor Stecherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 4, n. 1; and M. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, p. 367, n. 1. If *svarga* is long identical with *brahmaloka*, 'the world of Brahman' (cp. M. Przyluski, *loc. cit.*, p. 368), then it seems clear that *brahmanirvāṇa*, means simply 'the final calm in Brahman'; I venture to think that it is coined on Buddhist *Nirvāṇa* and is meant to prove that that conception is nothing but a sectarian metamorphosis of *brahman*.

⁶¹ Cp. also the old-fashioned *svargatī-* in ix, 20. Boehtlingk, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1897, p. 11, conjectured *svargo*, instead of *sargo*, in v, 19; however, vii, 27, seems to me to prove that *sargo* should be retained. On the importance of *svarga* in the inscriptions of Aśoka, cp. Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, ii, 322 f.

⁶² *Acyuta* as a name of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, of course, means the one who does not fall (*cyu-*), i.e., who is not subject to the laws of metempsychosis.

⁶³ Where the original text may have run somewhat like this : *s. u. m. ratham sthāpaya keśava (or mādḥava)*.

⁶⁴ *Acyuta* also occurs in xi, 42, which, however, is of no special importance in this connection.

- vi, 33 : *Madhusūdana* ; 34, 37 : *Kṛṣṇa* ; 38 : *mātibāho* ; 39 : *Kṛṣṇa*.
viii, 1 : *puruṣottama* ; 2 : *Madhusūdana*.
x, 12 : *bhavan* ; 14 : *Keśava*, *bhagavan* ; 15 : *puruṣottama*, *bhūtabhāvana*, *bhūteśa*, *devadeva*, *jagatpate* ; 17 : *yogin*, *bhagavan* ; 18 : *Janārdana*.
xi, 2 : *kamalapatrākṣa* ; 3 : *paramēśvara*, *puruṣottama* ; 4 : *yogeśvara* ; 15 : *deva* ; 16 : *viśveśvara*, *viśvarūpa* ; 23 : *mahābāho* ; 24 : *Viṣṇo* ; 25 : *deveśa*, *jagannivāsa* ; 30 : *Viṣṇo* ; 31 : *devavara* ; 36 : *Hṛṣīkeśa* ; 37 : *mahātman*, *ananta*, *deveśa*, *jagannivāsa* ; 38 : *anantarūpa* ; 40 : *sarva* ; 42 : *Acyuta* ; 44 : *deva* ; 45 : *deva*, *deveśa*, *jagannivāsa* ; 46 : *sahasrakāho*, *viśvāmūrti* ; 51 : *Janārdana*.
xiv, 21 : *prabho*.
xvii, 1 : *Kṛṣṇa*.
xviii, 1 : *mahābāho*, *Hṛṣīkeśa*, *Keśiniśūdana*.
xviii, 73 : *Acyuta*.

It will be seen from this list that—apart from the *Acyuta* in i, 21—which I have rejected above—there is in the allocutions of Arjuna no hint of the supremely divine nature of *Kṛṣṇa* until we arrive at the *puruṣottama* in viii, 1.⁶⁵ And it is only in the cantos x and xi that Arjuna raises himself to a language of the purest *bhakti* by using epithets like *devadeva*, *viśveśvara*, *Viṣṇo*, etc.⁶⁶ There is not the slightest doubt that this rising scale has been conscientiously aimed at by the author of the earlier *Bhagavadgītā*.⁶⁷

After listening to this devotional exaltation it is with a certain feeling of astonishment that in xvii, 1, we meet again with the simple allocution *Kṛṣṇa*. And our astonishment will be considerably increased if with this last-mentioned verse we compare xi, 41—42 :

sakheti matvā prasabham yad uktam
he Kṛṣṇa he Yādava he sakheti ⁶⁸
ajānatā mahimānam tavedam
mayā pramādāt prañayena vāpi || 41 ||
yac cāvakhāsārtham asatkṛto 'si
vihāraśayyāsanaabhojanēṣu |
eko 'thavāpy Acyuta tat samakṣam
tat kṣāmaye tvām aham aprameyam || 42 ||

Here Arjuna expressively apologizes for having, because of not knowing his greatness, addressed the Supreme God as 'Kṛṣṇa,' 'Yādava' or 'comrade'; which is, of course, discourteous and inadmissible.⁶⁹ When, after that, the author of xvii, 1, makes him again talk to the Supreme Being as 'Kṛṣṇa', this can only be explained by assuming that he had for the moment forgotten this passage in the work of his predecessor. To suggest that the very same author should have committed, within such a limited space, such a blunder is scarcely admissible.

(To be continued.)

⁶⁵ *Kṛṣṇa* in viii, 4, pays a corresponding compliment by styling Arjuna *dehabhīlām vara*.

⁶⁶ There is a still longer list of such superlative epithets in the *Viṣṇumūrti*, i, 49 f.

⁶⁷ There is something like this found in the use of the Buddha's epithets in the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, cp. Mr. Johnston, *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 538.

⁶⁸ On this incorrect form cp. Schlegel-Lassen, *l.c.*, p. xxx, n. ; Professor Rajwade, *l.c.*, p. 327. Lassen probably is right in looking upon it as being a senseless repetition of the previous correct *sakheti*.

⁶⁹ The situation undoubtedly reminds us of the *Mahāvagga*, i, 6, 12, where Buddha speaks thus to the *pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū* : *mā bhikkhave tathāgaṇaṃ nāmena ca āvusovādēna ca samudācaratha araham bhikkhave tathāgaṇo sammāsambuddho*.

RUSTAMJĪ MĀNAK : A NOTABLE PĀRSĪ BROKER.

By HARIHAR DAS, B.LITT. (OXON.), F.R.HIST.S.

THE life-story of this famous Pārsī is of great interest to all students of the history of the East India Company, and especially to those who are tracing the genealogy of the great families of merchant princes and others both in Calcutta and in Bombay. The fortunes of some of their ancestors were made in the service of that Company, and their descendants are enjoying to-day the fruits of the achievements of their forefathers. The subject of this article, Rustamjī Mānak, born in 1660, was one of those who made a fortune in that service during the seventeenth century, and is the founder of one of the best known Pārsī families of our day in Bombay. We are not acquainted with the early history of Rustamjī's family, but Mr. Henry Grose mentioned in his book, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, that the family was descended "from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by the Mahometan invasion." His descendants are still distinguished for their opulence and philanthropy, amongst them being Mr. K. J. Sett, one of the largest land-owners in the city of Bombay and a member of the Pārsī Panchāyat; and Sir Phiroz Settna, a member of the Council of State. There are occasional references to Rustamjī in Bruce's *Annals*, Hedge's *Diary*, Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Records in the Bombay Secretariat*, as well as in other works. Mr. S. H. Hodivala delivered an interesting lecture in April, 1927, at the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, on the *True History of Rustam Mānak*. His paper was chiefly based on the above authorities and on private information. Mr. Hodivala has done a distinct service by pointing out inaccuracies with regard to certain facts and traditions associated with Rustamjī.

The object of the present article is to give a short account of the prominent part played by Rustamjī as broker to the New English East India Company, and interpreter to the Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzeb. It has been compiled from records, not hitherto published, which are preserved at the India Office. These include Rustamjī's *Diary* and the letters written by him during the time he was connected with the Embassy. The *Journals* of Sir William Norris contained references to Rustamjī, which have already been inserted by the writer in his articles on the Embassy published in various journals. Before further describing Rustamjī's connection with the Embassy, it may be mentioned that he amassed a large fortune in the Company's service and in private enterprises. He founded the suburb at Surat which still bears his name, Rustampura. His philanthropic spirit prompted him to devote a large portion of his money to charitable objects, and his descendants are continuing to emulate the generosity of their great ancestor.

Rustamjī was appointed broker to the New English East India Company by Sir Nicholas Waite a few months before the arrival of Sir William Norris at Surat in December, 1700. He enjoyed the entire confidence of the President for several years. It was customary at that time that any one receiving an appointment should make a present to the official to whom he owed his new office. When, therefore, Rustamjī was made chief broker, he presented Sir Nicholas Waite with the sum of Rs. 20,000, which was unanimously accepted by the President and his Council. In reporting to the Court of Directors, they wrote that the money would be "applied toward defraying the charge of building lodgings for your servants, with warehouses and other conveniences, w^{ch} charge, our house adjoining to the Wall and one of the city gates upon the river will in few years after have our Phirmaund dissipate said Expence in cartage etc., beside the great security it will be upon any revolution in this Govern^t when have the comand of such a gate."¹ It may easily be concluded that, as Rustamjī was able to pay so large a sum on receiving his appointment, the emoluments attached to his post as well as sums derived from other sources must have been very great

¹ See No. 7032, O. C. 56—I; No. 7222, O. C. 56—II.

There was no dearth of candidates for that post, and many competitors were prepared to pay even larger sums if by any means they could have superseded him. His position was, therefore, at first one of considerable difficulty ; but, being in the good graces of Sir Nicholas Waite, he was able to withstand his enemies. In a letter written to the Court of Directors on the 30th November, 1700, Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council wrote :—" The Old Company's servants used many artifices for turning out of our present Broker being the first of the Parsee caste that hath at any time been in such publick employment which being in prejudice to all the Baman caste the Old and Chief managers of all business here hath occasioned a storme of envy from the last, and all those that may propose an advantage for their introduction when in our consciences believe it is your interest for us to suport him, when your honrs. may be assured that we shall certainly have advice of the least ill act he can contrive in your prejudice, and 'tis notorious to all the city that he is the best master of business with the Governm^t which could never have been carried with that secrecy and expedition had a Baman been our Broker w^{ch} cast being so exasperated have by Vittull Parrack the Old Comp^y's late Broker (of whom wrote your honrs by the Norris) offered Sir Nicholas Waite one hundred thousand rupees to be Broker. Then by the Brother of the Dutch Broker seaventy thousand rupees worth of diamonds in hand and thirty thousand rupees when so declared w^{ch} if the Consul had accepted, tho an estate for any reasonable man your settlem^t had by that interest purchased by the Old Factory been wth the Embassy totally over throwne which virtue not blinded with Gold or pretious stones can't believe that your honrs. will pass without cognizance for encouragement of such as are faithful and do well when have not rec^d. anything but what hath been brought to your credit, as a horse the Harcarra since the Norris sailed gave the President valued at Rs. 500 and 4 p : atlases and 3 p. of Allejahs valued at Rs. 70 rec^d. from Abdul Goffore who was with Mirza Zaid our Landlord two of the Principall Merch^{ts}. of this city presented upon your honors account n cloth etc. to the value of—rups they being our friends and by whose interest have gained as the favour of the great Codgee [Kâzi] and Mufty of the King and others at Court and the merchants and others of this city."²

After Sir William Norris' arrival at Surat in December, 1700, Rustamji Mânak was authorised to inform the local Mughal Governor and the other officials that by virtue of his authority the Ambassador had ordered the flag which Sir John Gayer had caused to be hoisted on board the *Tavistock* to be hauled down³. Rustamji was commissioned by Sir Nicholas Waite to make all the preliminary arrangements connected with the Ambassador's landing, and he lost no time in visiting the latter in company with his chief. This proceeding greatly alarmed the servants of the Old Company who feared that, if Sir Nicholas followed implicitly the advice of Rustamji, it would " cause new troubles in some kind or other." Shortly afterwards at a Council held at the Ambassador's Camp on January 3, 1700, the President and Council recommended their Chief broker Rustamji as a faithful interpreter to attend his Excellency to the Mughal Court till the *farmân* should have been obtained for the Presidency of Surat. Accordingly Rustamji accompanied Sir William Norris on his journey to the Mughal Court and was entrusted with a large sum of money for the necessary expenses. He was especially commissioned to superintend the Indian members of the retinue ; but from the very beginning it appeared that the Ambassador was not favourably impressed by the manner in which Rustamji performed his work. His dissatisfaction is shown by the following extract from a letter written by Sir William Norris to Sir Nicholas Waite on February 19, 1700-1 :—" I refer you to my brother's letter for account of all transactions in our march and in relation to ye behaviour of our Indian retinue, over which I have all along given Rustum the authority, but really he has not courage to execute, but suffers ye least of them to dispute his commands, and after he has given them am often

² See No. 7222, O. C. 56-11.

³ *Surat Factory Records*, vol. 99.

obliged to force ye Eddies to see them executed, suffering no Englishmen whatsoever to intermeddle or be concerned with them."⁴

On the other hand it was evident that Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council entertained a very high opinion of Rustamji's ability and integrity. They still considered him to be the most suitable person to assist the Ambassador in the negotiations with the Mughâl's ministers. This view was fully expressed in a letter to the Court of Directors dated March 6, 1700-1 :—
 "The Ambassador being upon his journey strongly guarded and we furnished with what were most acceptable to such whose corrupt natures adore the God of this earth, and accompanied with our Chief Broker Rustumjee faithful to your interest well acquainted with ye mysterious intreagues of these people and capable to prevent the impolice and chargable projections of our hot brethren extorted this permission having no other in view that could repose so great a trust and beleiving in our conscience had been wanting in our duty⁵ if not complied with his Excy's desire to keep him until our Phirmaund granted is past ye seal and another provided in his room and hope that your affairs will not be much prejudiced by his absence being all the *Mountainues* cargoe except peper drugs and coffee and most of what intended for the Rooke contracted for before the Rains tho he complains it will be considerably to his disadvantage refusing any gratuity from his Excy referring himself to your hon from whom probably he may expect a medal and chain and some uncommon curiosity to be delivered if find him not staid in his stedfastness to your interest."⁵

(To be continued.)

SOME ADDITIONS TO THE LALLÂ-VÂKYÂNÎ.

(*The Wise Sayings of Lal Ded.*)

By PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRĪNAGAR, KASHMĪR.

THE ages, it has been truly said, are mirrored in their old songs and sayings. In this age of spiritual rebirth, which is characterized by an insatiable thirst for higher knowledge, there cannot be an object of more intense desire than to gaze upon the matchless and eloquent forms of classical antiquity. The philosophical and poetical works of genius of every age and clime, hitherto hidden treasures, should, therefore, be recovered and made accessible to all by translation.

Lallishwari or Lal Ded is among the most venerable characters of moral antiquity and is the heroine of ancient popular religious culture in Kashmîr. Her precious sayings—productions of divine inspiration—have rooted themselves in the popular mind and are resounding and vibrating many-toned within them. There reign in them both power and fulness of genius. She penetrated more deeply than ordinary mortals into the mysteries of theology. Her mind could well be compared to a mirror in whose depths was reflected the history of humanity. She lashed vice and extolled virtue, and her sayings are animated and inflamed with the most chaste metaphors, whose conception and composition are very beautiful, sweet and sublime, conveying vivid moral truths that can never be read without internal emotion. By the arrangement of her words her ideas are artfully disclosed and rendered beautifully picturesque. These unique effusions of real inspiration soothe the ear, mend and melt the heart and elevate the mind. In short, they are a gift, immeasurably precious, to the world and to all nations.

In the life-sketch of this prophetess, published in the *Indian Antiquary* of November and December 1921, I stated that I had been fortunate enough to collect a number of her sayings in addition to those already published by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Lionel D. Barnett.

⁴ See O. C. 56—IV.

⁵ See No. 7478, O. C. 56—IV.

I have since translated them, and I give them below with the satisfaction of feeling that these literary jewels are now rescued from falling into the deep, dark and dim ditch of oblivion.

1.

*Āguray rāṭak sārī sārī tarāk,
Adah kavah mūdo phalāk zāh.*

If thou wilt go to the source (of a stream and) cross after feeling the feet firmly,

Then, O fool, how shalt thou ever be drowned ?

2.

*Āras nerih nah mudur shiray ;
Nir-viryas nerih nah shūrah nāv,
Murkhas prunun chhuy hastis kashun ;
Yaso mālī dāndas bēha tsāv.*

Babrih-langas mushk no morey ;

Hūni-bastih kāpūr nerih nah zāh.

Manah yud gwārahan, pheriy zerey,

Natah shālāh-ṭungey neriy kyāh.

Sweet juice cannot be extracted from a plum ;

A eunuch cannot be called a hero.

To give instruction to a foolish person is to scratch an elephant (he payeth no regard to it) ;

Whichever ox hath become addicted to laziness (he cannot be made active).

A branch of sweet basil shall not lose its odour ;

Camphor can never come out of a dog's skin.

If thou rememberest (Him) in thy mind, (He) will turn to thee easily ;

Otherwise what will come out of a jackal's howl ? (i.e., saying prayers with the tongue alone, with an absent mind, is as meaningless as a jackal's howl).

3.

Asiy āsi tay asiy āsau ;

Asiy dor kari patawat.

Shivas sorih nah zyūn lah marun ;

Ravas sorih nah atayut.

Only we existed (in the past) and only we shall exist (in the future),

Only we did ever make excursion in the past.

Birth and death will not come to an end for Śiva ;

Rising and setting will not come to an end for the sun.

This saying compares with *Bhagavadgītā*, II, 12.

Na tvevāhaṃ jātu nāsan na tvam neme janādhipāḥ |

Na caiva na bhaviṣyāmaḥ sarve vayamataḥ param ||

The interminable round of birth and death.

In the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, dated 30th May 1928, it was reported that a girl of seven years of age, named Rāmkuṭī, daughter of Paṇḍit Gaṅgā Viṣṇu, a Brāhman in the village of Shādīnagar in the Farrukhābād district of the United Provinces, remembered her previous life in a family at a village named Maglabāgh, where, she said, she had three sons, one having been born shortly before her death. The eldest was named Siyārām and the second Rāmsvarūp. She was taken to this village and, when approaching it, she pointed

out two houses in the distance, in which, she said, she had lived during her previous existence. She confirmed her assertion by identifying her sons there. The girl was then cross-examined. She described correctly the alterations and repairs to the house, which had been effected some years before ; and to other questions put by the villagers she gave correct replies.

4.

*Avitāri pothēn chhīh hau, māli, parān,
Yītha tota parān, " Rāma " pñjras.*

Gitā parān tah hīthā labān ;

Param Gitā tah parān chhas.

O father, the thoughtless are reading books,

As a parrot is repeating " Rāma " in the cage.

(They are) reading the (*Bhagavad*) *Gitā*, having a pretext to do so,

I have read the (*Bhagavad*) *Gitā*, and I am still reading it.

The other version of this saying is given in No. 27 below.

5.

Āyas tih siduy tah gatshah tih siduy ;

Sidis hul mēh karēm kyāh ?

Buh tas āsas āgaray vōday

Vidis tah vēdis karēm kyāh ?

I came straight and I shall also return straight.

What can a crooked person do to me, a straightforward person ?

I was acquainted with Him from the beginning,

What will He do to me, His acquaintance and a dear one ?

6.

Azapt Gāyatri hamsah hamsah zapit

Aham trāvit suy adah raṭ.

Yami trov aham suh rūd pānay.

Buh nah āsun chhuy opadesh.

Without mentally reciting the *gāyatrī* (a verse from the *Rig Veda*) but reciting it by *hamsa hamsa* (which a human being utters 21,600 times unconsciously by breathing during 24 hours, and which means *ātma*, i.e., *hanti avedyām hamsah*).

Hold Him (*ātma*) after leaving self-love.

He who left self-love remained himself.

Ceasing to be " I " is the right doctrine.

7.

Duckhinis ubras zāyun zānahā.

Samudras zānahā kaḍit aṭh.

Mundis rogiyas waidyut ānahā.

Mudās zānim nah pranit kath.

I might know how to disperse the clouds from the south,

I might know how to drain away a sea,

I might know how to cure a feeble, sick person,

(These impossibilities might be possible for me, but) I could not know
how to say anything to a stupid person.

8.

Damah damah Omkar man paranâwum.
Pânay parân pânay bozân.
So'ham padas aham golum,
Teli Lal boh wâtsus prakâshasthân.
 Every moment I taught *Omkâr* to the mind.
 I was myself reading and myself hearing.
 From *so'ham* (I am He) I cut off *aham* (I am),
 Then did I, Lallâ, reach the place of illumination.

9.

Dish âyas dash dish tilit,
Tealit tsatûm shani adah wâv.
Shivay dyûthum shâyi shâyi mîlit.
Shêh tah trêh trupimas tah Shivay drâv.
Sun drâv vahni tah mal gau vathit,
Yeli mêh anilah dîtumas tâv.
Katur zan gayas lolah viglit,
Yeli kashkush teul nishi rau drav.
Lal buh rûzus teli shehilit,
Yeli tsêtas pèv buh tas nâv.
 I came from my quarter after visiting ten quarters,
 Then I out and ran through void and wind.
 I found *Śiva* pervading everywhere.
 I closed six (senses) and three (*malas* or impurities which are the causes
 of the existence of the material world) and even *Śiva* appeared.
 Gold came out of the furnace and dirt was removed,
 When I heated it in fire.
 I got melted by love, like ice
 When the frost thawed and the sun appeared.
 I, Lallâ, remained then in peace,
 When I remembered "I" (to be) His name.

10.

Graṭa chhuh pherân zerey zerey ;
Uhukuy zânih graṭuk tehal.
Graṭa yêlih pherih tay zavyul nerey,
Gû wâti pânay graṭabal.
 Slowly, slowly, is the mill turning ;
 The pivot alone knoweth the trick of the mill.
 When the mill will turn, fine (flour) will come out ;
 Wheat (for being ground) will itself reach the mill-yard.

11.

Guras mail pèv âmen nâtan :
Biyan pashan swâd kyâh âsey ?
Yi hâl guras, tay râh kyâh tsâtan ?
Brahma kulis mewah kyâh piye !
 The spiritual teacher had an appetite for raw flesh ;
 Of what taste will be other animals (to him) ?
 This being the state of the spiritual teacher,
 What fault lieth with the pupils ?
 What fruit is brought forth by the divine tree !

12.

Hachivi śārinji pūtsiv kām gom ;

Abak chhān pyom yoth rāzdhāney ;

Manzhōg būzaras kulfa rust wān gom ;

Tīrtha rost pān gom kus mālī zāney.

For a wooden bow I have got an arrow of rush grass ;

For (building) this domed castle I have got a foolish carpenter ;

In the middle of the market I have got a shop without a lock ;

My body has been without (bathing at) a pilgrimage : who will know
this, O father ?

13.

Hā tsētta kavah chhuy lugmut para mas ?

Kavah guṇ apazis pazyuk brōnt ?

Dishī buz vash kurnak para-dharmas ;

Yinah gatshanah zēna-maranas kront.

O mind, why hast thou become intoxicated at another's expense ?

Why hast thou mistaken true for untrue ?

Thy little understanding hath made thee attached to other's religion ;

Subdued to coming and going ; to birth and death.

14.

Kāliṇ sat kul gatshan pātāliṇ ;

Akāliṇ zalah malah varshan pēn,

Māmas tāki tay masah kiṇ pyāliṇ

Brahman tah tsrāliṇ ikawāṇah khēn.

The time is coming when seven generations will sink down to hell,

When untimely showers of rain and dust will fall,

When plates of flesh and wine cups

Brāhmanas and sweepers will take together.

Tserol (singular of *Tserāli*) is a corruption of *Chandāl*. This class of the people, having become Muhammadan converts, were appointed by King Zainu'l-'ābidīn (1422-74 A.D.) to go round as spies to the Brāhmanas' houses. They now supply lime to the Brāhmanas for use in religious rites and decorate the compound by marking a circular diagram in it (called *vyāḍḍ*) with lime and turmeric at weddings, etc., and receive presents from them.

15.

Kamsan nendriḥ tay kamsan udy ?

Kamsan nish-budhy bhavan ?

Kamsan lolah nārah dady ?

Kamsan sās tay kamsan sun ?

Kamsan maranas brōṇṭh mūdy ?

Tim āsi sās tay sapaniṇ sun.

Who are asleep, and who are awake ?

Who are born devoid of intellect ?

Who are fired with the fire of love ?

Who are ashes and who are gold ?

Who died before death ?

They were ashes and became gold.

16.

Kuner ay bozak kuni no rozak.

Kuniran kurnam hanikkâr.

Kunuy âsit don hund jang gom.

Suy Berang gom karit rang.

If thou hearest of loneliness, thou wilt remain nowhere.

The loneliness hath turned me into the universe.

Being alone it became two persons' quarrel.

That Formless One went away after shaping me into form.

17.

Kus marih tah kaso mâran ?

Marih kus tay mâran kas ?

Yus Harah Harah trâvit gharah gharah karey ;

Adah suh marih tay mâran tas.

Gurah shabdâs yus yateh patsh bharey,

Gnyânah wagih ratih tsêta turgas ;

Indrey shumrit ânand karey.

Adah kus marih tay mâran kas ?

Who will die, and whom will they kill ?

Die who will, and killed who will be ?

One who leaving Siva, Siva, will desire home, home,

Then he will die, and him will they kill.

One who cherisheth love and faith in the Teacher's word,

Controlleth the horse of mind by the bridle of knowledge,

With senses subdued he will enjoy peace.

Then who will die, and whom will they kill ? (i.e., none).

18.

Lali mîh dapuk toka-hând karani,

Tavay tsulum manih shenkh.

Mâgh nâwum âg tsolum.

Kre'nel kosum manih shenkh.

I, Lallâ, was told to cry aloud in public ;

By that alone I got rid of doubt from my mind.

I bathed during Mâgh (January-February) and bore the heat of fire (i.e.,

suffered the rigour of both),

I cast off blackness—the doubt of the mind.

(To be continued.)

NATURE STUDY IN THE SANSKRIT POEM MEGHADŪTA.

By LILY DEXTER GREENE, Ph.D.

In a perusal of the Sanskrit poems and dramas, we find wonderful descriptions of natural scenery. These are used in such a way as to show real appreciation of material beauty of form, richness of colour and freshness of poetic fancy.

It is my purpose to make a study of Sanskrit Literature, with particular reference to these descriptions, and to find out, as far as possible, the names and principal physical aspects of the plants mentioned, and to show how the poetic fancy of the Hindu writer uses these wonderfully realistic descriptions to embellish his story, as he weaves his noblest thoughts and deepest feelings into a peculiarly variegated pattern.

These nature descriptions are not in the least prosaic and dull, but with accuracy of observation and delicacy of expression, the poet draws pictures that stand out vividly and challenge our highest praise.

First of all, let us consider Kalidāsa's poem, "The Cloud Messenger," or, as it is called in Sanskrit, *Meghadūta*. The subject of this poem is a simple one, but rather unique. One of the attendants of Kuvera has angered him, and, as a result, is condemned to a period of twelve months' exile from his home. In the lonely sacred forest, he longs to send some message to his wife, but as there is no human being to convey it, he calls upon the cloud, one of those fleecy masses seen in a tropical sky at the beginning of the monsoon.

The whole poem is full of beautiful imagery and replete with many references of mythological and local value. The *Yaksha*, who is the central figure, is an inferior divinity, and an attendant of Kuvera, the god of wealth, but he remembers, that the first duty of a polite suppliant is to offer an oblation, as if to a guest, or to a fellow deity. The usual oblation is called *argha* (अर्घ्य = boat) because of the boat-shaped vessel in which it is offered. It consists of water, milk, points of *kusa* grass, curds, *ghṛī*, rice, barley and white mustard.

Various deities are offered special oblations, but here, with true poetic feeling, Kalidāsa substitutes the fragrant white blossoms of the *Kuṭaya* tree, instead of the more prosaic offerings. These new-blown buds are wonderfully fragrant, pure white in colour, and blossom at the beginning of the rainy season. This small mountain tree (*Wrightia antidysenterica*, Roxb., *Holarrhena antidysenterica*, Wall.) grows in various parts of India in elevated regions, and is commonly called *karaya*, *kuṭaja*, or *kuṭaya*. The seeds and bark of the *kuṭaya* are both considered very beneficial in certain diseases.

Stanza 17—

As the cloud passes on its way, bearing the message to the wife of the *Yaksha*, it is told to pass eastward, and the reference to "Indra's bow" means the rainbow—

"Thence sailing to the north and veering to the west

On Āmrakūṭa's lofty ridges rest."¹

and in stanza 18, there is a fanciful, but picturesque idea in the words—

"When o'er the wooded mountain's towering head,

Thy hovering shades like flowing tresses spread."

In stanza 20 the mountain rivulets on the slopes are very realistically portrayed, where the Revā (i.e., Narmadā) stream is spoken of in the following passage:

"Whose slender streams upon the brown hill's side,

Like painted streaks upon the dusky hide

Of the tall elephant."

One who has travelled in the higher ranges of the Himālaya mountains during the rainy season will fully appreciate the scene where the streams "through stones and stocks wind slow their arduous way."

¹ This and the subsequent quotations within inverted commas are from H. H. Wilson's translation in verse, first published at Calcutta in 1814.

In the poem *Rtu-samhāra*, Kalidāsa refers to the ichor of the elephant in the following lines :—

“ Roars the wild elephant inflamed with love,
And deep the sound reverberates from above,
His ample front like some rich lotus shows,
Where sport the bees and fragrant moisture flows.”

In stanza 22 there is a beautiful touch in—

“ Reviving nature bounteous shall dispense,
To cheer thy journey every charm of sense,
Blossoms with blended green and russet hue,
And opening buds shall smile upon thy view.”

The brilliant flowering trees are like unto “ incense that shall rise,” and the “ warbling birds with music fill the skies,” as if in praise for the promise of rain to be.

In stanza 25 we have a very vivid picture of the common *pīpal* tree.

“ Then shall the ancient tree, whose branches wear
The marks of village reverence and tear,
Shake through each leaf as birds profanely wrest
The reverend boughs to form the rising nest.”

This tree—(Sanskrit *पिपल*—*Ficus religiosa*)—is at all times in India sacred to the Hindu mind. He calls it *devatāru*, ‘divine tree’; also *devabhavana*, ‘divine habitation’; and *nāga-bandhu*, ‘friend of snakes,’ because of the belief that the snake deities were especially protected by it. In Sanskrit, the names commonly used for it are *pippala* and *āśvattha*. The latter name is thought by some to have been given because its fruit ripens in Āsvina. This tree is found all over India and is usually planted in every garden, for its dense shade and rapid growth. It is quite bare during the winter months. Owing to the long, slender, petioles, the gentlest breeze causes a constant shaking of the leaves, similar to that of the aspen tree (*Populus tremula*). The fruit, which is about the size of a small cherry, is vertically compressed. It has medicinal qualities and is greedily eaten by birds, but is not fit for food for man. The young tender leaves are eaten by silk-worms, and a milky, tenacious, juice exudes from any break in the bark—this is rich in caoutchouc and is often used to smear the inside of earthen vessels, so that they will hold fluids. In all villages inhabited by Hindus, the *pīpal* tree is planted and watered and most tenderly cared for. Frequently idols or temples are found beneath its sheltering branches, and garlands of flowers and offerings of fruit are placed before the idols or hung on the lower limbs.

In stanza 27 we find a rather naive thought of the Hindu mind, that pleasure or delight causes the hairs of the body to stand on end.

“ Next o’er the lesser hills thy flight suspend,
And growth erect to drooping flowerlets lend,
While sweeter fragrance breathes from each recess
Than rich perfumes the hireling wanton’s dress.”

Or, translated more literally, “ That hill with upright flowers is like the body with its hairs on end.” The fragrance of the body here referred to is due to the abundant use of rich and fragrant perfume.

Stanza 28.—The tenderness and delicacy of the jasmine is accurately portrayed in the following :—

“ And raise the feeble jasmine’s languid head,
Grant for a while thy interposing shroud
To where those damsels woo the friendly cloud.”

This probably refers to *Jasminum Sambac*, Ait., the well-known, single-flowered plant, the Arabian Jasmine, which blossoms during the hot season, but more profusely, after the rainy

season begins. Here, too, we find the work of the *mālākars*, or wreath-sellers, who search for the early blossoms of the wild jasmine, to sell to devout Hindus, to be offered before shrines in the temples, or to be used in decorating their own homes. It is a common sight to see these flower vendors in the markets. The difficulty of gathering such flowers is vividly portrayed in the following lines :—

“ As while the garland’s flowery stores they seek,
The scorching sunbeams singe the tender cheek,
The ear-hung lotus fades : and vain they chase,
Fatigued and faint, the drops that dew the face.”

In stanzas 30, 31 the river Nirvindhya is personified as a love-lorn maiden wooing the cloud.

“ Who speaks the language amorous maids devise,
The lore of signs, the eloquence of eyes,
And seeks with lavish beauty to arrest
Thy course and woo thee to her bridal breast.”

The cloud has barely escaped this enticing one, when another river, the Sindhu, appears and now, its sympathy is appealed to, for the Sindhu, diminished by the hot season, is likened to the peculiar fashion in which the hair is worn by one whose husband is absent, as though this river-maid, because of the absence of the cloud, had bound her hair in one long, single braid, called *veṇī* (*veṇī*), to show her sorrow and dejection. The wife does not care to oil and adorn her tresses, with dozens of little braids and many jewels and other gay-coloured ornaments, unless her husband can be there to enjoy all her adornment.

In stanzas 32 to 36 the description of Avanti is exceptionally clear and beautiful.

“ Here as the early zephyrs waft along,
In swelling harmony, the woodland song,
They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
That joyful opens to the morning hour ;

With friendly zeal they sport around the maid,
Who early courts their vivifying aid,
And
Here should thy spirit with thy toils decay,
Rest from the labours of the wearying way ;
Round every house the flowery fragrance spreads ;
O’er every floor the painted footstep treads ;
Breathed through each casement swells the scented air,
Soft odours shaken from dishevelled hair.”

The “ painted footstep ” refers to the common custom of staining the soles of the feet with *meṇḍī*, or henna. This is also applied to the palms of the hands and in the dry, hot season is very cooling. Its botanical name is *Lawsonia inermis*, Roxb. This is a shrub much used for low hedges and is readily started from cuttings. Its fresh, tender leaves are crushed and rubbed on the nails, the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet. This dyes them a rich, reddish orange colour, which is greatly admired by Indian ladies, and is considered, not only very elegant, but very refreshing. The colour remains until it wears off. The plant has very small, greenish-yellow flowers, which are strongly pungent and very beautiful.

Stanza 37.—The female attendants upon the idol are like bees, whose “ glances gleam along the sky.” The piercing gleam of their glance is, in effect, like the sting of the bee, and the poet likens the glance, to a long line of bees. What could be more effective in delineating the coquettish actions of these attendants than such expressive statements of the poet’s keen observation.

Stanza 47—

"To him whose youth in Sāra thickets strayed.

Reared by the nymphs, thy adoration paid,"

refers to the legend concerning Skanda, or Kārtikeya, who is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. He was created to destroy a demon, who by great austerities had acquired too much power to suit the gods. Skanda was cast into the flame of Agni, thence transferred to the goddess Gaṅgā. After his birth, he was reared in the midst of thickets of *sāra* by the wives of seven rishis—these were later placed in the skies and are the Pleiades. The reed referred to is *Saccharum procerum* (Sāra), Roxb. This grows to be six to sixteen feet high and is related to the sugarcane, though it seems to be used chiefly for medicinal purposes and for reed pens used in writing the vernacular on paper or on *takhlis* (wooden slates).

Stanza 49—

"Whose arching brows like graceful creepers glow,

Whose upturned lashes, to thy lofty way,

The pearly ball and pupil dark display ;

Such contrast as the lovely *kunda* shows

When the black bee sits pleased amidst her snows."

The *kunda* is the beautiful *Jasminum pubescens*, a small ramous shrub which bears an abundance of pure, white, sweet-scented blossoms during the rainy season, or *varṣā*, as this season is called in Sanskrit. Girls and women are fond of wearing these blossoms in their hair, or as garlands around their necks or wrists. The Sanskrit poets are given to this comparison of the arched brows of the fair-faced ones to the graceful creepers, and of the large shining black eyes, to the honey-bee in the midst of the blossoms.

Stanza 54—

"As Śiva's bull upon his sacred neck,

Amidst his ermine, owns some sable speck,

So shall thy shade upon the mountain show,

Whose sides are silvered with eternal snow."

The bull is the animal sacred to Śiva and is supposed to be white, but the dust and "sable speck" may well be seen in hot, dusty India, and the dark shadow of the cloud upon the eternal snows adds a vivid touch of real Indian mountain scenery.

Stanza 55—

"From writhing boughs should forest flames arise,

Whose breath the air"

In a hot country like India, frequent forest fires break out, and the poet explains this as caused by the mutual friction of intertwined branches aided by the blowing of the wind. It was a common thought in Vedic literature that the *śamī* (*Mimosa Suma*, Roxb.) and the *āśvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*) branches rubbed together would produce a sacred fire. The Hindus are said to kindle the temple fires by rubbing together a dried twig of each of these. This may be the case in legend only, as Purāṇas is said to have generated primeval fire in this manner. The *Mimosa Suma*, Roxb. (the *Acacia Suma* of Buchanan and Hooker) is an evergreen tree with remarkably white bark and villous twigs. One of the peculiarities of this tree is that the flowers, at first bright-coloured, later turn pure white. In the laws of Manu, 8—246 and 247, both the *āśvattha* and *śamī* are mentioned as trees to mark boundaries.

Stanza 64.—The reference to the "golden lotus-covered lake" and "the dew of Mānasa," no doubt, means the sacred lake Mānasaśarovara, situated in the very heart of the higher ranges of the Himālaya mountains, and supposed to be the source of the Ganges river, until Moorcroft penetrated to that remote region and disproved that view. The "heavenly trees" of this stanza are the five fabled varieties of tree in Indra's heaven. The *kalpa* tree is one of this variety, the names of the others are given in the *Amarakośa* of Amaraśiṃha.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

A HISTORY OF MUGHAL NORTH-EAST FRONTIER POLICY, being a Study of the Political Relation of the Mughal Empire with Koch Bihar, Kamrup and Assam, by SUDHINDRA NATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A. 8½×5½ in.; pp. xxv + 434, with map. Calcutta, 1929.

The only comprehensive historical account of the north-east frontier region hitherto published is that contained in Sir E. A. Gait's *History of Assam*. The volume before us does not supersede that useful work, but largely amplifies and supplements it in respect of the Mughal period, and incidentally suggests some corrections, as a result of the fresh material used and a more detailed examination of the local chronicles. The scope of the work, in the author's words, is primarily that of "a political narrative, in which the origin, progress and result of an interesting phase of Mughal history, i.e., Mughal foreign policy in the north-east frontier of India, has been described in as exhaustive and systematic a manner as has been found possible." This being the avowed object, the first two chapters, dealing with (I) the land, the people and their early history, and (II) the pre-Mughal Muslim relations with north-eastern India, are comparatively brief. In chapter II, however, the author puts forward certain conjectures as to the campaigns in this quarter by Ghiyâsu'd-din Bahâdur Shâh, Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Sikandar Shâh and Ghiyâsu'd-din 'Azam, which, being based upon coin finds as yet otherwise uncorroborated, cannot be accepted as finally established. The bulk of the work deals with the period 1576-1682, or rather more than a century, falling within the reigns of the four great Mughal emperors—Akbar, Jahângir, Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb—commencing with Akbar's final conquest of Bengal from the Afghân dynasty and ending with the year in which the Assam king finally triumphed over the Mughals, and Kâmrûp passed out of their hands for good. The sections of these chapters (III to VII) deal with more or less distinct phases in the ever-shifting struggle for supremacy. The headings prefixed to them tend to give the impression that a fixed policy was maintained by the Mughal Court for definite periods of time, whereas the constantly changing local conditions and the variable conduct of the rulers, so often at feud between themselves, rendered continuity of policy largely impracticable. Much depended, moreover, upon the personal disposition of the Bengal viceroy. But this does not detract from the value of the historical matter that has been collected and arranged with great industry and much impartiality.

The credit of first drawing attention to the value of what appears to be a unique manuscript of the *Bahâristân-i-Ghaibî*, preserved in the Gentil collection in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, lies with the distinguished historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who published an analysis thereof in the *JBORS.*, vol. VII, pt. I. This work, besides giving impor-

tant information in regard to the complete subjugation of the Bengal and Orissa zamindars during Jahângir's reign, furnishes a mass of detail in respect of the campaigns in Kâmrûp and its vicinity during the years 1612-24, in which the author himself took a prominent part. In chapters IV and V, Professor Bhattacharyya has made full use of this account, and in chapter VII, of the *Fathîya-i-'ibriya* of Shihâbu'd-din Tâlish. He has subjected all the available Assam and Ahom *buranjis* to a thorough examination, as well as Dr. Wade's MS. *History of Assam* in the I. O. library. He has, besides, utilized all the relevant portions of the better known Persian histories and the scanty numismatic and epigraphical evidence bearing upon the area concerned. The result is a valuable contribution to the history of the north-east frontier in Mughal times. The appendices contain a useful chronological summary, lists of kings and an exhaustive bibliography. The index is fairly full, and the map, though not complete, is very helpful. The defects due to "rushing into print" will, no doubt, be rectified in the next edition.

C. E. A. W. O.

UNE GRAMMAIRE TIBÉTAINE DU TIBÉTAIN CLASSIQUE.

LES ŚLOKAS GRAMMATICaux DE THONMI SAMBHOṬA, avec leurs commentaires, traduits du Tibétain et annotés par JACQUES BACOT. 10×6½ in.; pp. iv. + 231 + 8 Plates. Paris: Geuthner. 1928.

In this work, which is published under the authority of the French Ministry of Instruction, and forms one of the *Annales* of the Musée Guimet, M. Bacot publishes for the first time the original Rules of Tibetan Grammar laid down in the seventh century by Thonmi Sambhoṭa, who, with the aid of Indian Pandits, created the written language of Tibet. The object of their labours was to translate the Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan, and for this purpose the language of the primitive nomads had to be adapted to represent and translate the abstract metaphysical and technical terms of the later school of Indian Buddhism. The result was a purely artificial language, bearing but little resemblance to the current speech of the people, restricted to their simple life and requirements. As M. Bacot observes, classical Tibetan is not a dead language, for it had never lived.

Thonmi Sambhoṭa embodied his Rules in 65 short aphorisms or articles called, after Sanskrit analogy, *ślokas*, though they are actually of varying length. His *ślokas* occupy in Tibetan the position corresponding to the rules of Pāṇini in Sanskrit, as the basis on which all subsequent Tibetan grammarians have built. M. Bacot gives the manuscript of Thonmi Sambhoṭa's *Ślokas* in 8 plates in photogravure, and also the Tibetan text (pp. 167-177) and their translation, with an index of the grammatical terms employed (pp. 76-107).

These aphorisms, like the *sūtras* in Sanskrit, require explanation and commentary, which has been done by subsequent Tibetan grammarians. M. Bacot also publishes the Tibetan text (pp. 109-165) of one of these grammars written in the seventeenth century, and also gives a translation of it, with explanatory notes (pp. 9-75). This grammar, as appears from the colophon, was written under the direction of mKhas grub dam pa, a disciple of the grammarian Situ, and based upon his grammar. Situ's grammar has been already published by Sarat Chandra Das.

The Tibetan grammarians write for Tibetans, and their works are not therefore suited as an introduction for others to the classical language. M. Bacot, however, has provided this in his "Conclusion—Éléments et Mécanisme du Tibétain Littéraire," at the end of the volume. For this, and for his scholarly explanatory notes throughout the book, M. Bacot deserves the gratitude of all students of classical Tibetan.

The price of the book, 200 francs, unfortunately places it beyond the reach of most students of classical Tibetan. The essentials for that purpose—the Preface and Introduction, the Conclusion, the Translation of Thonmi Sambhoṭa's Śloka and of mKhas grub dam pa's grammar, omitting the expensive plates and the long Tibetan texts—would provide a valuable text-book of classical Tibetan within the reach of students of the language; and it is to be hoped that, in their interests, M. Bacot may consider doing this.

E. H. C. WALSH.

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA: An Historical Essay with Appendices, by W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E. 8½ × 5½ in.; pp. xvii + 296. Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons, 1929.

In this work Mr. Moreland has set himself the difficult, and hitherto unattempted, task of presenting a connected view of the position of the peasants in their relations with the State and with the intermediary agencies, such as chiefs, assignees, grantees, farmers, headmen and other representatives, during the six centuries of Muhammadan rule in India. He refers briefly to the antecedent Hindu organization, suggesting the probability of its persistence, with adaptation and modification and change of nomenclature; and recent research in the economic conditions of pre-Muhammadan India bears this out in many directions. In a series of chapters, each devoted to a typical period, he then surveys the agrarian system from the time of Qutb-ud-dīn's assumption of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206) down to the end of the seventeenth century, as far as this can be ascertained or inferred from the extant chronicles or unpublished documents. The enormous labour involved in studying so thoroughly all the records and documents utilized can only be realized by those

who have essayed to carry out research on similar lines. He then deals with what he calls the Last Phase in Northern India, carrying on his investigation into the period of the British administration, concluding, in chapter VIII, with a summary and a "hypothetical reconstruction," suggesting the inferences to be drawn from the details given in the preceding chapters. The scope of the work is practically confined to northern India, as sufficient material was not found for incorporating developments in the Muhammadan states in the south.

Students of Indian revenue history will find valuable matter in Appendices A to H, in which the various technical terms are explained and certain passages dealing with agrarian matters discussed. Some of the questions raised will, we hope, invite discussion, e.g., the meanings of *hāṣṭi* and *mahrūl*, *naṣaq*, *rai*, *raqamī*, and what was the actual nature of the *jama-i-sāmānī*, generally described as the 'rent-roll,' supposed to have been fixed by Todar Mal for Bengal. We think that where Aff writes: *muddat shah adl bandagi Khudja Khurush-khiḍl dar bilād-i-mamlūk gashā bar hukm-i-mushd-hada mahrūl basta 6 karor 75 lak tanka*, etc., he means that Husām-ud-dīn spent six years touring round the provinces, and fixed the demand at that sum on the strength of his observation, i.e., the experience thus gained, that is to say, we think that *bar hukm-i* is here used as a prepositional phrase, meaning 'on the basis of.' It seems possible that Berni used the expression in the same sense, i.e., that *bar hukm-i-Adil* means 'on the basis of produce (or outturn).' If this be a reasonable interpretation, it would be unnecessary to regard *mushdhada* as having a special revenue meaning of 'sharing-by-estimation.'

In laying down this masterly review, which should be read by all interested in the revenue administration of India, and should be prescribed for study by all officers employed on settlement work, we feel that Mr. Moreland has enhanced the debt which all students already owe him for his previous researches into the economic conditions of that country under the Mughals.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE MIMAMSA NYAYA PRAKASA OR APADEVI; a Treatise on the Mimāṃsā System by Apadeva translated into English, with an Introduction, transliterated Sanskrit Text, and Glossarial index, by FRANKLIN EDGERTON, ix + 308 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.

Professor Edgerton, in his preface, tells us that this work is the outcome of his stay in 1925 in Poona, where he read the *Apadevī* with Pandit Wamana Sastri Kinjawadekar, the head of the Poona Mimāṃsā Vidyālaya. From the rough translation prepared at that time the author has now produced a highly polished and most instructive one, to which he has added an interesting

and pellucid introduction and several very useful indexes. He has also given us a reproduction of the Sanskrit text itself, which will be the more welcome as Indian editions of it are very seldom seen in Europe. Thus Professor Edgerton has in every way put his colleagues under a deep obligation.

The Mīmāṃsā system has certainly not been exhaustively studied in Europe; and the present writer—probably much like many other scholars—has not felt very greatly enlightened by the explanations of it given by Professors Keith, Das Gupta, Radhakrishnan, etc. It is, therefore, most welcome to have got, from the experienced pen of Professor Edgerton, a trustworthy translation of one of the most highly valued hand-books on the Mīmāṃsā system. Abstruse as it undoubtedly appears to European minds, it is none the less of great interest as going back to very remote times; and its method of reasoning has been of high importance for the development of Hindu legal literature. The principle of the Mīmāṃsā that the *dnarthakya*, the senselessness, should everywhere be ruled out of the Veda is upheld with great vigour throughout the codes of Hindu law.

To a scholar who knows little of Hindu philosophy and still less of the special tenets of the Mīmāṃsā, the most interesting point is perhaps the one concerned with the Vedic quotations found in Śabaravāmin's Bhāṣya and in subsequent treatises of the Mīmāṃsakas. It is quite obvious that the chief authority of these ritualistic philosophers consisted of the various Yajus texts. And it is extremely interesting to know that some of the quotations from such texts cannot be found in those now known to us; also that some others are found, but only in a more or less divergent form. We are at once reminded of Patañjali's notice concerning the existence of more than a hundred Yajur Vedas. For, even if that be an exaggeration, there can be no doubt that the four versions, together with fragments of a fifth one, of which we are now possessed, do not exhaust the possible number of Yajus Texts. We cannot but remember how the Paippalāda version of the Atharva Veda was happily unearthed in Kashmir

owing to indications given by Roth; and it seems somewhat curious that so far no systematic investigations have been carried on in Southern India, the native land of the Yajur Vedas. Anyhow, it would certainly be very valuable if a thorough and systematic collection of all the quotations from Vedic texts in the Mīmāṃsā scriptures were brought together.

The quotation *pañca pañcanakha bhakṣyāḥ*, mentioned on p. 33, has been exhaustively dealt with by Professor Lüders, *ZDMG.*, lxi, 841 f. It occurs in Jātaka 537, as *gāthā* 58, in *MBh.*, xii, 141, 70, in the introduction to the *Mahābhāṣya* and in various passages of the law literature (cp. also Dr. J. J. Meyer, *Die altindischen Rechtschriften*).

Professor Edgerton, has, through several highly accomplished works, earned the gratitude of his fellow-scholars. His last contribution to Sanskrit scholarship, upon which he is to be warmly congratulated, is certainly not the least.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

DJAWA. TYDSCHRIFT VAN HET JAVA-INSTITUUT.
Vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 3, May 1929.

Secretariat Van Het Java-Instituut, Kadipolo, Solo.

The whole of this issue is taken up with an article of 120 pp. by B. Van Tricht entitled *Living Antiquities in West Java*. It is divided into two parts—(1) The Badoeys, (2) Goenoeng Sägara. The information contained in the article was obtained during an expedition undertaken by Prof. J. Boeke, Prof. C. D. de Langen and the author, in the hope of making a medical examination of the Badoeys in South Bantam, whose secular isolation must have had important anthropological and physiological results. From this point of view, however, the expedition was a failure, owing to the passive resistance of the people. Many interesting facts, however, about the religious belief and worship, the social organization and the ethnography of this interesting people were observed and are recorded in this article.

J. M. B.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DOUBLE RING HAFTING.

The Indian Research Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute seek the following information:—

A primitive method of hafting a flat axe blade (i.e., a blade without hole or socket) survives in South India. The blade is inserted in a cleft stick, which is prevented from splitting by two rings, encircling the haft, one above and one below the blade, so that the shock of a blow falls on one or other of the rings, instead of on the wood.

It is desired to ascertain as accurately as possible the geographical distribution of this type of hafting and the whereabouts of specimens in museum collections. Any information, together with sketches of the specimens referred to, should be sent to—

K. DE B. CODRINGTON, Esq.,

Honorary Secretary,

India Research Committee,

Royal Anthropological Institute,

52, Upper Bedford Place, London, W. C. 1.

SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGITA.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., UPPSALA.

(Continued from page 105.)

There is still another point where there seems to me to exist a marked difference between the earlier and later part of the Gītā. It seems quite obvious that the later cantos in certain passages quote different systematic treatises on philosophy, which is scarcely the case with cantos ii—xi. Thus in xv, 15 :

*Sarvasya cāham hṛdi samniviṣṭo
mattaḥ smṛtir jñānam apohanam ca |
vedaiś ca sarvair aham eva vedyo
vedāntakṛd vedavid eva cāham || 15 ||*

We hear about the Vedānta, though it may be doubtful whether by that is meant the Upaniṣads or the later Vedānta system. In xv, 20 and in xvi, 24, we hear about a *śāstra* which can scarcely be anything but a *yogaśāstra* ; and that such is the case seems obvious from a comparison with xvii, 5 a-b :

*aśāstravivṛitam ghoram tapyante ye tapo janāḥ |
... tān viddhy āsuraniścayān ||*

For what else could this mean but to denote those who practise austere and terrible penance—as, e.g., the Jains—for which rules are not laid down in the orthodox *yoga-śāstras*. Then in xviii, 13, we hear of *pañca kārāṇāni*, which are laid down *sāṃkhye kṛtānte*. This must needs mean 'in the Sāṃkhya system'; and though it be quite true that the doctrine laid down here is not found in the existing handbooks of Sāṃkhya, this means nothing, seeing that they are all very late. There can be no doubt that an earlier exposition of that system is really meant here.

Finally we come upon a crucial point, viz., the mention of the *brahmasūtra* in xiii, 4 :

*ṛṣibhir bahudhā gītaṃ chandobhir vividhaiḥ prthak |
brahmasūtrapadais caiva hetumadbhir viniścitaiḥ || 4 ||*

It has been emphatically stated by Professor Jacobi⁷⁰ that this verse must be an interpolation, and upon his authority the same opinion has been expressed also by other scholars.⁷¹ But Professor Jacobi's arguments seem to me scarcely valid. When he finds that the verse xiii, 4, destroys the connection between 3 and 5, this is a suggestion of entirely individual bearing, as I cannot find any sign of such a discontinuation. Stronger is the other objection, viz., that Bādarāyaṇa has in three passages quoted the present Bhagavadgītā. It is quite true that the commentaries on i, 3, 23 (*api smaryate*) ; ii, 3, 45 (*api smaryate*), and iv, 2, 21 (*yogināḥ prati ca smaryate smūrte caite*) expressively point to the Gītā, xv, 6, 12 and xiv, 2 ; xv, 7 and viii, 23 sq., as being those passages of the Smṛti alluded to by Bādarāyaṇa. Such statements in commentaries much later than the text⁷² are, of course, not authoritative by themselves ; and it should be distinctly proved that there exist no other passages in the literature regarded by Bādarāyaṇa as Smṛti⁷³ than even those from the Gītā, to which he

⁷⁰ *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 717 f. ; 1922, 101 f.

⁷¹ Cp. Professors Winternitz, *Geschichte d. ind. Lit.*, iii, 429, n. i, and Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 475, n. 1, as well as Dr. W. Ruben, *Festschrift Jacobi*, p. 351. Other, and more sensible, opinions are put forth by Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 16, and Dr. Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 52.

⁷² The exact date of the Brahmasūtras still remains unknown. It is, of course, far above my power to criticise the opinions of Professor Jacobi on the dates of the philosophical Sūtras (*JAOS.*, xxxi, 1 f.). However, they appear to me inconclusive simply because I consider it impossible to date works, the internal history of which is entirely unknown to us, on purely internal grounds. That the Brahmasūtras should date from 200—450 A.D. is, of course, possible ; but I should venture to think that an earlier date is not excluded by the arguments of Professor Jacobi.

⁷³ "Unter Smṛti wird das Mahābhārata und insbesondere die Bhagavadgītā verstanden. Auch Sāṃkhya und Yoga werden als 'Smṛtis in Bezug auf die Yogins' bezeichnet." (Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.*, iii, 429 f.). However, it does not seem clear to me whether later and less authoritative works may not also have been looked upon by the commentators as belonging to Smṛti.

could have alluded here, before we take it for granted that the Brahmasūtras really quote the Gītā. However, I am fully prepared to admit that *Br. Sū.*, iv, 2, 21, is really a quotation from viii, 23 f., though the argument be not wholly conclusive, for this passage belongs to what I call the earlier Gītā, and that may certainly be older than the work of Bādarāyaṇa. The reference to xv, 7, in the commentaries on *Br. Sū.*, ii, 3, 45, is inconclusive as the same idea might easily be drawn from x, 41 f. As for i, 3, 23, Śaṅkara finds that it alludes to xv, 6, 12, while Rāmānuja quotes xiv, 2; and whatever Bādarāyaṇa meant by his *api smaryate* in this passage it is perfectly obvious that he could not at one time have in mind both these entirely different passages.

Thus I can find it in no way proved that the author of the Brahmasūtras did ever quote from the book xiv or xv of the Gītā, and I feel fairly sure he did not. Consequently, I cannot look upon xiii, 4, as an interpolation, and it seems to me fairly obvious that the *brahmasūtra* mentioned means nothing but the one known to us.

To sum up what has been said hitherto: I venture to think that the present text of the Bhagavadgītā does mainly consist of three different parts, viz. :—

1. Cantos i and ii, 1—11, 31—38, belonging to the original text of the Mahābhārata.
2. Cantos ii, 12—30, 39—72; iii, 1—xi, 50, and xviii, 74—78, being what I would call the earlier Gītā. Of this part, the *Triṣṭubh* verses in xi, 15—50, may probably be an earlier fragment which has been incorporated in the text.
3. Cantos xi, 51—55, and xii, 1—xviii, 73, forming what I would call the later Gītā.

Suggestions like these can, unfortunately, never be proved. To different minds they may possess a greater or lesser degree of verisimilitude.

II.

To try and form, with any degree of exactitude, an opinion on the date of the Bhagavadgītā—or rather of its different parts—will probably never be possible. However, a scholar who, like the present one, has tried to set forth his humble opinions on the original form and development of that text, will probably feel bound by duty to add a few suggestions also upon the problem of dates. This is perhaps the only excuse for the few modest remarks that follow below.

The Bhagavadgītā is insolubly joined with the names of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. Whether these two were originally historical persons—which according to my opinion is highly probable—may be left aside here as being fairly irrelevant. However, we must begin with a rapid glance at those passages of the literature that contain some sort of information regarding their history, be it originally real or mythical.

Kṛṣṇa is said to have been the son of a certain Vasudeva—whence his paternal name Vāsudeva⁷⁴—and Devakī, the cousin of Kāṁsa. His elder brother was Balarāma or Saṁkarṣaṇa, whose mother was Rohiṇī. Of this Kṛṣṇa we hear for the first time—this is at least

⁷⁴ Professor Jacobi, *ERE.*, vii, 195, and *Festschr. Streitberg*, p. 162 f., has tried to prove that Vāsudeva is the old name of a tribal god from which was derived a name Vasudeva said to be that of his father. This is contrary to Patañjali on Pāṇ., iv, 1, 114, vārtt. 7, and can certainly not be upheld. That the form vām̐bha-dra, used in the *Saundarananda*, i, 23, and in the *Dūtavākya*, v, 6, should be very old, seems at least doubtful; also that the father's name was originally Anakadundubhi, which sounds uncommonly like a nickname. Finally, an argument of Professor Jacobi's is completely unintelligible to me. It runs as follows: "In the Chānd. Up., iii, 17, 1, where we first hear of Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra*) only his mother, not his father, is mentioned. Now, if Vāsudeva was really a patronymic it ought to be applied first of all to Vāsudeva's eldest son Saṁkarṣaṇa. He, however, is never styled thus but only by his maternal name Rauhiṇeya (from Rohiṇī)." With all due respect I should like to ask Professor Jacobi: what does this prove except that a tradition was preserved according to which Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarṣaṇa were the sons of one father but of different mothers, Devakī and Rohiṇī? In that case what could be more natural than that they should wear just these names, viz., Devakiputra and Rauhiṇeya?

the general opinion—in the *Chând. Up.*, iii, 17, 1 f., a passage which has been repeatedly translated but may still be given here *in extenso* :—

“When one craves for food and drink and finds no pleasure—that is one’s *dīkṣā*. (1.)

“When one eats and drinks and finds all pleasure—then one takes part in the *upasadaḥ*. (2.)

“When one laughs and feeds sumptuously and joins in sexual intercourse—then one takes part in *stotra* and *śastra*. (3.)

“Penance, almsgiving, upright behaviour, *ahimsā*, and truthfulness, these are the sacrificial gifts. (4.)

“That is why they say : ‘he will press Soma (procreate)—he has pressed Soma (procreated)’—that is his rebirth, that is his death. The ceremonial ablution is death.” (5.)

Ghṛa Āṅgīrasa, having explained this to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, said—for he was free from thirst : “In his last hour he should take refuge in this *triratna*⁷⁵ : ‘Thou art the indestructible ; Thou art the never reborn ; Thou art the sharpening of the vital spirits.’ ”⁷⁶ And here are these two R̥k-verses : (6)

“ ‘Just then they see the early dawning light of the old kind ’ that gleameth beyond heaven.’

“ ‘From out of surrounding darkness we, beholding the higher light, have come to Sūrya, god amongst the gods, the very highest light—yea, the very highest light.’ ”⁷⁸ (7.)

This Ghṛa Āṅgīrasa is mentioned in *Kauṣ. Br.*, xxx, 6, as being the Adhvaryu of the Ādityas which probably means as much as a sort of Sun-worshipper. This certainly tallies well with the importance evidently ascribed to that luminary in the passage translated above. Whether again Kṛṣṇa (Devakīputra) is identical with the Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa mentioned in *Kauṣ. Br.*, xxx, 9, seems highly doubtful. Kṛṣṇa is by itself not an uncommon name ; and though he may well have called himself Āṅgīrasa in imitation of his Guru, there is no necessity for an identification.

And now which is the doctrine that the otherwise unknown Ghṛa Āṅgīrasa preaches to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra ? The answer seems to be that he compares the phases of human life to the stages of the *dīkṣā*⁷⁹ which may be said to be an adequate interpretation if these phases be taken to be successive and not contemporaneous. We must remember that the *dīkṣā* is not inaptly compared with human embryship and birth⁸⁰ ; but this probably is not enough. For what Ghṛa expresses in *Chând. Up.*, iii, 17, 1, can scarcely be said about the human embryo. This, however, is a fairly fit description of the life of a *brāhmacārīn* when the young student is bound to chastity (*na ramate*) and a very simple and austere life. Then in the two following paragraphs there is the description of the life of the newly married man, the *gṛhastha*, whose early domestic pastimes are compared to the *upasāda* and the *śtutasastra*. But even during a gay and pleasant life one is bound to practise virtues,⁸¹ and these are compared to the sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇā*), which, like good qualities, count as merit in a future life. But the height of earthly existence is the procreation of offspring, of sons who will be able to continue the family and feed the spirits of the forefathers ; and thus the procreative act is compared to the pressing of the Soma. When man is no longer able to procreate, then death is awaiting him, and the funeral ceremonies are aptly compared

⁷⁵ I have allowed myself to borrow this Buddhist expression, not being able to find a fit modern equivalent of *traya* in this passage.

⁷⁶ I feel somewhat baffled by the expression *prāṇasambhāram aśi* ; however, *sambhāram* must probably mean the same as *sambhāram* in *Ait. Br.*, i, 26.

⁷⁷ *prāṇasya retasah* is puzzling ; it probably means ‘(the light seen) by the old forefathers,’ cp. the use of the same expression in *RV.*, iii, 31, 10 (Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, i, 331).

⁷⁸ A curious parallel to some parts of Ghṛa’s teaching is found in *TS.*, vii, 4, 9, 1. But as that passage has probably got nothing to do with ours we shall not touch upon it further here.

⁷⁹ Cp. Dr. Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, 68 f. and 82 f.

⁸⁰ Cp. *Ait. Br.*, i, 3, etc.

⁸¹ With *Chând. Up.*, iii, 17, 4, cp. the enumeration in *Bhagavadgītā*, x, 4-5.

to the *avabhṛtha* ablution. Thus there is a strict parallelism between human life and the successive stages of the sacrifice. And this human life contains only two of the regular four *āśramas*, viz., that of the *brahmacārī* and the *gṛhastha*.⁸² Now Professor Winternitz⁸³ has shown that the oldest Upaniṣads, viz., the *Brhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya*, know nothing of the later orthodox four *āśramas*, but that they make a difference between the life of the householder and that of the *muni* or *pravrajin*. Only the *Chānd. Up.*, viii, 15—almost certainly a late passage—knows the three successive stages, viz., *brahmacārī*, *gṛhastha*, and *saṃnyāsin*.

The life of two *āśramas*, however, which I venture to think Ghora has been comparing to the sacrifice, seems to be the most natural one for the *kṣatriya*. For, even if great kings of yore have after the domestic life turned wandering ascetics—as, for instance, does Janaka in Jain and Buddhist lore—they undoubtedly were exceptions. The usual life of a *kṣatriya* probably ended either on the battlefield or in his own house—though the latter mode of death is sometimes disapproved by the authors of lawbooks.⁸⁴ A possible way of ending one's life may also have been by suicide by fire—a sort of self-sacrifice which was held to lead to *brahmaloka*=*svarga*.⁸⁵

But there is something more still in the teaching of Ghora Āṅgīrasa who was free from thirst (*pipāsā*, the *tṛṣṇā* of the Buddhists).⁸⁶ In one's final hour one ought to take refuge in three precious thoughts, viz., that some being is the indestructible, the never reborn (i.e., the everlasting absolute), and the sharpening of the vital spirits. This being, as far as my understanding goes, is not *brahman* but even *Sūrya*, the Sun, or rather the radiant *brahmaloka* or *svarga* beyond the visible heaven to which pious men who fulfil their *svadharma* may aspire. In so far the teaching of Ghora tallies with the promise of *svarga* held out by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna⁸⁷; but that is probably the common creed of the *kṣatriya* caste.⁸⁸ How far we can otherwise hope to find in the *Gītā* a reflection of the doctrine of Ghora Āṅgīrasa may be somewhat doubtful, though the efforts of a most eminent scholar⁸⁹ in that direction are worthy of every attention. Unfortunately, the material for comparison is scanty and vague.

Thus the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* tells us about a certain Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra—and there is to me not the slightest doubt that he is identical with the Kṛṣṇa of the Great Epic—who was no doubt a *kṣatriya* and who was the pupil of Ghora Āṅgīrasa. It is, of course, only natural to think that in some way or other he propagated these doctrines and perhaps others of his own, and thus perhaps became the founder of some sect—sects seem to have been numerous in India from time immemorial. The date of the *Chāndogya* is, unfortunately, just as unknown as that of nearly every important Sanskrit work. But upon the consensus of many leading authorities it is declared to be pre-Buddhist; and if that means anything

⁸² Among recent literature on the problem of the *āśramas* cp. Professor Winternitz, *Festschr. Jacobi*, p. 215 f. (with literature); Dr. Eggert, *Das Dharmasūtra der Vaiṣṇānāgas* (Göttingen, 1929), and Dr. Weinrich, *Archiv für Relig. Wissenschaft*, xxvii, 77 f.

⁸³ *Id.*, p. 218 f.

⁸⁴ Cp. *MBh.*, vi, 846; *Vaṇuṣmṛti* 3, 44, etc.

⁸⁵ On suicide by fire, cp. a paper by the late Professor Hillebrandt called *Der freiwillige FeuerTod in Indien und die Somaweih* in the *Sitz. Ber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1917, 8. Cp. also *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act i, v. 4 c-d: *rājānam ekasya putram paramasamudayenāśvamedhena cestvā | labdhvā cāyuh śatābdam daśadinasahitam śūdrako 'gnim pravṛṣṭah ||*

⁸⁶ I am totally at a loss to understand the suggestion of Mr. Jainath Pati, *IHQ.*, v, 272, n. 2, that Zarathustra was known 'in Vedic times either as Jarūtha or Ghora Āṅgīrasa.' But as the theories of Mr. Pati in general seem to run outside the pale of scientific method and criticism, I may perhaps be excused for not discussing them here.

⁸⁷ *Gītā*, ii, 37.

⁸⁸ It should be remembered in this connection that what Kṛṣṇa preaches to Arjuna in the *Gītā* is expressly called the *rājavidyā*, the *rājaguhyam* (= *rājopaniṣat*), *Gītā*, ix, 2, cp. the *mahāpālavidhi* of *MBh.*, xii, 11876 (on which cp. Professor Edgerton, *AJPhil.*, xlv, 44 f.). And in iv, 1-2, we hear that the *yoga* has formerly been taught to a succession of *rājaraṇyah* (cp. *bhakti rājaraṇyah*, ix, 33). The *Gītā* is essentially not a friend of the Brāhmins; the conclusion of Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 384, that it is a 'purely priestly product' is simply unintelligible.

⁸⁹ Cp. Dr. Barnett, *Id.*, p. 82 f.

at all, it must probably mean that this Upaniṣad belongs to the time about 600—550 B.C. at the very lowest.⁹⁰

This Kṛṣṇa also, from the name of his father, became known as Vāsudeva, and as such he is undoubtedly mentioned by Pāṇini. I shall not venture to enter upon a renewed investigation of the rule iv, 3, 98 (*Vāsudevārjunābhyām vau*) which has up to a very recent date given rise to a somewhat spirited and partly most infructuous discussion.⁹¹ I shall simply take it for granted that in iv, 3, 95, *bhakti* has its usual sense of 'adoration' or 'worship,' and that Vāsudeva and Arjuna—of whom Vāsudeva is obviously looked upon as being the chief person—are the well-known heroes of the Mahābhārata. The *sūtra* of Pāṇini proves nothing for the existence of the Bhagavadgītā—which at his time in all probability did not exist—as Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna certainly formed a pair already in the earliest nucleus of the Epic. However, Pāṇini apparently knew that these two were worshipped by certain sectarians, which is, after all, no more marvellous than his acquaintance with the followers of Pārāśarya and Śilālin, Karmanda and Kṛāśva betrayed by *sūtras* iv, 3, 110—111—to mention only one single example. And these sectarians were according to him called *Vāsudevaka* and *Arjunaka*.⁹² That is all; and this need probably trouble us no further. That Arjuna should also have shared in some divine honours, or at least have been worshipped as a hero of yore—which in India is scarcely a very uncommon thing—is not so very shocking, seeing that in the *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣma himself proclaims the divine nature of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna,⁹³ and that they were probably at an early date identified with Nārāyaṇa and Nara.⁹⁴

Pāṇini's date, of course, remains somewhat of a puzzle. The one which has long been semi-traditional in European literature on the subject, viz., 350 B.C., lacks even the very slightest value. The present writer has, some years ago, given it as his humble opinion that some time about 500 B.C. would suit him better,⁹⁵ and he has so far found no reason to change his opinion.⁹⁶ If such be the case, then it would follow that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna were worshipped as heroes about the presupposed date of the Buddha. That this worship should have had any special connection with the North-Western Frontier, the home of Pāṇini, would be a precipitate conclusion. Still it may be well to remember that, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna conquers the North and North-West and performs his mighty penance in the far North. He also at the end, like his brothers, dies in the mountains of the North.

⁹⁰ The very wise words of the late Professor Rhys Davids (*CHI.*, i, 172 f.) ought to be taken more to heart by scholars than is perhaps generally done. The present writer willingly admits that he has at one time himself (cp. *JA.*, xliii, 118 f., 125 f., 167 f.) maintained, in the face of evidence perhaps just as valuable, that the year of Buddha's death was 477 B.C. This as well as other dates is, of course, mere guess-work. All we know is, unfortunately, that Aśoka (about 250 B.C.) knew of his (pretended or genuine) birth-place, and also that Aśoka called him *bhagavān*. It may have taken some considerable time ere such a title was applied to the founder of a sect that was at the beginning perhaps not very numerous. That time may have been two or three centuries, perhaps even more and certainly less. There would, of course, be a slightly older testimony for Buddha's existence if the fragment in Clem. Alex. Strom., i, xv, 71, 6, be really taken from Megasthenes; but this seems to me highly uncertain. However, the *Σαπυάρι* may really have been Buddhist friars, and in that case such people would be proved to have existed before 300 B.C.; but that does not carry us very much further.

⁹¹ Cp. Kielhorn, *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 502 f., Professor Keith, *ibid.*, 1908, p. 847 f.; Sir G. Grierson, *ibid.*, 1909, p. 1122; Bhandarkar, *ibid.*, 1910, p. 168 f., *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 3; Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 395, n. 2; Garbe, *Bhagavadgītā*, p. 34 f.; Mr. Ramaprasad Chandra, *MAJ.*, No. 5 (1919), etc.; and quite lately Mr. U. Ch. Bhattacharjee, *IHQ.*, i, 483 f., ii, 409 f., 865, and Mr. K. G. Subrahmanyam, *ibid.*, ii, 186 f., 864 f. The editor of the *IHQ.* is to be complimented upon having closed the last mentioned discussion at a fairly early date.

⁹² In *MBh.*, xiii, 1, 18 f., a hunter is introduced by the name of *Arjunaka*.

⁹³ Cp. Holtzmann, *Mahābhārata*, ii, 110; cp. also Dr. Barnett, *loc. cit.*, p. 87 sq., 92 f. The Gītā itself (x, 37) mentions Vāsudeva and Dhanañjaya in close connection.

⁹⁴ Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa are identified with each other (and with Viṣṇu) already in *Taitt. Ar.*, x, 1, 6.

⁹⁵ Cp. *Zeitschr. f. Indologie*, ii, 147 f.

⁹⁶ Cp. also *BSOS.*, iv, 343; *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 345 f.

If now we proceed further, we next meet with the testimony of Megasthenes. The value of his fragments has at times been somewhat overrated⁹⁷; however, we gather from him that about 300 B.C. Kṛṣṇa was a great god, the Indian Hercules, who was specially worshipped by the Śūrasenas around the towns Mathurā and Κλειουσάρα. This is anyhow in perfect accordance with Hindu tradition.

To make a long story short, we have now only to turn to the well-known Besnagar inscription and to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali—other testimonies of a somewhat later date may well be left aside. The inscription on a column at Besnagar, which must probably be not much later than 200 B.C., tells us that a Garuda-column of Vāsudeva, the *deva-deva*, was erected by the *bhāgarata* Heliodorus, son of Dion, from Taxila, who came as an ambassador from the Great King Antialcidas (*Antalikita*) to King Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra. And there are below it the two lines which tell us that:

*trini amūtapadāni (su)anūhātāni
nayaṃti svarga damacāga apramāda.*

And Patañjali, whose date must fall about 150 B.C.,⁹⁸ in his commentary on iv, 3, 98, speaks of Vāsudeva as *bhagavān* and in that on ii, 2, 34, mentions temples of Rāma and Keśava.

Now, I venture to think that what the Besnagar inscription tells us is strongly reminiscent of what I have proposed to call the earlier *Gītā*, viz., cantos ii—xi. Heliodorus, son of Diya, calls himself a *bhāgarata*, a follower of Bhagavān; and he styles his god Vāsudeva the *deva-deva*, the 'god of gods,' an epithet which recurs in the *Gītā*, x, 15 and xi, 13, but is otherwise only used in a few passages of the *Mahābhārata* and in the late *Bhāgarata-purāṇa*. And at the end of his inscription he refers to 'three immortal steps' that lead to heaven, *svarga*, the *svarga* promised by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna (ii, 37) and spoken of in still other passages of the earlier *Gītā*, the common goal of the brave warrior and the *bhakta*. And these three 'steps' are *dama*, 'self-control'; *tyāga*, which may well mean 'restraint' but also 'liberality,' 'almsgiving'; and *apramāda*, 'alertness': all these three are qualities specially characteristic of and laudable in a *kṣātrīya*.⁹⁹

Such coincidences cannot, in my humble opinion, be quite fortuitous. And I should thus venture to conclude that if the earlier *Gītā* (ii—xi) be not exactly contemporaneous with the Besnagar column inscription, it still belongs to a period which falls somewhere about 200 B.C. or perhaps even slightly earlier. That such a conclusion is not wholly preposterous seems clear to me also because the late Professor Garbe arrived, for his purified *Gītā*, at a period about 200—150 B.C., though for reasons that are perhaps partly fallacious.¹⁰⁰ As for the later *Gītā* (xii—xviii) I can fix upon no definite period whatsoever that would particularly suit it. However, I should not feel astonished if there were an interval of several centuries between the two parts of the poem.

Such are the modest conclusions at which I have been able to arrive. It would be quite tempting to go into some other details connected with this extremely important text, but lack of time unfortunately prevents me from doing it.

⁹⁷ This seems to me to be the case in the otherwise very valuable work by Professor O. Stein, *Megasthenes and Kautilya* (1922).

⁹⁸ I still feel convinced that the Yavana king mentioned by Patañjali is really Menander. Professor Konow sometime ago (*Acta Orientalia*, i, 35) tried to prove that he was rather Demetrius but his arguments seem to me to carry little weight. Apparently he was not aware that such an idea had been forestalled by M. Lévi *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*, pp. 33, 63, and by R. O. Franke, *Goett. gel. Anzeigen*, 1891, p. 953.

⁹⁹ Dr. Raychaudhuri, *JProcASB.*, xviii (1922), 269 f., has very happily compared the final verse of the inscription with *MBh.*, xi, 7, 23 *sq.*, where *dama*, *tyāga* and *apramāda* are said to be the three steeds of Brahman that lead to *brahmaloka*. We are well aware that *brahmaloka* here means the same as *svarga*. We are reminded again of the part played by *svarga* in the edicts of Aśoka, which are about half a century older than the Besnagar inscription.

¹⁰⁰ Cp. Garbe, *l.c.*, p. 75 f. Garbe thought that the grammarian Patañjali and the author of the *Yoga-sūtras* must be the same person, which, in spite of the high authority of Professor Liebich, is perhaps not the case. Otherwise dates suggested for the *Gītā* are very vague; cp., e.g., Holtzmann, *Mahābhārata*, i, 127, ii, 121; Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, pp. 205, 402; Professor Liebich, *Pāṇini*. (Cp. also Franke, *Goett. gel. Anzeigen*, 1891, p. 956.)

SOME ADDITIONS TO THE LALLA-VAKYANI.

(The Wise Sayings of Lal Ded.)

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.

(Continued from page 113.)

19.

*Laz kúsey shít níwárey :**Tran zal karey áhár,**Yih kami opadesh kuruy, húa Bhaññá,**Atsítan watas sulsítan kath dyun áhár ?*

It (the sheep) removeth shame and dispelleth cold (by clothing made of its wool),

It eateth (and) drinketh grass (and) water.

Who taught this doctrine to thee, O foolish Bráhmañ,

To give a living sheep to a lifeless stone to eat ?

20.

*Loluk nár Lallih lolih lalinowum.**Maranay moyus tah rúzas nah zaray.**Rangah ratshih zútsaiy kyáh nah rang howum ?**Buh dapun tsolum ; kyáh sanah karay ?**Rávanah manzay rávun rovum.**Rávit athih áyas bhavasaray.**Asán gindán Sahazay provum.**Dapanuy karum pánas saray.*

I, Lallá, bore the fire of love in my bosom.

Before death I died and remained not in old age.

What form did I not show in my formless nature ?

I got rid of egotism. What shall I do ?

In the loss I lost the loss.

After getting lost I got found in the lake of existence (i.e., this world).

Laughing (and) playing I found the True Nature (Śiva).

This matter I did ascertain for myself.

21.

*Mandis vidar tay vidaris sakrey.**Sakrey karak marak nah záh.**Sakrey trávit karak kukrey,**Adah wakray gatshiy tah bhalak nah záh.*

Sickness (overtaketh) the weak and to the weak treatment (is necessary).

If thou undergoest treatment thou shalt never die.

If thou, having left treatment, wilt do ill deeds,

Then thou shalt get cramped and shalt never be cured.

22.

*Mudas prunun chhuy muiwál tsidun ;**Mudas prunun chhuy muri dyun koh ;**Mudas prunun chhuy samudur púrun ;**Mudas prindán ráviy doh.*

To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to splitting a hair ;

To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to piling up a hill as a screen ;

To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to filling in the sea,
In imparting instruction to a fool thou shalt lose the day (i.e., it will be a
useless labour).

23.

Muḍo kriy chhey nah dhārun tah pūrun.

Muḍo kriy chhey nah rachhin kīy.

Muḍo kriy chhey nah deh sandārun—

Sahaz vītsārun chhey opadesh.

O fool it is not a pious deed to observe a fast and to eat after a fast.

O fool it is not a pious deed to preserve the body.

O fool it is not a pious deed to feed the body.

To comprehend the Supreme (Śiva) is the (true) doctrine.

24.

Nātho, buh no rāniy mangay ;

Meh Rāvanun rāj karēm kyāh ?

Yih gom likhit tih mā harēm ;

Harēm harēm tah harēm kyāh.

Lord, I shall not ask Thee for even a queen,

What will even Rāvan's kingdom avail me ?

Whatsoever (He) hath inscribed as my lot, that cannot be effaced.

Go off, go off from me, and what shall go off from me ?

25.

Parān parān zēv tāt phajim ;

Tsēh yugi kriy tajim nah zāh,

Sumran phirān nyoth tah anguj gajim ;

Manach duyī māli tsajim nah zāh.

By reciting (and) reciting my tongue and palate got worn away,

I could not do practice befitting Thee.

By telling the beads of the rosary my thumb and index-finger got worn
away ;

(But,) O Father, I never got rid of the inner duality of my heart.

26.

Parit tah būzit Brahman tshētan ;

Agar ghaṭan tihindi Veda satīy ;

Paṭṭanach san nit thāvan Maṭṭan ;

Mohit man gatshēk ahankāriy.

After reading and hearing (what religion is) the Brāhmanas will get
polluted,

The sources (of rivers) will shrink down by their (recitation of)
Vedas,

They shall carry to Maṭṭan property stolen from Paṭṭan.

Having committed robbery, their mind will become proud (instead of
being repentant).

Paṭṭan is a village in the Bangil *pargana*. Maṭṭan is a village near which are the magni-
ficent ruins of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, or the Sun. This saying expresses remorse and
agony at the prospect of the doom of degraded Brāhmanas.

27.

Par par karân zal do mandân ;

Badyok timany ahambhâo ;

Gîta parân helhâ labhân.

Param Gîta tah parân chhas.

(They are) reading (and) re-reading, as if (they are) churning water
(i.e., doing useless work) ;

To them self-love hath increased,

(They are) reading (the *Bhagavad*) *Gîtâ* (and) finding a pretext (to do so).

I have read (the *Bhagavad*) *Gîtâ* and am still reading it (i.e., it is futile
to read it without profiting by its teachings).

The other version of this saying is given in No. 4 above.

28.

Rangas manz chhuy byun byun, labhân.

Soruy tsâlak bharak sukh.

Tsak rashî tah vair ay gâlak ;

Adah deshak Shiva sund mukh.

He is in different guises in the actor's show. Find Him.

If thou bearest everything, thou shalt enjoy peace.

If thou killest anger, envy and enmity,

Then thou shalt see the face of Shiva!

29.

Samsâr ho mâlih yâriv jangul ;

Lâriy kâlam tah biyih badbiy.

Gharah¹ karun ho mâli pâtha pyun sangur ;

Nerak nangur tah darog-goy.

The world is, O father, like a forest of pine trees ;

Thou shalt be stained with tar and get an evil smell (there).

To maintain a household (is a calamity as bad as) a mountain coming
crash down (upon you).

Thou shalt go out as a pauper and a liar.

30.

Shayih âsas shayih chhas ;

Lay bûh pânay pânas chhas.

Nirit gashân ; tilit yiwân.

Milit pânah Dayî chhas.

I was in the six (attributes of the Supreme Deity), I am in the six (the
same attributes),

I am absorbed within myself.

I go out (into the world) ; after an excursion I return (to the Supreme
Deity).

I am one with the Supreme Deity.

31.

Shiv chhuy zâmpul zâl waharârit ;

Kranzan manz chhuy tarit kyat.

Zindah nay wuchhihan adah katih marit ?

Pânah manz pân kad vitsârit kyat.

¹ *Scil. garah.*—[EDITOR.]

Śiva is with a fine net spread out,
 He permeateth the mortal coils.
 If thou, whilst alive, canst not see Him, how canst thou when dead ?
 Take out Self from self, after pondering over it.

32.

Suyih kul no dudak sati sagizey.
Sarpinih-thūlan dih zih nah phāh.
Sēki-shāthas phal no wavizey.
Rāwarizih nah kum-yājan til.
Muḍas gnyānach kath no wanizey.
Kharas gor dinah rāviy doh.
Yus yuh kariy suh tyut surey.
Krerey karizih nah pananuy pān.
 Irrigate not the nettle with milk.
 Hatch not a snake's eggs.
 Sow not seeds on the sandy river bed.
 Waste not oil over bran-cakes.
 Tell not matters of religion to a fool.
 If thou givest molasses to an ass thou shalt lose the day (i.e., thou shalt
 lose thy labour),
 Whoever treateth thee in whatsoever manner, he will himself fare in the
 same way.
 Let not thyself fall into a well.

33.

Uchhān tah buh chhas sārīsay andar ;
Uchhum prazalān sārīsay manz.
Būzit tah rūzit, uchh Haras.
Garah chhuh tasanduy ; buh kusak, Lall ?
 I saw and (found) I am in everything ;
 I saw (God) effulgent in everything.
 After hearing and pausing, see Śiva.
 The house is His alone : who am I, Lallā ?

NATURE STUDY IN THE SANSKRIT POEM MEGHADUTA.

By LILY DEXTER GREENE, Ph.D.

(Continued from page 117.)

In stanza 65, we have the wonderfully striking figure of the Ganges as a "costly train skirting the sacred hill" of Airavata, which is really the Elephant of Indra, or the Regent of the East. The Hindu idea is that each point of the compass has a presiding deity and each of these deities has a male and a female elephant attendant. This, too, with reference to her garments, is vividly realistic :—

"Where brilliant pearls descend in lucid showers,
And clouds like tresses clothe her lofty towers."

The description of the city of Alaka, the capital of Kuvera's kingdom, as the "city of the gods" is full of the extravagant imagery of Oriental writers. The toilet of the *Yakṣiṇīs*, whose only "care" is "dress" and "all their labour play," is minutely described with special reference to the flowers used for personal adornment. They are described as spending much of their time in elaborate toilet preparations, which deal chiefly with the adornment of their persons with flowers, at the special period when these flowers bloom. Stanza 67 gives the names of several of these.

1. Lotus.—The Lotus—*Nelumbium speciosum*—blossoms in *Śarad*, the sultry, moist, autumn season of August and September. At that time these *yakṣiṇīs* render the hot hours bearable by using great fragrant lotus blossoms as fluttering fans, and at the same time, no doubt, enhance their own personal charms. In some parts of India, as along the moist Coromandel coast, the lotus blooms all the year, but in Bengal in April, May and June, and in Kashmir in *Śarad*.

The plant derives its botanical name, *Nelumbium*, from two Sanskrit words नील (*nīla*)—blue, and अम्बुज (*ambuja*) produced in water. The Sanskrit name is *padma*, the name so familiar in the Buddhist prayer, *Om maṇi padme hum*. The blossoms are frequently used in the sacrificial rites of the Hindus. The broad, oval-shaped leaves, often rest on the surface of the water. The edges are smooth and unbroken, except that the part which was topmost before the leaf began to expand is emarginate when fully opened.

The leaf's upper surface is a rich pea-green, soft and perfectly smooth, while the underside is of a vinaceous colour. Roxburgh says that when the blossoms open, they lift their heads a few inches above the surface of the water, but in the Dal Lake in Kashmir, the blossoms and leaves as well, are four feet or more above the surface of the water. The white, pink, and cream-coloured ones are the most common, but there is also a blue variety.

2. Kunda.—"Kunda topknots crown the jetty hair." Here we seem to have a reference to the *Jasminum pubescens*, Roxb., or to the *Jasminum grandiflorum*, for both of these have large, circular, snow-white blossoms, which are particularly effective as hair or ear ornaments, and both bloom during the rainy season.

3. Lodhra.—The custom of tinting the cheeks red is referred to in the following :

"Now o'er the cheek the Lodh's pale pollen shines."

The *lodhra* or *rodhra* in Sanskrit is a small-sized tree—*Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.,—commonly found in sub-Himalayan tracts and in Chota Nagpur. The bark of this tree is used to make a red dye with which cloth is coloured. Ground to powder, it is used by the Hindus to throw upon each other during the days of the Holi Festival. It flowers during *hemanta*—the winter season—and ripens its seeds in May. The seeds when ripe are strung like beads and hung round the necks of little children, with the superstitious belief that they will keep off evil or sickness.

4. Amaranth.—The passage, "Now 'midst their curls the Amaranth entwines," refers to the *kuravaka* or *kurabaka*, which is *Gomphrena globosa*. This is an annual, cultivated commonly in Indian gardens during *vasanta*, or spring. There are two varieties, one with

crimson flowers, the other with white, and both blossom during the rainy season and the winter. Some authorities consider the *kuravaka* a red variety of *Barleria*.

5. *Sirisha*.—"Sirisha blossoms deck the tender ear." The large, fluffy, ball-like flowers, with globular heads of greenish-white, fragrant corollets are often worn so as to droop gracefully from the ears, as though a jewel of some sort. This is the flower of the common tree, *Albizia Lebbeck*, the *Mimosa Sirissa* of Roxburgh, which flourishes all over India and is much valued in gardens because of its dense shade. It puts forth its blossom during *grīṣma*—the hot season.

6. *Kadamba*.—"Or new Cadambas, with thy coming born,
The parted locks and polished front adorn."

This points to the fact that the large tree known as *kadamba*, or *nipa*—the *Nauclea Cadamba* of Roxburgh—puts forth its blossoms at the coming of the refreshing rains. This tree is common in India, is very ornamental and furnishes dense, close shade. Its flowers are celebrated in Indian literature as among the beauties of the hot season, and as having a fragrance similar to that of new wine. No doubt the name *Halipriya*, by which it is known, refers to this fragrance, as Hali was the Bacchus of India. These fragrant blossoms are used by the women as graceful hair ornaments suspended down the central parted portion of the hair and allowed to rest on the forehead as indicated in the words "the parted locks and polished front," etc.

Stanza 73—

"The Lord of Love, remembering former woe,
Wields not in Alaca his bee-strung bow:
Yet still he triumphs, for each maid supplies
The fatal bow with love-inspiring eyes."

Here we have once more the idea of the bee-strung bow of Kāma, the god of love. Kāma of the Hindus is the Grecian Eros or the Roman Cupid. He was the son of Viṣṇu and Māyā, and his bosom friend was Vasanta. He is represented as a beautiful youth, spending much of his time in gardens or temples, with his mother, or his companions. Sometimes by moonlight he rides on a lory or a parrot, surrounded by dancing nymphs, one of whom, the leader, carries a banner, on which is a fish on a red ground. This refers to a marine monster called *makara*, which he is said to have subdued. His favorite haunt is near the region of Kṛṣṇa's loves with the *Gopīs*—the forest of *brindavan*, the modern *Brindiban*. Kāma is armed with a bow made of sugarcane. His bowstring is made of bees and his five arrows are pointed with flowers. According to Sāyana, the names of the five flowers are the lotus, *āsoka*, *śirīṣa*, *āmra*, and the blue lotus, and each arrow has a name supposed to indicate the quality possessed by the flower. According to Sir William Jones, these flowers are *campaka*, *āmra*, *kesara*, *ketaka*, and *vilva*. Still other lists are given in the *Gītā-govinda*.

The "former woe" refers to the story of Kandarpa or Kāma, given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, L. 25, 10. There he is said to have sent one of his darts towards Śiva, while the latter was practising austerities, whereupon the enraged deity cursed him with a terrible voice and, flashing his wrathful eye upon him, consumed his bodily nature. From that time on, he is said to have had power over the minds of mortals only and is called *Anaiṅga* (bodiless). (See "Hymn to Kāma Deva" in the works of Sir William Jones.)

Stanza 74—

"Where on rich boughs the clustering flower depends,
And low to earth the tall *mandāra* bends."

The *mandāra* is a splendid and fairly lofty tree (*Erythrina indica*), commonly known as the Indian coral tree. The flowers are in clusters like great branches of coral, and each single flower has a peculiar arrangement of keels and wings which makes it bear a marked resemblance to the parrot, hence the Indian children call it the *tota*, or parrot, flower. The flowers bloom in great profusion in March and April, long before the leaves appear. In some parts of the East the tree is used to support the black pepper vines. See Marsden's *History of Sumatra* for the extensive use of the tree for that purpose. The rapid growth

of these trees makes them very suitable for this, and they are easily grown from cuttings. Their firm, strong, smooth bark, which never shales off, affords a strong hold for the vine, while the dense shade of its abundant leafage during the hottest months, not only affords protection from too much heat, but also keeps the ground moist. During the cold season, the leaves fall and expose the vines to the beneficial effects of the winter sun and rain, which renders them even more productive. For the purposes of this cultivation of the pepper vine, the young trees are topped, and the lateral branches trimmed so as to render pepper gathering easier. The tree is very ornamental and the flowers, being rich in nectar, attract many birds during florescence. The wood is valuable as it does not warp or split, and hence, is much used for fine lacquered work in various parts of India.

Stanza 77:—

1. Mādhavi.—“ See where the clustering *Mādhavi* entwines.” This is a creeper known as *Gaertnera racemosa* (Roxb.), or *Banisteria bengalensis* (Linn.). It is the *Hiptage Madablota* of Gaertner. It is referred to by Hindu poets because of the superior appearance of its rugged vine and leaf, and the remarkable beauty and fragrance of its rich white blossoms.

2. Kuruvaka.—This is probably the same as the *kuravaka* of stanza 67, the crimson Amaranth, though it is possible that this may refer to the *Barleria cristata*, with its purplish blue and white flowers, as this, too, is called *kuravaka*.

3. Āśoka.—“ Profuse, Āśoka sheds its radiant flower ” well expresses the wonderful beauty of the Āśoka blossom. The *Saraca indica* (*Jonesia Asoka*, Roxb.) is a middle-sized tree with dense foliage and shapely form. The branches are very numerous and spread in all directions, so as to form a very large, symmetrical, compact tree head.

When fresh new leaves come out, they are tinted with a rich wine color, and the edges are slightly crinkled. The flowers, which are very numerous, appear at the beginning of the hot season, but the seeds do not ripen until the rains. When the flowers first open, they are of a beautiful, deep, orange-scarlet, striped with yellow. These gradually change from day to day, through a variety of rich shades, to deep red. The rare fragrance of these blossoms is given off at night, after sunset and before sunrise, when they are covered with the morning and evening dews. This tree, when in full bloom, with its rich leafy foliage, is one of the most beautiful objects in the plant world. A poetic thought of the Hindu mind is that the Āśoka tree blossoms at the touch of the face or the foot of a woman who is in love.

Stanza 82—“ And budding *Cesara* adorns the bower.”—The plant called *kesara*, or *vakula*, in Sanskrit is a large tree (*Mimusops Elengi*, Linn.), commonly cultivated in the parks and gardens of India. The flowers, neither very large nor very small, droop on the tree and are very fragrant, pure white, blossoms. When the flowering season is over, the fruit appears as an oval, smooth, yellow berry, with a central seed, and is eaten by man.

Stanza 83—

“ These are my rivals ; for the one would greet,
As I would willingly, my charmer's feet,
And with my fondness, would the other sip,
The grateful nectar of her honey'd lip.”

This refers to the belief of the Hindus that the *kesara* tree blossoms at the touch of a woman's lips, and the *āsoka* at the touch of her foot or her lips.

Stanza 98—

“ For when the Sun withdraws his cheering rays,
Faint are the charms the *Kamala* displays.”

The *kamala* is the lotus, which opens at the touch of the rising sun and closes again at sunset. Here the Yakṣa's separation from his wife is likened to the separation of the sun from the lotus.

A HEBREW INSCRIPTION FROM CHENNAMANGALAM.

By P. ANUJAN ACHAN, STATE ARCHEOLOGIST, COCHIN.

DURING my inspection work last year, I happened to come across a very important Hebrew inscription of the thirteenth century A.D. in the possession of the Black Jews residing at the eastern end of the island of Chennamangalam, in Cochin State. It is neatly engraved on a piece of polished granite measuring about 14" by 8" and is complete in nine lines. Though the subject matter of the inscription may not be of any great interest, in that it merely records the day of the burial of one Sarah, daughter of Israel, the facts that it was engraved so many centuries ago, and that it was, and is still, so carefully preserved by a small colony of Jews residing in a remote corner of the country, invest it with considerable interest.

The inscription is dated "in the year 1581, of the era of contracts, on the tenth day of the month of Kislev," which corresponds to 1269 A.D. It is said that there once took place at Cranganore—a place hardly two miles and a half down the Periyar river, to the west of the Jewish settlement at Chennamangalam—a great feud between the reigning head of the Jews and his brother, in which the White Jews sided with the former and the Black Jews with the latter. But, in the end, the elder brother with the help of the local Rāja was able to drive out of Cranganore the younger brother and his comrades, the Black Jews, who fled to Chennamangalam, Parur and other neighbouring places and settled down under the protection of the respective local chiefs. The inscription under reference was, according to tradition, brought with the Jews from Kottappuram—a locality in Cranganore—when they first migrated to Chennamangalam from that place.

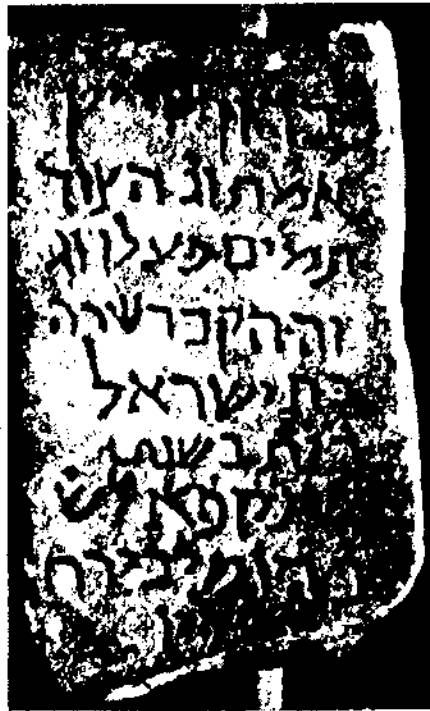
Cranganore had been the first place of settlement of the Jews on the west coast. "According to their own account the Jews made their way to this coast soon after the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. They appear to have been well received in their adopted country and to have enjoyed a degree of toleration to which they were strangers in Europe. In course of time they evidently attained a considerable amount of material prosperity, which is evidenced by the copper-plate charter granted to them by king Bhāskara Ravi Varman. The charter (which is now in the possession of the White Jews at Cochin) conferred valuable privileges upon them, and raised the head of the Jewish community virtually to a position of equality with the *Nāduvāli* chiefs. They continued in the enjoyment of this high standing till the arrival of the Portuguese, who not only persecuted them, but compelled them to leave their ancient settlement at Cranganore in 1565."¹ The Cochin State Manual evidently omits to mention the feud that took place at Cranganore between the White and the Black Jews, and the consequent dispersal of the latter to other places. In the *Malabar Quarterly Review* for June 1902 (vol. I, No. 2, p. 131), Mr. C. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, who has contributed an article on *The Jews of Cochin*, writes: "In the middle of the fourteenth century two brothers of a noble family quarrelled for the chieftainship of the principality [of Anjuvannam] which fell vacant when the line of Joseph Rabban became extinct."² The younger brother who was backed up by his converted slaves, slaughtered the White Jews, who enlisted themselves under the banner of the elder brother. They sought the help of the neighbouring Rājas who planted themselves in the principality and dispossessed the Jews of Anjuvannam. The younger brother fled to Cochin (Chennamangalam and other places) with some of his followers, and the elder brother had to follow suit (after two centuries) on account of the persecution to which he and his followers were subjected by the Portuguese."³

The point at issue now is as regards the probable date of the first dispersal of the Jews from their ancient and foremost settlement at Anjuvannam³ in Cranganore. According to

¹ The *Cochin State Manual* by C. P. Achyuta Menon, pp. 129-30.

² This is only another version of the story.

³ In the copperplate charter granted by Bhāskara Ravi Varman it is stated that the village of Anjuvannam was given to Joseph Rabban, the head of the Jews, with all its proprietary rights.



A HEBREW INSCRIPTION OF 1269 A.D. FROM CHENNAMANGALAM

tradition two things have to be accepted :—(1) the quarrel between the White and the Black Jews over the disputed succession to the chieftainship of the principality of Anjuvannam, and (2) the victory of the White Jews over the Black Jews. That the defeat of the Black Jews was followed by their subsequent dispersal to other more peaceful centres, where they could exercise better freedom, is undisputed. That one of the centres in which they found it convenient to settle was the nearest island of Chennamangalam is also confirmed by tradition. What now remains to be decided is when were the Black Jews forced to leave their chief settlement at Cranganore, and when did they first come to colonize Chennamangalam. The fact that the tombstone, with its inscription in the Hebrew script dated 1269 A.D., was brought with the Jews from Cranganore when they first left that place precludes us from assuming an earlier date for their advent to Chennamangalam. Ibn Batuta, the famous Arab traveller (1342-47 A.D.), who makes mention of a prosperous colony of Jews at the eastern end of this island, throws definite light on the point. Speaking of his journey by the back-water in 1342 A.D. from Calicut to Quilon, he says: "It (Quilon) is situated at the distance of ten days from Calicut. After five days I came to Kanjirakkara which stands on the top of a hill, is inhabited by Jews, and governed by an Emir, who pays tribute to the king of Kaulam (*sic*)."⁴ Mr. C. P. Achyuta Menon, commenting upon this passage, writes:—"This Emir was evidently the Villārvattat Chief. The river hereabouts used to be known as Kanjirappuzha, and the palace of the chief, the site of which is still pointed out, was on the top of the hill⁵ at the eastern end of the island of Chennamangalam. At the foot of the hill is a Jewish settlement, one of the oldest in Cochin."⁶

Thus, while the tradition helps us to assume a date near about 1269 A.D. for the first dispersal of the Black Jews from Cranganore, the interesting account left behind by Ibn Batuta definitely suggests a date much earlier than 1342 A.D., by which time one section of the Black Jews had stably settled down at Chennamangalam. "If the statement that some of the tombstones of the Black Jews are said to be six hundred years old is a fact," writes Mr. C. V. Subrahmanya Iyer in the *Malabar Quarterly Review* (vol. I, No. 2, p. 133), "then the Jews must have migrated to Cochin from Cranganore about the year 1200." We do not know to which tombstone reference has been made here, but the tombstone that we now edit is nearly 660 years old. It is impossible to say whether this latter is that of a Black Jewess or a White Jewess. Mr. E. J. Hallegue of Cochin, himself a White Jew and a Hebrew scholar, holds the opinion that the feud between the reigning head of the Jews and his brother, which caused the dispersal and the consequent advent of the Black Jews to Mattancheri (Cochin), Parur and Chennamangalam, had taken place about the date of the inscription or soon after it. This view, I think, is more plausible.

I am indebted to Professor M. Winternitz, of Prague University, for the English translation of the inscription which I give below. The era of contracts is the so-called Seleucid era, which dates from the battle of Gaza in 312 B.C. "It is called 'era of contracts,'" remarks the Professor, "because it was used by the Jews in legal documents. It was used by the Jews as early as the Book of Maccabees, and it was likewise used by the Oriental Jews and Syrians until late in the Middle Ages and is still occasionally employed by Jews in the East." The word "Rock" in the inscription means God. "He is the Rock, his work is perfect." (The Bible, Book of Deuteronomy, ch. 32, verse 4.)

TRANSLATION.

"Praised be the true Judge, the Rock; perfect is his doing. And there was buried Sarah, daughter of Israel, in the year 1581 of the era of contracts, on the tenth day of the month of Kislev."

⁴ The Cochin State Manual, p. 96, f.n.

⁵ Vide the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State (1926-27), plate 1 (a).

⁶ The Cochin State Manual, p. 96, f.n.

RUSTAMJI MANAK : A NOTABLE PARSI BROKER.

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

(Continued from page 108.)

It was not possible to obtain at Surat a more reliable and experienced interpreter than Rustamji to accompany the ambassador on his mission to Aurangzeb, and Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council were therefore quite justified in the choice they made. Sir William's prejudice against Rustamji may perhaps have been due to the influence of his secretary, Mr. Mills. Sir Nicholas strongly advised the ambassador to avoid giving occasion for misunderstanding to arise between Mr. Mills and Rustamji, and also urged him to take the latter into his confidence because he was "well-vers'd in ye misterious intreigues of the Durbars may probably place money that will have it's operation sooner than greater sums all delays and formalits being dangerous at this juncture when our rivals are for divideing your Excy etc from your [sic] and the most apt of your retinue, and so aged an Emperor and all the European Comp^{rs} in combination for oposing any Phirmaund [*farmān*] . . . if Rustum's found unfaithful to your interest please to return him immediately that regards your honor equally with his owne."⁶ Sir Nicholas Waite and his council had such great confidence in Rustamji that they repeatedly impressed upon the ambassador their firm belief that the broker was "unspotted in your interest (however his other natural man may be inclined) for managing matters with those great men and their durbars in w^{ch} he is esteemed here a proficient master of those misteries."⁷ There was, therefore, no doubt in the minds of the Surat authorities concerning Rustamji's fitness for they wrote again to the Court of Directors on the 27th October 1701, complaining that the ambassador, not having sufficient confidence in Rustamji, had entrusted the management of affairs to Mr. Mills.

Throughout the difficult negotiations conducted by Sir William Norris with the Mughal officials Rustamji's help proved invaluable. He thoroughly understood the intricacies of such transactions at Court as would involve the distribution of presents, or in other words diplomatic bribery necessary to enable him to effect the object of the mission. He was constantly in attendance upon the ambassador and was in fact the sole intermediary between him and the Court officials. He was thus entrusted with considerable responsibility and it is necessary to judge how far he honestly served his master and the Company during the negotiations.

In Sir William's journal glimpses can be obtained of Rustamji's own transactions, but these were of an unimportant nature. The latter, in the diary written in the form of letters from the Mughal's *lashkar* at Burhānpur, describes the causes which led to Sir William Norris' sudden departure from the Court and its sequel. The letters are written in "Gentu" script and were afterwards translated into Portuguese. It is doubtful whether the translator has retained the dignity and colour of Rustamji's original letters, for the Portuguese version (now preserved at the India Office) does not appear to have been carefully executed. The first letter, dated 12th November 1701, is addressed to his son Framji at Surat, with the request that he would communicate its contents to Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council. It contains details which explain the enormous difficulties experienced in the endeavour to secure the necessary *farmāns* and the reasons for Sir William's detention on the way to Surat by the Mughal's general Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang. Rustamji's account is of great value as giving an exact description of what happened when Sir William Norris left the Camp without the Emperor's permission. Rustamji was always with the ambassador, and is therefore able to give first-hand information of all that occurred. In his letter he describes the negotiations between Nawāb Asad Khān and the ambassador regarding the security of the

⁶ See 7569, O. C., 57—I, India Office.⁷ *Ibid.*

port of Mocha and the particulars of privileges to be obtained from the Emperor, and also shows that when the business was transferred to the hands of Inayatullā Khān, the question of security again came into prominence. There seems to be no doubt that the intrigues engineered by the Vakīl of the Old Company at the Court were particularly designed with the view of thwarting the plans of Sir William Norris. Rustamji comments on the attitude taken by the ambassador towards the Mughal officials, which in his opinion demonstrated a decided lack of diplomatic tact at the most critical phases of the negotiations. The impatience shown by the ambassador and his threat to return to England if the necessary *farmāns* were not granted, omitting the obligation of the security of the seas, caused, as Rustamji tells us, great annoyance to Nawāb Asad Khān. The fact that Sir William did not entrust the negotiations entirely to Asad Khān resulted in a breach between the latter and Inayatullā Khān. Rustamji vividly narrates the forcible detention of Sir William Norris by the Emperor's messenger Mu'tabar Khān, who endeavoured to persuade him to return to the Camp and made a great, if ineffectual, effort to induce him to refrain from returning to England without the Emperor's permission. As a result of his attempt to do so, the ambassador was detained by the Mughal's general and Rustamji acted as an intermediary between them. His account shows that the ambassador repeatedly refused to return to the Camp for the reconsideration of the privileges to be obtained by the New Company.

At this crisis the shrewd broker took immediate steps to communicate all the circumstances to Sir Nicholas Waite and further informed him that the Emperor had sent a command to the Mughal Governor at Surat to detain Sir William Norris in case he attempted to embark for England. He definitely states that the ambassador's own conduct was prejudicing the business; and that further complications were added by the moral support given him by the minister Yār 'Alī Beg, who had thereby incurred the Emperor's displeasure.⁸

On the 25th November 1701, Rustamji communicated again with Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council, informing them of an exchange of civilities which had taken place between the Nawāb Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān and the ambassador. In return for the Nawab's present of fruit, Sir William had sent Rustamji and three other persons to present to him "100 gold mohurs, six scarlet pieces, four big muskets, two pistols, two large brass guns, two watches, and one hundred broadswords." Before taking leave they were regaled with a sumptuous banquet and presented with "serpaws"⁹ [*sar u pā*] by the Nawāb. The latter took the opportunity of sending a message to the ambassador to the effect that the Emperor would be annoyed if Sir William did not refrain from going to Surat until all his business had been satisfactorily settled. He also emphasized the fact that he would do everything in his power to further the granting of the *farmāns*. As a mark of friendship and courtesy the Nawāb sent him a magnificent dinner, which was conveyed to the ambassador's Camp in "18 dishes of gold, with covers of the same; seven silver dishes, with covers of the same; and seven gold dishes with bread."

Sir William, in recognition of the Nawab's kindness, sent Rustamji and three Englishmen to present to him a gift of 101 gold mohurs, which were all accepted and, in return, "serpaws" [*sar u pā*] were again bestowed upon them. Before taking their leave they were assured by the Nawāb that he had written to the Emperor on behalf of Sir William Norris and that the *patlāwars*¹⁰ would convey the letter immediately. Rustamji alludes to the visit of the Nawāb's chief physician to the ambassador and to the long conversation which took place between them. This is followed by a detailed description from his pen of further communications between the ambassador and the Nawāb. He tells us that Sir William persisted in his refusal to visit the Nawāb, in spite of the great courtesy shown him and of the

⁸ See 7757, O. C., 57—II.

⁹ Robe of honour.

¹⁰ Foot messengers—Ovington.

fact that the latter was desirous of personally giving him the presents from the Emperor to the King of England as well as those for the ambassador himself. Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān gave him emphatic warning of the consequences which would ensue if he did not return to the Court, telling him that he had received orders from the Emperor to detain him by force if necessary. Rustamji is no less emphatic in declaring that Sir William continued to slight the request of Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān, notwithstanding that it was impressed upon him that the Nawāb occupied an exalted position, being considered as a "second king" in the Empire. The remonstrance had no effect upon Sir William, who in an angry outburst declared that if the Nawāb were "to give me the whole of Hindustan I would not go to take it." Rustamji's account proves that if the ambassador had shown due courtesy to the Nawāb in receiving at his hands the presents intended for the King of England he might have avoided giving needless offence to him. Sir William Norris lacked the qualities of a shrewd diplomat in his dealings with Nawāb Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān, who had not only shown great courtesy to him, but had also offered in every way to expedite his journey to Surat. The ambassador went so far as to reply to those overtures in more haughty terms than before, going, according to Rustamji, so far as to say: "Though you were to assemble all the Umaras of Hindustan to guard me more closely, yet I will not stay."

Rustamji explains that on account of the obstinacy shown by Sir William the long drawn out interviews between him and the messengers from Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān had ended in a deadlock. Sir William's attitude greatly annoyed the Nawāb, who, when he next summoned Rustamji, told him of the indignities offered to his messengers and asked why the ambassador had appeared so alarmed by the prospect of the proposed visit. The Nawāb therefore put Rustamji in prison as a hostage pending the safe return of the messengers and also threatened if any harm befell them to cut off his head. The poor broker suffered greatly during the few hours he was kept in the prison. Meanwhile the ambassador made one more attempt to effect his departure, and actually rode away. But being pursued by a large Mughal force, described by Rustamji as consisting of "from 1,500 to 2,000 horsemen, 1,500 to 2,000 gunners, 20 gun carriages," which followed him for "three leagues begging the ambassador to return." Sir William was compelled to retrace his steps and return to the Camp. Rustamji's detailed account of this episode is corroborated by Sir William's own version of his arrest. Rustamji writes that he was entrusted by Sir William with a petition to the Nawāb in which he protested against his detention. Not without some justification, the Nawāb in his reply pointed out to Sir William that he had been kindly received at the Emperor's Court as the representative of the King of England, and that his actions had been unworthy of the position he occupied. He reiterated his great regret that he had been compelled to detain him because he had not taken formal leave of the Emperor. At the same time he gave him an assurance that no further harm would be done to him, but that he must remain at the Camp till the Emperor's pleasure became known. According to Rustamji, a long discussion between him, Mr. Mills and the Nawāb's brother followed, concerning the time when the ambassador might be allowed to take his leave, whether that would be permitted in two or four days. They debated whether the *farmāns* should be given now or within forty days at Surat. It was also decided that if the *farmāns* contained no promises regarding the security of the seas, a lakh of rupees should be given to the Emperor and to Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān and Rs. 20,000 to Hamid Khān. Rustamji was also commissioned to give a written guarantee that these promises would be carried out.¹¹

The last phase of the negotiations between Nawāb Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān and the ambassador is revealed in a letter written by Rustamji from Burhānpur to Framji at Surat on December 1, 1701. From this it is evident that the Agent of the Old Company was still actively engaged

¹¹ See 7754, O. C., 57—II.

in placing impediments in the way of the ambassador and that he was endeavouring to persuade the Nawâb not to grant the *farmâns*. It was reported that the Nawâb's messengers, when they failed to persuade Sir William to visit him, threatened that the Nawâb would agree with the proposal of the Old Company's Procurator not to grant the *farmâns*, and that the ambassador might return to England. In this letter Rustamji expresses his disgust at the nature of the proceedings generally. The ambassador had not yet received any *farmân* and as Rustamji was not sure whether he should take leave of the Nawâb, he solicited the advice of the Consul as to the best course to be pursued under the circumstances, and further suggested that Sir Nicholas Waite himself might be willing to come to receive the *farmâns* from the Nawâb and in case he decided to the contrary, that Mr. Bonnell might be sent as his representative. In either case Rustamji expressed the hope that the Consul would communicate with him as to the procedure to be adopted with the Nawâb. He warned the Consul that no communication as to the above proposal could be conveyed to the ambassador on account of the strained relations between him and Sir Nicholas Waite, and also informed Framji that the ambassador would quickly repair to Surat if no further obstacles were placed in his way.¹²

After the ambassador had finally taken leave of the Nawâb and had received from him the letter and presents for the King of England, it was decided that Rustamji should remain at Burhânpur in the hope of obtaining the three *farmâns*. Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council also directed him not to advance or pay any of the sums promised till he had obtained them. Rustamji was so hopeful of obtaining the *farmâns* that he informed the President that they would be forwarded to Surat within a few days. But this hope was doomed to disappointment.¹³

The charges incurred by Rustamji's residence at the *lashkar* became so great that the President and Council wrote to him on the 9th December 1702, revoking their former order and instructing him to make no further demand for the grant of the three *farmâns* nor to pay any money towards securing them, but to return to Surat with all convenient speed and to resume his former employments.¹⁴ Rustamji on his part represented to the President that he had already been compelled to disburse considerable sums for the purpose of securing the ambassador's pardon. This protest was only an excuse for prolonging his stay at the Court and for procuring payment of a still larger amount for his expenses. Sir Nicholas Waite however did not accept those excuses and insisted on seeing for himself the various items of the expenses incurred. Rustamji was finally permitted to return to Surat on the 26th February 1702-3.

When the two Companies were united, Rustamji, on the nomination of Sir Nicholas, was continued in office as their broker; but his position with the Company's authorities gradually became insecure, partly owing to his own conduct and practices, and partly also to the rivalry and jealousies existing amongst his employers. In a letter dated the 25th April 1706, Sir John Gayer and his Council stated that Rustamji's corrupt practices in connection with private shipping were very prejudicial to the interests of the Company and that it was doubtful whether they would continue to employ him. This accusation was endorsed by Sir Nicholas Waite in a letter to the Court of Directors written in the following year.¹⁵

It was unfortunate that Rustamji, who had been enjoying the entire confidence of Sir Nicholas Waite for the last few years, should have now incurred his displeasure, which culminated in his dismissal from the service of the Company in 1706. It was alleged that Sir Nicholas Waite on his transfer to Bombay evaded the payment of Rs. 50,000 claimed by

¹² See 7786, O. C., 57—II.

¹³ See vol. VII, pp. 172, 286, of *Surat Factory Records*.

¹⁴ See O. C., 58—II.

¹⁵ See p. CV, vol. III, of *Hedges' Diary*.

Rustamji as a reward for using his influence with the Mughal Governor to keep Sir John Gayer in prison. Rustamji circulated his grievances amongst the servants of the English Company at Surat, and this action greatly annoyed Sir Nicholas. At the time of his dismissal the Pârsî broker also claimed a large sum from the Company for various transactions. The representatives of the English Company at Surat, who were hostile to Sir Nicholas Waite, took the opportunity to conspire with Rustamji and reported against the former to the Court of Directors, bringing various charges against him, some of which were based on information from Rustamji. They rightly maintained that great loss would accrue to the Company's trade and business at Surat if Rustamji were not restored to his former position, seeing how great was his influence with the merchants and local Mughal officials, while they also called attention to the irregularities practised by Sir Nicholas Waite in defiance of the rules laid down by the Court of Directors.¹⁶

Rustamji was perfectly justified in claiming the sum promised him by Sir Nicholas Waite, and there is no room for doubt that the latter used him as an instrument for keeping Sir John Gayer in prison. If Rustamji was dismissed on that ground alone, his dismissal was undoubtedly an unjustifiable act on the part of Sir Nicholas Waite and the betrayal of a trust reposed on him. There is no doubt that the Company was indebted to Rustamji for a very large sum at the time of his dismissal, and that the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay tried their utmost to secure the rejection of the broker's claim. But the latter's claim for sums expended by him in securing Sir William Norris' pardon from the Mughal may well be considered to have been an afterthought. He did not, however, live to see his claims admitted by the Company, dying in 1721, but the three sons—Framji, Bomanji and Nauroji—who succeeded him as brokers in the Company's service, fought hard to substantiate their father's claims.

Nauroji was deputed by his brothers to proceed to England to state a case before the Court of Directors. Accordingly he presented a petition in May 1724 on behalf of himself and his brothers, praying that justice might be done them in relation to the demands made by them on the Company. The case was referred to the Committee of Correspondence for the purpose of being examined with regard to the allegations contained therein. The Committee, after carefully considering the demands made by Nauroji, and having examined the accounts contained in the Company's books, decided that the matter should be submitted to arbitration. After nine months, the arbitrators gave their award in favour of Nauroji, his two brothers, and of their deceased father Rustamji Mânak with regard to the sum of money due to them from the Company "in their own right or as representatives of their said father five hundred forty six thousand three hundred and ninety rupees which the Company are to pay." The whole sum was ordered to be paid to them by instalments within the next two years. His other complaints against the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay were also placed before the Directors, and were all satisfactorily settled by the Court. His business now being concluded, Nauroji returned to India in the *Wyndham*, taking with him ten brass guns and provisions for himself and his twelve servants free of freight.¹⁷

The decision of the Court in favour of Nauroji was received by the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay with some dismay, but they had no choice but to carry out the orders of the Court. The three brothers each received a *sar u pâ*, and in addition a horse was given to Nauroji. In a despatch sent to the Court of Directors, the Company's servants pointed out that Rustamji Mânak and his family were considered as of no importance at Surat before they joined the Company's service, but that thereafter their fortunes were assured. Though some wrong, they admitted, had been done to Rustamji's family and the decision had been

¹⁶ See vol. III, pp. 595-8, 619 of *Bruce's Annals*.

¹⁷ See *Court-Book* 51, I. O.

given in favour of the latter by the Court of Directors, they nevertheless maintained that they had acted in the Company's interest. In despair the factors complained that their point of view had received very little consideration from the Court and that it would reflect on their reputation.¹⁸

In reviewing Rustamji's connection with the Company it is difficult to agree with Mr. George Briggs, who in his book, *The Parsis*, tentatively described the broker as "the quint-essence of mischief." There are also other writers whose estimate of Rustamji's character is not altogether fair and accurate. They based their statements only on despatches sent by the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay. The latter were Rustamji's enemies and they misrepresented his actions to the Court of Directors. The position occupied by Rustamji proved a difficult one, for the factors were unable to dispense with his services and he had therefore unlimited power over the entire trade of the Company, which led at times to abuses of his responsibility. On the other hand the circumstances and environment of that period must be taken into account. Rustamji had dealings with the local merchants and Mughal officials who were in the habit of giving presents in money for services rendered. He was a shrewd and hard-headed man of business, who thoroughly understood how to deal with his clients and how to profit from opportunities of increasing his own assets. He, therefore, indulged at times in practices which practically amounted to bribery and corruption. Perhaps the best summary of his character and business acumen may be found in an unsigned document, entitled "Observations on Surat," without date or year, preserved in the India Office. It was written by an unknown writer, evidently after the termination of Sir William Norris' Embassy, who compared the Old Company's broker Venwallidas with Rustamji and considered the former to be "a sorry lying flattering dissembling pittyfull covetous fearful person," whereas the latter seemed to him "a bold spirited person, hath abundance of friends at Court, a great many he made when he went with the Ambassador and I believe served the New Company with all his might and seldom or never undertook anything but performed."¹⁹ He also alludes to the fact that Rustamji had considerable influence with the Mughal Governor at Surat and that the Old and New Company's servants from various settlements were obliged to employ him as their broker, otherwise their trading would be obstructed. The writer further adds that it was "believed by all that the last embargo laid upon all merchandize of both Old and New Comp^y goods in Suratt was occasioned by him."²⁰ In the same writer's opinion Rustamji's services were indispensable on account of his ability to get any business entrusted to him speedily accomplished.

Note.—A complete account of Rustamji Manak's connection with the New English East India Company is under preparation by the present writer.

¹⁸ See *Bombay Letters*, vol. I-A.

¹⁹ See O. C. 58—IV, pp. 406-7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

BHĀMAHA AND DIĒNĀGA.

BY PROFESSOR GIUSEPPE TUCCI, Ph.D.

THE date of Bhāmaha has been the subject of long discussions among scholars, which have been recently summarized by Professors Batuk Nāth Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya in their learned and diligent introduction to the new edition of the *Kāvya-lankāra*.¹ It is not my purpose to study here all the various questions connected with the solution of this problem, but only to point out some facts, which have, I think, their weight.

I.

As it has clearly been seen by Professor Jacobi² and the Benares Professors, in the fifth chapter of *Kāvya-lankāra*, containing a brief allusion to logical theories, we are confronted with some data, the value of which cannot be sufficiently emphasized when we want to fix the approximate time of the completion of the book.

The views held by scholars are two : according to Jacobi, followed by Professor S. K. De,³ Bhāmaha was influenced by Dharmakīrti, and therefore must come after him. But Professors Śarmā and Upādhyāya are against this theory and try to show that no influence of Dharmakīrti can be traced in the *Kāvya-lankāra*. I quite agree with their views. But since this is a fundamental point for fixing the chronology of our text it is worth while to examine thoroughly the logical theories as expounded by Bhāmaha, and then to find, if possible, their exact correlation in the Buddhist *Nyāya-sūtras*. We shall then be able to ascertain whether this view can be accepted as a well established fact rather than as a probable hypothesis.

(a) *Pramāṇas*.—According to our author they are only two, that is : *pratyakṣa*, direct perception, and *anumāna*, inference. So far as our present knowledge goes, we can safely assume that the doctrine maintaining the existence of two *pramāṇas* only represents an innovation due to Diñnāga ; though it was not accepted by all Buddhist schools, as is generally believed. The followers of the ancient Yogācāra system, as expounded by Maitreya and Asaṅga, insisted upon maintaining three *pramāṇas*, viz., *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āgama*. Such a view was accepted by Sthiramati and continued even by relatively later authors, such as Haribhadra (ninth century A.D.), the commentator of the *Aślasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*.⁴ On the other hand, the Mādhyamikas (*prāsāngikas*) were ready to accept the four traditional *pramāṇas*, but of course in the mere plan of contingent experience, *saṃvṛtisatya* ; because *paramārtha* *pramāṇas*, as well as any other notion, or *dharma* (*prameya*) are antinomical, contradictory, and therefore *śūnya*, as was expounded in great detail by Nāgārjuna in his *Vigrahavivartanī*.

But according to Diñnāga and his followers, such as Śaṅkarasvāmin, Dharmakīrti, Dharmottara, etc., the *pramāṇas* are certainly two.

Now the definition of these two *pramāṇas*, as given by Bhāmaha, "*asādhāraṇasāmānya-viśayatvaṃ tayoh īdā*" (v. 5), though finding its parallel even in the *Nyāyabindu*, is really that already given by Diñnāga in his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* as well as in his *Nyāyamukha*,⁵

¹ Kāśī Sanskrit Series, n. 61, 1928. Cf. also the article of Mr. Divakar in *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 825, where a relation between Bhāmaha and *Nyāyapraveśa* is stated.

² *Sitz. d. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, XXIV, 1922, p. 211.

³ *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, p. 50.

⁴ So also by his master Vimuktisena in his *Abhisamayālaṅkārikāvyākhyā*. Both works are being edited by me. For the various theories on *pramāṇas* before Diñnāga I must refer to my *Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga*, *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 451, and to the Introduction of my book, *Pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Logic*. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

⁵ And not *Nyāyavivarta*. See *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 8. This book has been translated into English by me and will appear shortly in Heidelberg in the Bulletin published by the Buddhist Institute of Prof. Walleser.

where we read : " Thus there are only two *pramāṇas* by which we can apprehend [respectively] the thing in itself (*svatātparyā*) and its universal character (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). There is no other knowable besides these two, which could be apprehended by a *pramāṇa* other than these two."

(b) *Pratyakṣa*.—Of direct perception we find in our text two definitions—(1) *kalpanāpodha*. (2) *tato 'rthāt*. The paternity of these two definitions can easily be traced. Chronologically the second must come first, and the first second; in fact we know that *tato 'rthāt* (*rūpādes tato eveti nānyataḥ*, v. 10) was the definition of *pratyakṣa* given by Vasubandhu, or rather by the author of the *Vādaśāstrī*, whoever he may have been. The passage quoted by Uddyotakara⁶ has been identified by me in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, where Dinnāga attributes this definition to the *Vādaśāstrī*,⁷ and refutes it.

The second definition *kalpanāpodha* is, as already noted by the Benares professors, quite peculiar to Dinnāga; he suppressed the word *abhrānta* or *avyabhicārin* contained in the definition of *pratyakṣa*, as already given by Maitreya and Asaṅga; but, as is known, *abhrānta* was again added by Dharmakīrti, for reasons expounded by Mallivādin in his *Ṭippaṇī* (p. 19) on *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*.⁸ It is almost certain that the word *abhrānta* was again added to *kalpanāpodha* by Dharmakīrti, because Śaṅkarasvāmin, who lived between Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti,⁹ still strictly follows Dinnāga, in his definition of *pratyakṣa*.¹⁰

(c) The definition of *kalpanā* as *nāmajātyādīyojanā*.—This is the doctrine of Dinnāga: *kalpanā* is joined with *nāma* and *jāti*, etc., and it is just this doctrine which was criticised by Uddyotakara in his famous passage (p. 41): "*apare tu manyante pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham iti, atha keyam kalpanā? nāmajātyāyojanā*."¹¹ But on this point, as on many others, Dharmakīrti held a different view: for him *kalpanā* or *vikalpa* is *nāmasamśraya* (*abhilāpini pratīti* according to Śāntirakṣita, *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 366).

*pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham pratyakṣeṇaiva sidhyati
pratyātmavedyāḥ sarveṣāṃ vikalpo nāmasamśrayaḥ*¹²

or, as said in *Nyāyabindu*: *abhilāpasamsargayogyapratibhāsapratītiḥ*. This discrepancy is not of mere words, but involves also difference of views, upon which we have not to insist now, especially because all this point has been so well illustrated by Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla (*Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 398).

We must only remember that the definition of *kalpanā*, as known to Bhāmaha, is that of Dinnāga, but it has no relation whatsoever with that propounded by Dharmakīrti.

(d) *apoha*.—This is quite peculiar to Dinnāga's teaching (though it was also continued long after him—cf. the *Apohasiddhi* by Ratnākaraśānti): it was refuted, as is known, by Uddyotakara. *Nyāyavārttika*, 328 f.

⁶ *Nyāyavārttika*, p. 40; cf. *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 473.

⁷ On this book cf. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 631, and vol. V, p. 81.

⁸ Cf. *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 472.

⁹ And was known to Yuan Chwang, while no mention of Dharmakīrti is to be found in the *Memoirs of the great Chinese pilgrim*.

¹⁰ *Pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham yaj jñānam rūpāḍau nāmajātyādīkalpanārahitam tad akṣam akṣam prati varṇata iti pratyakṣam*. Cf. the definition of *pratyakṣa* contained in *Nyāyamukha*, and the Sanskrit original of which has been preserved in the *pañjikā* of Kamalaśīla to *Tattvasaṅgraha* (p. 372, l. 23): *Yaj jñānam artharūpāḍau viśeṣanābhīdhya kābhēdopacārendvikalpakaṃ tad akṣam akṣam prati varṇata iti pratyakṣam*.

¹¹ This is the right reading, instead of *kalpanā nāmajātyādī* of the printed text of *Kāvyālaṅkāra* as well as of *Nyāyavārttika*.

¹² So Dharmakīrti in his metrical commentary of *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, called *Pramāṇavārttika*. See my note, *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 378 and 906.

(e) *anumāna*.—Here also, as noted by the editors, two definitions of inference are referred to by Bhāmaha—(1) *trirūpalingato jñāna* and (2) *tadvido nāntarīyānirūpādarsana*. This second definition is quoted by Uddyotakara. I have found in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* the corresponding translation of this passage, which is quoted by Diñnāga as being taken from *Vādaividhi* and refuted by him.¹³

As to the first definition we cannot be so precise as regards its identification; in fact we know that the definition of the *anumāna* as given by Diñnāga in *Pramāṇasamuccaya* was: *anumeye'ha tattulye sabbhāvo nāstīti 'sati*.¹⁴

But it is quite evident that here the essential and fundamental aspect of the *anumāna* is contained, viz., its *trairūpya*: *pakṣadharmatā, sapakṣasattva, vipakṣasattva*. This theory of the *trairūpya*, as I have shown elsewhere,¹⁵ does not represent an innovation due to Diñnāga, since it was certainly pre-existent, as is sufficiently proved by the fragments of the *Tarka-śāstra* preserved in Chinese.

Therefore, even in this case, the facts alluded to seem to point to an analogy with Diñnāga more than with Dharmakīrti.

(f) *pratijñādoṣas* or *pratijñābhāṣas*, viz., thesis or proposition vitiated by errors. The definition of *pakṣa* and that of *pratijñā* imply that Bhāmaha considers *pakṣa* as different from *pratijñā*, viz., *pakṣa* is the formulation of the *probandum*, quite independent of the *sādhana*, and *pratijñā* is this very *pakṣa* enunciated as the first member of a *sādhana*. This doctrine (on which see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 632) was accepted by Asaṅga and the *Vādaividhi*, but Diñnāga suppresses the *pratijñā* and substitutes for it the very *pakṣa*. Bhāmaha in this place also seems, therefore, to follow doctrines anterior to Diñnāga. Bhāmaha knows only six *pakṣābhāṣas* :—

- (a) *tadarthaviruddha*.
- (b) *hetuviruddha*.
- (c) *svasiddhāntaviruddha*.
- (d) *sarvāgamaviruddha*.
- (e) *prasiddhadharma*.
- (f) *pratyakṣaviruddha*.

Diñnāga also knew five *pakṣābhāṣas* only, as is evidenced by his *Nyāyamukha* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*; while in the *Nyāyapravēśa* by his pupil or follower, Śaṅkarasvāmin, we have a list of nine *pakṣābhāṣas*,¹⁶ which again Dharmakīrti reduces to four (*anumānanirākṛta*, *pratyakṣanirākṛta*, *pratītinirākṛta*, *svavacanānirākṛta*). For Diñnāga the five *pakṣābhāṣas* are as follows :—

- (1) *svavacanaviruddha* : *mātā me bandhyā, sarvaṃ vacanam mithyā*,
- (2) *pratyakṣaviruddha* : *anuṣṇo 'gnih*.
- (3) *anumānaviruddha* : *nityo ghaṭaḥ*.
- (4) *lokaviruddha* : *śaśi na candrah*.
- (5) *āgamaviruddha*.

Now it is evident that of the six *pakṣābhāṣas* quoted by Bhāmaha, (a)=(1), (c)=(5), (d)=(4), (f)=(2). The second—(b)—cannot be so easily identified; but from the example given it seems that it consists in the assumption of a *dharmin anyatārsiddha*, that is, a subject not proved for one of the opponents; e.g., when a Śāṅkhya discusses with a Buddhist he cannot state this proposition: "the *ātman* is existent," or "*prakṛti* is existent," because the *pratiśedhin* does not admit of any *ātman* or *prakṛti*: so that the thesis would in fact ignore one of the

¹³ *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 474-475.

¹⁴ *Nyāyavṛttika*, p. 55.

¹⁵ *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 479.

¹⁶ Cf. *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 12.

fundamental aspects of *pakṣa*, viz., *prasiddha-dharmin*. This kind of *pakṣābhāsa* is not in Dinnāga, but is to be found in Śaṅkarasvāmin, and, as is evidenced by the commentary of K'wei-chi on the *Nyāyapraveśa*, was largely discussed in logical schools after the great logician. One of the possible ways to avoid this fallacy was found in the theory of the *avadhāraya* or specification, viz., the *ātman*, in which we believe, or in which you believe, etc.

Anyhow it is worth mentioning that the example given by Bhāmaha as the second case of *pakṣābhāsa* clearly shows that it was taken from some Buddhist *vade mecum*.

(g) *Trairūpya* of the *hetu*.—I have shown elsewhere¹⁷ that Dinnāga cannot be considered as the author of this theory, which we meet also in the *Tarka-sāstras*, certainly anterior to him, and was perhaps contained also in the *Vādaividhi*. Anyhow the definition of *vipakṣa* as *sādhyavyāvṛtti* was not of Dinnāga, who in *Nyāyamukha* as well as in *Pramāṇasamuccaya* contests the validity of such definition. We find *vipakṣavyāvṛtti* in *Tarka-sāstra*.

(h) *Dṛṣṭānta*.—The first definition, *sādhyasāadhanadharmābhyām*, may be compared with that given by the author of *Vādaividhi*: *layoh sambandhanidarśanam dṛṣṭānta* quoted by Uddyotakara (*NV.*, p. 137, l. 3). The second is beyond any doubt of Dinnāga, and it is reproduced almost literally by Bhāmaha. He says :

(v. 27) *Sādhyena līṅānugatis tadābhāve ca nāstītā sthāpyate yena dṛṣṭāntaḥ*—and the definition of Dinnāga, in *Nyāyamukha* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, quoted and refuted by Uddyotakara (*NV.*, p. 137) in its Sanskrit original, runs thus :—

sādhyenānugamo hetuḥ sādhyābhāve ca nāstītā.

(i) *Jātis*.—The *Jātis* were reduced by Dinnāga to 14³ only in *Nyāyamukha* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. According to Śaṅkarasvāmin they are considered as *sāadhanadoṣodbhāvanāni*; and *sāadhanadoṣa* is *nyūnatva*, etc., viz., *ādhyakya*; this is just the theory that we find in Bhāmaha, though in his case mention of *sādharmyasamādaya*¹⁸ is still to be found, just as in Dinnāga's works.

II.

Now if we are to sum up the results of this comparison of Bhāmaha's logical chapter with Nyāya theories known to us, it appears evident that no trace of Dharmakīrti can be found in *Kāvyālaṅkāra*. All the doctrines upon which Jacobi founded his conclusions, viz., that Bhāmaha is dependent on *Nyāyabindu*, after closer examination prove to be peculiar to Dharmakīrti but anterior to him. We may add that not a single theory, proper to Dharmakīrti, can be traced in *Kāvyālaṅkāra*. On the other hand, Bhāmaha refers twice quite unmistakably to Vasabandhu, or better, to the author of *Vādaividhi*, whose doctrines are so often alluded to and refuted in *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. And it is known that the *Vādaividhi* was completely superseded by the big work of Dinnāga and the logical activity of his followers, so that after Dinnāga it is only occasionally alluded to for polemical purposes, e.g., by Uddyotakara, but it did not influence in any way the *Nyāya* theories of post-Dinnāga time. On the other hand, Dharmakīrti, with his *Pramāṇavārttika*, *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and *Nyāyabindu*, very soon took the prominent part, and after him *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and its author were left in oblivion. Vācaspati and Jayanta as well as the Jaina logicians are always engaged in refuting Dharmakīrti's views, and only occasionally refer to Dinnāga's doctrines. But from the comparison that we made in the first part of this paper it appears that Bhāmaha's views reflect chiefly the older *Nyāya* theories, such as those expounded by the *Vādaividhi* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya* or *Nyāyamukha*, from which texts he seems to differ in a few points only. The fact that he still quotes from *Vādaividhi* and ignores the nine *pakṣābhāsas* of Śaṅkarasvāmin

¹⁷ Cf. *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 478.

¹⁸ This must be the reading, and not *samādhayaḥ* of the printed text.

seems to indicate that he was nearer in time to Diñnāga than to Dharmakīrti. The verbal quotations that have been noted in connection with the definition of the two *pramāṇas*, *pratyakṣa* and specially of *dr̥ṣṭānta* prove beyond any doubt that he had direct acquaintance with Diñnāga's works, and that he was strictly dependent on them.

For all these reasons I think that the priority of Bhāmaha to Dharmakīrti must be considered as a well established fact, and not as a debatable hypothesis. His theories as a whole are essentially pre-Dharmakīrti and show but very little influence of the progress which took place in *Nyāya* after the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Whatever the religious creed of Bhāmaha might have been, there is no doubt that in his work we find a new proof of the great influence exercised by Diñnāga and his logic not only upon Buddhist thinkers, but upon Indian philosophy in general. Unfortunately we do not know very much about the philosophical and, more particularly, *Nyāya* literature of the time which separates Diñnāga from Dharmakīrti. But from the scattered information at our disposal, we may gather that the theories of Diñnāga were largely discussed and developed. This is what we can deduce from the commentary of K'wei-chi upon the *Nyāyapraveśa*, which sheds much light upon the evolution of logical theories after Diñnāga and shows that many doctrines which appear now in the works of Dharmakīrti had been discussed and formulated before him. And it seems to me that not only Buddhist authors were taking an active part in these discussions, but that thinkers belonging to other currents also contributed to them. Difference of opinion was always possible as regards the metaphysical and ontological points of view, but as regards *Nyāya*, and chiefly *parārthānumāna*, viz., syllogism and its laws, as applied to dialectical discussions on philosophical topics, there was a general agreement.¹⁹ *Prāśastapāda* continues views that had been already elaborated by Buddhist *Tarka-sāstras*. Śaṅkarasvāmin, whom we have no arguments either for identifying or not with the philosopher of the same name quoted by Kamalaśīla, cannot perhaps be considered, at least if we are to judge from his name, as a Buddhist. The *Mātharavṛtti*, as I hope to show in a forthcoming paper, expounds logical theories similar, and therefore chronologically near, to those of Śaṅkarasvāmin, and so does the Jaina *Pramāṇanirṇaya*.²⁰

Thus, we are confronted, it seems, with a general predominance of formal logic as elaborated by the *Tarka-sāstras* and Diñnāga in his fundamental works, which influenced all the *vāda-sāstras* of the time. This is a fact which is perhaps alluded to by Uddyotakara in his *maṅgalācaraṇa : kutārkikājñānaniṣṭhahetuh*. Unfortunately, except the *Nyāyapraveśa*, no other work of this kind has been preserved, though the names at least of some other great logicians have come down to us. One of these, for instance, is *Īśvarasena*, well known from Tibetan sources.²¹ He was the teacher of Dharmakīrti and he seems to have held particular views as regards the interpretation of Diñnāga's works, which were not accepted by his great disciple. But his works are lost : only some few fragments have come down to us.

Quotations from *Īśvarasena* are, in fact, to be found in the following Sanskrit texts :—

- (1) Fragment of a Buddhist *Nyāya-sāstra*, preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The references to *Īśvarasena* have been given by MM. Haraprasāda Śāstri as follows²² :—

- (a) *na tu yatheśvaraseno manyata upalabdhyabhāvamātram anupalabdhir iti*
 (b) *[u]palabdhyabhāvamātram anupalabdhim abhāvasya prasahya [corr. prasajya-]
 pratishedhātmanah pramāṇantarātvena gamikām icchanti Īśvarasenaprabhṛtayah.*

¹⁹ Practically no result is possible in dialectical debates if the opponents do not agree about the fundamental laws of the discussion itself.

²⁰ We must remember, in fact, that the logical classifications of *Nyāyapraveśa* are identical neither with Diñnāga's theories, nor with Dharmakīrti's. We must, therefore, deduce that they represent a particular moment in the evolution of logic between Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti.

²¹ Tārānātha, *History of Buddhism*, transl. by Schiefner, pp. 159, 176.

²² *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I, Buddhist MSS., p. 31.

In another fragment of a *Nyāya* treatise, which was kindly shown to me by His Holiness Śrī Hemarāja Śarmā, guru of His Highness the Mahārāja of Nepal, mention of him is also found :—

.....cānayati tattva. para.....vity abhiprāyeśvarasena evāparo 'bhipretah.

These documents are few and quite inadequate to give an idea of the main features of the system of Śvarasena ; but considering that they are the only thing that time has left,²³ they are not without value. They also belong to that period of great philosophical elaboration which took place between Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti, and of which Bhāmaha also has preserved some not insignificant traces.

BOOK-NOTICES.

CEYLON JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, Section G. Archaeology. Ethnology, etc., vol. I, pts. 1 to 4 ; vol. II, pt. 1 : edited by A. M. HOCART, Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon. London, Dulau & Co., 1925-28.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, vol. III, pt. 2 : edited by H. W. CODRINGTON and S. PARANAVITANA. Oxford University Press, 1929.

Scientific research in Ceylon has made a noteworthy advance in the last few years, thanks chiefly to the work of Messrs. H. W. Codrington, E. R. Ayrton and A. M. Hocart. The results are contained in a series of publications, including the above, the *Memoirs* of the Archaeological Department, Mr. Codrington's *Coins and Coinage of Ceylon* and his valuable *Short History of Ceylon*. The parts of the *Journal of Science* before us, besides the archaeological summaries, contain some striking articles by Mr. Hocart, e.g., on the Origin of the Stūpa, India and the Pacific, and the Indo-European Kinship System ; but perhaps the work of greatest value to which he has devoted his attention is the attempt to establish criteria by which the archaeological remains of Ceylon can be dated. Chronological data are peculiarly scanty in the epigraphical records of Ceylon, and the extant chronicles are also defective in this respect. By patient, methodical examination of the monuments, the materials employed and the methods of construction, the sculpture, balustrades, guardstones, 'moonstones,' etc., Mr. Hocart has been able to differentiate three main periods, which he calls (1) archaic, (2) classical and (3) archaistic. Though this nomenclature may not meet with universal approval, we must congratulate him upon the perseverance with which he has tackled this difficult subject and laid a reliable foundation, at least, for future work. He is being ably seconded on the epigraphical side by Mr. Parānavitana, who has also contributed a very interesting note on Mahāyānism in Ceylon.

The present part of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* contains readings of the texts, with translations and annotations, of the (1) Oruvala sannasa c.p. inscription, probably of the time of Parākrama Bāhu VIII, (2) the Badulla pillar inscription of about 942 A.D., and the Mannar Kacceri pillar inscription of about 900 A.D., the second of which contains matter of special interest in connexion with village organization, trading, fines and tolls, etc. The interpretation of many words and phrases in the latter inscriptions are admittedly yet doubtful.

C. E. A. W. O.

DU KUMARAPALAPRATIBODHA : Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Apabhraṃśa und der Erzählungs-Literatur der Jainas. Von Ludwig Alsdorf. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität. 2.) xii+227 pp. Hamburg : Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1928.

Regions visited long ago remain alluring to the memory ; and even he who will probably never be able to revisit them will sometimes think of them with a melancholic pleasure. Being some twenty years ago a pupil of Professor Jacobi the present writer made some little progress in the study of Jain narrative literature. And, though he will probably never find a real opportunity for resuming those researches, it is with a special pleasure that he studies the researches of other scholars upon this and cognate subjects.

Dr. Alsdorf, a pupil of Professor Schubring, one of the leading authorities on Jainism, has produced an extensive and solid work on the Kumārāpalapratibodha of Somaprabha, or rather on those parts of it which are written in Apabhraṃśa. Literary Apabhraṃśa—apart from smaller contributions chiefly by Fischel—has become

²³ References to him are to be found in the commentary to *Pramāṇavārttika* by Devendrabodhi.

known by two masterly publications of Professor Jacobi; and there is scarcely any doubt that there is still in existence an extensive literature in that interesting, if monotonous, idiom. Dr. Alsdorf has used the edition of the *Kumārāpālapratibodha* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. XIV. And, though he has not been able to avail himself of any manuscript materials, there can be no doubt that he has produced in the plurality of cases a sound and reliable text.

The Apabhraṃśa stanzas of the *Kumārāpālapratibodha*, some 250 in number, make up an allegoric tale called the *Jivamañḍikarāśasaṃlāpatāthā*, a tale of the famous saint Śthūlabhadra, a hymn on Pāriva, a small dogmatic text, four verses on the seasons, and 42 separate verses of different contents. Of all these, Dr. Alsdorf gives text and translation, as well as a list of words. In an extensive and well-written introduction he deals with his texts from a literary, grammatical and metrical point of view. And in five appendices we are able to study other texts dealing with the fortunes of Śthūlabhadra. The author, whose name we have probably not met with before, has produced an altogether learned, interesting, and excellent book.

Tempting though it be, we cannot here enter into details which would really lead too far. We shall only allow ourselves a few passing remarks which will at any rate prove that we have studied the work with attention and with profit.

On p. 112 (Śthūlabhadra, 102, 4-5) we read the following lines:—

*Kaṣaṇa-vannu uppayai nahi | bhañjai jai vi avīḍhu
taha vi durehahā reha na hu | pāvai gōvarakhīḍu.*

The text is undoubtedly in slight disorder, as the second half of the first line is untranslatable. In any case I suppose that we shall have to read *bhañjai* instead of *bhanjai*; unfortunately, however, I am completely unable to solve the riddle of the word *avīḍhu*. The rhyme proves it to be fairly correct—the sense must be something in the way of Skt. *amṛta* or *madhu*. The translation would run somewhat like this: 'the black-coloured dung-beetle, even though he flies up to the sky and eats (honey?) will not attain the lustre of the bees.' The word *kaṣāḍīya*, 'a porter' (p. 151), may possibly stand in some relation to (Skt.) *kaṣaṇa* in one of its different senses. For *jōyai paṣyati* we miss a reference to Hemacandra's grammar, iv, 332, with Pischel's note, and the *Prakṛitgramatik*, p. 173, § 248. *Jhōṅga-* (p. 159) seems to mean a sort of ghost; it would not be quite impossible to derive it from *dyotis*, 'light,' as I believe to have proved long ago that glow-worms, etc., are at times looked upon as ghostly apparitions, cp. *Kleine Beitr. z. indoiranischen Mythologie*, p. 1 f. (1911). The curious word *bhullaya*, quoted on p. 174, does not simply mean *viaticum*; Hemacandra explains

it by *prabandhaprayatnam pāthegam* (Dr. Alsdorf's quotation is not quite exact), and it is also explained by *adhikāri sambalam*. But I fail to make out the exact sense underlying these explanations.

We take leave of Dr. Alsdorf with expressions of gratitude for his able and interesting book, and hope soon to meet with new contributions from his pen.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,

No. 41. Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley, by RAI BAHADUR RAMPRASAD CHANDA, B.A. 13 × 10 in., pp. 40, with 2 plates. Calcutta, 1929.

In seeking to find a link between the Vedic traditions and the chalcolithic civilization of the Indus basin, as disclosed from the remains found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, Mr. Chanda propounds his views upon certain subjects, which, though of wide interest, hardly fall within the scope of archaeology. For example, he would abandon what he calls the "orthodox view," that the upper Indus valley was wrested from Dāsas and Dasyus by a vigorous race of Aryan immigrants, and suggest, as better fitting the evidence, that "the Aryans, mainly represented by the Rishi clans, came to seek their fortunes in small numbers more or less as missionaries of the cults of Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and other gods of nature and settled in peace under the protection of the native rulers who readily appreciated their great merit as sorcerers and employed them to secure the assistance of the Aryan gods." We must point out, however, that Indian tradition would seem clearly to indicate that the earliest *ṛsis* were established in the land before the so-called Aryan immigration. He would go further, and recognize in the warrior clans—the Bharatas, Pūrus, Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus, etc., of the Rig Veda—the representatives of the ruling class of the indigenous chalcolithic population. Here again we are up against a mass of Indian tradition. Rather than attribute the rigidity of caste to the sharp distinction between the Arya and the Śūdra, he prefers to regard it as due to the wide gulf that separated the cultures of the "proto-Brahmans and the proto-Kshatriyas"—terms that seem to call for some definition. He proceeds to develop his view of a fundamental difference in the mentality of the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya of ancient India by citing evidence to show that their attitude towards *puruṣamedha* and *anumarāya* were antagonistic. The theory elaborated by him, that certain statuettes found at Mohenjo-daro represent Yatis of the proto-historic and prehistoric Indus valley civilization seems somewhat premature. We feel, in fact, that the author attempts in this short *Memoir* to solve too many difficult problems, though his views, if not convincing, are in many respects suggestive.

C. E. A. W. O.

PINDARI.

By PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D., UPSALA.

OF the nefarious dealings of the Pindaris, of the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated, during their raids, upon the peaceful population of Central India, and of their rapid and complete extinction through the splendid activity of the Marquess of Hastings, not a word need be said here. They are all too well known to every reader of the *Indian Antiquary*. But we might allow ourselves here a few words upon the etymology of the word *pindārī*, a problem that does not seem so far to have been satisfactorily settled.¹

Not a few etymologies of this word have been suggested, which may be shortly mentioned here as far as they have become known to the present writer.

Leaving aside Prinsep's fanciful connection² of *pindārī* with *Pandour*, we notice that Sir John Malcolm³ suggested a derivation from Mar. *peṇḍhā*, meaning 'a drink (for cattle and men) prepared from *jondhālā* (*Holcus sorghum*, L. or *Sorghum vulgare*, Pers.) by steeping it and causing it to ferment; also a drink (for cattle) prepared from *bhātēṇa*, or rice straw' (Molesworth). And Malcolm's suggestion was confirmed by Karim Khān as well as by other Pindaris. Wilson⁴ again thought of another *peṇḍhā* which, according to Molesworth, means 'rice-straw; a bundle of rice-straw; a load or bundle of three *ghāṭa* or rolls of rice-straw'; from this *peṇḍhā* + *hārā*, 'taking' or 'fetching,' would be formed an apt name for those hangers-on to an army whose chief business it was to collect forage.

However plausible such conjectures may at first seem to be, they do not carry much conviction and may nowadays quietly be left aside. Nor can any great probability be ascribed to the etymology suggested by Sir Henry Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 711 b., according to which the word ought to be connected with Hindi *pīnd-parnā* and Mar. *piṇḍā-basneṇ*, both of which mean 'to follow, to stick closely to.'⁵ Formal difficulties are in the way of such a derivation; nor is such a suggestion strongly convincing from a semasiological point of view. A suggestion by Shakespear⁶ may conveniently be passed over in silence. And another one proposed by Balfour⁷ apparently upon older authority, and which implies a relationship between *pinḍārī* and *Bedar*, has been aptly refuted by Irvine. However, his own derivation—from *Pāṇḍhār*, a place situated in the neighbourhood of Burhānpur—carries, just as little conviction as the others. First of all, Irvine has scarcely succeeded in making it probable that the Pindaris did really originate from the place in question; and further the real name is undoubtedly *pindārī* and nothing else, which cannot well be brought to tally with *Pāṇḍhār*, whatever be the origin of that somewhat obscure name.

Thus, though there is no lack of more or less ingenious explanations of the word, we are left completely in the dark as regards its real origin.

Curiously enough no one, as far as I am aware, has noted the fact that traces of the word are to be found in Sanskrit as well as in Prākṛit texts. The Marāṭhī forms of the word recorded by Molesworth are the following: *peṇḍhārā*, 'a body of Pindaries, also that people considered collectively'; *peṇḍhāra*, 'the depredations of these marauders,' and *peṇḍhārī* or *peṇḍhārakārī*, 'a marauder, a Pindari.' But there is no doubt that this form is of later

¹ On the etymology of this word cp. *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 711 f.; Irvine, *IA.*, xxii. (1900), 140 f., Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, iv, 388 f., together with the literature quoted in these passages.

² Cp. *History of Political and Military Transactions*, i, 37 n.

³ Cp. *Central India*, 2nd ed., I, 433.

⁴ Cp. *Glossary of Indian Terms*, p. 314.

⁵ These words may possibly be connected with *peṇḍavai* = *praṣṭhāpayati* mentioned by Īemacandra, iv, 37.

⁶ Cp. *Hindustani and English Dictionary*, col. 555.

⁷ Cp. *Cyclopaedia of India* (ed. 1885), iii, 218.

origin, the aspiration (*dh*) being of secondary nature⁸; and thus a form *pendāri* or *piṇḍāri* would be the original one. And for this form we really find suitable connection in 'Sanskrit' and Prākṛit. In the *Kaṭṭiḷya*, ed. Jolly, p. 76, 1, we find a word *piṇḍāraka*, which probably means 'buffalo-herd.'

Hemacandra, *Anekārthasaṃgraha*, iii, 571 (ed. Zachariæ), tells us as follows :

. *piṇḍāro bhikṣuke drume* |
mahiṣipālake kṣepe ||

i.e., '*piṇḍāra* means a beggar, a certain tree (probably *Flacourtia sapida*, Roxb.), a buffalo-herd,⁹ and an opprobrious denomination.'¹⁰ The second meaning (a certain tree), of course, has got nothing to do with the others; and though it is quite possible, it may be doubtful whether they have all been drawn from a common source. But there is scarcely any doubt that the most important meaning of the word, and the one upon which we have to fix our attention is that of 'buffalo-herd.' For the same Hemacandra in his *Deśināmamālā*, 6, 58, has preserved the gloss : *peṇḍāro gopaḥ* | *peṇḍāro mahiṣipāla iti Devarājaḥ* || i.e., '*peṇḍāra* means cowherd; *p.* means buffalo-herd according to Devarāja.' This Devarāja is mentioned by Hemacandra as an authority on lexicography also in 6, 72 and 8, 17, and according to Bhuvanapāla he is the author of certain stanzas in Hāla's *Saptasatī*.¹¹ As a matter of fact our word occurs also in a verse preserved in one of the numerous versions of that anthology and bearing the number 731.¹²

urahāriṇī sāmaam
piṇḍāre na kaḥaṃ kuṇantammi |
navarahuṇī sarosam
sarva ccā vacchaṃ mukkā ||

'Look! when the buffalo-herd¹³ starts talking with the maid, the young mistress of the house out of jealousy lets loose all the calves.'

The commentary here seems to prefer the reading *peṇḍāra* to the *piṇḍāra* of the text, which certainly makes no great difference.

Considering these passages from different authors there can be no doubt at all that there exists a Prākṛit word *piṇḍāra*, *peṇḍāra*—which, like innumerable others, has found its way also into Sanskrit works—with the sense of 'buffalo-herd.' In this connection it is certainly important to notice that the present-day Pindaris, of which there seem to exist some 10,000 in all, are professionally 'herdsmen and tenders of buffaloes.'¹⁴ For it cannot well be doubted that in the *piṇḍāra*, *peṇḍāra*, testified to by various lexicographers—of whom Devarāja must be previous to Hemacandra, i.e., at least belong to the tenth or eleventh century—by Kaṭṭiḷya and by a stanza in the *Saptasatī*, must be the source of the name 'Pindari' which during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries won for itself such a sinister celebrity.

⁸ Such second *y* aspirate does not seem to be altogether uncommon in Mārāṭhi, judging from materials which I have gathered quite at random from Professor Jules Bloch's excellent work *La formation de la langue Marathe*. Thus, e.g., *khāpar* : Skt. *karpura* (the explanation given by Professor Bloch, p. 319, seems to me not quite correct); *khujā* : Skt. *kubja*; *khonkaḍ* : Skt. *karkata*; *caḍhacem* : Pkt. *caḍai*; *niḍhāl*, besides *niḍāl*; *bābhāl*, besides *bābāl*, etc. (Bloch, l.c., p. 375); *bhar* (<*b(h)aira-); Skt. *badara*; *phophal*, besides *pophal* (cp. *Orientalist. Lit. Zeit.* 1930, col. 176; *ramdhā* besides *rumdhā*, etc., and above all *peṇḍhi*, 'a bundle of grass, a sheaf of corn,' besides *peṇḍa*, 'the refuse of seeds or nuts from which the oil has been extracted, oil-cake,' etc., *peṇḍā* 'a load of fresh loppings or green grass; rice straw; lumps of moist cow dung,' etc.—all these derived from Skt. *piṇḍa*. (cp. also *peṇḍa* = *piṇḍa*, Hemacandra, i, 85).

⁹ On this the commentator (Mahendra) remarks : *mahiṣidohavāidaigdhyaṃ piṇḍāre na tu piṇḍite* | which is not quite clear to me.

¹⁰ The *Medinikosa* and the *Hārāvati* (which are unfortunately inaccessible to me here), also give *bhikṣu* and *mahiṣipāla* as meanings of *piṇḍāra* (cp. the *Petersburg Wb.*, s.v.).

¹¹ Cp. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, pp. 10, 36, 39.

¹² Cp. Weber, *Das Saptasatakam des Hāla*, p. 393 f.

¹³ Weber, upon the authority of the *Medinikosa*, translates 'cowherd'; following the *Anekārthasaṃgraha* and Devarāja I venture to prefer 'buffalo-herd.'

¹⁴ Cp. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, iv, 389.

As for the further relationship of this word *piṇḍāra*, *peṇḍāra*, I have nothing definite to suggest. However, I should like to point once more to the *Deśināmamālā*, where in 6, 80 we read: *peḍḍā . . . mahiṣi . . . kecī peḍḍāśabdena mahiṣam āhuḥ* || Thus there seems to have existed a word *peḍḍā*, 'buffalo, she-buffalo'; and an interchange between *peḍḍā*- and *peṇḍā*- (*piṇḍā*-) would be nothing unheard of within the Prākṛits. Possible as it would thus be to suggest that *piṇḍāra*, *peṇḍāra* were in some way connected with this name of the 'buffalo,' we shall prefer to make no definite assertions. And we shall rest content to think that the riddle of the name of the Pindaris has perhaps been solved in a very simple way.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE ŚVETĀMBARA AND DIGAMBARA SECTS.

By KAMTA PRASAD JAIN, M.R.A.S.

IN the September 1929 issue of the *Indian Antiquary* Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, a learned Śvetāmbara Jain, has expressed his ideas on the two sects of the Jains, and contends for the greater antiquity of the Śvetāmbara sect as compared with the Digambaras. But, unfortunately, he has not supported his opinions with reliable references, and they hardly represent the true view of the facts. His conclusions, therefore, cannot be taken as the last word of "unbiased research" on the point, and it becomes necessary to examine them in the light of the historical facts. He seems to lay great stress on the following points to prove the antiquity of the Śvetāmbara sect:—

1. That the "idea of nudity or remote antiquity and the idea of the dressed or a later period" is not tenable, because, taking the period of Vedas, hardly any Prākṛit literature is found existing before the Vedas, although the Prākṛit, or natural language, is taken to be older than the Sanskrit, or corrected language. And because the Śvetāmbara Jains hold that all the predecessors of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara wore clothes, the idea of nudity was preached by the last Tīrthaṅkara for the first time.

2. That the ancient Jain images bear no trace of any particular sect, but belong to the undivided Jain Saṅgha. Besides this, a good number of such images, in the sitting posture, bear no trace of nudity.

3. That the inferior status assigned to woman by the Digambara sect, in denying her the possibility of full spiritual emancipation, is of later origin, "for, such narrow dogmas had their birth in times when a strong reaction had already set in against the broad-minded democratic religion of Buddha and Mahāvīra"

4. That those who advocated the most conservative ideas became known as the Digambaras, "and in order to establish the new theory, these Digambaras had to discard the whole of the then existing Jain canons," which are respected and recognised by the Śvetāmbara sect alone, who maintain the same old principles as those taught by Mahāvīra.

5. That the Mathurā antiquities speak for the priority of the Śvetāmbara sect.

6. And that Digambaras hold the conservative idea, contrary to the Śvetāmbaras, that only a Digambara Jain holding Digambara doctrines can attain *nirvāṇa*, which is against the original teaching of Mahāvīra. It is owing to this conservatism that they did not flourish during the Muhammadan period.

1. Now let us examine these points one by one. As for the first point, we should remember that it was not only in the times of Mahāvīra that nudity was practised in the country, but, on the contrary, it was treated with great reverence before Mahāvīra¹ and in the Vedic period itself. "The wind girdled Bachhantes," the *Munayo Vātavaśāṇās*, are mentioned in the *Rik-Saṁhitā* (X, 136-2) and the learned Prof. Albrecht Weber regarded this as showing the greater antiquity of the Digambaras, whom he also took as referred to in the well-known accounts of the Indian 'Gymnosophists' of the time of Alexander the Great.²

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LX, p. 162.

² *Ibid.*, vol. XXX, p. 280.

Besides, it is worthy of note that in almost all the Brahmanical Sanskrit literature which notice the Jains, Jain monks are designated as *naked* recluses.³ In the ancient and authentic literature of the Buddhists, too, the Jains (Niganthas) are described as *naked* monks.⁴ These notices refer not only to the Nigantha Samanas of the order of Mahāvira; but indirectly they describe the pre-Mahāvira Nigantha Samanas as naked monks as well. For it is said in the *Mahāvagga* (I, 70, 3)⁵ that—

“At that time the Bhikkus conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on persons that had neither alms-bowl nor robes. They went out for alms naked and (received alms) with their hands. People were annoyed, murmured and became angry, saying ‘Like the Tittthiyas, etc.’”

These Tittthiyas were, no doubt, the non-Buddhist monks belonging to older orders than those of Mahāvira and Buddha.⁶ The description of them, as given above, coincides exactly with that of a Digambara Jain monk, as described in their *śāstras*. Hence there is little doubt about their being the naked monks of the school of Lord Pārśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvira. Moreover, I am tempted to believe the Digambara *śāstras* on the ground that their accounts are in agreement with those references in the Buddhist Tripitaka and other secular literature which mention the Jains.⁷ For instance, the rules of conduct for the Śramanas (Jain monks) given in the *Kassapa-Sihanāda Sutta* coincide to a word with those given in the Digambara Jain literature for their monks, and they mention the very first rule of the Jain *muni*, which requires him to go about naked.⁸

Thus the literary evidence would indicate that the nakedness of the Jain monks was in accordance with the original practice, and not a subsequent innovation started by Mahāvira. The latter idea, moreover, is against the tradition of the Śvetāmbara Jains themselves; for, it is said in their authentic and canonical books that Lord Rīśabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, also passed his life as a saint in a state of nudity.⁹ This means that the practice of nudity was first introduced in the Jain Church by Lord Rīśabhadeva. This is exactly what the Digambaras say. But they do not say that along with the discarding of clothes the first Tīrthaṅkara also allowed the Jain saints to put them on. He, no doubt, did allow the Kṣullaka to wear one or even two garments, but the Kṣullakas are only householders observing the vows, and are called *Ekaśātaka* in the Digambara *śāstras*.¹⁰ This division of the Digambaras is supported by the Buddhist references, since in them, too, the clothed Nirgranthas are styled *Sāvaka gihī odāta vasaṇā*¹¹ and *Nigantha ekaśātaka*.¹² We find clear mention of the naked Jain *munis* and clothed Jain *sāvakas* in the Buddhist literature, and therefore the mere mention of the naked *munis* also in the Śvetāmbara books cannot justify the division of the Jain *munis*—naked and clothed—as they have propagated.

Therefore it is clear that the practice of observing nudity stands for remote antiquity.

³ *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Bk. 3, ch. 18, vs. 2-10; *Vedānta Sūtras*, II, 2, 33-36; *Dakṣa-kumāra-carita*, 2; *Vardhamānīra-Saṁhitā*, 19-61 and 45-58; *Mahābhārata*, 3, 26-27; *Rāmāyaṇa Bālakāṇḍa Bhāṣya* Tīk, 14, 22; and *Bhāgavata*, 5, 4, 5, 6.

⁴ *Jātakamālā*, S.B.E., vol. I, p. 145; *Viśākṣavāṭṭhā-dhamma-paṭṭha-Kathā*, P.T.S., vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 384; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 3, p. 14; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 165; *Mahāvagga*, 8, 15; 38; *Cullavagga*, 8, 28, 3; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, 2, 3, 10, 7, etc.

⁵ *Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., vol. XIII, p. 223. I have established this theory fairly well in my Hindi book, *Bhagavadna Mahāvira aur Mahātmā Buddha*, which ought to be consulted.

⁶ *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 11-12.

⁷ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 698-710.

⁸ *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, Anno III, 1927, pp. 4-8; and *The Jaina Hostel Magazine*, VI, No. 2, pp. 8-21.

⁹ *Kalpa Sūtra*, J.S., SBE., Pt. I, p. 285.

¹⁰ त्यक्तभारस्य सद्वृष्टेः प्रशतस्य गृहीशिनः । प्राग्दीक्षो पापकात्कालदेकघाटकधारिणः ॥ १८ ॥ २५८ ॥ आदिपुराण

¹¹ *Dīgha Nikāya*, P.T.S., vol. III, pp. 117-118.

¹² *Anguttara Nikāya*, vol. III, p. 383.

As to the existence of a Prākṛit literature prior to the Vedic Sanskrit, nothing can safely be said in regard to this, since no literature of that period is available. Still we learn from scholars that there assuredly was a different and older literature existing besides the Vedas.¹³ But the fact does not alter our position in the least.

2. The second point bears reference to the ancient Jain images. Only certain of the images found at Mathurā and at Khandagiri-Udayagiri (Orissa) can safely be taken as dating from before the Christian era; and these are found to be nude.¹⁴ Those Jain images of Mathurā, on which references are made to the *gacchas*, *gaṇas*, etc., as found in the Śvetāmbara *Kalpasūtra*, are also nude, like those found at the Digambara Jain temple of that place.¹⁵ This leaves no shadow of doubt as to the ancient shape of the Jain images. They of course were naked, and it was not the case with them that they should neither bear any sign of robes or of nudity as the Śvetāmbaras say.¹⁶ As to the images in the sitting posture, which bear no sign of the male organ, no particular stress can be laid upon them, since even to this day many a Digambara Jain image is found so fashioned. The absence of the male organ seems to be due to the difficulty felt by the sculptor in chiselling it out, and reliance cannot be placed on this evidence. On the contrary, if any of them had traces of drapery, the point would surely have been indisputable. In the existent conditions the argument does not support the Śvetāmbara views, but is consonant with the Digambara one.

3. As to the third point, it is regrettable that the learned writer here, too, has been led into error and confusion. For the dogma which assigns an inferior status to women in the religious Order is not of late origin, when a strong reaction had already set in against the broad-minded democratic religion of Buddha and Mahāvira. The 'democratic' Buddha was himself reluctant to give a place to women in his Bhikkū Saṅgha; and when such a thing was forced upon him, he expressed regret for it and said that the life of the Saṅgha had been shortened. The Buddhists, like the Digambaras, hold that only a man can become a Buddha.¹⁷ And in regard to Mahāvira, the Śvetāmbara themselves make him say, "Women were known as the causes of all sinful acts."¹⁸ In the Vedas we read that boys were welcomed (RV., iii, 16, 5) and girls cursed (AV., viii, 6, 25). And the extremity is reached when it is said in the *Śatapatha Brāh.* (iv, 4, 2, 13) that (women) own neither themselves nor an inheritance. (नारदनश्चतेश्च न दायस्व.) Everywhere their inferiority is manifest in these works.¹⁹ Therefore it is not safe to accept the verdict that the inferiority assigned to women is of later origin; and so the point does not affect Digambara antiquity in the least.

4. It is painful to read the fourth point, unsupported as it is by any argument that may be deemed to justify it. The Digambaras had no need of establishing the new theory, since they remained adherents of the old ideas. The real Jain canon has been lost owing to the shortness of memory of the Rishis and the tradition now receives clear support from the ancient inscription of the Jain emperor Khāravela.²⁰ Hence the extant *Āṅga-granthas* of the Śvetāmbaras cannot be taken as the very original ones. As Prof. A. Berriedale Keith says:—

"The language of the Jain canon [Śvetāmbara Jain *Āṅgas*] is far later than the time of the Nandas, and, if the language could be changed, then the content also was far from secure; indeed Jain tradition reveals its early losses, and we have no right to hold that the present canon in substance or detail goes back to the fourth century B.C."²¹

¹³ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 307-309.

¹⁴ Smith, *Jaina and other Antiquities of Mathurā, and Hindī Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Jaina Antiquities*.

¹⁵ Smith, *Jain. Antiq. Mathurā*, p. 24.

¹⁶ पृथिवि जिणपणिमार्गा न गिणत्तं देव न वि चपल्लवओ । तेणं नागोटणं मेओ उभयसि संभूओ ॥

¹⁷ Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 101-106.

प्रवचनपरीक्षा.

¹⁸ *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, JS., SBE., pt. I, p. 41.

¹⁹ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 292.

²⁰ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 236 f.

²¹ *Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume*, p. 21.

5. The Mathurā antiquities are only about a century older than the date on which the Jain Saṅgha divided into two sects, and they rightly show signs of the Śvetāmbara origin at the time. The inscription mentioning the Śvetāmbara *gaṇas*, etc., inscribed on the Digambara or naked images, bears testimony to this fact and shows that the Śvetāmbaras were the dissenters from the original Saṅgha and took pains to connect themselves with hoary antiquity. The Mathurā antiquities show the topsy-turvy condition of the Jain Saṅgha at the time, which was but natural for a Saṅgha that divided just within a hundred years of their date. Hence they do not carry the age of the Śvetāmbara sect beyond the first century B.C. But the mention of the loss of the Jain canon, in conformity with the Digambaras' belief, is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of the second century B.C. The facts that only naked images were installed at that time and that these naked images are under the exclusive management of the Digambara sect, prove the greater antiquity of the Digambaras. And the coincidence of the rules of conduct of the Jain *munis*, as laid down in the Digambara *sāstras*, with those given in the Buddhist literature takes us back directly to the fourth century B.C. at the very least.²²

6. The Digambara *sāstras* do not plead such conservatism as would go against the very teaching of Lord Mahāvira. Their earliest Ācārya, Śrī Kuṇḍakūṇḍa, frankly says that "Jinendra preached the doctrine, the root of which is Right Faith, to all the followers": it is not reserved for any particular sect or class of man.²³ But the present conservatism of the Digambaras, which took root during the medieval period, when Pauranic Hinduism held sway in India, and particularly in South India, where the Digambaras flourished, is a foreign exotic. Our Śvetāmbara brethren, too, are not wanting in such a conservatism to a degree. And it is far from true that Digambara Jains did not flourish at all during the Muhammadan period. The pages of history of these times in South India and the enormous collection of Jain images in the Digambara temples, which were consecrated during that period, tell a very different tale. If the Digambaras were not a flourishing community like the Śvetāmbaras under the Muhammadan rule, would it have been possible for Digambara pontiffs to approach the Muhammadan sovereigns, like 'Alāu'd-dīn and Aurangzeb, and preach to them the Jain doctrines?²⁴ If the Digambaras were a dead body, how happened it that a learned scholar (*pāṇḍita*) like Nainsukhadāsji forsook the Śvetāmbara creed and adopted the Digambara faith?²⁵

In short, we should not forget that facts are facts and the history of any country or class should not be whitewashed. It is desirable that scholars studying and solving the vexed question about the origin of the two sects should not be misled, and should keep in mind what the non-Jain sources have to say in this respect.

²² *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 698-710.

²³ 'देसनमूलो धर्मो उदयतो जिनदेहि सिरसाणि.'

²⁴ *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pt. II, p. 132.

²⁵ *Jaina-Jagat*, vol. II.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PALLAVAS.

By MUDALIYAR C. RASANAYAGAM.

IN volume LII (pp. 77-80) of the *Indian Antiquary*, an article entitled "The Origin of the Pallavas" was published over my name, and in it a theory was put forward that the progenitor of the Pallava dynasty was Tonḍaimān Ilam Tirayan, the son of a Chōla king born of a *liaison* with a Nāga princess of Manipallavam, and that the name "Pallava" given to the dynasty was a matronymic indicating the origin of his mother. Professor S. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar, in his *Lectures on South Indian History*, published a short time afterwards, and in his valuable paper on "The Origin and the Early History of the Pallavas of Kānchi," which appeared in the *Journal of Indian History* (vol. II, pt. 1) for Nov. 1922, held that they were native to South India and not a dynasty of foreigners. Further, on the grounds that their earliest charters were in Prākṛit and Sanskrit and not in Tamil, and that their culture was Āryan and Brāhmanic and not Dravidian, he suggested that they were in all probability a family of Nāga feudatories of the Śātavāhanas of the Dekkhan. Sir Richard Temple, while referring to the two theories in his paper entitled "A Sketch of South Indian Culture" published in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. LIII, p. 26), stated that "if the Professor's conclusions are to be accepted, Mr. Rasanayagam's argument is ruled out. However, in its favour it may be said that the acceptance of purely Indian soil as the original home of the Pallavas does not account for their name, the Sprout, which is what Mr. Rasanayagam aims at explaining. The question then is not even yet finally settled, though the foreign Pahlava origin of the Pallavas may now be definitely regarded as inadmissible."

In Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (4th edition, revised by the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., and published in 1924), Mr. Edwardes, in commenting on my theory (p. 49), stated that the possible origin of the Pallavas, as suggested by ancient Tamil poetry, did not appear to conflict with known facts and might perhaps offer an additional reason for the enmity which unquestionably existed between the Pallavas and the Tamil kingdoms. Being, however, reluctant to set aside the theory of so great a scholar and historian as Professor S. K. Aiyangar, he added that the historical Pallavas were feudatories of the Śātavāhanas of the Deccan and belonged to the Nāga family.

Mr. R. Gopalan, the latest writer on the Pallavas in his *History of the Pallavas of Kānchi*, edited with an Introduction by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, and published in 1928, while reviewing all the theories propounded on the origin of the Pallavas, seems to favour the view of the learned Professor that the Pallavas must have come down from the north. The difficulties that make it impossible for him to accept my view are said to be these:—

(1) that the inscriptions do not mention the Chōla-Nāga origin or even the name of Tonḍaimān Ilam Tirayan as the earliest member of the dynasty; but that on the other hand the Pallava kings described themselves as belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, and as performers of Āryan sacrifices;

(2) that their earliest charters are in Prākṛit and Sanskrit and never in the Tamil language; and

(3) that the early Pallava kings were hostile to the Tamil rulers such as the Chōlas and the Pāṇdyas.

These objections seem to have been put forward only for the sake of argument, for Mr. Gopalan in another part of the book (p. 160) unwillingly expresses his belief that Ilam Tirayan did belong to the Pallava dynasty, by stating that "Tirumāḷisai was a contemporary of one of the Pallava kings, perhaps Tonḍaimān Ilam Tirayan." Further, these objections presuppose that the early Pallava rulers were necessarily either Tamils or patrons of the Tamil language; but the mere fact that the progenitor of the dynasty, Tonḍaimān Ilam Tirayan, was a patron of the Tamil language is not enough to sustain any such assumption.

If the Pallava inscriptions had mentioned the actual origin of the dynasty, there would have been no need now to search for its beginnings and its progenitors. The early Prākṛit

and Sanskrit charters and the Brāhmanic culture that is now inferred from them, do not negative the Chōla-Nāga origin. One single ruling family could not have introduced that culture to an alien people in a comparatively large area. As for the language of the inscriptions, it would most naturally have been the language or dialect prevalent in the district in which the inscriptions were set up, or else the language which influenced the literature of the period. Whatever it was, it certainly would not have been a foreign language brought in by the earliest member of a ruling dynasty, and understood only by himself and his few followers.

The absence of certain positive statements in inscriptions and literature should not be taken as an argument to prove a negative. It is quite probable, and the known facts do not make it an impossibility, that the early descendants of Ilam Tirayan, or even Ilam Tirayan himself, married among one or other of the northern dynasties, such as the Chuṭu Nāgas, the Śātavāhanas or the Kadambas, as it would have been extremely difficult for Ilam Tirayan to obtain brides from among the haughty and exclusive Tamil dynasties on account of the taint of illegitimacy in his blood. The statement in the Vēlūrpālayam plates that the earliest Pallava 'acquired the emblems of sovereignty on marrying the daughter of the Lord of the Serpents' is either a reference to the parents of Ilam Tirayan or to an alliance contracted by Ilam Tirayan himself with the Chuṭu Nāgas and the acquisition of the northern dominions of the Pallava kingdom through such an alliance. The early Pallava rulers, therefore, may have adopted a culture in keeping with the alliances made by them. The dialect of the earliest inscriptions in Ceylon was Prākṛit, although the rulers were Nāgas and Kalingas; and some of the later non-Sinhalese rulers issued their charters in Sinhalese, although they wrote their own signatures in Grantha or Tamil. The diffusion through the Pallavas of some elements of Brāhmanic culture in the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms can be easily traced. The Grantha characters displaced the Vaṭṭeḷuttu of the Tamils first in the Chōla, and then in the Pāṇḍya country, and such influence came through the Pallavas. If the culture came from the north, it is not very essential that the dynasty of kings who readily accepted that culture should also have come from the north.

Even before the time of Ilam Tirayan, Kāñci had become a stronghold of Buddhism and Jainism. The different modes of worship in the country seem to have been considered by the people as equally true and by the rulers as equally useful. This toleration was the means of producing not only complete religious freedom, but also political concord between the inhabitants and the rulers. For a Hindu king to see his son converted to Buddhism or Jainism was not an infrequent phenomenon. The Pāli and Sanskrit literature ushered in by the Buddhists and Jains and the influence of Vedic Brāhmins made such a strong combination as to change the outlook of the Kāñci rulers within a very short time. Hindu religious intolerance began at a much later period with the advent of the Saivite Saints and the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs.

Prākṛit records belong to the third and fourth centuries A.D. If Ilam Tirayan came to the throne in the third quarter of the second century A.D., if he and his successors came under the influence of Brāhmanic culture, and if the Kāñci kings brought under their sway the territory below the river Kṛṣṇā, which was under the Āndhra rule till about the first quarter of the third century, it would be only natural to find Prākṛit charters in that territory. And the statement in the Allahabad pillar inscription, that the said territory was under the rule of Viṣṇugopa then, becomes quite intelligible. Those charters would have been, in all probability, issued in imitation of the charters already issued by Āndhra kings and their chieftains.

If it be admitted that the Maidavōlu and Hirahadagalli plates, the earliest of the Prākṛit records, were issued by Śivaskandavarman, who preceded Viṣṇugopa by four reigns, then it is clear that the kings of Kāñci had, by the middle of the third century A.D., come under the influence of northern culture; for these charters recorded grants to temples and Brāhmins.

The decadence of the Tamil language in Tondaimaṇḍalam after Ilam Tirayan and the failure of his successors to extend their patronage to Tamil literature do not necessarily mean that the Pallava kings of Kāñci came from the north. It was owing to fresh interests

and a change of outlook that the kings of Kāñci, during this obscure period, appear to have neglected Tamil literature. They seem to have actively participated in the spread of the culture in which they were then steeped. The presence of Sanskrit poets in the court at Kāñci proves no more than an interest in the culture that these poets represented, and it is not valid to argue from that that the kings were Sanskrit-speaking men from the north. On the other hand, the kings of the East did not at any time discriminate in the matter of the language of the poets whom they encouraged at their courts. Kamban, the Tamil poet, was welcomed and honoured by Rudra I, the king of Waraṅgal, and a Tamil astrological work called *Sarajoti Mālai* received its imprimatur in the court of Parākrama Bāhu, the Sinhalese king of Dambadeniya. The decadence of Tamil literature synchronised with the rise of the Pallava power, and hence the absence of Tamil poets in the court of Kāñci.

The fact that the members of the ruling dynasty of Kāñci were not well-disposed towards their neighbours, the Chōlas, and that within a short time they became the over-lords of the Chōla kingdom, can be easily inferred from the total absence of any mention of Kāñci kings in Tamil literature and from the disappearance of the Chōlas as powerful rulers after the second or the third century A.D.

The enmity of the early Pallavas towards the Tamil kings is not at all surprising and is no argument to disprove my theory. When we know that members of the same branch of a family often fall out in the deadly struggle for power and glory, it is impossible to expect members of two different branches—and one a bastard line—to maintain cordial relations for any length of time. The futility of this objection was foreseen by Mr. S. M. Edwardes when he stated that the origin of the Pallavas might perhaps offer an additional reason for the enmity which unquestionably existed between the Pallavas and the Tamil kingdoms. The pure branch of the Chōlas was cut off within a very short time, and the authority of the Pallavas extended over that kingdom, too, almost to the end of the ninth century.

If the earliest Tirayar of Kāñci were patrons of Tamil literature and the later Pallavas of Sanskrit, it is not necessary to premise a change of dynasty in order to explain the decay of Tamil and the rise of Sanskrit. It is well known that this depended solely on the influence wielded by the Brāhman ministers, officers and poets who thronged the court. Did not some of the later Pallava kings come under the influence of Tamil ministers? and did they not encourage Tamil men of letters and cause inscriptions to be set up in Tamil? Are we, therefore, to infer that these kings were members of a different dynasty?

There was nothing to prevent the Pallava Tirayar who ruled over Kāñci from the third quarter of the second century to the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. from manufacturing a *gotra* genealogy and calling themselves Pallavas as they slowly rose to power and sovereignty. The fact that the name 'Tonḍaimān' is identical with 'Pallava,' as admitted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and as seen from the names of several chiefs and generals who flourished under the later Pallavas and the Chōlas, and that Ilam Tirayan was the earliest Tonḍaimān, shows that the earliest kings of Kāñci were called 'Pallava Tirayar,' to distinguish them from Tirayar who hailed from other countries. Merely because the earliest kings of Kāñci were called Tirayar in Tamil literature, and the later kings called themselves Pallavas in their charters, it does not follow that the Pallavas belonged to a different dynasty to the Tonḍaimāns who were called Tirayar. Viṣṇugopa of Kāñci was not described either as a Tirayan or as a Pallava in the Allahabad pillar inscription, whereas Śivaskandavarman, who was a king of Kāñci before Viṣṇugopa, is called a Pallava in the Maidavōlu plates. It does not, therefore, negative the fact that Viṣṇugopa was a Pallava.

If the dynasty of Ilam Tirayan continued to rule at Kāñci, Bappadeva, the father of Śivaskandavarman, and the earliest Pallava king to be mentioned in the charters, must have been the son or grandson of Ilam Tirayan. Had the dynasty not continued, and had another dynasty supervened, it must have been immediately after Ilam Tirayan's death. If Bappadeva

was the actual name of the first of the line, he could have been nothing more than an obscure chieftain; and his son would not have dared, during the lifetime of his father, to manufacture a name and a *gotra* for the family and to have it published in the very neighbourhood in which the father had risen to his petty eminence. Some generations, at least, must have expired before the family thought of propping up their newly acquired kingship with an imaginary pedigree. It is, however, rather curious that the pedigree was not traced to the Sun or the Moon, or even to Ikṣvāku, the common ancestor of all kings of the Solar dynasty. The earlier records and inscriptions merely stated that the Pallavas belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*; it was the later Sanskrit records that developed the theme and improved the pedigree by tracing it back to Aśvatthāman and Droṇa, who, according to the *Mahābhārata*, belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.

It is quite probable that the words 'Palvēr Tirayan' (பல்வேர்திரையன்) appearing in the Tamil work *Peṟumpāṇārupadai* (line 37) was a misreading for 'Pallavat Tirayan' (பல்லவத்திரையன்). The early manuscript of the work which Nachcinārkinīyār used in writing his commentary would have been written in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the word 'Pallavat' (பல்லவத்) could have been easily mistaken for 'Palvēr' (பல்வேர்த). From the context it can be surmised that Pallava was the original word, as the words Annīrtirai [அந்நீர்த் திரை—the waves of that (country)] appear in a previous line (l. 30) and the name of the country alluded to is omitted. It is wrong to think, as the commentator has done, that the words Annīr (அந்நீர்) allude only to Munnīr (முன்னீர்—sea), in the beginning of the line (l. 30). If this reading of mine is accepted by Tamil *pandits*, then the argument can be clinched, and Tondaimān Ilam-Tirayan can be safely admitted as the first Pallava Tirayan. The derivation of the term 'Tirayan,' as given by the commentator, may be fanciful, but it does not certainly take away from it the actual meaning that Ilam Tirayan came from beyond the seas, and that the waves which brought him were those of the Pallava seas. If he was the earliest of the Pallava Tirayan, would not his descendants be called Pallavas. If he, who was admittedly a Tirayan, was not a Pallava Tirayan, is there any proof or even a suspicion that he was a Tirayan from any other country? That there were different tribes of Tirayar living in Tondaimaṇḍalam about the tenth century A.D. can be seen from the *Tondaimaṇḍalappattaiyam* referred to by A. Kanagasabaipillai in his *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*. They were:—

- (1) Paṅgāla Tirayar—Tirayar from Bengal;
- (2) Chīna Tirayar—Tirayar from China;
- (3) Kaḍāra Tirayar—Tirayar from Kaḍāram, or Burma;
- (4) Siṁhala Tirayar—Tirayar from Siṁhalam, or Ceylon; and
- (5) Pallava Tirayar—Tirayar from Pallavam.

What was this Pallavam, and where was it? The only possible answer is that it was the ancient Maṇipallavam of the Maṇimēkhalali and the Maṇi Nāgadvīpa of the *Mahāvamśa*.

Whether the child born of a *liaison* between a Chōla king and a Nāga princess of Maṇipallavam was shipwrecked as an infant and was wafted ashore by the waves, or whether as a young man he sought out his father and claimed a kingdom from him, makes no difference to my proposition. It is clear that the earliest Tondaimān was a Pallava Tirayan. He reigned at Kāñcīpuram, just as the later Pallavas did. To assert that there was an interregnum between the Tirayar and the Pallavas and to attempt to locate it at a time after the reign of Viṣṇugopa is ridiculous, as the genealogy given in the charters will not admit of such a conclusion; for, if Viṣṇugopa is not to be regarded as a Pallava because he was not described in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, neither is he described as a Tirayan there, and according to the same reasoning he must not be regarded as a Tirayan either. Nor, with this data at our disposal is it, as my critics seem to think, sufficient to say that the Pallavas were the feudatories of the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas somewhere in the northern districts, without attempting to trace the origin of the term 'Pallava,' now that the theory of the foreign Pahlava connection has been dropped.

THE CULTURE OF MEDIEVAL INDIA AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE AJANTA FRESCOES.*

By K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

It is customary to speak of Indian "culture," but it must be confessed that in the present state of Indian studies the phrase is almost meaningless. A culture must not only be represented by a considerable corpus of objects of daily life, but also be defined chronologically and geographically. The comparative study of the results of excavation in India has not yet been attempted, nor indeed have detailed illustrated lists of finds been published; this is especially true of pottery. Without these basic facts any talk of cultures must be exceedingly vague. The problem is further complicated by the loose dynastic chronology customarily used by Indian historians, and by a complete disregard of the geographical problems of distribution.

With this state of affairs in mind, it seems worth while to attempt an analysis of the culture so vividly represented on the frescoed walls of the medieval Ajanta caves. The style of the work, although mannered and often calligraphic in its delight in the sweep of line, is built up upon minute observation of life. The rendering of fruit and flowers vouches for the accuracy of the vision, and there is no reason to doubt that the textiles, arms and accoutrements of the frescoes rendered with such loving attention to the least detail, are faithful witnesses to vanished originals. The use to which the frescoes are put at Ajanta emphasize their trustworthiness, for these *Jātaka* scenes are scenes of everyday life displayed in the spirit of ancient Buddhism, untouched by medieval iconography, except in the single case of the person of the Buddha. With regard to the Ajanta Buddhas and Bodhisattvas the iconographical tradition must be confessed. These piled-up head-dresses and jewelled necklaces never existed outside the tradition. For this reason jewellery has not been discussed in this paper.

With regard to the date of the frescoes, it is now generally agreed that the medieval caves were excavated at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century A.D. Lady Herringham has stressed the large number of styles of painting visible at Ajanta, but she exaggerates. Actually four or, at the most, five sequent styles can be discerned, apart from minor variations suggestive of individual artists. None of them are later than the frescoes in the Kailāsa and the Jain caves at Ellora. By comparison with remains of frescoes at Bādāmi and Kānheri there is reason to believe that the bulk of the work closely followed the cutting of the caves. The work is mostly of the sixth century, perhaps partly of the seventh century, not later.

With regard to the range of this culture, the dynastic geography of the period provides an indication. Ajanta owes its medieval revival to the existence of the Vākātaka dynasty, who were allies of, and intermarried with, the Guptas. The Hun invasion at the end of the fifth century must have greatly disorganized the economy of these two large and prosperous kingdoms. This disorganization of the north continued until the rise of Harṣa of Kanauj in the beginning of the seventh century. Meanwhile the centre of political activity in India shifted southwards and the main events of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries were the resultant of the repeated conflicts of the Chālukyas of the Deccan and the Pallavas of the south. Harṣa himself was forced to admit the power of the Chālukyas south of the Narmadā under Pulikeśin II, whom he had the temerity to attack. The rise of the Rāṣtrakūṭas in the Western Deccan seems to have continued Chālukyan-Pallava contacts; at any rate the long series of caves at Ellora, which date from circa 500 A.D. to the ninth century, clearly show direct southern influence. No cave at Ajanta is later than the first half of the sixth century. The Ajanta ghāt is the gateway of the north. Ajanta stands to the northward of the frontier of the Deccan. While the rich and more or less stable political combinations of the south endowed Ellora with temples that clearly show southern influence, Ajanta received no further endowments.

* *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, 1928.*

Throughout Indian history it is noticeable that architecture and the arts inevitably follow the moving centre of political power. The ensuing years produced no great dynasties in the north, but only local powers, whose influence and patrimony were severely restricted. It is probable that the ancient northward line of communication, upon which Ajanta lies, fell into comparative disuse in the sixth century. As we have seen, Ellora flourished actively till well on into the eighth century, and Ellora lies upon the next northward route to the immediate west of the Ajanta ghât. This route continues from the easy Ellora ghât to the Tapti valley via the Gaotalâ ghât, and upon it lie Daulatâbâd and also Patnâ, which, we know, was a flourishing city under the Yâdavâs.

In the following paragraphs I shall deal with the culture illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes under different headings, viz., (A) Costume and Embroidery, (B) Textiles, (C) Ships and Boats, (D) Horse-furniture, (E) Arms, (F) Pottery and (G) Metal work. Illustrations under the first six headings will be found on the plate facing this page, to which reference is invited.

A. COSTUME AND EMBROIDERY—

It is usually said that cut and sewn garments were unknown in ancient India, and this is true as far as the testimony of the early sculpture at Bharhut and Sanchi goes. It is not true of Ajanta. The indoor costume of the women consisted of a waist-cloth of varying length and texture, usually supported by a beaded or jewelled belt. Occasionally a breast cloth is seen, or a muslin scarf. On other occasions a knee length garment was worn, which seems to have been slipped over the head, for it fits tightly on the shoulders and is opened up on either side. This had short sleeves or none, and with it was worn, either on top or underneath, a long-sleeved waist-length bodice. Nothing like the *oṛhni* or *sârî* is to be found, nor does the *ghâgrâ* (gathered skirt) appear. The latter in modern India appears to belong chiefly to Gujarât and Western India, where also the *sârî*, when worn, is not so full and is never passed between the legs after the Marâthâ fashion. The latter mode of wearing fine muslin waist-cloths is followed by certain court ladies at Ajanta, but the occasion is a coronation and they are accompanied by music, and therefore may be dancers.¹ The Ajanta bodices also differ both from the modern *choli*, which ties in front, and from the *kanchî*, which is open-backed and ties behind. It also differs from the Southern Indian bodice, which laps over and ties in front. All these styles, it may be pointed out, are more or less dependent upon local fashion.

The waist-cloth was also the chief costume of the men, although the small loin-cloth is worn by hunters and other forest people. A long-sleeved tunic down to the knee was the soldiers' and horsemen's dress, and the young Gautama is fittingly shown so clad in the school scene in Cave XVI.² Another type of jacket ended above the waist and had short sleeves. These were embroidered at the wrist, upper arm and neck, and sometimes down the front. There are grounds for suggesting that some kind of uniform was worn, for in the *Simhala Avadâna* in Cave XVII and also in the fresco depicting the Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods in the same cave, the various groups of warriors and attendants are all uniform in their dress.³ In the case of these horsemen and attendants the costume is completed by a short waist-cloth, but princes and other heroes wear what can be nothing else but *pajamas*, or rather somewhat tightly fitting "Jodhpurs." With them the prince in the *Mâtripoṣaka Jâtaka* in Cave XVII wears scarlet slippers, obviously of leather, while the king in the *Syâma Jâtaka* on the other side of the cell door wears "Jodhpurs," striped and checked in black and white.⁴

¹ The references in this paper are to vol. I of Griffith's *Ajanta Paintings*, the additional I. S. number being the number of the original copies on view at the India Museum, South Kensington. Plate 75, I. S. 19, 1892.

² Plate 45, I. S. 50, 1885.

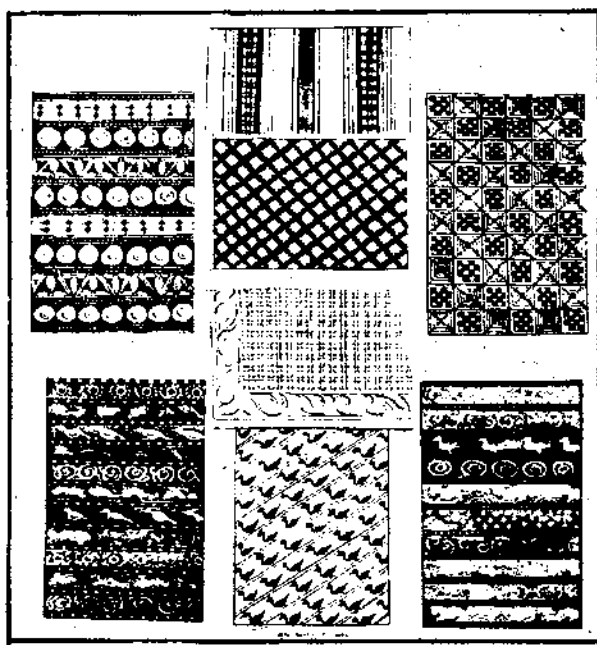
³ Plate 73, I. S. 19, 1892, and plate 54, I. S. 58, 1885.

⁴ I. S. 33, 1885. See also plate 83.

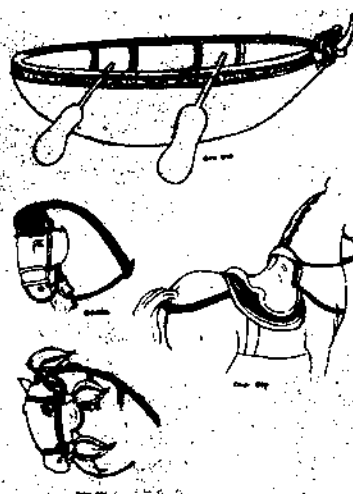
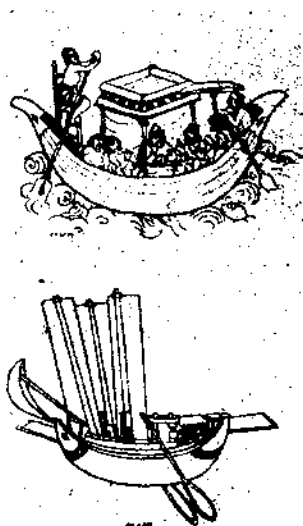
A. COSTUME.



B. TEXTILES.

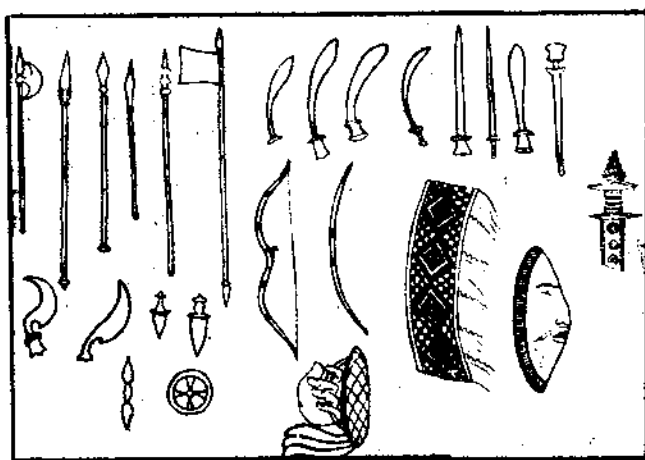


C. SHIPS
AND BOATS.

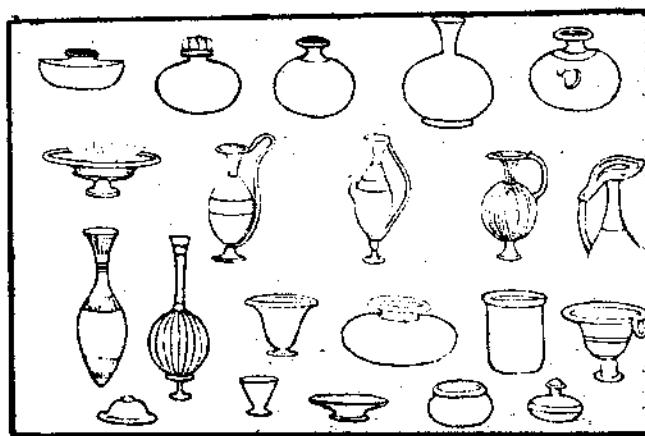


D. HORSE-
FURNITURE.

E. ARMS.



F. POTTERY AND METAL WORK.



Mention must here be made of certain "foreigners" that appear repeatedly. They are usually bearded and wear pointed "Scythian" caps, as indeed do the "foreign" worshippers in the later sites at Taxila. This head-gear can hardly be said to be foreign to India, being common throughout the Himālaya region; it also has close parallels in the head-dresses of certain *fakīrs* and in the children's caps and hoods of Kacch and Gujarāt. However, both at Ajanta and Taxila, the difference of the personalities seems to be stressed deliberately. They wear long-sleeved, tight tunics and in the Cave I fresco, that was for so long called the Persian Embassy, one figure is plainly wearing tight trousers and boots.⁵ Boots are also worn by a person who seems to be the court minister in the *Hamisa Jātaka* in Cave XVII.⁶ They are of course orthodox in images of Sūrya and also appear in the Māt sculpture of Kanishka.

In the *Jātakas* mention is often made of "Benares cloth," and one also reads of bright yellow robes of "Gandhāra make." Cotton is, of course, the special textile material of India, but it is certain that silk was in use at least in the medieval period. There are, however, indications that it was not in common use. Supplies of raw silk in modern India have been derived from Bengal and from China by sea *via* Bombay or Surat,⁷ but mainly from Yarkand and Bokhara *via* Kabul. This trade was in the hands of Lohāni merchants, and Vigne says that Multān alone took 700 maunds. Furthermore, in the oldest examples of the Panjāb *phulkārī* embroideries in yellow, white and green on a coarse madder brown cotton material, silk is used only for the yellow, the white and green being cotton. In Hissar *phulkārīs* are also worked in wool. Furthermore, all "primitive" Indian embroidery is done with cotton or vegetable fibre of some kind or other. That of the Todas, with its narrow bands of geometrical motifs and looped towel-like finish, is more or less unique, but some of the motifs are comparable with the work of certain criminal tribes of south Bombay presidency. Their work, again, is directly comparable with the commonest motives of Indian cotton textiles, especially of the *choli* cloths of the Deccan and Southern India. So close is the likeness that one would be inclined to suspect a substitution of embroidery for loom work, were it not that the result is again closely paralleled by both Assamese and Singhalese work. As with the bulk of Indian woven cotton fabrics, checks and stripes form the main decoration together with chevron ("fish-bone") and lozenge ("eyed") bands, enlivened with processions of sacred geese and occasionally lions. Both geese and lion bands are found at Ajanta.

Indian embroidery, apart from the minor types mentioned above, which are closely linked by their motives with loom work, has been quick to accept innovations. There are four main modern types. Firstly, there is the geometrical diaper *phulkārī* done by Jāt women from Hazara to Rohtak and Delhi.⁸ The only stitch used in it is the darn-stitch, and there are three kinds of design, viz. (1) *chobe* or border work with a plain centre, (2) *bāgh* or 'garden,' in which the diapering is so close that the repeat is merely outlined by the red brown of the cloth, and (3) the true *phulkārī*, which is an open diaper. The silk used is a golden yellow, loose floss silk. In later examples white silk appears, and tourist- and cantonment-pieces sport magenta, red and purple. Decadence introduces floral patterns and figures of elephants, women, etc.

The second centre of embroidery is Gujarāt. Among the upper classes, the silk used is well twisted and the stitch a chain stitch, both of which facts would suggest foreign influence, probably Chinese; buttonholing does not appear in the best and oldest examples. Here the basic patterns are quatrefoils and cinquefoils, geometrically treated in lozenges, bands and scrolls. Both *phulkārī* and Gujarāt work make great use of inset fragments of looking-glass (*shishadār*). The practice cannot, however, be of very long standing. Figures of women, elephants and birds, especially peacocks, are prominent in Gujarāt work.⁹

⁵ Plate 5, I. S. 51, 1885.

⁶ Plate 64, I. S. 93, 1887.

⁷ It is significant that many silk-weavers in Bengal and Madras claim Gujarat as their place of origin.

⁸ Mrs. A. F. Steel, *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. II.

⁹ Watts, *Ind. Art at Delhi*, p. 383; *Jour. Ind. Art*, p. 15.

Thirdly, in Sindh and Balūchistān, work is done in floss silk, usually deep red, which makes great use of herring-boning and of radially darn-stitched florettes confined by buttonholing. Lastly, there is the Muhammadan work of such cities as Delhi and Multān. Floss silks are usually used, dyed in pastel shades, the designs being of more or less Europeanized Mughal kind. It is noticeable throughout the range of modern Indian textiles that the influence of the floral diaper and sprigged patterns of the chintz printer is dominant.¹⁰ It is an interesting fact that wood blocks are often used primed with paste to outline designs for embroideries.

B. TEXTILES—

Birdwood was of the opinion that the art of weaving gold brocades is indigenous in India. *Kamkhābs* were made until recently in many places, of which Benares, Surat, Aurangābād and Ahmadābād were perhaps the most important. The patterns are divided into three classes: (1) *beldār* or scrolled, (2) *bāldār* or sprigged, and (3) *shikārgāh* or hunting pattern, the last showing strong Persian influence, as indeed do the sprigged pieces.¹¹ In the above-mentioned classes of *kamkhāb* the pattern is in silver or gold and the ground in silks. Another kind exists where this is reversed. In these, which chiefly come from Burhānpur, the designs are formalized by the technique; stiff scrolls and floral motives are freely used and also very commonly the sacred goose, not only in bands, but on a large scale in the field.

It is very difficult to identify work of this kind, but in two places in the frescoes work very like *kamkhāb* is to be seen. In Cave XVI there is depicted a series of incidents from the life of the Buddha and here Sujatā is shown with her bowl of food.¹² She wears a white short-sleeved vest, coming down well below the waist and divided at the sides in the usual way, and under it a waist-cloth of stiff black material scrolled all over, seemingly in gold or silver. Again in Cave XVII *Hamsa Jātaka* fresco, already quoted, the king is shown seated apart in deep converse with the Bodhisattva, screened by a series of hangings, one of which, of a deep red colour, has the same scrolling. However the identification is somewhat doubtful, although both of these pieces have obviously been rendered with some care.

An essentially India art exists in the weaving of patterned textiles that are dyed separately in the warp and the woof, although it is an art that has spread far and wide, Sumatra being famed for it. It is found distributed across Central India and in the Southern Shan States in Burma. This art requires the preliminary setting out of the warp and the woof and the application to them of knotted resists of either fibre or bark, the process being repeated according to the colour-scheme and pattern. Only on weaving is the design realized. Here again the patterns are perforce largely geometrical, and here again among purely geometrical devices one finds elephant, lion and *hamsa* motives, both in the Patoli marriage *sāris* of Gujarāt and in the *ikat* woven fabrics of Sumatra. The Burmese examples of the art correspond closely with the Ajanta waist-cloths, and there is little doubt as to their technical origin. It is probable that the better type of waist-cloth was of this kind, while the cheaper sorts, usually worn in narrower widths, were of ordinary checked and tartan cotton stuffs. It is interesting to note that floral motives and human figures again accompany decadence in the silk *patolis*, which were until recently woven in large quantities in Baroda.¹³

(To be continued.)

¹⁰ Textile-printing is certainly not an indigenous art in India. It has been stated that the calico-printers of so famous a centre of the craft as Jaipur get certain of their blocks from Shia Muhammadans from Multān, who are of Persian descent. Hendley, *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. III, p. 6.

¹¹ The term *bāldār* also seems to indicate a Persian origin. Cf. Pers. *باز* which, among other meanings, is applied to such patterns painted on cloth.—Jr. Editor.

¹² Plate 50, I. 8. 79, 1887.

¹³ *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. I, p. 120 and plate.

CHITOR AND ITS SIEGES.

By R. R. HALDER.

THIS ancient fortress, built on an isolated mass of rock about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide in the centre, was in bygone times one of the most famous strongholds in India. From the beginning of the eighth century A.D. up to the end of the seventeenth century it has played an important part in the history of Rājputānā. It remained the capital of the most ancient ruling dynasty of the world, namely, the Guhila kings of Mewār, during the greater part of this period. Its conquest was one of the chief desires of the monarchs of India; for their seat on the throne of Delhi was considered insecure until they obtained possession of it, while the final conquest of the fortress gave them confidence and afforded a *point d'appui* from which to extend their arms still further afield. Every inch of its ground is soaked with the blood of the brave Rājputs, who sacrificed their lives in thousands in its defence, while hundreds of Rājput women flung themselves along with their children into the flames of *jauhar*,¹ and thus perished to escape dishonour at the hands of their enemies and to uphold the prestige of the Hindu race. To a visitor, every stone in the battlements seems to call forth memories of the heroic deeds once done and the glory attained by the Rājputs in the past.

This hill fort is said to have been originally built by king Chitrāṅgada of Maurya stock, who, according to the tradition, held Morwān and the adjacent tract in appanage and ultimately founded Chitor.² It came into the possession of the Guhila kings of Mewār in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., through the agency of Bāpā, one of the early Guhila rulers of Mewār, who is said to have conquered it from Māna, the last king of the Maurya family then reigning in Rājputānā.³ A tank in the vicinity of the fortress, which bore an inscription⁴ dated Samvat 770 (713 A.D.), of the time of Māna and is still known as *Māna-sarovara*⁵ (the lake of Māna), lends support to this view.

Before Bāpā, the princes of the Mewār family seem to have ruled at Nāgadraha (Nāgdā, near Eklīngaji, 13 miles north of Udaipur in Mewār), which is supposed to have been established by Guhila himself, the founder of the Guhila family of Mewār. Chitor was ruled over by Bāpā and his successors till another capital called Āhāda, at a short distance from Udaipur, was founded later, probably by Bhartipatṭa II (S. 999—1000 = 942—943 A.D.)

The fortress remained in the hands of the Guhilots up to the time of Śaktikumāra, the twentieth ruler from Guhila, during whose reign it is known that the Paramāra king Muñja (Vākpatirāja II) of Mālwa (S. 1031—50=974—93 A.D.)⁶ attacked Mewār and annexed it to his dominion. This attack of Muñja is apparent from the Bijāpur inscription,⁷ dated Samvat 1053 (997 A.D.), of the time of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Dhavala, which records that Dhavala had rendered assistance to the Mewār army when Āhāda (Āhāda, the old capital of Mewār) was destroyed by Muñja. After Muñja, his nephew Bhoja (S. 1076—99=1019—42 A.D.)⁸ held Chitor and lived there for sometime—a fact proved by the following authorities:—

(1) The inscription⁹ dated S. 1378 (1321 A.D.) in the Delwārā temple of Vimalavasatī on Mount Ābu says that Dhandhu (Dhandhuka), lord of Chandrāvati went over to Bhoja (king of Dhāra) when Bhīmadeva (king of Gujarāt) became angry with him.

¹ For *jauhar*, al. *johar*, see Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, vol. I, p. 310, n. 4, and *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh* (English translation by George S. A. Ranking), vol. I, p. 397, n. 1.

² Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. III, p. 1647.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 266-268. *Rājputānā Museum Report*, 1917-18, p. 3.

⁴ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II, p. 919, No. III.

⁵ Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 112.

⁶ The first inscription of Muñja is dated in S. 1030 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 51 f.); while he is said to have ruled up to S. 1050. (*The Parmāras of Dhār and Mālwa* by Luard and Lele, p. 6.)

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 20, *śloka* 10.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 182 f., and vol. I, pp. 232 f.

⁹ चंद्रवतीपुरीशः समजानि वीरामर्षिचतुः ॥ ५ ॥

श्रीभीमदेवस्य नृपस्य सेवामन्यमानः किल धंधुराजः ।

नरेशरीवाच्य ततो मनस्वी धाराधिप भोजनृपं प्रपेदे ॥ ६ ॥

(From the impression.)

See also Ojha's *History of Rajputana*, vol. I, p. 435.

(2) The Jain Āchārya Jinaprabhasūri also says that when the Gurjara king (Bhīmadeva) took umbrage at Dhandhuka, he (Vimalasāh) having brought him back from Chitor and pacified the Gurjara king, built the temple of Vimalavasatī in the Samvat year 1088 (1031 A.D.¹⁰)

These two authorities show that some time during the reign of Bhīmadeva, Dhandhuka went to Bhoja, who then lived at Chitor. That Bhojadeva lived at Chitor is also clear from verse 31 of the Chirwā inscription¹¹ of S. 1330 (1273 A.D.). As a sequel of the attack of Muñja, Chitor passed into the hands of the Paramāras of Mālwa. Since then it changed hands as follows :—The Paramāras (Muñja and his successors) held sway over Chitor till the time of Naravarmā and Yaśovarmā (Samvat 1191—92=1134—35 A.D.¹²) during whose reign, the Chālukya king Siddharāja Jayasimha of Gujarāt (S. 1150—99=1093—1143 A.D.¹³) established his supremacy over Mālwa after warfare that lasted continuously for twelve years. The Solankī rulers of Gujarāt held Chitor till the reign of Ajayapāla (Samvat 1230—33=1173—76 A.D.¹⁴), who was attacked and defeated by Rāwal Sāmantasimha of Mewār (S. 1228—36=1171—79 A.D.¹⁵), who thus recovered possession of Chitor from the Solankīs. Sāmantasimha, however, was soon attacked and driven out of Chitor by Kirtipāla, the Chauhāna ruler of Jālor (in Mārwar). But his brother Kumārasimha ousted Kirtipāla from Mewār with the help of the Gujarāt king, and recovered possession of his ancestral dominion.¹⁶

The fortress henceforth remained in the hands of the Guhila family for about a century and a quarter until the reign of Rāwal Ratnasimha (S. 1360=1303 A.D.). In this year it became a victim to one of its great sieges, viz., the attack of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khalji in 1303 A.D.¹⁷ It was conquered by 'Alāu'd-dīn and kept under the control of the Sultāns of Delhi till the year 1325 A.D., after which it was overrun by Hammīra, the ruler of Sesodā, and restored to the possession of the Guhila family. Henceforth the fortress continued to enjoy the happy rule of the Guhilots for about two centuries till the time of Vikramāditya (Vikramājī, S. 1588—93=1531—36 A.D.¹⁸), during whose reign it was again subjected to two attacks by Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. It was conquered by the Sultān, but the Rājputs very soon drove out his garrison and retook it. It remained in the hands of the Guhilas for about forty years, after which it was again vigorously attacked¹⁹ and conquered by the Emperor Akbar in 1567 A.D. It remained in the possession of the Mughals until the reign of Jahāngīr, who shortly after his accession to the throne, restored it to Mahārāṇā Amarasimha. It was again occupied by the Mughals in the year 1680 during the reign of Mahārāṇā Rājāsīmha, when the emperor Aurangzeb visited it and placed a garrison in it.²⁰ But in the following year peace was made by the emperor with Mahārāṇā Jayasimha, and Chitor was restored to him. Since this time, the fortress has remained in the hands of the Guhila family of Mewār up to the present day.

I shall now enumerate as far as possible the attacks that were made upon Chitor from time to time and describe briefly the events connected with each.

¹⁰ राजानकभीषाधुके कुचं श्रीगुर्जरेश्वर ।
प्रसाय भक्त्या ते शिवकूटादातीय तत्रिण ॥ ३६ ॥
वैक्रमे वसुवत्सा १०८८ त्रितेऽन्दे भूरिरेव्ययत् ।
तत्प्रासादं स विमलवस्त्याहं व्यधापयत् ॥

Tīrthakalpa (Arbudakalpa).

¹¹ *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. 21, p. 143. See also *Rājputānā Museum Report*, 1920-21, p. 4. According to these authorities Bhojadeva also erected at Chitor a temple of Śiva, which was then called 'Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa' and 'Bhojasvāmijagatī.' It is now called Mokajī's temple.

¹² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 353 and 349.

¹³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 213. See also *The Paramāras of Dhār and Māhūd*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 213.

¹⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 53, p. 100.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁷ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 211. Also *ante*, vol. 55, p. 11.

¹⁸ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 360.

¹⁹ V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, p. 86.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

According to the *Chach-nāmā*,²¹ an attack on Mahrat, Rāṇā of Chitor, seems to have been made by Chacha very shortly before his accession to the throne of Sindh in 631 A.D.²² Rāṇā Mahrat of Chitor appears to be the Maurya king, Māheśvara of Chitor, who was one of the predecessors of Māna.

An attack on the Mauryas of Chitor is also mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*²³ as having been made by Junaid, the Governor of Sind, sometime during the reign of Khalifa Hāshim (724—43 A.D.). This is unlikely; for Chitor was then in all probability under the Guhila ruler Bāpā. It is, however, possible that the attack referred to was not on the Mauryas of Chitor, but on those of Khāndesh, which was nearer to Sind than Chitor.

As has already been noticed, Chitor was taken²⁴ from the Mori king Māna by Bāpā sometime after S. 770 (713 A.D.). Before taking Chitor, he is said to have ruled at Nāgdā, the old capital of Mewār. He ruled at Chitor till S. 810 (753 A.D.), in which year he is said to have abdicated²⁵ in favour of his son Khummān I. It is somewhat difficult to identify Bāpā and assign a place to him in the genealogy of the Mewār princes. The name Bāpā does not appear to be a personal name, but a title. According to the *Rājapratāstimahā-kāvya*,²⁶ Muḥnot Nainsī's *Khyāta*²⁷ and other authorities, Khummān was the son of Bāpā; while, according to the Ātapur²⁸ inscription, Khummān was the son of Kālabhoja. From these it appears that Bāpā and Kālabhoja were identical. Thus Bāpā may have been another name of Kālabhoja and the eighth²⁹ ruler from Guhadatta (Guhila, Guhāditya, Grahāditya, etc.), the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār. In the inscription³⁰ dated Samvat 1028 (971 A.D.), of the time of the king Naravāhana of Mewār, Bappaka (Bāpā) is said to be the moon among the kings of the Guhila family and a jewel of the surface of this earth. It was this Bāpā through whose bravery, according to Col. Tod,³¹ the first attack on Chitor, then under the Mori prince Māna, by Yasid or Muḥammad bin Qāsim, was defeated.

The next irruption of the Muslim invaders against Chitor took place during the reign of Khummān II, and was made by the Khalifa Al-Māmūn of Baghdād. Col. Tod gives an exaggerated account³² of the invasion and mentions the names of many towns and kingdoms which had not been founded by then. For instance, the principal towns of Ajmer, Jaisalmer, Sirahi, etc., mentioned by Tod, were not founded earlier than the twelfth century A.D.

The next assault on Chitor was made by the Chauhāna ruler Kirtipāla of Jālor during the reign of Rāwal Sāmāntasimha of Mewār, as stated above. The result was that Sāmāntasimha had to abandon Chitor and go to Vagaḍa (the territory now occupied by the present Bānswārā and Duṅgarpur States), where he established an independent kingdom for himself, and thereby became the founder of the present ruling family of the Duṅgarpur State.³³

²¹ Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 426-27.

²² Duff's *Chronology*, p. 50. Also Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 406-7.

²³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 109.

²⁴ *Rājprastāna Museum Report*, 1917-18, p. 3.

²⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 39, p. 190.

²⁶ तां रावलाख्यां पदवीं दधानो बापाभिधानः स रराज राजा ॥

ततः खुमाणाभिधरावलोस्मात्.....

Canto III.

²⁷ Muḥnot Nainsī's *Khyāta*, sheet 2, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 39, p. 191.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³⁰ आस्मिन्मुहिल [गो]ननरेवचः

श्रीवपकः क्षितिपतिः क्षितिपीठरत्नम् ।

Ante, vol. 39, p. 189.

³¹ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 287-90.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 291.

³³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 53, p. 101. Before this an attack on Abāḍa by king Munjarāja has already been referred to.

Chitor was next assailed by Sultān Nāṣirū'd-dīn Maḥmūd of Delhi in the reign of Rāwal Jaitrasīmha of Mewār (S. 1270—1309=1213—1253 A.D.). In the Hijri year 646 (1247 A.D.), the Sultān called his brother Jalālu'd-dīn from his government of Kanauj to Delhi, but the latter, being afraid of a plot against his life, fled to Chitor with his men. He was unsuccessfully pursued for about eight months by the Sultān, who then returned to Delhi.³⁴

An invasion³⁵ of Mewār by Sultān Shamsu'd-dīn Altamsh of Delhi is also recorded during the reign of Rāwal Jaitrasīmha; but Chitor was not affected by that attack.

Chitor seems to have been next attacked during the reign of Tejasīmha, (S. 1317—24=1260—67 A.D.), the son and successor of Rāwal Jaitrasīmha of Mewār. This appears from an inscription³⁶ dated S. 1317 (1260 A.D.) of the time of Visaladeva, the Baghela rāṇā of Dholkā, which records that he (Visaladeva) was, as it were, a hatchet in cutting the roots of the government of Mewār. From verse 26 of the Chirwā inscription,³⁷ dated S. 1330 (1273 A.D.), of the time of Rāwal Samarasīmha (S. 1330—58=1273—1302 A.D.) of Mewār, it also appears that the battle between Tejasīmha and Visaladeva was fought at the foot (*talhātī*) of the fortress of Chitor.

After these minor attacks, Chitor was subjected to one of its greatest sieges made by one of the most vigorous and warlike sovereigns that occupied the throne of Delhi. This was 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, the Sultān of Delhi, who after a siege of six months,³⁸ during which his army suffered great loss, captured the fort on Monday, the 11th day of Muḥarram 703 A.H. (26th August 1303 A.D.) and, having ordered a massacre of 30,000 Hindus, bestowed the government of Chitor on his son Khizr Khān, after whom it was called Khizrābād.³⁹ Khizr Khān held Chitor for about ten years, but when the Muhammadan rule in Chitor became well-nigh impossible, and the Rājputs began to assert their independence by throwing the Muhammadans over the walls of the fortress, the Sultān ordered Khizr Khān to evacuate the place and hand it over to the Songarā Chauhāna Māladeva,⁴⁰ who acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultān. Thus the fortress remained under the direct or indirect control of the Sultāns of Delhi till about 1325 A.D., after which it was conquered by Rāṇā Hammīra of Sisodā.⁴¹

After the accession of Hammīra, an attack on Chitor is said to have been made by Muhammad Tughlaq of Delhi, whom Tod misnames the 'Khilji king.' The Muhammadans were defeated in this attack, as appears from the inscription, dated S. 1495 (1438 A.D.), of the time of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā of Mewār.⁴²

This assault on Chitor has given rise to many interesting accounts written by different authors.

Let us quote what Col. Tod writes on the subject :—

"Lakhamsi succeeded his father in S. 1331 (1275 A.D.), a memorable era in the annals, when Chitor, the repository of all that was precious yet untouched of the arts of India, was stormed, sacked, and treated with remorseless barbarity by the Pathan emperor 'Alau'd-din. Twice it was attacked by this subjugator of India. In the first siege it escaped spoliation, though at the price of its best defenders: that which followed is the first successful assault and capture of which we have any detailed account.

(To be continued.)

³⁴ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 238.

³⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 57, p. 32.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 212.

³⁷ See note 11, above.

³⁸ In *Muntakhbat-i-tawārīkh* (English translation by G. S. A. Ranking), vol. I, p. 257, the author speaks of the conquest of Chitor within a few days.

³⁹ Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 76-77.

⁴⁰ He was the brother of Kānhaḍadeva, the last Chauhāna ruler of Jālor. After the fall of Jālor in about 1311 A.D., the garrison was put to the sword by 'Alāu'd-dīn's general. Māladeva, however, escaped the fate of the garrison, and succeeded later on in winning favour of the Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī who appointed him governor of Chitor in about 1313 A.D.

⁴¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 55, p. 11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

BOOK-NOTICES.

MAHABHARATA : Edition of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Fascicules 1, 2 and 3.

We are glad to see that the edition of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has begun to issue, and we have with us three fascicules of this monumental work. The plan of the work, as originally arranged, was to collate all the available and authoritative versions, which are indeed very many and require very careful and elaborate collation. A full introduction, giving a comprehensive account of the manuscript material and discussing the principles of textual criticism adopted, is intended to be issued at the end of the first section of the work, the *Adiparvaṇa*. The first fascicule is preceded, however, by a few general observations on the growth of the texts, giving a comparatively brief conspectus of the manuscript material used for the present edition. The manuscripts used come from all over the country and naturally fall into a number of classes, each class having characteristics of its own. The editor divides these into a Northern and a Southern version. Among the Northern are included the Kāśmīrī, of which eight manuscripts have been compared, one Maithilī from North Bihār; four from Bengal and one from Indore. One from Mysore, about twenty from Tanjore, about six from Poona, four in Malayālam and four from Mysore constitute the Southern, and all these have been compared so far. These are in a variety of scripts—Devanāgarī, with its numerous varieties, Telugu, Grantha, and Malayālam. In a general classification of these, the archtype is the Kāśmīrī version, to which other Devanāgarī versions get collated. From this as a basis the elaboration into the various other versions is discussed, and the character of these inflations is said to be more or less due to the tendency to elaborate the account already given, and the portions that can thus be marked out can safely be omitted as spurious, or later additions, where there is not much manuscript support; otherwise the discovery of a principle on which these can be rejected is recognised to be a matter of difficulty.

One other important point is that there is a considerable amount of agreement between the Kāśmīrī versions and the Southern, so that the inference seems possible that they were originally based on same texts. In some respects the Bengālī versions show the smallest addition, and they may perhaps be regarded as having suffered the least from interpolations.

The principle adopted in the choice of the texts is not a question of the arithmetical majority, nor is it on any other easier principle of the basis

of mere dating of the manuscripts. A fair mixture of conservatism and eclecticism is what is actually adopted, no good reading of good manuscripts being rejected. "Interpretation has throughout been given precedence over emendation." In the matter of corrections of solecisms, those for which manuscript authority was sound have been allowed to stand in the text. "As a general rule, preference is given to a reading which best suggests how other readings might have arisen. When such a reading was not available, the choice fell upon one which is common to (what *prima facie* appeared to be) more or less independent versions and which is supported by intrinsic probability; the presumption of originality in such cases is frequently confirmed by a lack of definite agreement between the discordant versions." This edition of the *Mahābhārata*, if it does not achieve at once the perfection of an authoritative text, takes us, at any rate, a long way towards it.

The printing and the get-up are very good, as was to be expected of the Nirpaya Sāgara press. It redounds to the credit of the editorial staff that few errors are discoverable. The edition is provided with a few illustrations, due both to the ability and the labour of the enlightened Chief of Aundh; and very creditable they are, both in regard to choice and achievement. We congratulate the organization upon their success. It is already beginning to earn very good opinions from scholars, and it is to be hoped that it will receive adequate public support to enable the organization to carry on the work to completion.

S. K. ARYANGAR.

THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE, by K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A., Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram, with a foreword by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Reader in History, Madras University. Published by the author. Price Re. 1.

No history of India would be complete if it were not based on full and satisfactory local histories. A study of the political map of India shows different states, each active in some epoch or other, and consequently enriching the political and cultural history of the land. An attempt has not yet been made to study the local history of innumerable small states, which have contributed to the sum total of Indian History. In the history of South India, no kingdom has been more prominent than the small state of Tanjore, which was ruled at different times by different dynasties. The Chōlas, the Nāyaks, the Marāṭhās have been its rulers. In this monograph Mr.

Subramanian has endeavoured to furnish us with a connected history of the Marāṭhā activities at Tanjore.

The story of the Marāṭhas at Tanjore extends over nearly two centuries. Its founder was Venkājī, 1876 A.D. It had an unbroken succession of rulers—Shāhji, Sarabhōji, Pratāpsingh, Tulaji, Amarsingh and Sarabhōji II. The author has utilized the material available, whether published or in manuscript, in depicting the careers of these rulers at Tanjore. He has taken pains to point out the rich memorials of the Marāṭhā Rajās in the shape of temples, forts, choultries and other charitable institutions, now almost in a state of decay, owing to continued neglect. It should be the duty of our patriotic citizens to preserve these ancient monuments, as the relics of rulers who contributed not a little to enriching the culture of South India. Mr. Subramanian has described these and more in the last three chapters of the book, which are indeed interesting reading.

Studies like the one under review supply a long felt need, and we hope the author will pursue his subject in a more intensive manner, and give us a complete history of the kingdom of Tanjore from the earliest times. The value of the present survey would have been considerably enhanced by the addition of selected illustrations of the ancient remains. We cannot better conclude than with the words of Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar: "This book has been written so as to enable the intelligent teacher of history to lay well and truly the foundations of historical studies in the Tanjore district."

V. R. R. DESHTAR.

BEGINNINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY, by the
REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A. 7½×5½ in.; pp.
viii + 144. Bombay, Indian Historical Research
Institute, 1929.

The author has critically examined the various legendary and traditional stories, as well as the accounts recorded by Nuniz and Firishta, regarding the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara. He rejects the legends, and comes to the conclusion that the story of Vidyārājya's connexion with the foundation of the city and of the empire of Vijayanagara was fabricated with a definite object by the ascetics of the Śringerī monastery. Following the clues furnished by Nuniz and Firishta, and utilizing a number of epigraphical records, of which, *more suo*, he has made an exhaustive study, he comes to the conclusion that the "Deorao" of Nuniz and the "Bilal Dew Raja" of Firishta was no other than Vira Ballāla (Deva Rāya) of the Hoysala dynasty, the "sun in the sky of the Yādava race" of the inscriptions, who was captured

and sent to Delhi by Malik Kafūr after his conquest of Dvārakasamudra, but was later released and sent back to his kingdom. He considers that the convening of his kinamen by Vira Ballāla, referred to by Firishta, most likely occurred at Tiruvāṇmalai in 1328, and that it was in pursuance of the defensive measures against the Muhammadan invaders from the north devised at this conference that steps were taken to fortify and perhaps enlarge Anegondi. He suggests, further, that by the "foundation of Vijayanagara" Nuniz and Firishta refer to this work at the northern site, and that Bukka I was the real founder of Vijayanagara south of the Tungabhadra, this being the reason why in so many of his inscriptions Vijayanagara is called Hoasapattana, the new city, as distinguished from the old town of Anegondi.

As regards the origin of the Saṅgama dynasty, it has generally been thought hitherto that Harihara and Bukka came from the Telugu country. Fr. Heras quotes V. A. Smith as writing that "good authority exists for regarding the brothers as fugitives from the eastern Telinga or Telugu kingdom of Warangal"; but it should be noted that in the very next sentence he added: "Equally good, or perhaps better, authority views them as chieftains under the Kanarese dynasty of the Hoysala or Ballāla kings of the Mysore country." This latter opinion accords with the view expressed by Fr. Heras, who significantly draws attention to the rebellions in the Telugu country against the early Vijayanagara kings, as being inconsistent with the theory that Saṅgama's family came from those parts. A close study of the Mysore inscriptions leads our author to the conclusion that Saṅgama's family, who had settled in Karnataka, were probably descended from the family of Keśirāja, which occupied high offices under several Hoysala kings, to whom, moreover, he gives reasons for thinking they were related by kinship. This would go a long way to explain the appointment of Harihara as *mahāmāndalesvara* over the newly fortified city on the northern frontier, the apparently immediate and general acquiescence in Harihara's assumption of power on the death of Ballāla IV and the abundant evidence of loyalty to the memory of the Hoysalas in the inscriptions, and in the acts of the Vijayanagara kings.

The above are but a few of the important conclusions and suggestions made towards clearing away the obscurities that have long surrounded the initial history of the Vijayanagara kings and their famous capital, and we hope the author will be encouraged to extend his researches into the early history of this no longer "forgotten" empire, the later history of which he has already done so much to elucidate.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE CULTURE OF MEDIEVAL INDIA AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE AJANTA FRESCOS.

By K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

(Continued from page 162.)

With warp-and-woof dyeing, *bandhana* or tie-and-dye work, must be classed as a radically Indian art.¹⁴ In this process the material is pinched up between forefinger and thumb according to the desired pattern, and securely tied with thread. The material is then dyed and the process repeated according to the number of colours in the pattern, which is realized in small dots or rings. The art in modern India belongs almost entirely to Rājputānā and goes under the name of *chunari*, Baran in Kotah State being famed for it. The patterns used are called *ekdālī*, *chaubandī*, *sātbandī*, according to the number of knots in the repeat. Here again *beldār* scroll designs are used, as well as *jāldār* diagonal work. At Ajanta single dots or simple groups of dots only appear, but in modern examples the ubiquitous imported *shikār-gāh* patterns have intruded into this craft as well as others.

Lastly, the list of Ajanta textiles must be completed by the mention of fine muslins. Spotted muslins occur occasionally and are used chiefly for scarfs.

A survey of modern Indian textiles leaves the impression that Mughal influence has been paramount. Yet underneath and apart from this influence, with its resulting floral diapers and sprigged patterns, there can be traced a certain run of designs that recur not only in loom work, but in embroidery and in warp-and-woof dyeing. Checks and tartans predominating, the result is always formal and usually strictly geometrical, certain well-defined motives, such as the sacred goose, being excepted. It is significant that these designs should appear in fabrics of such varying material and technique. From this point of view and from the point of view of the Ajanta cane-shields the fine reed mats of Southern India from places as far separated as Pālgāt in Malabar, Pattamadai in Tinnevely, and Ganjam and Vizagapatam are most interesting.¹⁵ In these and in the cotton *darīs* and *shatranjīs* that were recently woven all over India this older school of design is perhaps most clearly visible.

C. SHIPS AND BOATS—

Four types of ships are to be seen at Ajanta. The simplest of these appears in Cave XVII.¹⁶ It is canoe-like and has two masts, one topped by a trident emblem. It is, however, clearly not a dug-out. Again, in the same cave the army of the victorious *Siṃhala* is shown in process of transportation against the *Rākṣasas*, horses in one boat, elephants in two others. These boats are wide in the beam and ride low in the water; their grotesque *makara* figure-heads are the most notable things about them. The boat in the so-called *Mahājanaka Jātaka* in Cave I is altogether a larger affair. It is symmetrically built with high-pitched, finely-cut bow and stern, on both of which oculi are painted. Its fore-and-aft planking is plainly shown. The passengers sit at their ease under a square awning, while the motive power seems to be confined to the efforts of a single sailor in the bows and of his mate, who works a long paddle on the starboard side from a most precarious perch on a ladder set vertically in the stern sheets. The merchant ship in distress of the *Pārṇa Avadāna* in Cave II has a full set of sails, aided by two paddles fitted with rowlocks amidship.¹⁷ The cargo of jars is stored under an awning aft, the three masts with their rather unconvincing square sails being well forward.¹⁸ In addition a jib is fitted in a peculiarly complicated manner and flies a small triangular sail without visible means of support.

The problems of Indian shipping are manifold. It has been suggested that the lateen sail was imported from the east into the west. The Roman *suppara* is said to have been a triangular top-sail of some kind, and it is certain that the Arab word for lattine literally means "top-sail." In Indian waters as a whole, the lateen is certainly *the* sail in spite of these

¹⁴ *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. II, p. 63, and vol. III, plates 17 and 18.

¹⁵ Havell, *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. III, No. 27.

¹⁶ Plate 72, I. S., 19, 1892.

¹⁷ Plate 34, I. S., 42, 1885.

¹⁸ These seem to be of matting: the usual Tamil word for sail means 'mat.'

frescoes, which are perhaps the result of a landsman's faulty observation. It is interesting to note that the ship of the *Pārva Avadhāna* fresco is, according to the story, a Sopāra merchantman. At Kānheri the latest of the caves is a little earlier than any of the medieval caves at Ajanta, and there are fragmentary remains of fresco-painting in the Ajanta manner. From the top of the hill at Kānheri the coastal shipping is clearly visible on a fine day, and what is more, the place itself is within sight of the main road from Sopāra to the Nānā ghāt and so to Junnar, Paithan, Ajanta and the north. During this period Sopāra, it is true, was declining before Thāna and Kalyān, ports which directly served the whole series of passes from the Thal ghāt for Nāsik and Manmād, the Māsej and Nānā ghāts for Paithan, and the Kusr and Bhor ghāts for the south. Sopāra must have relied mainly on the Thal ghāt, a mere tributary of the great Narbadā valley trade-route from Broach. A possible connection may be suggested between the fresco-painters of inland Ajanta and Kānheri.

D. HORSE FURNITURE—

Horse-furniture is well illustrated at Ajanta. According to Sir John Marshall, stirrups are to be seen in the Sanchi bas reliefs, a reference which is quoted by Dr. Coomaraswamy with regard to a railing-pillar medallion in the Boston Museum, in which, he claims, stirrups are also depicted.¹⁹ However that may be contested, for in the Boston sculpture the foot seems simply to be thrust through a surcingle which is worn over the usual flat blanket-like early saddle. At Ajanta stirrups are not to be found. The saddle, however, complete with girth, crupper and breast-band, is a very modern, comfortable affair. Two variations of bridle appear: both have brow-band and throat-lash, but one, used with a long-armed bit, has a double nose-band, while the other has a single nose-band and is more difficult to understand. No bit is visible and the reins seem to be fastened in some way to the bridle, in which case the little ornamental cheek-rosettes were probably armed on the inside. The reins were held undivided and vertically up and down after the Spanish-American fashion. Adornment was provided by head-bells, plumes and tassels.

E. ARMS—

Arms at Ajanta do not vary very much. Spears are short with triangular blades and ferrules. The daggers are all of one type, with a triangular blade and shaped grip. The recurved blades of the modern *peshqabz* and *bichod* do not occur, nor is the Rājput *katār*, with its transverse grip and side-guards, to be found. In the *Sinhala* fresco there is a double-bladed *vajra*-like dagger and *chakras* are seen flying through the air. Three types of shield occur: (1) a small parrying shield, presumably of metal, (2) a round shield presumably of hide, and (3) a curved oblong shield with tasselled fringes at the side, which seems to have been made of black and white bamboo basket-work. The patterns of these long shields are most interesting and vary greatly. Round hide shields are common in modern India, elephant and rhinoceros hide being chiefly used. The little parrying shield to be seen at Ajanta is iconographical and appears in many Southern Indian sculptures. As a rule, the hill tribes do not use shields or armour, although quilted garments are said to have been worn and suits of armadillo-scale armour from Central India exist, exactly as represented in the early frescoes in Cave IX. From Chittagong and Tippera keystone-shaped shields of leather stretched on cross battens, with a central iron boss, are said to come, but there is no trace in modern India of the Ajanta bamboo basket-work shield.

Both composite and long bows are found at Ajanta. The modern Bhil longbow is usually fitted with a split bamboo string lashed with sinew or leather, and a quiver is carried with it. The Khonds, however, and many other of the hill tribes do not use a quiver when hunting, and hold their meagre supply of reserve arrows, together with the bow, in the left hand, exactly as does the hunter in the *Chhadanta Jātaka* in Cave XVII.²⁰

¹⁹ Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, v. 138, n. 3. Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Bulletin*, xxiv, 59. The relief referred to is M. F. A., 25, 481, a railing-medallion in red Mathurā sandstone (Kushān).

²⁰ Plate 63, I. S., 20, 1892.

The swords are limited to three types: Firstly, and most commonly, there is a type directly comparable with the modern *kukri*, incurved with the cutting edge on the inner side. Secondly, there is the typical Indian long sword (*kirich*) with straight, pointed blade, and thirdly, the leaf-bladed *pattisa*.²¹ The curved *talwār* blade is not found, nor are the Mughal knuckle-guard and shaped quillons. In the case of arms it is easy to divide Mughal types from older kinds of weapons. All the Ajanta types of blade have survived to-day, while *kirich* and *pattisa* blades have been found in the Tinnevely urn-burials. With all these types there appears only one type of hilt, with an angular V-shaped guard and disc-like pommel, the blade usually being strengthened by long processes running up it either in the middle or along the reverse. This is necessitated by the peculiar properties of Indian steel, which, although tough and of fine quality, lacks flexibility. The modern flexible blades mounted in Indian style are one and all *fringis*. Modern Singhalese knives have the same reinforcement. The oldest existing Indian swords, very few of which, however, are as early as the seventeenth century, have hammered iron hilts, or occasionally hilt and blade are forged in one piece, in which case the hilt is usually chiselled. Damascening is not used, nor brass nor *Bidarī* ware on the hilt, although inset jewels and jade sometimes are so found, as at Ajanta. Many of these modern swords are fitted with the spiked pommel which does not occur at Ajanta, but seems to be thoroughly Indian. The *kukri* small sword, mounted like a knife, is of course particularly connected with Nepal.

Egerton in his handbook of Indian arms uses a pseudo-ethnological classification, which includes *talwār*—*shamsher*—*bichwā*—*peshqabz* types of curved and recurved blades, here treated of as Mughal or Muhammadan, with obviously more primitive types. He distinguishes four main groups: firstly, the Nepalese; secondly, the Coorg, Nair and Moplah group, in which *kukri*-like hatchets and flamboyant swords with Indian V-shaped guards predominate; thirdly, a Central Indian group comprising the arms of the various hill tribes [which unfortunately he does not analyse]; and fourthly, the Assamese-Burmese group, in which the *dhā* or *dāo* guardless type of weapon predominates. Actually the latter two groups tend to merge on the east coast, where a suggestion of the *dhā*-shape is found in certain Khond and Koi weapons. In the early Ajanta frescoes some very Coorg-like choppers (*adhya-kathi*) occur.

The modern arms of Southern India are chiefly conspicuous for their chiselled steel decoration, work associated with Tanjore and Sivaganga. Nothing of the kind is indicated at Ajanta. The close parallels between the Southern Indian technique and Japanese technique are noteworthy.

At Sanchi the Ajanta types of sword and dagger are also found, and the same composite and one-piece bows, both of them of very moderate length. The infantry shield is long and narrow with a rounded top, while the cavalry shield, which corresponds closely with the Ajanta Cave IX shields, is bell-shaped and somewhat rounded at the bottom. At Amarāvati the long basket-work shield is found and the long sword, but not the *kukri*. There, as at Ajanta, no war chariots are to be seen.

F. POTTERY—

One of the commonest types of pot at Ajanta is the spouted water-jar, a form which is found repeatedly on the Sanchi and Bharhut bas-reliefs. Besides this there are two main types of pots. The first is round-bottomed with a substantial rolled rim and a neck of varying length. Squat pots of this kind, with wide mouths were made in diminishing sizes to stack one upon the other. They were often also, as nowadays, enclosed in a rope net for hanging up. The second type has a rimmed foot and a long neck flaring outwards at the mouth. The ordinary drinking vessel seems to have been a shapely little cup, with a flat narrowly-necked foot. In the fresco in the verandah of Cave XVII each of the holy men at the feast is provided with two or three of these cups set out on a flat platter-like dish.²² These tray-like dishes often appear at Ajanta. They were of all sizes, and some seem to have had slip-decoration in stripes.

²¹ This term is used by Egerton in his Handbook to Indian Arms, but strictly it means a pronged instrument. [A kind of spear.—Jr. Editor.]

²² Plate 59, I. S., 41, 1885.

In a drinking scene on one of the roof panels of Cave I a bearded person in pointed cap, long-sleeved tunic and jewelled belt, seated on a round cushion, is drinking from a shallow saucer, while a kneeling attendant holds a flat dish filled with fruit and flowers. Two female attendants in long-sleeved robes stand by with flagons. These have long necks and sharply pointed bottoms and belong to a fairly well represented class of vessel, some of which are gadrooned and fluted. The form is thoroughly uncereamic and strangely un-Indian too from modern standards, suggestive rather of certain Afghan and Yarkand forms. They have obvious Sassanian parallels. The same problem of material attaches to certain cups which differ in nothing from the ordinary drinking cups, except in size and in the fact that the rim is pierced to take a ring, which could be possible only in metal. On the whole the copper-smith has followed the potter closely in the matter of form in India. The little standing cups are not found in modern India, but the form has been preserved in metal and occurs occasionally in brass and *Bidari* ware. The form is by no means specifically Indian, although its development in Indian ceramics can be traced from an early date, for it appears in early Persian pottery at Rhages and Sultānābād.

With regard to the use these little cups were put to, and to certain Bacchanalian scenes at Ajanta, which are paralleled in Kushan sculpture, it will be remembered that the importation of wine into India is recorded in Roman sources. Vines, moreover, are still cultivated in the Nāsik district, and the toddy-palm (*Palmyra*) and the Mahuā tree are indigenous. Also the opportunity is acknowledged in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Cowell, No. 547) where it is written: "Food to the hungry give, strong drink to those who drink require." The frankness of the acknowledgment is mitigated by the scholiast, who writes that the bountiful prince knew "that the gift of spirits brings no fruit with it, but gave it nevertheless that tipplers might have the noble gift and might not be able to say that they could not get what they wanted."

G. METAL WORK—

Very little can be said of the metal-work at Ajanta. There are lamps on turned stands like candlesticks, and in the coronation scene in Cave I the gadrooned pots, from which water is being poured over the young prince, are very metal-like and somewhat reminiscent of the modern Tanjore *sudmā* work. The only other metal articles recognizable are mirrors. These are circular and have a central knob behind, pierced to take a ring or cord. This form is, perhaps, especially associated with China, tanged or handled mirrors being common all over the east, in bronze, brass and steel in Muhammadan times, and notably in bronze in Java at a period closely succeeding that of Ajanta. However, mirrors of any kind are rare as archaeological finds in India. Only three seem to be recorded, under the misleading title of "plaques." These come from Tinnevely urn-burials; two are tanged to take wooden, or perhaps ivory, handles, and one has the knob at the back. They are of bronze, the face being slightly convex. In spite of the archaeological rareness of mirrors in India, modern Newāri-made copper and brass mirrors for Tibetan ritual use are common.

The distribution and material of these mirrors raises the important question of the occurrence of various metals in India. After iron, copper is undoubtedly the metal of India. Tin is reported among Indian imports, but tin-bronze is almost entirely wanting in India, except in the related Tinnevely and Nilgiri urn- and cairn-burials and certain bronze icons, probably of the Chola period. Once across the Brahmaputra, one returns to an area of bronze; the *cire-perdue* castings of Burma, Siam, Java and Cambodia are almost wholly in bronze. Tibet is on the half-way line. The emigrant Newāri metal workers from Nepal have taken with them into Tibet the Indian copperworking tradition, while certain bronze-castings exist which show strong Chinese influence. Brass as a whole is a late medium in India, and also in Central Asia it appears, for Henderson makes the astonishing statement that in 1870 brass was mistaken for gold in Yarkand, copper being in general use. Just as copper is the casting medium of India, *cire-perdue* is on the whole the method employed. The amusing Kondh marriage toys and the beer-syphons used by certain Assamese tribes are cast by this method nowadays in brass.

SAMKARA ON THE CONDITIONS OF KNOWLEDGE.

BY SATINDRA KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M.A.

THE epistemological conditions of knowledge, according to Śaṅkara, may be said to be two in number, viz., Permanence of the Subject, and Self-consciousness of the Subject. We shall treat them separately.

A. Permanence of the Subject.

The world of our knowledge is a system in which every stray piece of knowledge takes its rightful place. Each piece of knowledge is connected with a number of its kind either by similarity or by contrast, and the fact that assimilation is necessary for the development of knowledge points to the same direction. Memory (*smṛti*) and recognition (*pratyakṣijñā*) based on it, show us in our practical life how much the elements of our knowledge are connected among themselves. When on seeing the face of a boy similar to that of my dead brother, I remember, with a mingling of pleasure and sorrow, the face of my dear brother who is no more, nay even every childish prattling and naughty trick of his, it shows that the elements of our knowledge are intimately connected. So, again, when we find a child, who has seen a snake for the second time, recognizes it to be snake similar to the one he had previously seen and with a terror-stricken face runs away from it, we can assert that the elements of his knowledge are interrelated. But how is such a complex net of interrelated elements of knowledge possible?—Our memory, and recognition, which depends upon memory, show that the relation which the different elements have with one another is always through one single focussing point. 'I who saw that before remember that now,' 'I who saw that before recognize one similar to that now'—such are the forms of our remembrance and recognition. The elements of our knowledge are, indeed, in a process of continual change—A follows B, B follows C, and C in its turn is succeeded by D, and so on. But when we remember A or recognize B, our memory is always in the form 'I who saw A before remember A now,' or 'I who saw B before recognize B now.' We remember and recognize things of long past, and between our perception and remembrance or recognition a long time has elapsed, every moment of which had its own quota of knowledge. But still how is it that we remember or recognize? We can answer by saying that this is possible because they are the experiences of a permanent individual, who is present throughout the confoundingly numerous stray experiences. The experiences are of this permanent individual and through him they get their interconnection. It is easy to say, as Vasubandhu has done in his *Abhidharmakośa* in reply to a question of Vatsīputriya as to how memory is possible without a permanent soul, that "In the current of phenomena which is designated by the name Caitra, a recollection appears. We notice the fact, and express it. It is no more."¹ If asked to account for this appearance of a recollection, Vasubandhu will reply, as any modern sensationalist does, by appealing to the law of association. "There is a certain affinity (between ideas)," says he, "there are ideas somehow similar to others and having a power of evoking them."² Accepting that memory (and recognition also depending on memory) is due to association of ideas, the question remains as to how the permanent element of 'I' as found in memory is to be explained—'I remember this' means, as already said, 'I saw that previously and I remember now.' Had there been no permanent (*sthāyī*), 'I,' of whom all these are experiences, how can we explain the persistence of the 'I'? Had there been no permanent 'I,' who is different from all the experiences, the form of remembrance and recognition would have been—'Another person saw this previously and I remember (or recognize) this now.' Śaṅkara states in his *Sūtra-bhāṣya*, "Remembrance is possible only in the case that the perceiving and remembering agents are the same, for we find that the observations of one man are not remembered by another. How could there be an experience of the form 'I saw that thing and remember it now,' unless the seeing and remembering

¹ *Abhidharmakośa*, Eng. Trans. by Prof. Stcherbatsky, ch. VII, § 13.² *Ibid.*, § 15.

persons are both the same. If there were two cognitive agents, the form would have been 'Another person saw this and I remember this now,' but no such form of remembrance is found."³ We find the same thing in another place also. "For unless there exists one entity equally connected with the past, present and future, or an unchangeable subject which knows everything, we are unable to explain remembrance, recognition and such other things."⁴ If remembrance and recognition cease to refer to one individual, then there will be no remembrance and recognition at all, and hence the whole system of past experience, which depends upon these two, ceases to exist.

We have said above that the system of our experience is not possible without a permanent subject. But it may be doubted whether this personal identity, which is said to be the basis of the system of ideas, is itself a fact or a fiction. Are we bound to admit that the 'I' which persists throughout our life is a really permanent entity? or is it only a "conventional name given to a flux of elements," as Vasubandhu says?⁵ "As milk and water," Vasubandhu further states, "are but conventional names for some colour, touch and taste taken together, so also is the designation 'individual' but a common name for the different elements which it is composed of."⁶ He adds that the feeling of identity is due to "wrong personalism." Hume also says, in exactly the same strain, that "the soul or mind is in reality nothing more than the sum of our inner states, a collection of ideas which flow in a continuous and regular stream"; and he adds "that which leads to the assumption of personal identity is only the frequent repetition of similar trains of ideas, and the gradual succession of our ideas, which is easily confused with constancy."⁷ We can ask both Vasubandhu and Hume as to who 'gives them a common name,' or who observes them 'passing in a continuous and regular stream?' The ideas cannot know that there are similarities among them. To find out similarities among ideas, there must be an entity apart from the ideas. Unless there be an entity who observes the different elements or inner states, why should there be such personal identity as to cover past, present and even future? We find ourselves as different from the inner states, and at the same time find that we are always present, however much these inner states change. Indeed, because there is a permanent entity apart from the changes, and which we feel so surely every moment, that we can talk of such things as a 'flux' or a 'stream.' Bradley criticises this personal identity and concludes, as Dr. Halder puts it: "Altogether personal identity, based on memory, is a very uncertain thing, and is largely a matter of degree."⁸ Bradley has committed a mistake analogous to those of Vasubandhu and Hume. Does personal identity depend on memory or does memory depend on personal identity? If there is no entity which endures throughout, and of which we are every moment aware of as 'I,' how can we say that "I who saw that remember it now?" To say that personal identity depends upon memory is really to make the presupposition an effect of those which presuppose them. Śāṅkara, therefore, says in his *Sūtra-bhāṣya*: "In the statement, 'I know the present, I know the proximate and remote past, and I shall know the future,' the objects of knowledge change as they are present, past or future, but the knowing agent does not change."⁹ Personal identity is a presupposition and not an effect; or, in other words, the permanence of the subject must be assumed as a condition if the system of our experience is to be explained.

B. Self-Consciousness of the Subject.

We have discussed above the permanence of the subject as a condition of empirical knowledge. Let us now take up the self-consciousness (*Ahaṁkāra*) of the subject as a condition. It has been said above—and everybody feels it—that all our experiences are referred

³ *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, 2. 2. 25.

⁵ *Abhidharmakośa*, § 1.

⁷ Falkenberg, *History of Modern Philosophy*, (Eng. Trans.), p. 226.

⁸ Dr. Hiralal Halder, *Neo-Hegelianism*, p. 223.

⁹ *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, 2. 3. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2. 2. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, § 1.

to the 'I,' the self-conscious subject. Whether in perception, as 'I see a tree'; or in inference, as 'I infer fire from smoke'; or in memory, as 'I remember this'; or in recognition, as 'I recognize this'; or in willing, as 'I wish to have this'; or in feeling, as 'I feel such and such'—everywhere the 'I' is present. Try however you may, you can never get rid of the 'I.' If we try to do away with the 'I,' or, in other words, if our experience ceases to refer to the 'I'—the form of knowledge would not be 'I see a tree,' or 'I feel pain,' which, in other words, means that 'I shall have no knowledge.' Śaṅkara, therefore, says in his *Gītā-bhāṣya*: "Unless one knows himself as 'I,' he cannot make any attempt to know anything."¹⁰ The same thing has been put by Fichte in his *Science of Knowledge*. "The truth is," says he, "that you cannot think anything at all without adding in your thought the Ego as self-conscious."¹¹

Śaṅkara, in his introduction to the *Sātra-bhāṣya*, gives us a deeper reason when he says that "the popular use of 'I' and 'Mine' (i.e., self-consciousness) is due to a mixing up of the real (*Ātman*) and the unreal (*Andāman* = body, mind, etc.),"¹² and also that "One cannot have the qualities of the subject unless one has the wrong notion that the body, senses, etc., are identical with or belong to the self of the knowing person."¹³ What Śaṅkara means is that self-consciousness depends upon the union of the *Ātman* and the body, senses, etc.; and also that without self-consciousness no knowledge is possible. Vācaspati comments on the second statement thus: "To be subject means to possess knowledge." This requires that the subject must have independence (*svātantrya*). Independence means that the subject uses the means of right knowledge though it cannot be compelled to do so. But pure consciousness, which is free from activity, cannot be said to use the means of right knowledge. So the subject, in order that it can use the means of right knowledge, must be due to a mixing up of the *Ātman* and the body, mind, etc."¹⁴ The matter is of much importance and requires explanation.

The origin of self-consciousness, as we found above, has been attributed by Śaṅkara to the identification of the *Ātman* with our body, mind, etc. 'I eat sweets,' and 'I am wounded'—such statements we always use. It cannot be said that the *Ātman* in such cases actually eats or is wounded, for we perceive that our tongue and skin are in direct touch with the dish and the knife. How then can we say that 'I am wounded' or 'I eat sweets?' Does the 'I' eat or get wounded? The reply, that sensations are carried to the *Ātman*, as a psychologist might say, only pushes the question further to the brain centres, but does not solve it, for the brain centres are not identical with *Ātman*. The pineal gland of Descartes may be a clever device, but the fundamental difficulty remains the same. The fact is that the *Ātman* identifies himself with the tongue and the body; and had it been otherwise—had not the *Ātman* identified himself with these two—he would not have said 'I eat sweets' or 'I am wounded.' Our statement becomes clear if we see that if by detachment we separate the *Ātman* from these, then neither of the statements is possible. The physical facts of eating or being wounded can belong to us only if we identify ourselves with the body, etc., and, if not, the physical fact remains confined to the physical world. The fact that people commit suicide, shows that they greatly detach themselves from the body, etc., and try to fly away from what they think to be an 'iron cage.' But these very people, before they can so detach themselves from their body, would have shuddered at anybody's attempt to kill them, and would have said 'I won't be killed.' Let us take another example—'I am well,' 'I am ill.' What is the matter here? The illness or well-being belongs to the body, but we say 'I am well' or 'I am ill.' This is due to the identification of our *Ātman* with the gross body, so that the well-being or illness of the body becomes a property of the *Ātman* as well. The

¹⁰ *Gītā-bhāṣya*, 2. 18.

¹¹ Fichte, *Science of Knowledge*, Chapter on Fundamental Principles of Knowledge, § 1.

¹² Introduction to *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Bhamati, Commentary to Śaṅkara's Introduction to *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*.

'I' is, thus, due to the identification of the *Ātman* with its body, etc. Śaṅkara, therefore, says: "Before the rise of discriminative knowledge, the nature of the *Jīva*, which is pure light, is non-discriminated from its limiting adjuncts, as body, senses, etc., and appears as possessing energies of seeing, etc."¹⁵

We are now in a position to understand the significance of the statement of Śaṅkara and Vācaspati quoted before, viz., that coupling of the *Ātman* and the body and organs, etc., are necessary for knowledge. The questions whether this mixing up is due to *avidyā* or not, whether the pure consciousness can possess activity or not, are metaphysical, and we need not spend time over them here, but the fact remains, as Vācaspati says, that "the subject must use the means of knowledge." 'I see a tree' means that the subject uses the organ of eye and thereby sees the tree; for if the subject ceases to have any connection with the eye, the eye, of itself, could not have seen the tree, as is found in the case of a man in a swoon, when self-consciousness goes down to the lowest limit. A man in sound sleep does not hear sounds, because the subject is in a very low degree of self-consciousness, and has no connection with the auditory organ. But the man coming to consciousness after rising from sleep or swoon, hears and sees—'I hear sound,' 'I see a tree.' This shows that the subject must use his means of knowledge in order to gain knowledge. Similarly, in the case of inference, we need an effort to arrange the data and to draw a conclusion.

Now, how is it possible for the *Jīva* to use his organs, etc., unless he is self-conscious? We see that when we wish, e.g., to touch a distant thing we stretch our hand towards it, and when the hand has touched the thing we feel the thing hard or soft. We should mark two important facts here—(1) when we stretch the hand we always think 'I stretch my hand,' or something like this, in which the 'I' is never absent; (2) secondly, it is only after we have touched the thing that hardness or softness is perceived, so that our self-consciousness—the 'I'—must precede the perception of touch, for before we can have the perception of touch, the self-consciousness is already there as we find in 'I stretch my hand.' There will perhaps be no objection to the first, for in all our activities we find that self-consciousness is necessarily found. It is not once or twice that we say 'I taste,' 'I touch,' and so on. Even in cases of using our eyes and ears, where our activity seems to be least, the 'I' is present. When we use our tongue or hand we are palpably active, for the tongue and the hand have to be stretched; but in the case of eyes, ears and nose, the activity seems to vanish, for apparently we do not use them in the sense we use hand or tongue. But even there the activity is present, as is seen when we strain our eyes, ears or nose to see a distant thing, to hear a low voice or to smell a mild smell, and we say 'my eye, ear and nose are strained,' meaning that I used them. We do not feel ourselves as active in seeing, hearing or smelling in the ordinary course, only because we have not to stretch them. Even in the case of tongue or hand, if anybody put sugar on our tongue or ice on our hand, we feel sweetness and cold, but not the activity of stretching the tongue or hand. We can, therefore, say that in the use of our organs of sense there is necessarily an activity, which may be felt or not, and the agent of activity is the 'I,' or, in other words, self-consciousness is necessary in the use of our organs.

Now let us come to the second point. Knowledge comes to us only when we use the organs, as we have seen a little before, and we have seen now that to use our organs self-consciousness is necessary. Our second statement that self-consciousness must precede knowledge follows from a combination of these two conclusions. If using the organs of sense precedes knowledge, self-consciousness, which is a condition of using the organs, must precede knowledge. The statements of Śaṅkara and Vācaspati, that knowledge is not possible without a coupling of the *Ātman* and *Andāman*, thus amount to saying that without such coupling self-consciousness is not possible; without self-consciousness the use of the instruments of knowledge is not possible; and lastly, without using the instruments of knowledge,

knowledge is not possible. The coupling of *Ātman* and *Anātman* is only a far off metaphysical condition of knowledge, while self-consciousness is an epistemological one.

We have said above that self-consciousness must precede knowledge, but this is one side of the problem. As we have said at the very beginning, if our knowledge ceases to refer to the 'I,' the form of our knowledge would not have been 'I see' or 'I hear,' or, in other words, we would have no knowledge. Self-consciousness is a condition from two standpoints:—It is the condition of using the instruments of knowledge; and it is also the 'proprietor' of knowledge. The 'I' uses the instruments of knowledge, and thereby it precedes knowledge; the 'I' also possesses knowledge, and is thereby involved in knowledge. The full significance of the statement 'I see the sun' is: 'I use my eyes and I have the knowledge of the sun.' The 'I,' when we look to it as the employer of instruments of knowledge, precedes knowledge; but when we look to it as the possessor of knowledge, it is involved in knowledge. If the 'I' simply uses the instruments of knowledge and ceases to possess knowledge, no good comes out of such using the instruments. It is only in abstraction that we can make such distinction as using the instruments and possessing knowledge. But, in fact, if the 'I' uses its organs, it cannot help possessing knowledge. He who sows must reap. The 'I' can choose to use the instruments or not, but if it uses them, knowledge must belong to it. We thus see that self-consciousness both precedes knowledge, and is also involved in it.

It may, however, be doubted whether we have been interpreting Śāṃkara correctly, for from what we have said as to the permanence and self-consciousness of the subject—whom we have always referred to as 'I'—one may suspect that we have been tending towards pluralism of *Ātmans*, as held by the Nyāya. There are millions and millions of individuals, every one of whom feels himself as 'I,' and now, as we have seen, if the 'I' is permanent and self-conscious, then certainly there are innumerable *Ātmans* belonging to innumerable individuals, for, according to both Nyāya and Vedānta, the *Ātman* is the real subject of knowledge. Śāṃkara identifies the individual *Ātman* with Brahman, who is one and indivisible, and in whom no activity of any sort is possible, and hence no possibility of empirical knowledge. We are, therefore, either to deny all possibility of knowledge, which, however, is absurd, since we actually possess knowledge; or to accept the conclusion of the Nyāya that there are as many souls as there are individuals. The Nyāya argument in favour of the plurality of souls has been summarised by Prof. Radhakrishnan thus: "The soul is unique in each individual. There is an infinite number of souls; if not, then everybody would be conscious of the thoughts and feelings of everybody else."¹⁶ Since it is absurd to deny knowledge owing to want of activity in the One universal *Ātman* of Śāṃkara, we must admit that there is the possibility of knowledge. But if there is only one universal *Ātman* in everybody, then, of course, there will be utter chaos, for every individual will know and feel the experience of every other individual. But what experience teaches us is that every individual has a monopoly over his own experiences, which none other can ever share with him. It seems, therefore, that to explain this 'monopoly of experience,' we should accept, with the Nyāya, a plurality of *Ātmans*. But the difficulty will disappear if we carefully note the importance of self-consciousness in Śāṃkara's system, and we have already hinted at this.

The problem can be solved by applying our conclusion regarding the origin of self-consciousness. The question is how Śāṃkara can, accepting the existence of an universal *Ātman* in all bodies, explain the difference of experience in different individuals, how he can explain what we have called above 'the monopoly of knowledge.' If, as Śāṃkara says, there is only one universal *Ātman*, how is it that the experiences of one man is not experienced by another? This is the problem. Let us discuss. What are A and B? A feels himself as 'I' and says 'I see a tree'; B feels himself equally as 'I,' and says 'I see a cow.' As found in the above discussion, the 'I' of A = *Ātman*, plus body, mind, etc.; and the 'I' of B = *Ātman*,

¹⁶ Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, p. 148.

plus body, mind, etc. Though the *Ātman* is common in the 'I's' of both A and B, yet the body, mind, etc., are different; so that the one universal *Ātman*, as identified with different bodies, etc., does no longer remain *Ātman*, but turns into *Ātman*¹, *Ātman*², *Ātman*³, and so on, or, in other words, so many individuals or *Jīvas*. Though the *Jīva* is at bottom one with the universal *Ātman*, yet, as Śaṅkara says, 'owing to limiting adjuncts, the *Ātman* is treated as if it were two, just as we make a distinction between the *ghaṭākāśa* and the *mahākāśa*.'¹⁷ The *Jīvas* though they are one at bottom in so far as they are one with the universal *Ātman*, yet so far as they are *Jīvas*, they are different, or, as Śaṅkara says, "the self is indeed found to be many, but (in reality) it is one only."¹⁸ The experiences of an individual are controlled by his body, mind, etc., and if the body, mind, etc., are different, the experiences of different *Jīvas* also must be different. So, Śaṅkara by declaring the oneness of the *Ātman* in every individual does not expose his theory to such absurdities as the simultaneous experience by all individuals of the experience of one of them. The principle of individuation is found in the 'I'ness, or self-consciousness or *ahamkāra*. The experiences of each individual are different, because of the self-consciousness, the *ahamkāra*, because they feel themselves as 'I.'

TAMIL *ARIŚI* (RICE) AND GREEK *ORUZON*.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

THE remarkable correspondence in form and meaning between the Tamil word *ariśi* (husked rice) and the Greek word *oruzon* led Caldwell to state that "it cannot be doubted that we have here (in the Greek form) the Tamil word *ariśi*, rice deprived of the husk, this being the condition in which rice was then, as now, brought [sic] up in India for exportation to Europe."¹

Doubts were expressed about Caldwell's view by a few subsequent scholars, who, not being students of linguistics, could not pursue the question in all its scientific aspects. A few years ago Prof. Jules Bloch, the celebrated French philologist, took up the problem and discussed it with his characteristic thoroughness and erudition in a paper² contributed by him to the volume of *Études Asiatiques* published on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. In this paper which, we may observe, is characterized by a great depth and sweep of linguistic observation and comparison, Prof. Bloch seeks to demolish what appears as the dogmatic asseveration of Caldwell referred to above, and to show that the Greek word had no connection with Dravidian and that it was derived presumably from an Iranian form on which Sanskrit *vr̥hi* (rice) is based. In this connection he has also discussed cursorily the various Dravidian forms for *rice*, *paddy*, etc., and sought to show on the basis of external and internal evidence that there could be no connection between the Greek and Sanskrit words on the one hand and the Dravidian forms on the other.

The same topic had been handled by Mr. Edwin H. Tuttle of the U.S.A., from a different standpoint, in a paper contributed to vol. 47 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Mr. Tuttle's view is that the Sanskrit and the Greek forms, as well as a few analogical forms occurring in Iranian and Shina, were derived from what he considers to be the Dravidian proto-form *wriḡhia*. Mr. Tuttle's view is thus not only directly opposed to Prof. Bloch's opinion, but Mr. Tuttle proceeds right ahead and explains a number of forms occurring in widely different languages as being derived from Dravidian. Mr. Tuttle's arguments, so far as his construction of the Dravidian proto-form is concerned, are weakened fundamentally by his indifference to the bearing of the semantic contents of Dravidian roots on the development of Dravidian forms and by his strong conviction that the character and speed of linguistic evolution are alike in all languages.

The question for determination in this paper of mine is purely whether the main Dravidian forms are related to one another, and if so what relationship they in their turn may

¹⁷ *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, 1. 2. 21.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1. 4. 23.

¹ Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 3rd edn., p. 89.

² I published a brief summary of Prof. Bloch's paper in the *Educational Review of Madras* in 1924.

bear to the Greek form. This aspect, as we have mentioned above, has been cursorily adverted to by Prof. Bloch, as the main object of his paper was to establish the derivation of Greek *oruzon* from an old Iranian form. Prof. Bloch admits that the Dravidian forms are native but observes that neither Greek *oruzon* nor Sanskrit *vrihi* could have had any connection with the Dravidian forms. It is my purpose to show in this paper that, viewed from the standpoint of Dravidian, the relationship of the Dravidian forms to the Greek word cannot be dismissed so easily.

The known Dravidian forms are the following :—

Tamil:	<i>arisi</i> , <i>ari</i> , ³ <i>vari</i> , 'paddy.'
Telugu:	<i>vari</i> , 'paddy.'
Kannada:	<i>akki</i> , 'rice.'
Tulu:	<i>ari</i> , 'rice,' <i>akki</i> , <i>bāru</i> .
Malayālam:	<i>ari</i> , 'rice'; <i>vari</i> , 'paddy.'
Kūi:	<i>urgi</i> . (Another Kūi word <i>kūdi</i> or <i>kūli</i> , 'rice,' 'paddy,' is different and probably allied to Tamil <i>kālu</i> .)
Tōḍa:	<i>ask</i> , 'rice.'
Gōṇḍi:	<i>vanji</i> , 'paddy,' also 'rice'; <i>pari</i> , 'rice.'

Kurukh does not evidently show allied forms: both *khess*, 'paddy,' and *tikkil*, 'rice,' are different. Kurukh *arkhā* (culled shoots) contains the Dr. base *ar*, but the meaning is not restricted.

To begin with, we have to consider if we can isolate the forms with initial *v*- from those with initial vowels. Prof. Bloch seems to suggest that they are different.⁴ I venture to suggest that the two sets of forms are closely connected, and that those with initial vowels should be regarded as primary, inasmuch as they represent the Dravidian radical *ar* or *ar*, to 'cut off,' or 'separate.'

(a) *ari* in Dravidian, as a verb, means to 'remove,' and is derived from *ar* or *ar*, to 'cut off,' or 'separate.' (Cf. the alternative forms *arikkirai* and *araikkirai*, 'potheb,' for the interchange of *r* and *ṛ*); *ar* or *ar* has given us a number of forms like *aruvāḷ*, *araku*, *ara*, etc. The most ancient of the forms for rice (husked and not husked) is *ari*, found in Tamil meaning 'paddy' or any 'handful of grain.' This meaning apparently contains the idea of *something cut off*. The word was subsequently applied to paddy and rice alike.

Malayālam fixed the meaning of 'rice' for *ari*, while late old Tamil and Kannada used derivative forms with the suffix *k*.

It is clear, therefore, that the forms with an initial *a* are primary, and that Tamil *ari*, 'paddy,' represents the most ancient form directly derived from the root.

(b) *-ki* is a derivative ending very common to Dravidian,⁵ and is employed, with its variants *-ke*, *-ge*, *-ku*, *-gu*, etc., to form derivative nouns from verb roots; though Kannada mostly employs *-ke* or *-ge*, and Tam. *-kkai* or *-gai*, the central Dravidian dialects show *-ki* (e.g., Kūi *gippki*, etc.)

Kannada *akki* and Tamil *arisi* were such derivative nouns, formed with this affix; in Kannada *ariki* gave *akki*, just as *iriki* gave rise to *ikki*, 'house.' Tamil *s* was the palatalized resultant of the original *-k*, as in *ēḷḷi* (< *ēḷ*).

³ *ari* in Tamil has the following meanings: 'paddy,' 'ear of paddy,' 'rice.' The semantic developments offer no difficulty. The primary meaning, 'paddy,' is retained in *ari*, *vari*; the derivative meanings are exclusive for *akki*, *arisi* and *ask*.

⁴ Prof. Bloch has noted the close resemblance in form and meaning between the group: Tel. *vari*, Tulu *bāri*, and Gōṇḍi *vanji*, on the one hand, and Malay *vari*, *bari* and Javanese *padi*, on the other. While Prof. Bloch refrains from making any comment on the relationship of the Dravidian and Austric forms, Mr. Tuttle in his article suggests that "probably Tamil *vari* and Tel. *vari*, having the sense of Malay *padi*, were derived from Austric."

It will be seen from the following discussion that the Dravidian forms with initial *v*- could be explained as native Dravidian, derivable as they are from the forms without the initial *v*-.

⁵ See my paper on Dravidian *-k* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, September 1928.

(c) One of the characteristic features of Dravidian is that prothetic glides are introduced before initial vowels of words. Though the present usage in Tamil shows, as pointed out by the Tamil grammarians, Caldwell, Vinson and others, that the palatal glide *ɻ* is favoured before palatal initial vowels and the dorsal glide *ɖ* before dorsal initial vowels, in old Tamil this rule was not strictly followed.⁶ Present usage in Tamil shows that the prothetic glide before initial *a*, as in *yār*, 'who,' *yānai*, etc., is *ɻ* and not *ɖ*, as we should expect. Whether this was due to a slightly palatal pronunciation of *a* in late old Tamil, or whether the rule about the use of palatal and dorsal glides was not strictly followed, the fact that a dorsal glide *ɖ* could have appeared before initial *a* is beyond doubt. It will be seen that the prothetic glide, which has now developed into the full consonant *v* or *b*, in Gōṇḍī, Kannaḍa and Tulu is the dorsal one, and not the palatal one. As this, then, indicates an original state of affairs in Dravidian, it is easy to see how the *v*- forms for rice could have arisen. The initial *v*- of Tamil *vari*, Tulu *bār*, Telugu *varī* and Gōṇḍī *vañji* will, therefore, have to be considered to be a labial or labiodental fricative development from the original glide. The glide does not seem to have been incorporated in the shape of fully developed consonants largely in Tamil. Kannaḍa, Tulu and Gōṇḍī regularly develop *ɖ* as a glide before all initial dorsal vowels, and in some instances *ɖ* has developed into the full bilabial and become incorporated, e.g., *vaṇasu* (dinner); from *uṇasu*, *varaffu* (to annoy) from *alaffu* or *araffu*, etc. Nevertheless, Tamil does show, though only more rarely than other dialects, an initial *v* in a number of ancient forms like *vaṇangu* (*aṇangu*); *viḷ*- (*uḷ*); *val*- (*ol*); *var-ai* (to write), *orai* (to rub, scratch); *val* (*ol*), etc. The explanation usually offered for the relationship of the forms with initial *v*- and the corresponding forms without *v*-, is that the latter may have been secondary, the initial *v*- having been dropped off. Though this explanation may apply to a few colloquial forms of to-day (as, for instance, in Kannaḍa or Tamil), it is entirely invalid in the case of a number of ancient forms where, it will be noted, those having vowels initially are certainly *original*, in view of the fact that they (and not the forms with initial *v*-) represent the primitive radicals from which they themselves and other independent forms have equally arisen.

Tamil: *val* (to flow) and *ol* (to slide, flow), *valayal* and *aleyai* ('wandering,' 'sorrow,' etc., -*Val*); Mal. *vāl* (to drip) and *ōl* (to flow), *vir-i* (to be separated) and *ur-i* (to be stripped), *vitaru* (to scatter) and *utaru*, etc.

Cf. Tamil *aḍu* (to 'cook') and Tel. *vaḍu*; Tam. *aga* ('sorrow') and Tel. *vaga*; cf. Gōṇḍī *vaṇeng-* (to slumber) with Tam.-Mal. *vaṇg-* (to sleep), *vāt* (to wave) with southern *aḍu*, *varrol* (alone) with southern *or* (one), etc., also Gōṇḍī *bōt* (to 'touch') with Tam. *oṭu*; *vadda* with Tam. *ṭṭ*; *vali* (to 'wander') with Tam. *alay*; *van* (to 'speak') with Tam. *in*; *vōd* ('break') with *oḍei*, etc., etc. The presence of *v*- before initial front vowels⁷ may either be due to the dorsal tonality of these vowels, or to the fact that the glides *ɻ* and *ɖ* were less rigidly used in old Dravidian than to-day.

It is more or less clear, therefore, that the forms with initial *v* may have arisen from *ari*.

(d) Gōṇḍī *vañji* is a normal development from an older *vari* (> *vandri* > *vañji*); cf. the *j* in Tulu *oñji*, 'one,' *āji*, 'six,' and Kūi *pañji*, 'pig', etc.

The initial vowel of Kūi *uṅgi* is developed from the glide *ɖ*; stress-displacement led to the dropping of intermediate *-a-* and *-i-*, and to the lengthening of the final *i*. For the development of *u* from *ɖ*, compare Kannaḍa initial *va-* which, in the colloquial, is given the value of *o* or *u*: *vaṅki*, *oṅki*, *uṅki*, etc.

⁶ See Vinson's *Grammar*, page 30.

⁷ A few instances show that the dorsal glide was prominent even before what appear now as palatal initial vowels. There is nothing surprising in this, because as the function of the glide is to induce ease in pronunciation, either *ɻ* or *ɖ* could freely find place in prothetic positions before vowels of the 'mixed' or 'middle' variety, which are neither extremely dorsal nor extremely palatal.

If, as we have shown above, the Dravidian forms (with and without the initial labiodental fricative) are native, could we not connect the Greek word *oruza* directly with an old Dravidian form *varisi* or *varizi* which we can reasonably presume to have existed? The change of initial *vā-* into Greek *o* and the representation of Greek *u* for Dravidian *i* are quite normal. Initial *vā-* in Dravidian, we may observe here, even to-day in dialects like Tulu and Kannada, has sometimes nearly the same value as [ɔ].

Thus we come back again to Caldwell's opinion, which, though summarily stated by him, appears to have justification on closer analysis. It is true that Caldwell himself did not work out this relationship and that he contented himself with pointing out the superficial resemblance; but, closer inspection, in the light of what we have stated above,⁸ reveals that his view of the origin of Greek *oruza* cannot now be dismissed by us as lacking any justification whatsoever.

So far as Sanskrit *vr̥ṣi* is concerned, the root suggested by Sanskrit grammarians is *vr̥*, 'to choose,' but the semantic derivation of the meaning 'rice' from the meaning of this radical appears difficult. Could it not be that the Sanskrit word was adapted in a slightly modified form from Dravidian with the meaning it had in Dravidian, and then a Sanskritic derivation was attributed to it by Sanskrit grammarians? This is a view which deserves to be taken up by students of Sanskrit philology. The question of the relationship of Dravidian *vari*, etc., and Sanskrit *vr̥ṣi* is a little complicated by the fact that certain forms cognate with Skt. *vr̥ṣi* occur in Iranian and Central Asian Āryan dialects; but there is nothing inherently impossible in the view that seeks to trace the Indo-Āryan forms to Dravidian. For one thing, the nature, chronology and extent of the influence of Dravidian on Indo-Āryan (in pre-Vedic as well as in post-Vedic times), when carefully investigated, should offer valuable assistance in this direction. Again, if we consider that the Dravidian forms with *v-* are native,—as we may have to, in view of the above discussion,—and if, further, a relationship between the Dravidian and the Indo-Āryan forms is envisaged, then the possibility is all on the side that Dravidian may have been the lender and Indo-Āryan the borrower.

Another interesting fact in this connection is that, while the Indian Austric dialects (like Santālī, Mundārī, etc.) show only a few forms for 'rice' or 'paddy,' which are allied to Dravidian, distant Austric dialects like Malay and Javanese show *vari*, *pāri*, *broi*, *beras*, *padi*, etc., with the meanings 'paddy' and 'rice.' Is the resemblance accidental? Or was the close contact between Dravidian and Austric in pre-historic times (a view which is gaining great popularity among scholars to-day) responsible for the presumable borrowing of the word by Austric from Dravidian?

Beset as these questions are with considerable difficulties, and much as we have still to investigate before definitive conclusions could be laid down in regard to these inter-relationships, we yet have to say that Caldwell's view about the origin of Greek *oruza* as having been borrowed from Dravidian cannot be dismissed, especially in view of what has emerged from the above discussion, viz., that a hypothetical *variji* or *varizi* could be postulated for Dravidian, from which the Greeks could, with characteristic modifications, have borrowed their word.

⁸ The conditions under which a full bilabial *v* has become incorporated in prothetic positions require to be sifted and classified in the different dialects; but, for the purpose of our discussion, it would be enough if we keep in view what is a well-recognised phenomenon of Dravidian, viz., that *ɔ* appears before initial dorsal vowels as a glide fully evaluated in pronunciation in Kannada, Tulu and Gôḍi.

THE PORTUGUESE FORT OF BARCELOR.

BY THE REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

WHEN reading old Portuguese books referring to India or when searching for original documents in the archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangim, the student of history often comes across the name of this fort, sometimes spelt as Barcalor, Barselor or Bracalor, but more commonly Barcelor. It is not our purpose to write the history of this fort; this will be done elsewhere.¹ Our aim is the identification of its situation.

Modern authors and editors of old books invariably state that Barcelor is the modern Basrur on the river of Kundapur, in the Kundapur Taluka of the South Kanara District. This seems quite plausible, and agrees with the topographical conditions of the old fort of Barcelor, as one may gather from the study of the old documents.

But an old engraving of the seventeenth century, published by Faria y Sousa in the second volume of his *Asia Portuguesa*, opens a new problem of identification in connection with the fort of Barcelor. This engraving, which we reproduce herewith, shows a fort on a river, which seems to run from west to south-east, whereas the actual river at Kundapur runs from east to west. However, ignoring this impression, the important point is that it shows the fort of Barcelor in the foreground; and some distance back, on the same side of the river, there is a walled enclosure representing a town, and bearing the legend *Barcalor de cima*, or 'Upper Barcelor.'

This led me at once to search not only for the Barcelor fort, but also for *Upper Barcelor*.

The best maps of South Kanara mark the town of Kundapur on the south bank of the river, close to the mouth, and then about three miles towards the east and on the same bank, the town of Basrur—and after that nothing else.² This information gave me little help, and I decided that only a visit to Basrur and the neighbourhood would serve to clear matters up.

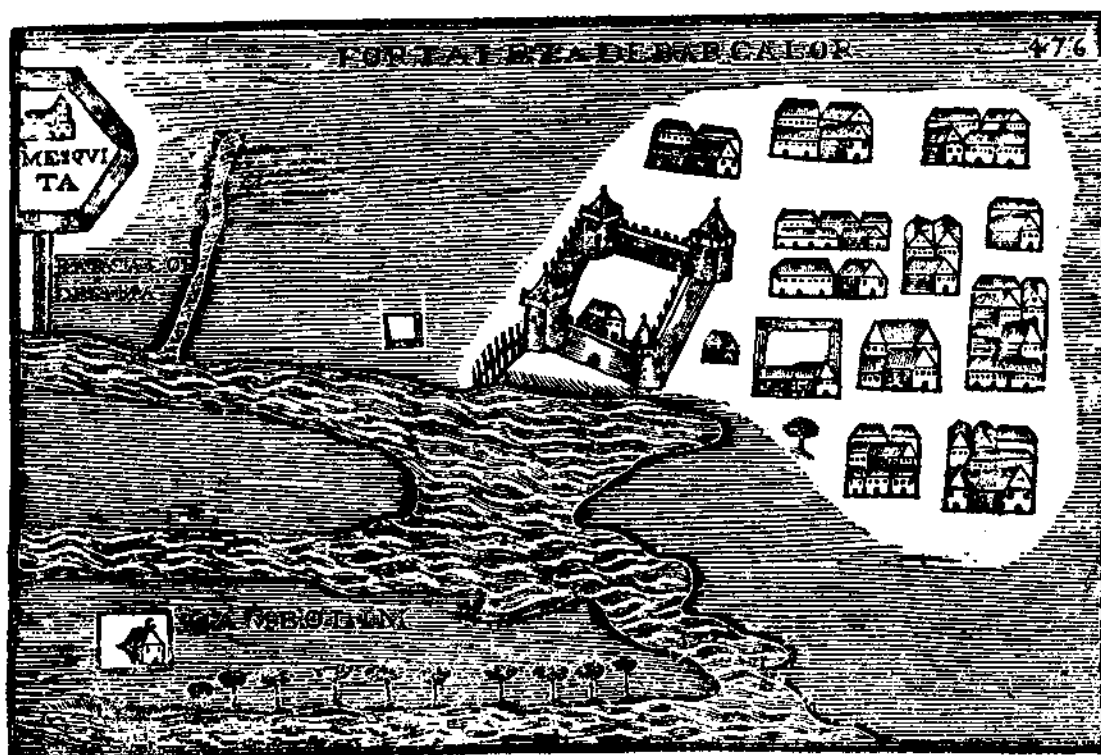
Hence during the summer vacation of the year 1928, finding myself in South Kanara, I planned to stay two days at Kundapur in order to visit Basrur, the supposed old fort of Barcelor, and its neighbourhood.³ But luck awaited me at Kundapur itself. On the day of my arrival I questioned my host, the Rev. Fr. Peter R. D'Souza, the Roman Catholic Priest of Kundapur, about the foundation of the Roman Catholic Church there. He told me whatever he knew, and placed in my hands the register books of the Parish Church, in which baptisms, marriages and deaths of the Catholics of that parish are faithfully recorded. The existing books are not very old, the earlier ones having been destroyed by insects. The oldest entries belonged to the beginning of the nineteenth century. There I found the following entry in Portuguese: "1829. Pe Justo Const^o. de Misquita Vigario de Vara de Barsalor," which means "Fr. Justo Const^o. de Misquita, Vicar Forane of Barsalor." This priest is recorded to have blessed the wedding of a couple "do Bairo Cundapur," i.e., of the hamlet Cundapur. Similar entries are found in the same book, down to the year 1842, when the church commenced to be called the Church of Cundapur.

It is necessary to mention that the Roman Catholics of South Kanara were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa till the year 1842. Therefore the priests of Kundapur down to this date were priests sent by the Portuguese. In 1842 a new jurisdictional division was introduced by the Holy See, and the Christians of South Kanara were allotted to the Bishop of Verapoly in Malabar. These facts were of great importance for my inquiry. They proved

¹ The main vicissitudes of this Portuguese fort will be narrated in the second volume of my history of *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*.

² Stuart, *South Kanara Manual*, p. 242, while speaking of Kundapur only says:—"In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese settled here and built a fort which still exists a little inland from the village." The author does not identify this fort with that of Barcelor.

³ I was accompanied on this interesting excursion by Mr. Aloysius Rebello, B.A., a student of St. Xavier's College, Bombay.



THE FORT OF BARCALOR.

From Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (1674), vol. II.

that down to the above date the Portuguese and Goan priests coming from Goa had faithfully kept the traditional name of the place from the time when the Portuguese had their fort there. On the other hand, the new priests coming from Verapoly, not conversant with the old history of the locality, accepted the common name of Kundapur, which was the name of an old hamlet that finally became the headquarters of the Taluka.⁴ Consequently the old Portuguese fort of Barcelor was not to be identified with Basrur, but with Kundapur. The town of Basrur was therefore the Upper Barcelor, the *Barcelor de cima* of the old Portuguese map.

These conclusions being arrived at, one naturally had to investigate whether there were in Kundapur remains of the old Portuguese Fort. On making inquiries, I was told that there certainly was a fort, commonly known as *Kotte-baghil*. Its remains were to be seen very near the river that runs on its north side. It is almost square (130 ft. x 100 ft.). The north and east side of the fort is much more elevated, about 40 ft. high, while the west side will be about 20 ft. and the south side only 10 or, at the most, 15 ft. The property, with a bungalow in the centre, belongs to one Mr. A. P. Luis at present.

The site of the old Portuguese Fort of Barcelor was therefore found before visiting Basrur. On reaching that town, I found clear evidence that the Portuguese had never been in effective possession of it; and the evidence lay in the number and condition of its Hindu temples. The main temple seems to be the Mahalingesvara temple. The Muktesvar of this temple has a copper *śāsana*. In the *prakara* of the temple, when entering to the right, there are eighteen inscriptions in Hale-Kannada, one of them used as a slab to pave the floor. All have the linga on top. Several are worn out. On the road south of the temple, about 150 ft. away, there is another Śaiva inscription in Hale-Kannada. About 100 ft. away from this inscription there is a big tank, called Samrakere, and a small tank, in the neighbourhood of which to the south there are two other inscriptions in Hale-Kannada. Both are Śaiva. One of them seems to be very long, but is partly buried in the ground. It is nevertheless in a very good state of preservation, excepting the upper left corner. Going southwards about 50 ft. there is another large tank called Devukere.

On the south side of it there are three other Śaiva inscriptions in Hale-Kannada. Two of them are partly buried. On the north-eastern corner of the same tank, there are two more inscriptions in Hale-Kannada. Both are Śaiva, one of them is very long; the other is inscribed on both sides. To the north in a palm grove is another small inscription. A little further west, in the compound of a house, there is another long inscription. The slab was lying on the ground and the inscribed face was turned downwards.

About two furlongs away from Basrur, on the top of a hill south-east of the town, there is a ruined temple surrounded by a grove. The temple is called Guppi Saddānanda, and is a small one. A verandah supported by pillars runs round it. These pillars are of stone beautifully carved. Some wooden pillars have been added in modern times. Inside the temple there is a recess containing a linga. In the premises of this temple there is another Śaiva inscription in Hale-Kannada and a very big *satikal*, half buried. This *satikal* represents a woman with her right hand pointing as usual to heaven. A popular local story refers to this woman. In old days there was a *rishi* in this temple, named Saddānanda, who demanded milk from a woman. This woman, instead of giving him milk, gave him poison. She was then cursed by the *rishi* and eventually converted into that stone. After this the *rishi* committed suicide by throwing himself into a well.⁵ In front of the steps leading to the temple there are the figures of three women, carved on one of the slabs paving the *prakara*, in an attitude of worship. It is said

⁴ Kundapur had never belonged to the Portuguese. The Hindu temples existing there and three inscriptions, one of the thirteenth and two of the fourteenth century, found in its neighbourhood are sufficient proof of this. Cf. Rangacharya, *Topographical List*, I, p. 851.

⁵ This story was narrated to us by a boy 16 years old, named Surap Shetty, who had heard it from his teachers. It seems that there are different versions of the story, for the *rishi* who is living in the temple at present related the same story with some slight differences.

that these three women—not only one—gave poison to the *rishi* of old. Round this temple there are several tombs of the past *rishis*, in a state of great decay. At the foot of the hill south-eastwards there is an inscription in Hale-Kannada. On top of the inscription there is a man worshipping the *śaṅkha*. This seems to be the only Vaishnava inscription at Basrur.

There is still another temple in the town, called Venkṛṣa Ramaṇa temple. At its entrance there is an inscription on a slab paving the way to the shrine, but it is absolutely worn out. To the right there is a Śaiva inscription, half-buried. To the left is another Śaiva inscription, also half-buried, inscribed on both sides. On the slabs before the shrine are carved the figures of three men in an attitude of worship.

Near the river one may still see two gateways in the old walls of Basrur, about one hundred yards apart. One is known as *Kotte-baghil*, and the other as *Nandi-baghil*, so called on account of a *rishi* named Nandi, who used to live in its neighbourhood.

This detailed survey of the antiquities of Basrur will clearly show that the Portuguese had never been in possession of this town; otherwise all these relics of antiquity and Hinduism would have perished at their hands.

Basrur was the real "Barcelor" marked in the above map as "Upper Barcelor" and often spoken of by travellers and even by the same Portuguese Viceroys in their correspondence with their sovereigns. Hence it remains now an obvious fact that the Portuguese Fort of Barcelor is to be located in the centre of the modern town of Kundapur.

SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

Prefatory Remarks.

THE general argument of this paper is that if the ethnologist is right in predicating the existence of a Tibeto-Burman race, there must be a corresponding identity in the folklore of the Tibetans and the Burmese. The bases of the paper are Dr. McGovern's *To Lhasa in Disguise*, which is an account of his remarkable secret expedition in 1922-3 through what he calls "mysterious" Tibet, and my own article "Burma" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, some other studies of the Burmans, and a few analogies in Indian folklore. I was much struck with the likeness to the mental habits of the Burmese in much of what Dr. McGovern observed during his journey and have thought it sufficient for my present purpose to compare his observations with the papers above-mentioned.

Dr. McGovern undertook his journey under appalling difficulties, travelling from Darjeeling to Lhasa in the winter months, disguised as the meanest Tibetan servant of his own Tibetan Secretary. But his knowledge of the people, their language, their manners and customs was complete enough to enable him to pass through that spy-ridden country without discovery, for he was not found out, but disclosed himself at Lhasa itself when it suited him to do so. It was an extraordinary achievement and his qualifications as a linguist make his observations of peculiar value. Previous travellers have had to depend on interpreters, whereas he could talk directly with the people of all classes, and therefore could ascertain their ideas with an accuracy not possible to the others. It was for this reason that I extracted from his book some 80 odd instances, where he describes the ideas, the manners and the customs of the Tibetans he met. In these extracts we ought to get the folklore they contain beyond dispute as to accuracy.

Dr. McGovern's book is lightly written, and unfortunately he throughout shows himself to be a human being unable to get away from his upbringing. He is the superior Oxford Ph.D. always, and this attitude to some extent mars his observation of the Tibetan mentality. He cannot get away from himself and his European education and throw himself into the mind of the utterly different people among whom he travelled. This is a common failing, and I have observed it in the accounts of educated Hindu travellers when recording observations on "wild tribes" in India. This failing should not, however, seriously affect McGovern's statements as to the actual facts of the folklore he records.

One cannot help admiring his wonderful performance, especially when one considers his physical handicap, for the portrait of him in the work discloses features hopelessly unlike those of the ordinary Tibetan. One has only to compare them with those of the Tibetans portrayed beside him, to wonder how after all he could have managed so complete a disguise. The whole performance shows an extraordinary amount of determination and endurance, and a certain capacity for riding roughshod over all opposition. This last shows itself in his dealings with the officials along the British frontier and in his callous deception of them. He deceived them deliberately, and nowhere shows any feeling for the plight in which his double dealing placed them. He was determined somehow to get to Lhasa, whatever stood in his way or who might suffer. The success of his private project was the one thing that mattered, and not till the last pages of his book do we find any hint that he ever thought of any one but himself and his scheme. "On the 16th April [1923] we arrived in Kalimpong and I was back in British India at last. That same day I went on to Peshok to be the guest of Major Bailey, the Political Officer in Sikkim. We had a number of things to talk over, as I was sorry to find that my little escapade had quite unintentionally caused the Indian Government a good deal of trouble." It is not every official who would make a guest of a traveller who had treated him so badly as Dr. McGovern treated Major Bailey. However, all's well that ends well, and we have many valuable folklore items to study as one result of the "escapade."

I should like here to raise a protest against the epithet, "mysterious" as applied to Tibet. Dr. McGovern calls his journey "a secret expedition through mysterious Tibet." Surely the time has now arrived when we may consider the "mystery" of Tibet to have been dispelled. The Tibetans are in fact very like their congeners in the world, and there is nothing mysterious in the history of the country. The long story of internal struggle and foreign incursion is much that has been the fate of other Oriental peoples, while the story of the present conditions obtaining in the country is comparatively modern—Buddhism having arrived about the same period as Islam arrived elsewhere, while the story of the first Dalai Lāma dates back only to the days of Queen Elizabeth, and the fifth Dalai Lāma became monarch of all Tibet only in 1645, in the days of Charles I.

However, the Buddhism that entered Tibet was of a debased Mahāyāna type, filled with the Śāktism and Tāntrism of the Hindus of Northern India, and the religion of the country has since degenerated back into the Animism which anciently dominated it, for Dr. McGovern, no doubt rightly, talks of the worship of gods and goddesses of the animistic kind. The arrival of the high priest to the throne meant in reality the Government of the country by a priestly caste, which has steadily kept it to themselves with all the determination that distinguishes ecclesiastics endowed with political power. For their purposes they have for some two centuries or more kept strangers out so far as they could, and that is the sole cause of the 'mystery,' which, in modern times, has surrounded the country. Otherwise the people are no more mysterious than the inhabitants of other lands. Indeed they are filled with the ordinary humanity of us all.

The Buddhism of modern Burma is altogether different from that of Tibet. It must have found its way into the country, both North and South, in the days of the Asokan missionaries of the third century B.C., and it suffered in the course of many centuries afterwards all the debasement that occurred in India, until a series of reformations took place from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries A.D., introducing a puritan form of the Buddhist faith from Ceylon, which finally spread itself over the whole country to the exclusion nowadays of the very memory of Mahāyānism among the educated. Among the people and the peasantry the old Mahāyānism and the indigenous Chinese form of Animism has naturally largely survived, so that we find in Burma generally a strong animistic faith overcast by a Hinayānist form of the Buddhist religion. The religion of the people therefore is a

duplicate form—an educated religion plus an uneducated superstition—a phenomenon quite common in the entire world, whatever the profession of the educated faith. Burmese folklore is necessarily largely filled with uneducated superstition.

I propose to divide the scraps of folklore I have picked out of McGovern's book into eight general heads as follows, comparing the Tibetan with Burmese ideas as occasion offers.

I. *Religious Beliefs*.—1. Religiosity. 2. Lucky Days. 3. Oracles. 4. Sacerdotal Blessings. 5. Rebirth. 6. Incarnations. 7. Supernatural Powers. 8. Miracles. 9. Magical Powers: (a) Lāmas, (b) The Dalai Lāmas. 10. Cures. 11. Callousness.

II. *Deities*.—1. Maitreya. 2. Pedem Llamō (goddess). 3. Temple Guardians. 4. Mountain Spirits. 5. Kinchenjanga. 6. Demon Haunts. 7. Images.

III. *Religious Customs*.—1. Rosaries. 2. Scapegoat. 3. Circumambulation Sunwise. 4. Pilgrimage. 5. Offerings. 6. Incense. 7. Ceremonial Dancing. 8. Flags. 9. Ragbushes. 10. Cairns. 11. Prayer Wheels. 12. Prayer Walls.

IV. *Superstitions*.—1. General. 2. Boys in Processions. 3. Head-room. 4. Left hand Whorls. 5. Merit in possessing Books. 6. Books. 7. Learning. 8. Snowmen.

V. *Medicine*.—1. Theory. 2. Medicine. 3. Anatomy. 4. Cures.

VI. *Social Customs*.—1. Position of Women. 2. Female Hospitality. 3. Polyandry. 4. Curfew. 5. Saluting. 6. Winds. 7. Cleanliness and Washing. 8. Natural Hot Baths. 9. Story of an Abbot. 10. Preaching. 11. Removal of Residence.

VII. *Food and Tabus*.—1. Chickens. 2. Milk. 3. Butter. 4. Butter for Lamps. 5. Butter for Decoration. 6. Tea. 7. Buttered Tea. 8. Cooking.

VIII. *Measurement*.—1. Reckoning. 2. Currency. 3. Prices. 4. Distance. 5. Time. 6. The Calendar.

A word as to spelling. Both in Tibetan and in Burmese spelling is as much divorced from sound as it is in English or French. It is not possible therefore to reproduce for the ordinary English reader either Tibetan or Burmese words as they are spelt in their respective scripts. In this paper the recognised methods of representation in Roman characters is adopted.

I. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

1. Religiosity.

In describing the "palace chapel" of the Tsarong Shape¹ at Lhasa, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and senior Secretary of State, McGovern remarks (p. 276): "In Tibet it is always wise to show one's religiosity to visitors. The whole of one side of the room was occupied by huge gilded images with burning butter lamps and offering bowls in front of them." There is nothing of this kind in Burma, because there the Government was in secular hands.

2. Lucky Days.

"The Tibetans (p. 24) are grossly superstitious and arrange all their affairs with reference to lucky and unlucky days. They are calculated both with reference to the days of the month and also the days of the week. Thus, for example, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays are bad days on which to start a new undertaking, and Mondays, Wednesdays and Sundays are considered fortunate. The 9th, 13th and 19th days of the month are considered particularly good omens, and Toby² pleaded that we postpone our departure until the 19th, and also a Sunday, doubly favourable. He seemed very much surprised that I refused to sacrifice two weeks in order to start things properly. At last he consented to come on the 6th, a Wednesday, provided that we started at nine o'clock, which the calendar declared to be an opportune hour."

¹ These are titles, not the names, of an official, see p. 277.

² McGovern's Secretary. His real name was Umdzela: *umdze* means dean of a temple in Sikkim.

"In case (p. 25) urgent business makes it necessary for a Tibetan to start a journey on an unlucky day, he will on some preceding lucky day have a hat or other article of clothing sent on ahead a mile or two on the road, because it is thought that in this way the gods³ can be beguiled into believing that the man himself started on the correct occasion."⁴

"I was told (p. 25) a good tale of a Tibetan, who took a long journey with his wife. He so arranged matters that he arrived at and left each place *en route* on a lucky day. While still on the journey the poor fellow's wife died, and the delay caused by this event upset the whole schedule, so that the man was held up for several weeks at a little village waiting for the next series of auspicious dates to come round again."

In this matter of Lucky Days there are constant analogies in Burmese folklore. Thus in my article "Burma" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. III (to be quoted hereafter as E.R.E., III), we read: "The Burman is so fettered by his horoscope and the lucky and unlucky days for him recorded therein, which are taught him in rhymes from childhood, that the character has been given him by strangers of alternate idleness and energy. But both are enforced by numerous days on which he may not work without disaster to himself. Unlucky days cause him so much fear that he will resort to all sorts of excuses to avoid business on them. Similarly on lucky days he will work beyond his strength, because he is assured of success. These facts are worthy of careful attention, as it is so easy for European observers to mistake Asiatics, *e.g.*, the character of idleness given to the Nicobarese [ultimately from the Chinese western borderlands] is greatly due to their habit of holding very frequent feasts and necromantic ceremonies all through the night. . . . Lucky and unlucky days are fixed according to the Shân [another race of the Chinese western borderlands] and not the Burman calendar, and as they do not correspond, the Burman cannot calculate them for himself, and is thus forced to go to the astrologer. There is a long list of lucky days for building operations, picked, in eclectic fashion, out of the names of the imported Buddhist and indigenous animals and *nats* [spirits]: the unlucky days depending upon the final syllables of the names. Lastly, a long series of days are individually unlucky for a great variety of enterprises, practically for all the business of native life. The lucky days in the month are in a considerable minority." In Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, ch. XXXIX, there is a long account of these lucky and unlucky days.

3. Oracle.

"We came (p. 43) to the great Chumbi Monastery, where the famous oracle or prophet is housed. . . . I observed (p. 44) the Chumbi oracle very closely and found that his methods corresponded in general to those used by mediums in the West. He goes into an ecstatic trance, frequently accompanied by epileptic symptoms, and while thus obsessed delivers semi-coherent words, which foretell what is to happen. Generally, like the Delphic oracle of old, his prophecies are delightfully vague, and can be made to fit the event, however it may turn out. But it is remarkable that half way through the great world war he foretold the exact year and month in which hostilities would cease."

4. Sacerdotal Blessing.

"On the 6th [Sept. 1922] a special service (p. 25) was held in Toby's monastery at day-break [of the day on which McGovern started on his journey], and at his earnest invitation I attended this ceremony in order to receive the special blessing of the abbot."

(To be continued.)

³ McGovern throughout treats the supernatural beings of the Mahāyānist Buddhism of the Tibetan as 'gods' and 'goddesses.'

⁴ The Tibetan seems here to betray his Chinese origin, for cheating the deities is a common trick among the Chinese generally, *e.g.*, throwing scraps of worthless paper money or objects into the sea on a voyage to induce the supernatural rulers of the waters to grant fair weather and winds.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE PANDYAN KINGDOM by K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. London, Luzac & Co.

This neat, handy volume attempts to cover the history of the Pāṇḍyas from their early beginnings down to the end of the sixteenth century, and stops where the viceroyalty of Madura under Vijayanagar begins. This is a period of history and the account of a dynasty which had long remained to be worked up, and for which the available material has just become accessible to the public outside the Department of Epigraphy. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri delivered a course of lectures at the University on this subject, and the book is the outcome of this course.

This part of the history of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom naturally falls into a certain number of divisions, and the following may be enumerated as being covered in the work under review:—(1) the Beginnings of History in the Śāṅgam Age; (2) the Kālabhira interregnum; (3) the first Pāṇḍyan empire, as it is called, and the duel with the Pallavas; (4) the Chōla ascendancy and the eclipse of the Pāṇḍyas; (5) the duel with the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyan revival; (6) the gradual decay and decline of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom with the rise of Vijayanagar. This is a long period and a wide subject to be dealt with in a course of lectures and in a book of the size that is before us; and, having regard to the nature of the subject, must necessarily be incapable of equal treatment all over. The book exhibits this defect, inherent in the subject, and perhaps also due to the pressure of much other hard work which the author had to do at the time. The first two of these divisions the author passes over comparatively lightly, though more thorough work and exploitation of the sources, such as they are, would, we are sure, have yielded better results. His real work, however, begins with the period following, for which there is a mass of inscriptional material available. But then for the remaining period, there is the other drawback that the sources available are comparatively large where the period happens to be the period of the prosperity of the Pāṇḍyas. The information becomes most scanty when the kingdom ceases to be prosperous for one reason or another. That naturally produces another element of inequality in the treatment of the subject. Notwithstanding this inherent defect, Mr. Sastri's treatment of this period is fuller and more continuous and interesting. He has made a pretty thorough study and analysis of the inscriptional material, and has brought together all the *disiecta membra* of the inscriptions in a form which provides interesting reading. There are defects, of course, here and there in points of detail, but all that unfortunately cannot be altogether avoided in a work of this character.

Mr. Nilakanta Sastri takes the first empire to begin with the achievement of Kaḍuṅḡn after the Kālabhira interregnum, and takes it on to the conquest of the Pāṇḍyas by the Chōlas under Parāntaka I in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. This happens to coincide with the period of prosperity of the Pallavas of Kāśchī, and is almost exactly coeval with the period of the Great Pallavas, whose rule perhaps began a few decades earlier, and came to an end similarly a few decades earlier when the decisive battle of Tiruppurambiyam was fought. The treatment of the subject is fairly full and critical throughout. Mr. Sastri's account would have been better had he paid as much attention to the inscriptions of the Pallavas as he has to those of the Pāṇḍyas. The period following is one of decay and the disappearance of Pāṇḍya rule brought about by the Chōla conquest. During the period of the Chōla ascendancy in South India, which lasted for three or four centuries, the Pāṇḍyas had not gone out of existence altogether, but remained to a great extent eclipsed by the glorious empire of the Chōlas. As the Chōla empire began to decay, we can see the first beginnings of a revival of the Pāṇḍyas. The decay of the Chōla empire brought about the intervention of the Hoysalas, who soon proved the arbiters of the destinies of South India in the disputes between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōlas. The Pāṇḍyas had to get out of this position by a serious effort, and the tale of this is told in the second section of Mr. Nilakanta Sastri's book. Then followed the period of the Pāṇḍya empire before the Muhammadan invasions supervened. The Muhammadan invaders came and went, and the Pāṇḍyas recovered some little of their power; but the more thorough conquest under Muhammad bin Tughlaq put an end to the Pāṇḍya kingdom at Madura, although the members of the Pāṇḍya dynasty held their position in the farther outskirts of their kingdom, chiefly in the Tinnevely district. Then another chapter follows of Pāṇḍyan history, which extends right down to the eve of Talikōta, by which time Vijayanagar had established a viceroyalty in Madura, efficient to hold the Pāṇḍyas of Tinnevely in check. The history of that viceroyalty Mr. Nilakanta Sastri does not take up, as he is concerned only with the history of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

Throughout this work Mr. Sastri exhibits a full knowledge of the material and critical ability and discernment in choosing the right kind of details; and he has succeeded in compiling a reasonably correct account of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The book is, however, not free from defects of detail; a certain number of them deserve attention, but we do not wish to take up space to point these out, as we have done it elsewhere. We congratulate Mr. Sastri on the production of a work that is alike creditable to his ability and industry.

S. K. AIRANGAR.

TAMIL LEXICON. Published under the authority of the University of Madras. Vol. II, Parts III and IV; and Vol. III, Parts I, II, III and IV. Pages 953 to 1752. Madras, printed partly at the Diocesan Press, Vepery, and partly at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore.

We have had occasion to review the previous parts of the *Tamil Lexicon* in this Journal for July 1928. The general plan adopted was explained in a small pamphlet wherein it was stated that a strictly alphabetical arrangement was being followed; and in the case of each word, the etymology, the transliteration of the word into English (giving the equivalent pronunciation of the words as written), the part of speech, the derivation, cognate words found in the Dravidian family of languages and the English meanings of the words are given. The explicit object of this *Lexicon* is stated to be that it should help foreign scholars in their study of Tamil; and the meaning in English is regarded as the first requisite. At first it was only in unavoidable cases that Tamil equivalents were given; but because of the desire expressed by many students of Tamil, it was subsequently arranged to supplement the detailed English renderings with brief Tamil equivalents, which have come to be as detailed as the former. The apparatus of reference as given with Part II of Volume I and containing a list of authorities cited has naturally got to be supplemented by *addenda* relating to words which happen to be taken from other sources not cited. The tables of transliteration into English, signs (குறியீடுகள்) conjugated verbs and explanatory notes have had, for the sake of convenience, to be issued along with each volume, so that reference may be rendered easy.

The parts under review take us on from *ku* to *tham*. The latter two parts of the second volume, complete the words beginning with the consonants *k* and *ñ*, and the four parts of the third volume deal with the letters *c*, *ç* and *t* (the last only in part). The scheme of work is that the editor and the assistant editor should revise the cards prepared and revised by the *pasāṭis*, and should correlate the Tamil and English portions of the cards. The work has gone on fairly rapidly under the present committee, which has been availing itself of help secured from competent scholars, who have been nominated as honorary referees of the Lexicon Committee. Part III of Volume II was published about the middle of 1927; and Part IV of Volume III appeared in March 1928; and the present rate of progress can be judged from these dates. The words explained show, as has been already pointed out, a great advance, both in point of number and of detailed etymological and other explanation, upon Winslow's *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil*, whose object was to enable missionaries, officials and others of

European origin to become efficient in their knowledge and expression of the Tamil tongue. Therein derivative words are included under their primitives, while the verbs are given as principals in large type. The definition of the word is supplemented by the verbal noun and by a reference to the *Sadur*; while adjectives, adverbs and some particles are given as primaries. A clear distinction is maintained between them and particularly the two former and the noun: themselves, while grammatical rules are occasionally given for the change, omission or reduplication of letters. Winslow had to rely largely upon Beschi, Rottler, and Ellis and the *Sadur-Agarāḍi*, besides Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary*. He distinguished between the provincial usage (having a general, but not an exclusive reference to Jaffna usage) and local usage (having reference to Madras) of Tamil words, and between poetic (i.e., classical) and the common and vulgar usages of words. In the present *Lexicon* these old distinctions have not all been kept up; and in their place, we find a rich use of quotations from classical authorities, given in abbreviated form, and of illustrative proverbs, which support the general use of the word and in cases the particular meanings of the word. One feature that shows either an inability to improve upon Winslow or the latter's perfection, is that the usage of words as used in particular parts of the land has been based upon his authority, cited as W. Thus we have on p. 1209, சக்கடை (*çakkadai*) n. < Sakata. (W.); and Winslow himself gives the meaning as இளம்பம். The *Lexicon* has added another equivalent, சாமர்த்தியமின்மை, to the substantive. So also is the case with the word சனம் in the sense of 'fury' (சூரக்கம்). The meaning of சஞக்குகோத்தன் is not well brought out. The meanings of such compound words as சேகவாசகம்பியன் are not as full and detailed as one might wish them to be. In most cases, however, the explanations of the different meanings of words are full. The word *dafadār* (டபதார்) is said to be derived from Urdu; but both Wilson in his *Glossary* (p. 117) and Whitworth in his *Anglo-Indian Dictionary* (p. 74) would give it an ultimate Persian derivation. A little more care and detailed derivation would, in such cases, add greatly to the usefulness of the book. The succeeding parts, we hope, will be free from the charges of undue brevity of definition and explanation, which may apply to some words. Such a work as this, comprehensively planned, laboriously executed and admirably printed, should include not only words of foreign origin undergoing the process of absorption into our language, and words and terms used in the study of Indian Philosophy and Metaphysics, Logic, Rhetoric and Astrology, Botany, Medicine, etc., but also rescue from obscurity and oblivion a large number of words not found in any previous dictionary, but used

in our literature, whether printed or manuscript. In respect of the former desideratum, this *Lexicon* is a certain improvement upon its predecessors; with regard to the latter, a perusal of the work, when completed, will give an idea of the extent of the progress achieved. The difficulty in this matter is chiefly that of obtaining access to the manuscripts now lying hidden in corners and crumbling away. Co-ordination between the Lexicon Office and the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and other institutions like the Madras Sangam would also be very useful and result in the finding out of buried and forgotten words. We await the speedy publication of the remaining parts of the *Lexicon*, in the belief of Dr. Johnson that the chief glory of a nation arises from its authors, who are best understood and interpreted through the medium of a sound and valuable dictionary.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

ANCIENT JAFFNA TO THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD, by MUDALIYAR C. RAMANAYAGAM, Ceylon Civil Service, with foreword by Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, Madras: Everymans Publishers, Ltd. 1926.

It has always been rather difficult to obtain information, *experto crede*, about Jaffna, and though the book cannot be said to be the final word on the subject, we are grateful to the author for its compilation. He has taken enormous trouble, and, what is of more importance to the student, he has produced an immense number of vernacular quotations, which will be of value.

He commences his story with the practically mystical history of the Nāgas and Kalingas, deals with foreign trade and intercourse from all time, and gives us one invaluable chapter on Sources and Synchronisms, thus making his work of much use.

He is not, however, always able to gauge the authority of the many books he quotes, and his local patriotism sometimes outruns his discretion, so the reader must be careful of accepting all he says without further enquiry.

R. C. TEMPLE.

AT AJANTA, by KANAIYALAL VAKIL, B.A., LL.B. 7½ x 4½ in.; pp. xxii+82, with 38 illustrations. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay. 1929.

This little book has been written, the author tells us, with a specific aim, namely, to bring the artistic treasures at Ajanta nearer to the popular mind and imagination, and to afford practical assistance to visitors. Part I furnishes very useful general information as to routes, accommodation, charges, etc., the situation and classification of the caves and the principal points of interest to be noticed. Part II treats of the paintings of outstanding merit in six of the caves, and the subjects represented; while Part III is devoted to a very appreciative survey of the sculptures in certain *vihāras* and *caityas*. The work does not claim to be a complete guide to Ajanta and its remains: it is a short survey by a

lover of art of the chief features of the caves, with their remarkable architectural and sculptural details and their wonderful frescoes, written by one who himself revels in their beauties and wishes to inspire others with similar feelings. The book would be improved by the addition of a ground plan, showing the position of the various caves referred to, and if the index to the plates gave the cave number in each case. At present, where reference is made to a particular cave in the text, the reader has to look at all the plates if he wishes to ascertain whether it has been illustrated. The spelling of names needs revision in several places, and one or two mistakes, such as that of calling Maya "Queen of Suddodhana, Sakya King of Magadha" call for correction.

C. E. A. W. O.

MEDIEVAL INDIA, by UPENDRA NATH BALL, M.A. The Classic Press, Calcutta.

This little book, in the words of the writer, is an attempt to give a brief and connected account of the life and thoughts of the people of India in the middle ages. Owing to his admitted ignorance of both Arabic and Persian, the writer has relied almost entirely on works published in English, from which he makes frequent quotations. There is thus very little that is new in nearly six hundred pages covering the period which commenced with the Arab invasion of Sind and ended with the break-up of the Mughal Empire. The writer would have been well advised to submit his proof sheets to some one familiar with the English language. It is curious to read of a Hindu ruler who punishes offences "to cut off his tongue," and of "cow (sic) being very useful in domestic service." It is hardly an adequate method of dealing with the origin of the Rājputa (p. 41) to announce that "the orthodox view is that they are descended from the sun and moon. Some believe they had their origin in fire."—The whole question of caste at the time of the Musalman invasion is dealt with very superficially, and would have been better omitted, if it could not be treated in the light of modern knowledge. On p. 280, dealing with Vijayanagar, the writer states that the cavalry was inefficient as horses of good breeding could not be had in the South. But a flourishing trade from Arabia in horses required by this kingdom was conducted for many years through Portuguese territory; and the inefficiency of the Hindu troops cannot fairly be traced to this source.

The reader of this book will find little that is not presented with greater authority by writers of recognized standing elsewhere. Many sweeping generalizations are made with the object of proving the well-being of the masses under Mughal domination; but the work will not add to our knowledge of India in pre-British days, and it abounds in misprints which could have been avoided by a little careful proof-reading.

R. E. F.

THE SITE OF THE RIGVEDIC BATTLE BETWEEN DIVODĀSA AND ŚAMBARA

BY DR. S. N. PRADHAN, M.Sc., Ph.D., BHĪHASPATI.

IN my *Chronology of Ancient India* I have determined 1500 B.C. as the approximate period when the Rgvedic king Divodāsa fought and killed the great Dāsa leader Śambara. I have also shown that in this great battle the famous Daśaratha Aikṣvāka, the father of Rāma, together with some of the kings of the Pāñcāla dynasty were the allies of Divodāsa. I am now in a position to suggest the exact place where this great Rgvedic battle took place. There are reasons for believing that it was one of the greatest battles which the Rgvedic Āryans fought against the non-Āryans of India, and that kings of several Āryan dynasties co-operated with Divodāsa against Śambara, who also had allies, and that the campaign occupied several months.

Bharadvāja Vājineya, the Purohita of Divodāsa says : ¹ " Oh Indra ! who art the subduer of enemies, thou hast achieved a glorious deed ; for, oh hero ! thou hast rent asunder hundreds and thousands (of the soldiers of Śambara), hast killed Śambara (when issuing) from the hill, and hast protected Divodāsa with marvellous protections."

Grtsamada, the son of Śunahotra Bharadvāja says : ² " He who discovered in the fortieth autumn Śambara dwelling in the hills ; who slew Ahi that put forth his vigour, Danu's son as he lay ; he, oh men ! is Indra."

Grtsamada says ³ again : " Oh Adharyus ! present the Soma libations to him who demolished the hundred old citadels of Śambara and cast down the hundred thousand followers of Varcin."

Vāmadeva, the priest of Somaka Sāhadevya, says : ⁴ " Indra has overturned a hundred stone-built cities for Divodāsa, the donor of oblations."

Vāmadeva says ⁵ again : " Oh Indra ! thou hast slain the Dāsa Śambara, the son of Kulitara, hurling him from off the huge rock."

Prince Parucchepa, the son of Divodāsa, says : ⁶ " Terrible Indra hurled Śambara from the hill for Atithigva Divodāsa."

It is clear from the above statements that Śambara had in his possession several hill *purs*, or citadels or castles, and that one of his allies was Varcin, and that the *purs* or citadels were stormed by Divodāsa, who was a worshipper of Indra, and that Śambara was hurled down from a huge rock and was killed. The R̥gis usually ascribe these heroic deeds to Indra and even to other deities, meaning that they were performed by the deities on behalf of their worshippers (*vide my Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 12, f.). The battle with Śambara took place in a country which Bharadvāja calls ⁷ by the name ' Udabraja,' which literally means ' sea-girt ' [*uda* = ' water ' as in *udapāna* or *udadhi*, and *braja* = ' girdle,' as in *Giribraja*].

Grtsamada Śaunahotra who, as we have seen, refers to the destruction of the hill-forts of Śambara, says : ⁸ " Oh (Indra), doer of many (heroic) deeds ! you who carried Sahavasu, the son

¹ त्वं तदुक्तमिदं बर्हणा कः प्र यच्छता सहस्रा गूरु दधि ।

अथ गिरिर्दक्षं शंबरं हन्मवो दिवोदासं विनाभिरुती ॥ RV., VI, 26, 5.

² RV., II, 12, 11.

³ मध्वर्यवो यः शतं शंबरस्य पुरो विभेदात्मनेव पूर्णः ।

यो वर्चिनः शतमिदं सहस्रमपावपङ्कता सोममस्मै ॥ RV., II, 14, 6.

⁴ शतमवमन्मयीनां पुरामिदो व्यास्यत् । दिवोदासाय दाक्षुरे ॥ RV., IV, 30, 20.

⁵ उत दासं कौलितरं बृहतः पर्वतादधि ।

अवाहमिदं शंबरं ॥ RV., IV, 30, 14.

⁶ RV., I, 130, 7.

⁷ RV., VI, 47, 21.

⁸ यो नामरं सहवसुं निहतवे पृष्ठाया च दासवेशाय आवहः ।

ऊर्जयन्त्या अपरिविष्टमास्यमुनेवाद्य पुरुकृत सस्युक्थाः ॥ RV., II, 13, 8.

of Nṛmara, to the unbesieged gate of Ūjayanti for Pṛkṣa and Dāsaveśa, are worthy to be praised." Sāyana is mistaken about the meaning of the words Pṛkṣa and Dāsaveśa. These represent the names of two persons who killed Sahavasū, the son of Nṛmara. Here we must state that we had suspected them to be proper names long before we consulted the *Vedische Studien*, where we find, to our agreeable surprise, that Dr. Pischel, too, has similarly suspected this to be so. Thus our independent findings, strengthening each other, go towards proving that the Vedic poet mentions here a historical fact. Sāyana is, secondly, mistaken about the word Ūjayanti. He makes *ūjayantiyāḥ* mean 'of the edge of the thunderbolt struck with force' [*valavatyā bajradhārāyā*]. He is, thirdly, perplexed about the meaning of the term *aparivīṣṭam*, which he renders by *malādibhiravyāptam*, meaning thereby 'free from rust, dirt, etc.' But this is a clear mistake committed on account of the former confusion about the meaning of 'Ūjayanti.' The term *aparivīṣṭam* really means 'uncircumvented,' 'unbesieged,' 'not surrounded,' say by enemies; Sāyana himself interprets *parivīṣṭam* (in Ṛgveda, I, 116, 20) as 'besieged by enemies' [*śatrubhiḥ parivīṣṭam*]. His mistake about the word Ūjayanti, of which the possessive singular form is Ūjayantāḥ, is evidently due to his want of knowledge of the ancient geography of India.

We know that Ūjayanti is the same as the Prakṛit Ujjayanta, where the diminutive suffix is eliminated. Ujjayanta is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁹ as a sacred hill, a *tīrtha*, lying in the south in Surāṣṭra (=modern Kāthiāvād), where a certain Nārada in ancient times related the *Purāṇa* or ancient history, probably in the form of *anuvamśyā gāthās*, as was the custom in those days. The other *tīrthas* or holy places contiguous to Ujjayanta are, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Prabhāsa (just by the side of modern Somnāth), Dvāravatī (=modern Dvārakā), Piṇḍāraka (near Golagar, 16 miles to the east of Dvārakā), etc. The sacred hill Ujjayanta is, according to Merutuṅga, the same as the hill Raivataka.¹⁰ But according to the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. VIII), Revatācala is the name of the hill immediately over the Revata Kuṇḍa or Dāmodara Kuṇḍa. It was so named after the Sātvata king Revata, who removed himself from Dvārakā to this place on behalf of Kṛṣṇa and Valabhadra (*vide* the table in my *Chronology of Ancient India*). About two miles from the foot of Revatācala is the celebrated rock with the inscriptions of Aśoka, Rudradāman, and Skandagupta. In Rudradāman's inscription, as also in that of Skandagupta, the Sanskrit base *Ūjayant* (according to the Kalāpa and other schools) (=Pkr. Ujjayanta) is used as the name of the hill Gīrnār. The fort on mount Gīrnār (=Ujjayanta=Ūjayanti) is a rich mine of antiquities. It was almost impregnable on account of its inaccessibility [remember *Ūjayantiyāḥ aparivīṣṭam āsyam*] and was on many occasions the refuge of the local Rāja of Junāgaḍ who used to flee to this fort when the fort below of Junāgaḍ was besieged and taken by invading armies.

Gīrnār has six peaks or Tuks (i.e., *ṭoks*), viz.:—(1) Neminātha Tuk, (2) Gomatī Gaṅgā Tuk, (3) Kālikā Devī Tuk, a resort of Aghorīs, (4) Ambā Mātā Tuk, (5) Gorakṣanātha Tuk, 3666 ft., (6) Dattātreyā Pādukā Tuk. A great rock named 'Bhairava Jap' forms a most picturesque object, from which ascetics were wont to hurl themselves. [Recollect here the statement of Vāmadeva that Śambara was hurled from off a huge rock.] Under the Gīrnār and the Datar hills is the modern town Junāgaḍ (lit. 'ancient fort'). Lassen, in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, gives the ancient name of Junāgaḍ as Yavanagaḍh. This is clearly a mistake, for *junā* is evidently the softened Prakṛit form from the Ṛgvedic term *jūrṇa* (RV., II, 14, 3) which means 'old,' the stages being *junna*, *junā*. Mīrzā Muḥammad Sādiq Isfahānī is correct in stating in his *Tahqīq al 'arab* that Junāgaḍh signifies an 'ancient castle.' In medieval writings, it appears as Jirandurg or Jirangadh, but here *jīran* indicates that in medieval times the Prakṛit *junā* was Sanskritized into *jūrṇa*, which, in accordance with a very common change, became *jīran*. The names Purātanapur, Pūrvanagar, Junāgaḍ,

⁹ *Gā. MBh.*, III, 88, 21-23; *Kumb. MBh.*, III, 86, 21-23.

¹⁰ *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Tawney's translation, p. 96.

Jirandurg, etc., indicate that 'ancient fort' is the real signification of the name. The modern town Junāgaḍ, as we have said, is under the Girnār and Datar hills and was built by Šulṭān Muḥammad Begada of Gujarāt and was named Mustafābād.

The Uparkoṭ or fort of Junāgaḍ was the ancient Junāgaḍ, where the lieutenants of the great Aśoka, and still later of the Gupta kings, lived. It has been besieged and taken many times, on which occasions the Rājas used to flee to the inaccessible fort on the hill Girnār (= Ujjayanta). The Uparkoṭ contains most interesting rock-cut apartments and caves, and the whole of the ditch and the neighbourhood is honeycombed with caves and other remains. I suspect these rock-cut apartments date from pre-Āryan times. They were used by the Buddhist monks and ascetics in later times. The town Junāgaḍ is mentioned in the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman, as well as in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, where it is called Girinagara. The hill Ujjayanta itself is nowadays called Girnār (= Girinagara), but this name has been transferred to the hill Ujjayanta in later times.¹¹ The former name of the hill was Ujjayanta, as stated in the *Mahābhārata*, or to be more Sanskritic, Ūrjayant, as in the inscriptions of Rudradāman and Skandagupta. The hill Ujjayanta or Girnār, however, is only one of the hills known by the name of Junāgaḍ, and is at a distance of about four miles to the east of the modern town of Junāgaḍ. Yuan Chwang calls it Yü-shan-to (= Ujjayanta).

Now turn to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹² which says that Daśaratha Aikṣvāka together with other Rājapṛis [mark the appellation *rājapṛi* which the *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Brahma* and other *purāṇas* have unanimously given to Divodāsa] marched to the South [*dakṣiṇām diśam*] evidently from Ayodhyā, the capital of Daśaratha, as well as from Kāśi, the capital of Divodāsa, to a *pura* named Vaijayanta, and that the country where they went lay adjacent to the Daṇḍaka country [*Daṇḍakām prāti*], and that they all fought against Śambara, whose ensign was the whale [*timidhvaja*] and who was in possession of a hundred *māyās* [*śatamāyā*]. It is now at once easy to catch the equation:—

Ūrjayantī=Ujjayanta=Vaijayanta. The appellation *timidhvaja* ['one whose ensign is the whale'] used in the *Rāmāyaṇa* for Śambara, and the description of his country in the same work as having been adjacent to the Daṇḍaka country, receive an extremely interesting support from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 16) of Varāhamihira, which mentions a country named Timiṅgilāśana [i.e., 'the country of whale-eaters'] contiguous to the Daṇḍakāvana country on one hand and Kaccha and Bhadra on the other. The appellation *śatamāyā* also of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a faint echo of the oft reiterated statement of the R̥gvedic R̥sis that Śambara had a hundred citadels, *māyā* meaning a citadel where one could conceal oneself while fighting. It appears from all this that Śambara had Varcin, Sahavasū, etc., as his allies, just as Divodāsa had Daśaratha, Pṛkṣa, Dāsaveśa, etc., as his allies, and that this great battle was fought about the hills known as Junāgaḍ (= old forts = the hundred old stone-built forts in RV., II. 14, 6), and particularly about the fort on mount Girnār or Ujjayanta. How beautifully this is supported by the ancient name Udabṛaja used by the R̥gvedic R̥si Bharadvāja will be realised when one looks at Kāthiāvād on a map and perceives that it is really an *udabṛaja* country, being surrounded on almost all sides by the gulfs of Cambay and Cutch and the Arabian Sea.

From the R̥gveda it is clear that quite a number of hill *purās* (= *giri puras* = *giri nagaras*) of Śambara were destroyed by Divodāsa, who reserved the hundredth *pur* for his residence.¹³ This *pur* was very probably the inaccessible fort on mount Girnār. Gr̥tsamada informs us that the *pur* Ūrjayantī was impregnable (*apariviṣṭam*). Vāmadeva very explicitly states that

¹¹ *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, III, 57—N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v.

¹² *Nirṇayasāgara* Press Edition, II, 9, 11-16.

¹³ RV., VII, 19, 5; IV, 26, 3.

Śambara was brought down from the top of a huge rock,¹⁴ and Parucchepa, the son of Divodāsa, agrees with Vāmadeva in informing us that Śambara was hurled from a rock.¹⁵ [Remember here that ascetics were wont to hurl themselves from the huge rock Bhairava Jap.] Gr̥tsamada clearly states that Sahavasū, the son of Nṛmara, was killed by Prkṣa and Dāsa-veśa at the unbesieged, or inaccessible, gate of Ūrjayanti.¹⁶ This fort was thus very probably the citadel on the top of the hill Ūrjayant (=Ujjayanta=Girnār) and was on account of its inaccessibility practically impregnable (*aparivīṣṭam*). This was probably the *pur* that was reserved by Divodāsa for his own residence.

To sum up :

(1) The country named Timingilāsana, i.e., the country of whale-eaters mentioned by Varāhamihira as situated in the south, and roughly contiguous to Kaccha on one side and Daṇḍakāvana on the other, agrees remarkably with the title Timidhvaja (i.e., one whose ensign is the whale) used in the *Rāmāyaṇa* for Śambara and with the description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the town of Śambara as having been situated in the south and adjacent to the Daṇḍaka country.

(2) The name of the country in which the battle took place is given by Bharadvāja as Udabraja, which is the most interesting and appropriate R̥gvedic name for Kāthiāvād, for it is really an Udabraja country, being surrounded on almost all sides by the gulfs of Cambay and Cutch and the Arabian Sea.

(3) The expressions *purvīṣ*, *purāṣ*, used by the R̥gvedic R̥ṣi Gr̥tsamada agree remarkably with the ancient names Purātana-pura, Pūrvanagara, etc., for Junāgaḍ [*junā* being the Prākṛit form from the R̥gvedic *jūrna* (RV., II, 14, 3), and *gaḍ*=*gaḍh*, गड, = *pura*, a fort.

(4) The expressions *āśmanmayīnām purām* of Vāmadeva and 'Giri' of Bharadvāja and Parucchepa, suggest the later name Giripura or Girinagara or Girnār.

(5) The identity :

Ūrjayanti of the R̥gveda=Ujjayanta of the *Mahābhārata* and *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* =Vaijayanta of the *Rāmāyaṇa*=Ūrjayant of the inscriptions of Skandagupta and Rudradāman=Girinagara of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and the Rudradāman inscription=Girnār, establishes it that the great R̥gvedic battle was fought near the ancient castle Uparkoṭ of Junāgaḍ, which was besieged and stormed, and then again about the ancient fort on the hill Girnār or Ujjayanta where Śambara probably retreated. It was fought in the medieval R̥gvedic period, about 1500 B.C. (*vide my Chronology of Ancient India*).

We hope to show in future that the earliest R̥gvedic battles were fought about 2000 B.C., which would approximately be the time of the advent of the various Āryan races into India, and that the pre-Vedic culture, superseded and partially adopted by the Āryans, was very probably the culture that is represented by the antiquities which are now being unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

¹⁴ RV., IV, 30, 14.

¹⁵ RV., I, 130, 7.

¹⁶ RV., II, 13, 8.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE S. CHARLES HILL.

(Continued from page 84.)

From the earliest times and under all these systems a different kind of effort had been made to fight the ills of Society. This took the form of secret societies or fraternities, in which carefully selected individuals, entering as neophytes, pledged themselves to absolute secrecy and obedience and, under a strict system of training, passed through successive grades of promotion. Under the despotic orders of their superiors and sheltered by secrecy, without claiming any open share in the control of the State, these Secret Societies undertook to remedy all injustice and tyranny. But no course of training, however wise and severe, could, *in the period of a single life*, so mould the character of a man as to fit him for absolute and irresponsible power, and these Societies, after a time, instead of being a protection to the people became objects of terror and were abolished as such, except in a few cases where their aims were under a merely nominal secrecy, limited to purely harmless or philanthropic purposes.

From such enquiries it appeared that all previous political systems had been based upon the idea that stability could be obtained by a union of force and wisdom in the ruler. On the part of the ruled nothing was looked for beyond submission. The difficulty was to keep the force and wisdom permanent in the ruling body, and to do this had proved to be impracticable. It had also been proved that even careful selection combined with careful training was insufficient to form the perfect ruler. To ensure stability it was necessary to find something which, socially, would be more permanent and binding than either force or wisdom and even than force and wisdom combined. Where was this to be looked for? Was it in some Superman or in Man recreated? The supposed Supermen of earlier civilizations had all proved to be only men after all. The only avenue of hope lay in the possibility of recreating Man, or, rather, of recreating Mankind.

(XII) *Human beings not originally of one but of four types. Recovery of these types.*—It had, of course, been noticed that, however unstable and perverse men might be, their lives were always, more or less consistently, governed by one of several predominant motives, such as bodily comfort or pleasure, the love of material gain, the love of honour or the benevolent desire to help their fellows; in other words, there were at least four types of human character. Furthermore, whether the occupation which a man followed were the inspiration or the consequence of his predominant motive, it appeared that certain occupations were usually accompanied more especially by one only of the motives just mentioned; thus in the peasant and artisan the ruling motive was the love of security and comfort combined with the habit of manual labour, in the trader thrift and the amassing of wealth regardless of personal hardship, in the soldier honour and the love of glory, in the priest benevolence and the love of wisdom and contemplation. Each of these was beneficial to the community and each of these allowed a full exercise of human faculties. Men were unhappy either because this exercise was restricted in some way or other or because, through their own fickleness, they were often uncertain as to what they wanted or ignorant how to obtain it. Further, it had been noticed that, though such qualities as it was hoped would distinguish the ruling class from the ruled could not be permanently retained in that class, still, where marriage had been carefully restricted, these qualities were more steady and persistent than where marriage between the classes was allowed to be promiscuous, and also it had been noticed that, where communities or occupations had kept themselves pure from external contact, particular qualities had developed and persisted. All this suggested the former existence of primeval types of men of different qualities, now only imperfectly represented by the predominant motives just mentioned. If then the discontent and unhappiness of individuals could be rightly ascribed to their being actuated by discordant and conflicting motives, it was evident that

they were traceable to the fact that the individuals themselves were the offspring not of single but of mixed types.

This conclusion seemed to be borne out by the religious beliefs of the people.³ The early Aryans, as far as we can make out, believed that, whilst the Body and Mind of Man were changeable and perishable though to a certain extent reproducible in his offspring, his Soul or Spirit was something of a divine nature, immortal and unchangeable, inhabiting a material body for a certain time and for a definite duty or task imposed upon it by the Supreme Being. This material body might be anything, even what we call an inanimate object or one of the lower animals or a human being or even something superhuman, but after the allotted time the Spirit passed into a higher or lower material body, as it had succeeded or failed in the task last assigned to it. In each case the task to be carried out by the Soul in any embodied form was conditioned by the qualities of that kind of form. Evidently the possibility of the Soul carrying out its task successfully would largely depend upon the purity of the body which it occupied—its freedom from any admixture with bodies of different nature or quality.

Believing then that the Soul or Spirit occupied in turn so many material bodies, each with peculiar and characteristic qualities, what reason was there to suppose that that portion of its course which was spent in human bodies, themselves clearly distinguishable into classes, was spent only in bodies suitable to a single stage of their course? Was it not more likely that its earthly *human* course consisted of a succession of stages, such stages being represented by different types of man? The Hindu belief claimed, at least, four such stages, *viz.*, the Sudra, the Vaisya, the Kshatriya and the Brahman.

Observation and religious belief, thus leading to the same conclusion, pointed out the path of reform, namely an effort to get back to the primitive types and to preserve them in the future by a rigid restriction of marriage and the apportionment of occupations suitable to the different grades and types of men, in other words, to the establishment of the Caste System.

It could hardly be expected that even by the utmost care the purity of the original types could be absolutely recovered but it was possible that, if such care were willingly adopted and exercised as a religious duty, in the course of generations such an approximation could be reached that, whilst the predominant desires belonging to each class and with them the Will would be strengthened, the lesser desires, which were due to ages of unguarded intercourse and now caused instability and weakness, would, if they were not totally destroyed, at least be rendered innocuous. If this result could be achieved, human beings, so far as the community was concerned, would be born into surroundings absolutely congenial, both as regards family relationships and the occupations of their lives. They would no longer be disturbed by envy of the lot of others or by vain longing for change from a mode of life which was dull or irksome. Their content would be justified by the belief that, whilst quietly performing the duties of their respective spheres, they were facilitating the mysterious task of the indwelling Spirit which animated them. Accordingly in the *Bhagavad Gita* we read:—The duties of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras have been apportioned to the qualities born of their own [bodily] natures. Tranquillity, self-restraint, austerity, purity, patience, rectitude, spiritual knowledge and faith are the natural duties of a Brahman. Valour, glory, courage, resolution in battle, liberality and lordly bearing are the natural duties of a Kshatriya. Agriculture, tending of cattle and trade, form the natural duties of a Vaisya. The natural duty of a Sudra consisteth in service. *A man being contented with his own particular lot and duty obtaineth perfection. Hear how that perfection is to be accomplished. The man who maketh an offering of his own work to that Being from whom all beings proceed and by whom the whole universe is pervaded, by that means obtaineth perfection. Better is one's own work, though faulty, than another's work well performed."*

³ "In the . . . *Vishnu Vayu* and *Morkandeya Puranas* . . . castes are described as coeval with creation and as having been naturally distinguished by different *gunas*, involving varieties of moral character." Dr. Muir, as quoted in Beauchamp's edition of Dubois' *Hindu Manners*, p. 41 n.

(XIII) *Effect of the establishment of the Caste System.*—Once this doctrine was established in the minds of the Hindu people that great source of social unrest which is caused by the desire for social elevation was swept entirely away, for, on the one hand, the Hindu was taught to believe that it was as impossible for a Sudra to become a Vaisya, or a Vaisya a Kshatriya, as it would be for, say, a bird to become a mammal; and, in the second place, had social elevation been possible, it was not desirable, for it would mean not an increase but a decrease of satisfaction as far as his particular bodily and mental desires were concerned. He was taught that happiness in this and subsequent lives was dependent upon submission to his lot, not by teachers who contended with him for material rewards and earthly honours and obtained them at his expense, but who proved themselves divine by their contempt for and renunciation of all which he himself valued. It was, in fact, as the Abbé Dubois has pointed out, this supreme renunciation by the Brahmans that, in spite of the physical weaknesses which they shared with all other human beings, differentiated them from other would-be rulers, and as it were, without the use of force, compelled the peoples of India to accept at once their teachings and their claims and, still at the present moment, in spite of any self-contradiction between their conduct and their teaching, makes even the body of a Brahman holy, as the only possible habitation of the Brahman Spirit.

(XIV) *The Caste System the only Social System ever proposed upon a basis stronger than Force.*—From the above enquiry I think we may conclude that the Hindus are the only people in the world which has successfully put into actual practice a scheme of social life thought out upon purely religious and philosophical grounds, and entirely independent of any form of political government. It is the only social system which, whilst it provides a ruling class, bases the rights of the rulers upon entire material renunciation and the duties of the ruled upon love and respect. It provides every member of the community with a position which, though rigidly fixed, is fixed only by his natural limitations, and so allows him every opportunity of using to their full extent whatever abilities he may possess to the general advantage. The system is permanently stable because of the complete absence of any motive on the part of the ruled for seeking any alteration.

THE VELAR ASPIRATE IN DRAVIDIAN.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

General.

JESPERSEN distinguishes three types of the velar aspirate:

(a) What he calls the *extra-strong h*, which is brought out with a very strong breath and which produces the impression of an "asthmatic" *h*-. He uses the symbol [*h* *h*] for this sound. An instance of this sound given by Jespersen is the *h*- in English *Holy Ghost* as pronounced during sermon-time in English churches, when extra force is bestowed upon the production of the sound, possibly (says Jespersen) as a strong reaction against the dropping of *h*'s amongst the unlettered classes. The vocal chords stand very far apart in the production of the sound and assume, according to Jespersen's notation, the position + 3.

(b) The *normal h* occurring initially in English and German words, where the vocal chords stand a little apart (+ 2) at first at the position called *Hauchstellung* by Jespersen, and then come close together before the next vocalic sound is produced.

(c) The *intervocal h* as in English *alcohol*, etc. The vocal chords here do not quite reach the position + 2, but a momentary weakening of the vibratory movement of the chords alone intervenes, accompanied by a production of an expiratory breath, and the sound, therefore, is more or less voiced. It may be observed here that while the extra-strong *h* can never be voiced, the normal *h* may be voiced or unvoiced according as the vibration of the vocal chords is greater or less.

Extra-strong [*h* *h*] is heard in the emphatic production of initial *h* in Sanskrit words like *hasti*, *harina*, *hemanta*, etc.

Ordinarily, initial and intervocal *h* of Sanskrit is given the value of a more or less voiced *h* where the vocal chords assume the positions: *ε* 1 or *ε* 2; but I have observed that in Malabar, Sanskrit *h* normally is brought out with the pure breathed value, while the *paṇḍits* of the eastern coast give it more or less a half-voiced value.

Sanskrit *visarga* is a full unvoiced *h* occurring at the ends of syllables or words. The completely unvoiced character is of course due to its final position.

The minute [^h] occurring in intervocal positions in English words is heard in modern Indian languages occasionally: (a) The rapid enunciation of Sanskrit intervocal *h* in provinces where intervocal *h* has more or less disappeared from native words approximates to this minute [^h] [*ε* 1 (2) 1]; (b) the old Tamil sound known as *āydam* (subtle) is also given the value of this minute [^h] when old texts are read.

Caldwell, Vinson and other grammarians of Dravidian have pointed out that the velar aspirate¹ was originally foreign to the Dravidian languages and that it exists in some of the languages to-day only through the influence of Sanskrit. Caldwell approvingly quotes Trumpp's suggestion that "the aversion to aspirates in Dravidian seems to point to a Tartar underground current in the mouth of the common people." Caldwell evidently finds in this fact a support for his favourite view that the Dravidian languages were related to the Finnish-Ugrian dialects of East Europe; but, as the relationship has not been proved, this suggestion is at present worth nothing.

Caldwell confined his observations more or less to the cultivated dialects of the south, and his opinion about the incidence of *h* in Dravidian was based upon his observation of these dialects alone. An examination of the occurrence of *h* in all the known dialects of Dravidian would be essential, before we could confirm or modify Caldwell's opinion in this matter.

The object of this paper is to analyse the occurrence of the velar aspirate in all the dialects of Dravidian, to suggest tentative explanations of their origin, and to arrive at an estimate about the incidence of the sound in modern Dravidian.

II. Occurrence of the Sound.

1. Tamil:—

(A) Native words do not *commonly* show the velar aspirate at all, judged by the spelling handed down to us from of old.

(B) In a very small group of words, we find that after a short initial vowel and before a plosive, a slight velar aspirate² described as *āydam* (subtle, minute)³ is introduced, as in *aḥgam* (grain), *aḥdu* (that), *iḥdu* (this), etc. Both Caldwell and Vinson were of opinion that the sound (as well as the sign °) was invented by grammarians for the prosodic lengthening of certain syllables and that this sound could not have been a native development of Tamil.

¹ The relationship between the fricatives and the velar aspirate has to be borne in mind, in considering the incidence of *h* in Mod. Dravidian dialects. Breathed fricatives [c], [ç], [s], [ʃ], [f] involve in their production (a) strong breath-force and (b) fairly wide separation of the vocal chords (*ε* 3, usually). These latter features inevitably introduce an aspirate element, the strength of which would vary with the intensity of breath-force and the extent of the widening of the vocal chords. It will be found that in certain dialects of Dravidian the fricatives produced from surds in different positions develop into the aspirate: (a) Initial *p* of old Kannāḍa and *t* of Tulu have thus changed into the aspirate through the corresponding intermediate breathed fricatives; (b) the intervocal back plosive of Tamil has in the colloquial changed into a half-voiced aspirate through the intermediate stage of fricative; (c) the plosives have in certain contexts in Tamil and Gōṇḍi (see below) given rise to the minute *h*; (d) the palatal fricative [ç] involved in the production of prothetic on-glides in Kūi has also given rise to *h* (see below).

² *Sūtra* 38 of *Tolkāppiyam* describes the sound. Modern Tamil commentators wrongly regard this sound as being neither a vowel nor a consonant. About its moric value, opinions differ, Tolkāppiyar himself giving it only the value of a half *mātra*, while later grammarians cite instances where a full *mātra* is given to the sound.

³ Vinson suggests that *āydam* may be a *tadbhava* from Sanskrit *āyudham* (instrument), probably with a view to supporting thereby his view that the sound was borrowed from the Sanskrit *visarga*.

The significant fact that the syllable immediately preceding the plosive which produces the *āydam* in Tamil, is usually *short*, suggests the possible influence of some kind of accent-distribution in the production of the aspirate.

The following facts, however, militate against this opinion :—

(a) If it had been a borrowing from Sanskrit, it is strange that it should have been borrowed only in the very limited contexts in which it occurs in Tamil.

(b) The use of the *visarga* immediately before a plosive generally brings about in certain contexts phonetic changes in Sanskrit, which convert the aspirate into a different sound altogether, e.g., *nih+kāma* = *niḥkāma*; *nih+cintā* = *niscintā*, etc.

It is not explained why Tamil should have failed to take note of this change.

(c) There are a number of contexts in the rude uncultivated dialects of Central India, where the presence of the plosive has given rise to an aspirate immediately before the plosive, as in Gōṇḍī plural ending *-hk* and Gōṇḍī causative ending *-ht*. The phonetic features of the change in Gōṇḍī are, as will be seen below, exactly on a par with the features characterising the production of the Tamil *āydam*.

(d) The *āydam* of Tamil is produced also by Tamil *sandhi* rules: The groups *l+t* and *l+ṭ* immediately after short vowels in word-combinations change into *hṭ* and *hṭ* in old Tamil, e.g., *kal+ṭidu* = *kaḥṭidu* (the stone is a bad thing); *muḥ+ṭidu* = *muḥṭidu* (the thorn is a bad thing), etc. The change here is entirely independent of any Sanskrit influence; the initial plosive surd of the second component, in the process of its assimilative change into the alveolar or the cerebral (as the case may be) passes through the fricative stage which has given rise to the slight aspirate.

(e) There are a few derivative old Tamil forms which in contexts similar to the above show the slight aspirate, e.g., *aḥal* (mark), *eḥam* (wheel), etc. These are, unlike *iḥdu*, etc., without any alternative forms, and could certainly not have been "invented for prosodic lengthening."

It is quite possible, therefore, that the slight aspirate *h* known as *āydam* in Tamil was not a "borrowing" from Sanskrit. It would probably be more proper to consider it as more or less a native development in Tamil, which was recognized and fixed in the literary dialect, probably by those who were acquainted with the Sanskrit *visarga*.

As the slight aspirate does not occur in similar contexts in any other dialects of Dravidian except Gōṇḍī, we may presume it to have been a secondary development in Tamil.

(C) Intervocal *g* in common speech changes into the fricative and often into the aspirate in Tamil: *pahu* (to divide); *paḥahu* (boat); *veḥu* (to burn); *pōhu* (to go), etc.

This aspirate, however, is stable only in syllables which carry some amount of emphasis with them; in unemphasized syllables, the aspirate disappears, sometimes lengthening the adjoining vowel, if it is short, e.g., *pagalu* (division, etc.) > *paḥalu* > *pālu*.

2. Malayālam :—

(a) The Tamil *āydam* is not found in Malayālam.

(b) The influence of Sanskrit on Malayālam has been so great that the intervocal aspirate shows, both in Sanskrit borrowings and in native developments (from intervocal plosives), greater stability than in Tamil; but the general tendency of Dravidian to eliminate the aspirate is, nevertheless, observable in changes like the following :—*vahiya* (not bearable, not permissible) > *vaiya* > *vaiyyā*.

3. Telugu :—

(a) Telugu does not show the aspirate in native roots or forms; the Tamil *āydam* is not met with either.

(b) Intervocal aspirates are not developed from the intervocal plosives; in intervocalic positions the plosive never even changes into the fricative.

4. Kannaḍa :—

(a) The remarks made above in regard to Telugu apply to Kannaḍa also.

(b) A very interesting secondary change in Kannaḍa is the development in middle and modern Kannaḍa of a velar aspirate from *p*, very commonly in initial positions and less

commonly in intervocal positions, e.g., *hû* (*pû*), 'flower'; *hōgu* (*pōgu*), 'go'; *huli* (*puli*), 'tiger'; *intaha* (*intapa*), 'in this manner'; *ahudu*, 'it becomes,' 'yes,' etc., etc.

This change has been attributed to the influence of Marāṭhī particularly and to Prakrit generally, where such a change is common.

In view of the fact that initial *p* in Kannāḍa involves a greater aspirate breath than in the other Dravidian dialects, I doubt the necessity for postulating foreign influence for the change. The course of change here is $p > f > h$; compare in this connection the change of initial *t* to *h* in Tuḷu (see below).

(c) Kannāḍa occasionally shows a prothetic aspirate⁴ before initial vowels of words, e.g., *haraṭu*, to prate (cf. Tam. *alaṭṭu*); *harigu*, margin (from root *aru*), etc.

This tendency, as we shall see below, is observable, though not in Tamil or Telugu, in Tuḷu among the southern dialects, and very commonly in Kūi-Kuvi, Kurukh and Brāhūi among the other dialects.

The general influence of Indo-Āryan, which employs initial *h* so commonly may be presumed here; and the influence of Austric dialects like Muṇḍārī, which has a prothetic *h* may have been active in Kurukh and Gōṇḍī. The tolerance of the aspirate in the central and northern Dravidian dialects may be said to be due to the general influence of the neighbouring Austric and Indo-Āryan. Nevertheless, the development of the aspirate in several cases in the Dravidian dialects of Central India will, as we shall see later, be found to be the result of independent secondary changes in these dialects themselves.

(d) Tuḷu shows a very large number of words with initial *h*: some of these are derived from *p* as in Kannāḍa (through *f*), while others are prothetic:—

(a) *h* from *p*: *hû* (flower); *hagalu* (day time); *hage* (enmity); *hittale* (brass); *hiḍu* (hold);

(b) *h* from *t*: *hūḍaru* (lamp); *hude* (river); *hû* (to see); *harpu* (to pierce); *hinpi* (to eat); *heḷi* (clear); *heḷike* (clearness); *hōju* (to appear); *hūḍaru* (light);

(c) *h* as a rare prothetic sound: *hambalu* (tipsiness); *haḍepu* (closing); *hamaru* (to sink); *hēru* (to climb), etc.

It will be found that *h* is a derivative sound in all these and similar instances, because the common Dravidian roots have *p*, *t*, or initial vowels, respectively.

The process of change in (a) and (b), as we have already indicated above, is that the plosive turns into a fricative and then produces an aspirate; instances given in (c) should be compared with similar instances of prothetic *h* found in Kurukh (see below).

The change of *p* and *t* to *h* is common in the Prakritic languages of North and Central India. How far this tendency of Prakrit was responsible for inducing a similar change in Kannāḍa, Tuḷu, Kūi-Kuvi, etc., it is not easy to determine; the aspirate enunciation of the fricatives produced by the plosive surds (*p* and *t*) may directly lead to the production of the aspirate. There is nothing in this change which is contrary to the genius of Dravidian, especially as we know that even in Tamil, the fricatives produced from plosives have secondarily given rise to the aspirate. Nevertheless, the influence of Indo-Āryan cannot be completely ruled out.

⁴ The occurrence of the prothetic aspirate *h* in the various dialects may here be summarized straightway:—1. Kannāḍa: The instances are so few and rare that in these the influence of analogy of the numerous forms with *h* (derived from original *p*) may be presumed. 2. Tuḷu: The number of instances is greater. 3. Kūi-Kuvi: The prothetic *h* in many Kūi-Kuvi words is produced in the process of the incorporation of the characteristic on-glide before initial vowels (see below). 4. Gōṇḍī also occasionally shows a prothetic *h* dialectally. 5. Kurukh and Brāhūi have a good number of forms with initial *h*. Is the incorporation of the prothetic *h* a native change, though secondary? In Kūi the aspirate could be traced to a characteristic Dravidian process; but in the other dialects, the influence of Muṇḍārī and of Austric generally [cf. Muṇḍārī: *ēr*, *hēr* (sow), etc.] may have to be postulated.

In connection with the change of *t* to *h* above, it has been recently postulated that the aspirate is produced from an original Dravidian *s* and that *t* itself is derived from *s*. It is true that Tuḷu shows the change of initial *s* to *t* in certain alternative forms like *sanci*, *tanci*, etc. But it would be sheer topsy-turvydom to consider *s* as the original form in the instances given in (b) above, when the corresponding common roots and forms in all the other Dravidian dialects show clearly the initial *t*. It should also be remembered in this connection that the change of *t* to *h*⁵ is peculiar to Tuḷu, and that it does not occur in Kannaḍa.

Really we have in Tuḷu, in many instances, three sets of alternative dialectal forms with initial *t*, *s* and *h*, respectively :

(to see)	..	<i>tū</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>hū</i>
(to appear)	..	<i>tōju</i>	<i>sōju</i>	<i>hōju</i>
(river)	..	<i>tude</i>	<i>sude</i>	<i>hude</i>
(clear)	..	<i>teḷi</i>	<i>seḷi</i>	<i>heḷi</i>
(to pierce)	..	<i>tarpu</i>	<i>sarpu</i>	<i>harpu</i>

The forms with initial *t* are undoubtedly primitive, since it is these forms that are common to dialects other than Tuḷu : *tū* (to see), *tōju* (to appear) are connected with Tamil *tē* and *tōṇḍru* (to see), etc.; *teḷi* is from the common Dravidian *ter* or *teḷ*; while *tarpu* is from *tir* or *tar* (to open) occurring in Tamil, Telugu, etc.

The initial *s* of the alternative forms mentioned above has to be explained as being derived from *t*. When the contact necessary for the production of *t* became loose, a fricative was produced which probably became *s* in one dialect and *h* in another through intermediate *ʃ*. It is not clear whether *t* directly changed into *s* or to a palatal fricative *ʃ* through the raising of the tongue and the consequent change of the point of articulation. It is possible that in some dialects the dental fricative directly resulted (Telugu, Tuḷu), while in others (like Tamil), the point of articulation was slightly raised and *ʃ* was produced. The affricate *c* (in *cuḍu*, etc., in Malayālam) is presumably a parallel development in certain dialects.

(e) *Kūi-Kuvi*.—The native development of the velar aspirate falls into four groups :

- (1) The intervocal *h*, e.g., *veha* (boiled rice) *veg*; *neha* (great, big), etc. The dorsal fricatives (from plosives *k*, *g*) have, as in Tamil, given rise to this aspirate.
- (2) Checked aspirate at the ends of roots, e.g., *meh'* (to see); *uh'* (to beat); *doh'* (to build); *veh'* (to talk); *rih'* (to beg); *goh'* (to drink); *pih'* (to leave); *oh'* (to break); *neh'* (to fill); *reh'* (to turn round), etc.
- (3) Initial *h* dialectally : (a) in some words developed from *k* or *p*, e.g., *halmu* (to go); *hō* (to go); *hēḍ* (to spoil); *homme* (money); (b) in prothetic positions, e.g., *hēlu* (to rise); *hēru* (plough); *hī* (give); *hiḍ* (not), etc.
- (4) Prothetic *h* in a few words, introduced probably for emphasis, e.g., *hille* (not); remote demonstratives *hevasi*, *hedi*, etc. The introduction of an emphatic *h* in these cases may be compared to similar *h* in Kurukh. Santālī (an Austro-dialect) also shows a similar use.

The aspirate in class (1) above is from the intervocal plosive *k* or *g*, as the roots indicate, and as dialectal forms in Kūi themselves show. The change here is exactly parallel to what we have noticed in Tamil colloquial (see above).

The checked aspirate in Kūi-Kuvi also goes back to older consonant groups, which have, as in Tamil *aḥgam*, *kaḥḍidu*, etc., now been reduced to a slight *h* :

(To see) *meh'* < *midk* < *viḍk* (cf. Tamil *viḷi*, to open eyes); (to beat) *uh* < *uhk* (cf. Tamil *nokku*, to beat, and *ṅgu*, to strike). (To build) *doh* < *toḍk* < *toḍ* (cf. Tamil *toḍukk*, to join); (to speak) *veh* < *veyku* (cf. Tamil *pēḷu*, Kannaḍa *pēḷ*, Kurukh *bā*, *vēs*, *pes*, etc.);

⁵ Of all the southern dialects, it is Tuḷu that shows the maximum favour for a secondary *h* in native words. In this respect it shows considerable agreement with the central and northern Dravidian dialects. How far shall we be justified in presuming the influence of Indo-Aryan or Austro on Tuḷu ?

(to beg) *rih* (through aphesis characteristic of Kûi) < *eraku* (cf. Tamil *era*, to beg, etc.); (to drink) *goh* < *kudk* (cf. Tamil *kudi*, to drink, etc.); (to leave) *pih* < *pirku* (cf. common Dravidian *pin*, behind, etc.)

It will be seen that in most of the cases given above the aspirate goes back to a consonant group with *k* as its second component, which absorbs the first component and changes into *h*. We have already seen that *lt* and *lt* in Old Tamil become *ht*; the production of *h* in the above Kûi words arises from a more or less parallel change.

The initial *h* of class (3) may arise from

1. *p*, e.g., *hommu* < *pommu* < *panamu*; *hó* < *pó*, etc. This change is rare in Kûi.
2. An ancient *k*, e.g., *hal* (to go) < *χ al* < *kal* (cf. Brâhûi and Kurukh *ka*, to go, and southern *kel*, etc.)

The forms of this group alternatively appear with an initial *s* also. It has been suggested that the aspirate is derived * directly from this *s*, which in its turn may be traced to an original *k*; but this seems improbable because the *s*-forms are themselves derivative. The change of *s* to *h* is common in the neighbouring Indo-Âryan dialects, but I find no reason⁷ to discard the view that the aspirate may have been directly derived (through the intermediate fricative) from the ancient *k*:

kal > *χ al* > *hal* (to go).

kal > *χ al* > *cyæl* > *yal* > *sal* > *sai*.

The prothetic *h* of class (3) (b) and class (4) may be compared to its counterpart in Tulu (see above), and seems to have been introduced to denote a certain amount of emphasis.

(f) *Gôndî*.—The aspirate in this dialect occurs:

- (1) in connection with the formative ending *-k* of verbs, e.g., *kohk* (to pound) (cf. Tamil *kolai*).
- (2) plural endings of words terminating in syllables containing usually a long dorsal vowel, e.g., *talâ* (head), *talâhk*; *rôn* (house), *rohk*; *miâr* (daughter) *miahk*, etc.
- (3) in connection with the causative ending *-t*, which often produces an aspirate, especially if the verb form has a terminal long vowel, e.g., *kari* (to learn), *karehta*, *tari* (to descend), *tarkutta*, etc.
- (4) rarely as a prothetic sound, as in *hal* (not).

The aspirate in classes (1) and (2) and (3) may be compared to the production of the *dydam* in Tamil in connection with fricatives arising from plosives, and similar instances in Kûi-Kuvi; for the principle underlying the changes is in all these cases the same.

In *Gôndî* causals, we find in some cases an *s* either in the place of *h* or forming a consonant group with adjacent sounds, e.g., *parra* (to gather), *parrista* or *parrihta* (to cause to gather); *targa* (to ascend), *targsta*, etc. The sound first produced in these cases is (on the principle explained above) *h*, but in some instances *h* changes into the fricative *s*. Compare the similar

* The close examination of Kûi forms reveals that this dialect could not have merely copied the change of *s* to *h* from Indo-Âryan, or the use of the prothetic *h* from Austro. Strong as was the influence of Indo-Âryan and Austro, the aspirates in Kûi seem to have been produced in the course of certain characteristically Dravidian processes of change; the influence of foreign phonology seems to consist only in having given a particular orientation to the development of sounds. Though in the case of Kurukh and Brâhûi, foreign influence may have been direct in many instances, it appears to me that so far as Tulu, Kannada, Kûi and *Gôndî* are concerned, the influence from outside may have been only indirect in giving a new orientation to changes that were Dravidian.

⁷ Initial *s* and *h* occur alternatively in another set of forms which in Common Dravidian have initial vowels, e.g., *sai* (not to be), *hiâ* (< *ai*); *ôru*, *hêru* (plough) < *êr*, etc.

Here, too, it is unnecessary to think that *h* was derived from *s*; on the other hand, the origin of the new prothetic sounds was the result of the characteristic tendency of Dravidian to incorporate the prothetic glide:

y, the glide > *y* > *ɛ* > *s*

y, the glide > *cy* > *ɛ* > *h*

changes of *h* to *s* in the tense-forms of Kûi-Kuvi verbs with final *h*, e.g., *meh* (to see), *mespec*, etc. Compare also the change of *h* to *s* in Sanskrit *nih+kāma* (= *niskāma*); *nih+cinta* (= *niścinta*), etc., where the sibilant produced is assimilated to the character of the following plosive. In this change of *h* to *s*, the influence of Indo-Āryan was probably direct.

The prothetic aspirate of class (4) may be compared to the similar sounds which we have already noted in Tuḷu, Kannada and Kûi-Kuvi above.

(g) *Kurukh*.—The aspirate occurs

- (1) in aspirated consonants *kh*, *gh*;
- (2) as the 'emphatic' fricative (*hh*) which is transcribed in grammars as *kh*;
- (3) as the development of an original *k*, as *habkâ*, 'to bite' (cf. Tam. *kavvu*); *hâkna*, 'to keep watch';
- (4) dialectally as a prothetic sound, e.g., *halkâ* (waves), *harâ* (plough), *horma* (all), *hû* (that), etc.

The presence of aspirate consonants and the development of the extra strong fricative point to the existence of strong foreign influence. Among the Dravidian dialects, *Kurukh*, along with Brâhûi, seems to display the greatest fondness for the aspirate sound.

The extra strong velar fricative occurs in *Kurukh* in native words initially and intervocally. Initially it is developed in some cases from Dravidian *k*, e.g., *khott* (to pound); *khoy* (to reap), though in other cases the unaspirated *k* of Dravidian is also preserved, e.g., *kirr* (to return); *kiḍ* (to put to bed). The aspirate plosive *kh* seems to be rare initially in native words. The rationale of the development in initial positions of the extra strong fricative from *k* appears, in a few cases, to be emphasis, e.g., cf. *kod* (to beat) and *khott* (to thrash).

Intervocal *kh* [*hh*] is also from original *k* and is usually found as the formative ending of certain verbs, e.g., *mokh* (to eat); *arkh* (to dig); *mulkh* (to sink), etc. Intervocal position easily favoured the production of the extra strong fricatives.

(h) *Brâhûi*.—The aspiration in Brâhûi, as is only to be expected in a dialect surrounded by languages abounding in aspirate sounds, is very high. The aspirate sound occurs:

- (1) In the emphatic enunciation of words with initial vowels, e.g., compare the prothetic *h* of Tuḷu, Kannada, etc. (see above). The greater frequency of the sound in Brâhûi is due to foreign influence.
- (2) As extra strong fricatives transcribed in grammars as *kh* and *gh* occurring initially as the development of Dravidian *k*, and intervocally as the development of the formatives as in *tugh* (to sleep, cf. Tamil *tūngu*); *khâl* (stone); *khakhar* (fire, $\sqrt{kāy}$); *khisum* (red, $< \sqrt{ke}$); *khân* (eye), etc.
- (3) In connection with final *l* even in native Dravidian words, e.g., *telh* (scorpion), *palk* (milk), etc., where, however, foreign influence has to be postulated.
- (4) as a prothetic sound before initial vowels of words, e.g., *harr* (to tear, cf. *aḍar*); *he* (to rise, cf. *el*); *hogh* (to weep).

From the above discussion we can reasonably presume that the velar aspirate was originally absent in primitive Dravidian; but an examination of the dialects shows that, as a secondary development, the aspirate is a common feature in many dialects. In the production of these secondary aspirate sounds, the influence of Indo-Āryan (and probably of Austrie) may have been an accessory factor; in a few instances the foreign features may have been copied, while in many others foreign influence was only so far responsible as to give a new orientation to certain germinal Dravidian tendencies.

THE NINE DVIPAS OF BHĀRATAVARṢA.

By SASHIBHUSHAN CHAUDHURI, M.A.

REGARDING the nine *dvīpas* of Bhāratavarṣa there is a story in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (i, 2, 39, 67 f.) which may be told here. There it is said that one Ṛṣabha had a son named Bharata.¹ Bharata had a son named Śataśṛṅga,² who had eight sons and one daughter. The name of the sons are Indradvīpa, Kaseru, Tāmradvīpa, Gabhastimān, Nāga, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa; while the daughter was called Kumārikā. Then it is said:

Idam Bhāratākhaṇḍam ca navadhāiva bibhajyasah

Dadavaṣṭau svaputrāṇām Kumaryai navamam tatthā (110).

Thus the eight sons and the daughter divided Bhāratavarṣa among themselves, and the nine *dvīpas* grew up accordingly.³ The story is further continued (i, 2, 39, 125 f.), and it is said that each of the eight brothers had nine sons, while the sister remained unmarried. On arriving at a mature age the seventy-two cousins approached their aunt to divide the whole of Bhāratavarṣa (including her portion too) into seventy-two equal portions. She thus made seventy-two divisions, and the seventy-two districts or countries that are mentioned may, more or less, be located within the boundaries of India proper (excluding Burma and the outlying islands); but regarding some of the countries we feel sure that we can extend their identification to the islands of the Far East, which suggests that India has been treated in the *Skanda Purāṇa* in a wider sense.

In almost all the *Purāṇas*⁴ we are told that Bhāratavarṣa is cut up into nine parts (*khaṇḍa* or *bheda*⁵), or *dvīpas*⁶ as they are called. Rājasekhara also says: *tatredam Bhāratam varṣam aya ca navabhedāḥ*.⁷ Then he enumerates the nine *dvīpas*. As for the nine *dvīpas*, all the *Purāṇas* speak unanimously of Indradvīpa, Kaserumat, Tāmravarṇa,⁸ Gabhastimat and Nāga. The sixth and the seventh *dvīpa* are called Saumya and Gāndharva by all the *Purāṇas* except the *Garuda* and *Vāmana*, which read Kaṭāha and Siṃhala in their place.⁹ The eighth *dvīpa* is unanimously called Vāruṇa. Regarding the ninth *dvīpa* there is much confusion. It is necessary, therefore, to give the full texts bearing on the ninth *dvīpa*.

A

*Mār. 57, 7. Ayam tu navamasteṣām dvīpaḥ sāgarasamvṛtaḥ
Yojanānām sahasrām vai dvīpo'yaṁ dakṣiṇottaraḥ.*

B

8. *Pūrve kirātā yasyānte paścime yavandstathā
Brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścāntaḥsthitā dvīja.*

These *ślokas*, in the same form and in exactly the same setting, are to be found in the *Br.* (27, 16-17), *Kūr.* (46, 25-26), *Viṣ.* (ii, 3, 7-8). The *Agni* gives (118, 4-6) the first *śloka* in the same form, but the second one has been slightly distorted.

A

*Vām. 13, 11. Ayam tu navamasteṣām dvīpaḥ sāgarasamvṛtaḥ
Kumārākhyāḥ parikhyāto dvīpo'yaṁ dakṣiṇottaraḥ*

¹ Elsewhere it is said that Bharata named India, whence it is called Bhāratavarṣa (*Skanda Purāṇa*, i, 2, 37, 57; vii, 1, 172, 2).

² But in all other *Purāṇas* it is said that Bharata's son was Sumati.

³ *Teṣām nāmadmikitānyeva tato dūtāni jayānti* (*Skanda Purāṇa*, vii, 1, 172, 6).

⁴ <i>Vā.</i> 45, 78 f.	<i>Vām.</i> 13, 8 f.	<i>Ag.</i> 118, 1 f.	<i>Viṣ.</i> ii, 3, 1 f.
<i>Bd.</i> 49, 10 f.	<i>Gar.</i> 55, 4 f.	<i>Mat.</i> 114, 7 f.	<i>Kūr.</i> 46, 22 f.
<i>Mār.</i> 57, 5 f.	<i>Var.</i> 85, 1 f.	<i>Br.</i> 27, 14 f.	

⁵ *Bhāratanyāya varṣasya navabhedān nibodha me* (*Mār.*). All the *Purāṇas* commence the enumeration of the nine parts with this statement.

⁶ *Etad Bhāratam varṣam navadūtpam nīdara* (*Vām.*). ⁷ *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (*Deśavibhāga*), p. 92.

⁸ It is variously called Tāmraperu (*Mat.*), Tāmraperu (*Kūr.*), Tāmravarṇ (*Skanda*).

⁹ *Nāgadūtpaḥ kaṭāhaśca siṃhala vāruṇastathā*. *Vām.* 13, 10-11. *Gar.* 55, 6.

B

12. *Pārve kirātā hyasyāste paścime yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ*
Andhrā dakṣiṇato vīra turūḥkṣātvapi cottare
Brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāḥ

The *Gar.* (55, 4 f.) follows the *Vdm.* in the same form, but it does not contain line B of *śloka* No. 11 of the *Vāmana*.

A

- Vd.* 45, 80. *Ayam tu navamasteṣāṃ dvīpāḥ sāgarasamvṛtāḥ*¹⁰
Yojanānāṃ sahasraṃ tu dvīpo'yaṃ dakṣiṇottaram
 81. *Āyato hyā kumārikyādd Gāṅgā-prabhavāccu vai*
Tiryaguttaravistīrṇaḥ sahasrāṇi navaiva tu

B

82. *Dvīpo'hyupaniviṣṭo'yaṃ mlecchairanteṣu nityaśaḥ*
Pārve kirātā hyasyānte paścime yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ
Brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāḥ

The *Bd.* repeats (149, 14) the three *ślokas* in the same words. The *Mat.* (114, 9-11) also repeats the three *ślokas* in the same form and in the same setting, except that in place of *śloka* No. 81 of the *Vd.* it reads :

- Mat.* 114, 10. *Āyastu Kumārīto Gāṅgāyaḥ pravahavadhi*
Tiryagūrdhvamtu vistīrṇaḥ sahasrāṇi daśaiva tu

That the ninth *dvīpa* was called Kumārīkā has already been made known to us from the story of the *Skanda Purāṇa* cited above.¹¹ Rājasekhara also enlightens us in this respect.¹² The text of all the *Purāṇas* quoted above pass it over, simply saying that it was surrounded by the ocean (*sāgarasamvṛtāḥ*), whereas the *Vāmana* of all the *Purāṇas* call it Kumāra. Then what is meant by the Kumāra or Kumārīkā *dvīpa*? It appears from the texts quoted above that by Kumāra India in the proper sense of the term¹³ was intended. It may be added that in the enumeration of the other eight *dvīpas* no note or comment whatsoever is added by the other *Purāṇas*. They are enumerated most plainly without any explanatory note. But on coming to the *navama dvīpa*, the *Purāṇas* give emphasis to it as *ayanto navamadvīpa*, surrounded by the ocean; and in this all the *Purāṇas* are unanimous. This expression *ayanto* suggests that particular attention should be paid to it, as if it were somewhat different from the other *dvīpas*, and so evidently implies that India proper is referred to, for no other meaning can be thought of when an expression like *ayanto* which means 'this very,' is used by a person writing in India. Rājasekhara also puts *ayam* after Kumārī *dvīpa*. It thus follows that the *ślokas* of A group refer to India proper, which is surrounded on three sides by the ocean. It might be argued that as India is not surrounded on all sides by the ocean, so the ninth *dvīpa*, which was surrounded on all sides by the ocean (*sāgarasamvṛtāḥ*), cannot refer to India proper. But *dvīpa*, we know, is defined by Pāṇini as meaning *dvai āp*, i.e., having water on two sides; and so India having the ocean on three sides might reasonably be called a *dvīpa*, and might more plausibly suggest the idea that it was *sāgarasamvṛtāḥ*.

Then in the *ślokas* of B group, which are a continuation of the description of the *navama dvīpa*, are described the boundaries of a country, which evidently must refer to the Kumāra or the ninth *dvīpa*. This is specially clear in the series of texts of the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Matsya Purāṇas*. The *śloka* No. 81 of the *Vāyu* and so of the *Brahmāṇḍa*, which is forgotten by the other *Purāṇas*, is of extreme importance in the sense that it supplies the missing link between

¹⁰ Albirūnī is, therefore, wrong when he writes *nagarasamvṛtta* (Sachau's edition, vol. 1, p. 295).

¹¹ *Skanda Purāṇa*, i, 2, 39, 69.

¹² *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (*Deśavibhāga*), p. 92. *Kumārīdvīpādyaṃ navamaḥ*.

¹³ Bounded on the east by the hills of Lakhimpur (Assam), Manipur, Lushai, Chittagong and Arakan, thus forming a long wall of mountains, separating India from Burma and other countries of the Far East. The three other boundaries are recognized and well known and need not be mentioned.

the *śloka*s of A group and the *śloka*s of B group, and so should be placed immediately before the *śloka*s of B group of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāmana*. If it be so placed it will clearly present the boundaries of the Kumāra *dvīpa*, showing it to be the country which stretched from Cape Comorin (Kumārikā) to the Himālaya (source of the Ganges—*Vā.*) and bounded by the Turks on the north¹⁴ (*Vām.*), by the Āndhras on the south¹⁵ (*Vām.*), by the Kirātas on the east¹⁶ and by the Yavanas on the west¹⁷ (*Mārka.*; *Vām.*). But these boundaries roughly correspond to the boundaries of India proper, and as these boundaries constitute a sort of explanatory note to the *navama dvīpa*, it can be safely argued that the ninth *dvīpa*, i.e., the Kumāra or Kumārikā, was India proper.¹⁸

Then again almost all the *Purāṇa*s such as the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Matsya*, *Vāmana*, *Garuḍa*, etc., after describing the boundaries of the *navama dvīpa* [the *śloka*s of which have been quoted above (pp. 204-05)], go on to give a description of the characteristics of the people of that region, followed by a list of the seven hills known as the *kulaparvatāḥ*,¹⁹ which evidently must refer to the mountain ranges of the Kumāra or the ninth *dvīpa*. This is made more clear by Rājasekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*,²⁰ where he also mentions the very same hills and quotes the same *śloka* as the *Purāṇa*s, but prefixes the specific words—*atra ca Kumāri dvīpe*. And as all the seven ranges belong to India proper, Kumāri *dvīpa* might reasonably be regarded as identical with it.²¹ The *Vāmana* also in another place explicitly refers to this identity. Thus after the enumeration of all the countries or people

¹⁴ The Arab geographer Rashidu'd-dīn refers to this. Thus, while describing the boundaries of India, he says: "On the north lie Kashmīr, the country of the Turks, ..." Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 45.

¹⁵ Obviously the Āndhras cannot form the southern boundary of India proper, unless a limited sense is understood. That it has not been used in that sense is evident from consideration of the other three boundaries that have been set forth. The statement of the *Vāmana* is, therefore, to be taken as an exception; but at the same time we must keep our mind open to this possible view also, that the *śloka* (*Vām.* 13, 12) might reflect the political conditions of the time when the Āndhra rule was widespread as in the second century A.D., almost throughout the whole of southern India (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLVII, 1918, 'Dekkan of the Sātavāhana period'), and as such formed the southern boundary of India proper. Regarded in that light, the *śloka* might offer an important clue to the date of the *Purāṇa* in question.

¹⁶ They may be identified with the Kirrhada of Ptolemy (Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, ed. S. N. Mazumdar, p. 219) located near the mount Maiandros.

¹⁷ The inscriptions of Aśoka mention the Yonas in connection with the Kambojas and Gāndhāras. The *Mahāvamśa* also refers to the country of the Yonas (Geiger's trans., p. 85). Their capital was Alasanda (=Alexandria, *op. cit.*, p. 194 n.) near Kābul.

¹⁸ It is, of course, a fact that *śloka* No. 81 of the *Vāyu* refers to the nine thousand *yojana* area of a country, which as we have seen was India proper. So the ninth *dvīpa* with which India proper has been identified must be of the same area. But it has been definitely stated in all the *śloka*s that the ninth *dvīpa* was of 'one thousand' area. So it might be argued that the mention of the nine thousand *yojana* (*Vā.* 81) in connexion with India proper, distinguishes India proper from the Kumāra or *navama dvīpa*, and lends colour to the opposite view, that perhaps these nine *dvīpas* were so many divisions of India proper included within it. But, as opposed to this, it might be said that the *śloka* No. 81 of the *Vāyu* with its line *dyato hyā* inevitably refers to the previous *śloka* (No. 80), which describes the *navama dvīpa*, and so the boundary of India proper, which is supplied in *śloka* No. 81 (combined with the next *śloka* No. 82) applies to the *navama dvīpa* alone, and as such the two are identical. There is no room for distinguishing one *śloka* from the other. The three *śloka*s of the *Vāyu* are to be taken in a connected way. Moreover, the *Bṛ.* and the *Mat.* do not follow *Vā.* in its statement *sahasrāṇi navavatu*. Thus the *Bṛ.*, for instance (49, 15), reads *sahasrāṇi traya*, instead of *navama*, and the *Mat.* reads (114, 10) *sahasrāṇi daśaiva tu*. So we see that there is no coherency in the statement of the *Vāyu*.

¹⁹ In every *Purāṇa* the *śloka* runs in the same form and in the same language. I may quote the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (45, 87-88):

Sapta ca aśmin suparvāṇo viśrūtāḥ kulaparvatāḥ
Mahendra. Malayah. Sahya Śuktimān Rkṣaparvatāḥ
Vindhyaśca Pāripātraśca saptaite kulaparvatāḥ.

²⁰ *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (*Deśavibhāga*), p. 92.

²¹ But it must be noted that none of the seven ranges carry us beyond the Vindhya into northern India. [Some scholars, however, would identify the Pāripātra mountains with the Aravalli range.—Jr. Editor.]

belonging to the respective divisions of India proper, the chapter ends with the plain statement that the description of all the countries of Kumāra dvīpa is now complete.²² Besides these, another open statement is to be found in the *Varāha Purāṇa*, which leaves no room for doubt that the Kumāra dvīpa was India proper. Thus it is said (85, 1) *Bhāratam navabhedam sṛjatu Indrah kaseruh Vāruṇo Bhāratañceti*. Here the ninth dvīpa, Kumāra, has been replaced by Bhārata. We can, therefore, undoubtedly assert that the ninth dvīpa, i.e., Kumāra, was identical with India. But the important point to be noted is that Bhārata is here for the first time treated as a dvīpa, and what is more striking, is that it has been declared to be one of the nine parts (bheda), of which Bhāratavarṣa was constituted. The evident implication here is of a Greater India (i.e., India proper and the islands of the Far East) or Bhāratavarṣa as we may call it, of which India proper (Bhārata or Kumāradvīpa) formed the ninth part. That the *navama dvīpa*, or Kumāra, was identical with India proper we have seen. It naturally follows, therefore, that for the identification of the other eight 'islands' (dvīpas) we will have to search in the islands of the Far East and in other outlying islands not far from India proper, all of which, when combined together, formed Bhāratavarṣa or Greater India.²³ Here we are confronted with the question whether the *Purāṇas* knew such a wide boundary of India. With the exception of the *śloka*s quoted above (pp. 204-05) and which we have seen apply to the *navama dvīpa* (India proper) alone, the *Purāṇas* generally record boundaries of Bhāratavarṣa which may be interpreted in a wider sense. Thus the *Vāyu Purāṇa* says²⁴ that India is surrounded on the south by the ocean and is bounded on the north by the Himālaya. A second set of passages²⁵ describe India as being surrounded on three sides by the ocean and bounded on the fourth side by the Himālaya, which 'stretches along on its north like the string of a bow.' It may be noticed here that the eastern and western boundaries have not been very exactly defined, which allows scope for taking India in a wider sense. We know that the Himālayan range was anciently regarded as stretching from the Caspian sea on the west to the Far East (Tonquin in Annam?) intersecting the whole continent of Asia.²⁶ In such a position,

²² *Vām.* 13, 59. *Ime tabokid viṣayāḥ suvistarā*
Dvīpe kumāre rajantīcareḥ.

Cf. also *Eka eva sthitasteṣāṃ kumārāḥkhyastu sāmpratam*

Bindusaraḥ prabhṛtyeva sāgarādāksīṇottaram (*Skanda Purāṇa*, vii, 1, 172, 9-10).

Bindusara is a pool in the Himālaya (N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 38).

²³ It may be suggested that as Bhārata (ninth) was the most important of the dvīpas the name came to stand as a general designation of all the dvīpas when combined together (Cf. Dacca=Dacca district). Thus arose Bhāratavarṣa in a wider sense. Albirūnī (Sachau's edn., vol. I, p. 295) refers to the fact that Bhāratavarṣa was used in a wider sense. Thus he says: 'Bhāratavarṣa is not India alone.' Al Masūdī also says: "India is a vast country extending over sea, and land, and mountains; it borders on the country Zābaj (Java)." Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 20). Similarly, Abul Faḡl says (*Āṣn*, III, P. 7) "Hindustān is described as enclosed on the east, west and south by the ocean, but Ceylon, Achin, the Moluccas and considerable number of islands are accounted within its extent."

²⁴ *Uttaram yat samudrasya Himavaddakṣiṇatīca yat*

Varaam tad Bhāratam nāma yatreyam Bhārati prajā (45, 75-6).

Most of the *Purāṇas*, such as the *Bṛ.* (49, 9-10); *Viṣ.* (ii, 3, 1); *Agni.* (118, 1); *Kār.* (48, 22) and *Br.* (19, 1) repeat this statement. Cf. also the *Kāṇvaśāstram* (p. 92): *Dakṣiṇāṭi samudrādāksīṇottaram Himavantaṃ.*

²⁵ *Dakṣiṇāparato yasya pūrve ca mahodadhīḥ*
Himavannuttareṇāsya karmukasya yathā guṇaḥ. *Mār.* (57, 59); *Br.* (27, 66-6) and *Skanda* (vii, 1, 11, 13).

²⁶ Thus Arrian says: "The northern boundaries of India defined are formed by mount Taurus. Taurus begins from the sea. . . . and stretches away towards the eastern sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries. . . ." McCrindle, *The Indica of Arrian*, p. 4; also McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 45. Cf. also Rashīdū'd-dīn: "The Hima mountains lie on the north of Kanauj . . . This range has Kashmir in its centre and runs by Tibet, Turk, Khazar ["The country of the Khazars or Khazars, a Turkish race on the north of the Caspian sea, about the mouth of the Itil or Volga. The Caspian sea is called Bahrū-l-khazar"] and Sakāliba, to the sea of Jurjān and Khwārazm." Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 45.

therefore, this stupendous mountain system lay on the northern boundary of many countries besides India proper, such as Burma and Annam in the east, on whose southern and eastern sides also, generally speaking, the sea lies (cf. The China Sea on the east of Burma, Siam and Cochin China). Regarded in that light, the second set of the Purāṇic passages (footnote ²⁵) evidently, therefore, refer to the fact that by Bhāratavarṣa at the time represented by the Purāṇas was meant the whole country which was bounded on the north by the Himālaya and surrounded on the south by the ocean, and which extended in the east as far as the China Sea.²⁷ Bhāratavarṣa thus bore a wider sense, within which were also included the islands of the Far East.²⁸ This does not militate against what has been said above that in some of the islands of the Far East, and also in some of those that lie to the west of India, we are to trace the positions of the other eight *deśas*. The fact that the *Vāmana* and *Garuḍa* mentions Kaṭāha and Siṃhala in place of Saumya and Gāndharva also lends much weight to the above view, for Kaṭāha is probably identical with the present seaport of Kedah in the Malay Peninsula.²⁹ Siṃhala is, of course, Ceylon. We may refuse to incorporate Kaṭāha and Siṃhala in the list of the nine *deśas* by eliminating Saumya and Gāndharva, but the general trend is quite clear that the eight *deśas* refer to the outlying islands of India. Moreover, the almost unanimous statement of all the *Purāṇas* that the nine *deśas* of Bhāratavarṣa were mutually inaccessible,³⁰ being separated from each other by the ocean also gives strong reason to believe that the *deśas* were not so many divisions of India proper, but refer to the islands of Greater India. But as the ninth *deśa* has been found to be identical with India proper, we are now concerned with the remaining eight *deśas*.³¹

(To be continued.)

²⁷ Thus Rashīd-u'd-dīn, the Arab geographer, says: "Hind is surrounded on the east by Chīn and Māchīn, on the west by Sind and Kābul, and on the south by the sea" (Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 45). Chīn is probably Cochin China. Regarding Māchīn, Rashīd-u'd-dīn thus states its position: "Beyond that is Haitam. . . . Beyond that is Māhā Chīn, then the harbour of Zaitūn, on the shore of the China sea. . . ." (Ibid., p. 71.) Haitam in all probability is the island of Hainan just opposite to the gulf of Tonquin. Then we come to Māhā Chīn. Regarding it, Idrīsī gives the following notice: "No city is equal to it whether we consider its greatness, the number of the edifices, the importance of its commerce, the variety of its merchandise, or the number of merchants which visit it from different parts of India." (Ibid., n. 5.) Ibn al Wāḍi further says: "It is the extreme eastern part which is inhabited, and beyond which there is nothing but the ocean." (Ibid.) All these give very strong reason for supposing that the Māhā Chīn of Rashīd-u'd-dīn refers to the great Chinese port of Hong-kong, beyond which lay the harbour of Zaitūn, which has been identified with a port in the province of Fo-kien (Ibid., n. 6). It thus appears that the Indian boundary on the East was formed by Hong-kong and its neighbouring sea.

²⁸ We know that Indian culture at one time was propagated and was deep rooted in the islands of the Far East, in Burma, Siam and Annam, etc., places and countries in which still bear traces of Sanskrit names in a plainly recognizable form, names which were carried there at an early date, and which thus brought about the idea of a Further or Greater India. Greater India in this sense may be regarded as a second India, and certainly it was looked upon in that light by the Hindu colonists, who carried thither their civilization and culture and made it as much as possible their second fatherland.

²⁹ As the French scholar Coedès supposes (*Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, vol. III, *Orientalia*, part 1, p. 4).

³⁰ *Samudrāntarītā jāyāte tvagamyāḥ parasparam* (Mārk. 57, 5). This statement is also to be found in the *Vā.* (45, 78); *Bṛ.* (49, 12); *Br.* (27, 14) and *Vdm.* (13, 9) and in the other *Purāṇas* too. Cf. *Kāya-mīmāṃsā* (*Deśavibhāga*), p. 92, *Yāvat parasparam agamyāsie*. The word *agamyāḥ*, i.e., inaccessible, is of course used here in a conventional sense.

³¹ Cf. *Ayam tu navamo deśaḥ Kuntala*

Ayam deśaḥ samudraṇa plovitāna tathā pare

grāmadāśa samjuktāḥ śivādhāgarāmadhyagāḥ. (*Skanda Purāṇa*, vii, 1, 172, 8-9.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1925-26. pp. xv+306, with 69 plates. Calcutta, 1928.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 35: Excavations in Baluchistan, 1925, Sampur Mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nal, by H. Hargreaves, Superintendent, A.S.I.; pp. xii+88, with 24 plates. Calcutta, 1929.

This annual report, besides its usual record of steady achievement and continued progress, contains brief summaries of exploration work of outstanding importance. Under Conservation valuable work was carried out during the year, at considerable outlay, at Lahore, Garhwā, Mahobā, Champamer, Nālandā, Chānda, Ajmer, Khajurāho, Māndū and Pagan, as well as at numerous other sites. Under Exploration the most important details given are those which relate to the work done at Mohenjo-daro in Sind, Nal in Baluchistan, Nālandā in Bihar and Pahārpur in Bengal. At Mohenjo-daro the excavations were conducted on a vastly increased scale during the year, exposing extensive remains and antiquities that testify to the high standard of living and skill in the arts attained by this ancient civilization of the chalcolithic period, which Sir J. Marshall tells us he has decided to designate as the "Indus" culture, rather than "Indo-Sumerian," "since the latter term is likely to imply a closer connection with Sumer than now seems justified." The special *Memoir* on Mohenjo-daro, said to be in course of preparation, is being impatiently awaited by scholars in all parts of the world. We note that with it will be published a map of the site, so greatly missed hitherto. We could wish that, in addition to this site map, a general map on a smaller scale were furnished, showing the position of the site in relation to the main geographical features of the surrounding country, with the old course or courses of the Indus, as well as its present channel, indicated. In these annual reports of the department we often feel the want of maps such as those with which Cunningham nearly always illustrated his reports.

At the Sohr Damb and elsewhere near Nal, Mr. Hargreaves, in the course of his important excavations, recovered a large quantity of unique pottery and other remains of the copper age. The results of his researches in the locality have since been published in fuller detail in the departmental *Memoir* No. 35, illustrated by excellent plates. He has been led to the interesting, if unexpected, conclusion that the differences between the Nal antiquities and those hitherto found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Indus valley are far more marked than the resemblances. The remains, however, indicate the existence of a civilization of an advanced type—not by any means that of a nomadic people—and go to show that the climatic conditions must have been very different from what they are now, an inference that corresponds with the conclusion of Sir Aurel Stein

respecting the conditions in Gedrosia in prehistoric times. In this connexion the detailed results of Sir Aurel's reconnaissance and explorative survey in Kharan, Makrān and Jhalawan during the cold season of 1927-28 are eagerly awaited, as trial excavations made near Turbat disclosed numerous painted funerary vessels, differing in type from those found by Mr. Hargreaves at Nal, associated with complete chalcolithic burials. Painted ceramic ware of superior fabric and probably earlier type and an abundance of terracotta figurines were also found at several prehistoric sites in Makrān. These and other finds made in the course of this survey have yet to be carefully compared with the remains recovered from Indus valley sites.

At Nālandā, the outstanding feature of the season's work perhaps was the uncovering of the south-east corner tower of the southernmost and earliest (No. 3) of the *stūpas*. We may note here that the stucco figure of the Buddha in the uppermost tier of this tower, shown on Plate XLIX (b), appears to have been incorrectly described as in *dhārmīspārīa mudra*. The work done at Pahārpur has been fully set forth, with plates, by Mr. R. D. Banerji.

Several important inscriptions deciphered during the year are dealt with in the section on Epigraphy; while the Miscellaneous Notes include an interesting paper on the Śvetāmbara and Digambara images of the Jinas by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, who has also recorded a note on the Jaina images at Rājgir. Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni gives a short account of a fragmentary inscription of Bhojadēva found in the Indrapat fort, Delhi, which would seem to show that the dominions of the Pratihāra monarch of Kanauj extended over this area, as indeed we have other grounds for believing.

The plates are, as usual, admirably reproduced.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

INDIAN STUDIES IN HONOR OF CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN. Pp. x+258. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1929.

In order to celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday of Professor Lanman, twenty-seven of his colleagues and friends have joined in producing the extremely nice and imposing complimentary volume on which a few words will be said here. Contributors from Europe, America and India have joined in paying homage to the veteran Orientalist, and their contributions have been printed in English, French and German alike. It seems only meet that the distinguished editor of the Harvard Oriental Series should be presented with a volume, the exterior of which forms an exact counterpart to the splendid and well-known issues of that series. It is, at the same time, somewhat melancholy to remember that two of the foremost contributors, the late lamented Professors Geldner and Bloomfield, should not have lived to see published this well-deserved honorary tribute to one of their most highly esteemed colleagues.

Among the contributions, that by the late Professor Bloomfield and those by Professors Hopkins, Jacobi, Keith, Thomas and Clark are of quite considerable length, none of them covering less than about twenty pages. If amongst these papers one only should be singled out because of its highly admirable qualities, the prize would, no doubt, go to that by Professor Jacobi, dealing with 'Mīmāṃsā and Vaiśeṣika.' Professor Jacobi's philosophical articles, especially the one dealing with the dates of the Sūtras (*JAOS.*, xxxi, 1 sq.), have sometimes appeared like the ingenious and extremely subtle argumentation of the accomplished *paṇḍit*. But we confess seldom to have read a more pellucid and authoritative article on a very difficult topic than this one. Professor Jacobi here sees his way to redating the *sūtras* of Jaimini, believing them to have been composed between 300 and 200 B.C. This seems a very happy idea, for even in its later ramifications the Mīmāṃsā literature gives an impression of high antiquity.

The paper of Professor Thomas on Tibetan fragments of a *Rāmāyaṇa* is important, as revealing what seems to be still another version of that poem. Nearly all details in this story are to be found in other versions; but there probably exists no known version in which they are all found together. This happy find is apt to complicate still more the already hopelessly entangled genealogy of the Rāma epics. We are far less impressed by the extensive article by Professor Keith. It does not deal very much with Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, but chiefly with the opinions of Professor Jacobi and Dr. S. K. De on that problem; and polemic is carried on in the negative and barren style which is well-known from the author's previous works.

Most interesting is the article by Professor Clark on 'Hindu-Arabic Numerals.' The honour of having invented the numerals with zero and place value has, since the Middle Ages, been attributed to the Hindus. As is well-known, Mr. Kaye has lately striven hard to deprive them of that honour. Professor Clark now proves, beyond the possibility of doubt, that these numerals were known and used in India long before their appearance among the Arabs and in Europe, and thus vindicates the glory of Hindūstān. This paper ought to be reprinted in some leading mathematical journal, as it is to be feared that mathematicians have attached weight to the shallow arguments of Mr. Kaye.

The paper by the late Professor Bloomfield deals with 'Diminutive Pronouns in Jaina Sanskrit' and gives a fair collection from that idiom of forms like *ahakam*, *sakā*, etc. Professor Edgerton follows suit with a nice little article on Jaina Mahārāṣṭri, which consists mainly of additions and corrections to the *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*.¹ Grammatical

contributions are given also by Professors Andersen, A. V. Williams Jackson and Meillet. Like all the papers of Professor Meillet, this too is clever and in a way fascinating. Many scholars will perhaps feel convinced that a connection has really been established between the Vedic theme *paṇḍāh* and Latin words of the type *sēdēs*. Literature on the Vedic word is plentiful,² but little progress has been achieved towards a real explication; nor, according to the opinion of the present writer, does the brilliant but superficial article of Professor Meillet contribute essentially to the solution of the problem.

Professors Lévi, Rapson and Konow have contributed interesting papers on epigraphy. To me Professor Rapson's argument for reading 'year 42' in the Amohini votive tablet seems wholly convincing. The late Professor Geldner has written on 'Das Vipāṇam im Rigveda,' an ingenious but rather intricate paper. It seems clear, however, that the idea of being able to separate, while drinking (*vi-pā-*), mixed drinks, as, e.g., milk and water, is very old in India.

Three Japanese scholars—Professors Takakusu, Kimura and Ono—have all dealt from different points of view with the date of the great Vasubandhu. Their conclusions mainly consist in corroborating the previous suggestion of Professor Takakusu, viz., that Vasubandhu lived about 420-500 A.D., a suggestion which, though contested by several authorities, may perhaps be the correct one. The paper by Sir George Grierson on 'The Birth of Lōrik' is full of interesting and useful information; and the article by Professor S. K. Belvalkar is excellent, like all that is written by that eminent scholar. We cannot here venture upon an opinion on some smaller papers; and we must abstain from an appreciation of the paper by Mrs. Rhys Davids, as, unfortunately, we have failed fully to grasp its inmost sense.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

FALLACIES AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE EARLY HINDU LOGICIANS by Stephen Stasink. Reprint of a paper delivered at the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, 1928. *Roznik Orientalist*—Yezny Tom, VI, str. 191-198. Lwow, 1929.

This is a highly technical and closely-reasoned pamphlet of 8 pp. to show that the great logicians of ancient India, like Gotama and Dignāga and Uddyotakara, were no more able to classify errors in argument than were their contemporaries in Europe or indeed than have been modern European authorities on logic. Classification of possible kinds of error seems impossible, and their enumeration is practically endless. This seems to be a futile end to an enquiry involving very great learning and research, but ~~if it is correct~~ the enquiry has not been in vain.

R. C. TEMPLE.

¹ Professor Edgerton (p. 27) identifies *kammāya* with *karmān*, while it is, of course, in reality *kārmāṇa* (formation indicated by Pāṇini, V, 4, 36); *gosa* 'morning' (p. 28) is quite correctly explained, but this explanation is found already in Weber, *Saptaśatikam des Hāla*, p. 11 (cp. also *Defin.*, 2, 96); that *cojja* could be derived from *dācarya* will perhaps appeal to other scholars just as little as to the present writer.

² Cp. Wackernagel *Altind. Gramm.*, iii, 306 f.

RACE DRIFT IN SOUTH INDIA.*

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

I. The Value of Geographical Analysis.

INDIA is behind-hand in the study of Geography, and it is not surprising that the vast mass of anthropological material gathered has not yet been examined carefully in the light of geographical facts. Even in Europe geographical analysis has only recently been applied to anthropological data, and the value of this method is not yet fully appreciated by anthropologists.

Geography is a useful criterion. It is pregnant with suggestions. There are several problems which cannot be solved without its aid.

Anthropological science is at present convulsed by a schism between those who hold that identity of custom is proof of identity of origin, and those who ascribe identity of custom to similarity of the conditions (physical, mental, social) under which such customs grew. It is the old feud between evolution and spontaneous generation, between heredity and environment. There is, no doubt, truth on both sides of the controversy, but it is fruitless to discuss the subject so long as geographical factors are ignored. The safest course is to regard two similar customs as of independent origin, i.e., as "convergent," unless and until evidence of common origin is forthcoming. And the most valuable evidence is, undoubtedly, that of geographical continuity. This problem thus resolves itself into one of distribution. Unfortunately, with the ebb and flow of cultures, continuity is often destroyed. There are types of discontinuous distribution, however, which, with careful study, can be made to yield evidence of value. It is possible sometimes to discern whether a cultural movement has been centrifugal (as in the Hindu culture of Java, for instance) or whether discontinuous distribution is evidence of the local survival of an early culture that has been submerged by later cultural floods (e.g., the fact that a language akin to Melanesian is spoken by the Mundās of Chotā Nāgpur). Sometimes it is possible to locate the centre of dispersion, while a discontinuous "peripheral" distribution is usually interpreted as due, like a coral atoll, to submergence, and if submergence is proved, it usually follows that, as when a stone is thrown into a pool, the cultural ripple most distant from the centre is the earliest.

A study of distribution will often reveal the direction in which cultural influences have moved. India is peculiarly exposed to the impact of cultural currents, from across the mountains and from across the seas. Most currents carry some sediment; sometimes the sediment is deposited, sometimes it penetrates and alters the underlying strata, and some currents merely erode and destroy.

By the study of stratified rocks and the action of air and water geologists have established the sequence of the evolution of animals and plants. A study of cultural strata and cultural drifts should enable the anthropologist to unravel the tangled complex of human culture.

Cultural drift is not, however, the sole factor in moulding human society. The influence of environment is equally important. Its importance has, however, I think, been over-rated. Environment undoubtedly modifies human culture, but it cannot create.

Important results have been attained by zoologists and botanists by the regional study of the distribution of animals and plants. Their methods deserve the emulation of the student of human culture. Unfortunately it is our habit in India to work and think in terms of provinces, states and districts, the limits of which are determined solely by administrative or political convenience. Writers in Europe, who have no local knowledge, are misled by

* A paper read at the eleventh Session of the Indian Science Congress at Bangalore, 1924, under the title "Anthropological Geography." Reprinted with slight alterations from *Man in India*, vol. IV, 1924, by kind permission of the Editor, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

this. They speak vaguely of India south of the Vindhya as "South India," regardless of the distinction between the Deccan Plateau and the Eastern and Western Coastal Plains. They speak loosely of "Madras" without discriminating the essentially different cultures of the Malayali, Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil nations. They fail to appreciate the fact that "Mysore" is made up of more than one geographical area, and seem unaware that many districts, e.g., Coimbatore, Salem, N. Arcot, comprise bits of several diverse geographical units. They ignore the distinction between North and South Malabar, North and South Travancore, the Tulu country and West Coast Kannada.

Anyone with a first-hand knowledge of the castes and tribes of South India must realise the vital importance of exactitude as to locality in recording the results of investigations. Failure in this vitiates the value of a very high proportion of the anthropological material at our disposal. The term "Nâyars," for instance, includes such a multitude of distinct communities that it is meaningless to speak of a "Nayar custom" without noting not only the class of Nayar but also the *nâdu* and even the villages to which that custom appertains. The term "Vellâlar" is even vaguer. There is no such thing as a "Vellâlar" custom; so distinct, for instance, are the Kongu Vellâlar of Coimbatore from the Tonḍaimandalam Vellâlar of Chingleput, and each of these communities from the Kâraikattu Vellâlar of Tinnevely that it would be difficult to justify the treatment of these three communities as members of one and the same social group, except only that they share a common name and are alike in economic and social status. Again, Kâpus and Kammas spread from the Northern Circars and Hyderabad southward to Cape Comorin. How far those sections of these Telugu communities which have penetrated into the Tamil country have been influenced, if at all, by their Tamil environment can only be ascertained by a careful search for variations in custom in the different geographical areas in which they reside. The "Discipline of Geography" is, in short, the surest safeguard against confusion.

II. Geographical Factors.

A. The physical factors which condition human existence may be roughly grouped under the three heads—(a) Configuration, (b) Climate and (c) Economic Products. These factors are closely interdependent one on the other, but no one of them taken singly can be used to demarcate areas of human culture. Land surface elevation, for instance, the "orographical map," is of importance to the anthropologist, but the lowlands include desert and swamp as well as fat delta, and the uplands may be a sanitarium or a death trap. Rain in excess is as injurious to human subsistence as rainlessness, and man can thrive as thickly in the comparatively dry areas of Tanjore and South Travancore as on the wetter coast of Malabar. Iron ores are of little use if fuel and labour cannot be had to melt them. In short, physical factors taken collectively form a variety of complexes, some of which are favourable and some are deleterious to the development of human culture, and the complexes themselves may be profoundly modified by human art, particularly, in India, by the art of irrigation.

B. These complexes find their expression in the distribution of "human phenomena," e.g. (a) Density of Population, (b) Race, (c) Language, (d) Religion, (e) Political and Administrative Divisions. But the boundaries of these phenomena do not coincide. One race may speak several languages, one language may be spoken by several races; religion transcends the limits of race and language, and a state or nation may comprise many races, languages and religions.

Can a common multiple be found for all these variable factors, human and physical? I think it can,—in Density of Population.

III. Areas and Avenues.

A. BASIS FOR CLASSIFICATION.

Attention has in recent years been concentrated on routes,—routes of migration and routes of trade. But routes are but a means to an end and the end ultimately is, almost

always, *food*. The continuance of the human race depends on breeding, and breeding is impossible without feeding. Civilisation, in its crudest forms, is the art of adjusting birth rate and food supply, of feeding the maximum number of people in any given area, of mitigating the pressure of population on the soil. This eternal problem is the mainspring of human migrations and human wars.

"Nothing succeeds like success." The best test of the suitability of an area for human habitation is the number of people per square mile that it actually supports. In other words, the relative Density of Population is the key to "human geography."

A word of caution is here needed. Density fluctuates from age to age. Areas once crowded become depopulated, empty areas get filled. For this there are definite causes, *e.g.*, physical changes, such as desiccation, the silting of rivers or harbours, or the ravages of disease, or economic changes, such as the development of coal and iron industries, a gold boom, or political convulsions, such as the devastations of an Attila or a Tamerlane. Nevertheless two facts remain: (1) the areas of high density in any particular epoch are the areas best suited to the maintenance of human life in the cultural conditions prevailing in that area at that epoch, and (2) with few exceptions the present areas of maximum density have been areas of high density throughout History.¹

B. REGIONAL TYPES.

The first duty then of the student of human geography is to plot out areas of different density. The standards of high and low density must for obvious reasons vary in different regions; the standards of Baluchistan, for instance, would be meaningless if applied to Bengal. For South India the following standards will, I think, be suitable:

Low Density: 200 persons or less per square mile.

Medium Density: 200 to 500 persons per square mile.

High Density: 500 persons or more per square mile.

Maximum Density: 1,000 persons or more per square mile.

In the light of the perspective thus gained it should be easy to examine the areas in detail, and classify them further according to (i) movement and (ii) position.

(i) Of movement there are four types:

- (1) movement inwards or *centripetal*; areas of concentration;
- (2) movement outwards or *centrifugal*; areas of dispersion;
- (3) movement across or *transitional*;
- (4) absence of movement; areas of stagnation or *isolation*:

(1) Areas of high density or concentration are usually *centripetal* foci. Humanity moves from one to other of these foci or impinges on a focus from some area of relatively low density. It is the foci that determine the routes and not *vice versa*.

Culturally a *centripetal* area is of course complex. Its blood is blended with the blood of countless races. From the play of cultural currents it is never free. Its social and economic life, viewed as a whole, is rich and varied, and, in spite of tremendous class inequalities, its component elements are closely knit together; usually it evolves a literature of its own, and literature, as a language medium, is a powerful solvent of cultural barriers. Diversity is pervaded with a subtle unity of character and thought. Such is the type of London, Paris or Rome.²

(2) The true *centrifugal* area, or area of dispersion, is a barren land which cannot feed its folk, but whose folk are sufficiently virile, numerous and aggressive to win their way in more favoured tracts. Of this type are North Germany, Central Asia, Arabia, Afghanistan.

¹ *E.g.*, Deltaic Egypt, the country round Nineveh and Babylon, Bengal, the Valley of the Yangtze-Kiang.

² A *centripetal* area is not necessarily based on agricultural fertility. Rome and London, for instance, owe their being to their maritime position. The Empire of Rome was erected to feed Rome. Destroy the British Empire, and Britain must starve. This does not convert a *centripetal* focus into a *centrifugal* one.

(3) The boundaries of centripetal and centrifugal areas are not always sharply defined. Between one area and another there is usually a tract that partakes of the character of both areas or of neither. Frontiers are, in short, belts or zones, not lines. Sometimes, as between France and Spain, they are "abrupt" and fairly stable; sometimes, as between Teuton and Slav, they are "indefinite" and perpetually oscillating. These belts or zones I class as *transitional*. Through them lie the avenues along which race and culture migrate. Such areas are the nurseries of "Border Chieftains," who acknowledge the suzerainty of any power that is strong enough to assert it, and resume their independence at the first symptom of weakness, take toll from all who pass through their zone, fight each other and loot the villagers beyond their borders.

(4) Areas of *isolation* are usually difficult of access, or unhealthy, or infertile, or otherwise unfavourable to human existence; or two or more of these factors may be combined. Some are mere "misery spots," which nobody wants and the wise man avoids. Others prosper in sturdy independence, shielded by nature from the tax-gatherer and money-lender. Others again tolerate an immigrant aristocracy, its satellites and retainers, but the immigrants, if they come to stay, sever, sooner or later, their connections with their former homes. Sometimes they provide a refuge for the outlaw.

The population of an isolated area, unlike that of a centrifugal area, is not "aggressive" in character, but "recessive"; savage it may be (more usually it is timid), but it does not impose its culture on its neighbour.

Areas of isolation are usually mountainous, jungly, swampy or arid. To the anthropologist such areas are the most interesting of all, for they preserve relics of cultures that have elsewhere passed into oblivion. "The hills contain the ethnological sweepings of the plains."³

(ii) **Position** is an important factor in determining the social and cultural features of an area. No hard and fast classification is here needed, but a few descriptive terms of definite connotation are useful.

"Central" needs no explanation. "Marginal" is also self-evident, the most typical example being the narrow coastal plain. "Terminal" connotes the familiar "Land's End" or "Finisterre" position.

Three other terms I propose to use.

- (a) Certain areas lie off the beaten tracks of migration, but are easily accessible and maintain contact with the cultural areas on which they debouch. They are usually fairly fertile valleys ending in a *cul-de-sac*. Such areas I call "secluded" or "recessed."
- (b) A river valley sometimes opens out into a plain surrounded on all sides by hills, through which the river finds a comparatively narrow outlet. The Hungarian Plain formed by the Danube is a classic example. Such areas I propose to call "entrenched" or "ensconced."
- (c) Some areas lie on the crest of a water parting and lap over into two distinct river basins. A typical example is the country round Delhi and Pānīpat, astride the water parting of the Jumna and the Indus. Such areas I describe as "overlap" areas.

IV. Geography of South India.

A. PHYSICAL.

With the foregoing classification in mind, let us study a map of the Madras Presidency and the associated States.

The physical configuration is familiar. (Fig. 1, Pl. I.) They comprise I. the Deccan Plateau, II. the Eastern and Western Ghāts, III. the Eastern and Western Coastal Plains.

³ Tylor, quoted by Ripley, *Races of Europe*, p. 145.

Fig. 1.

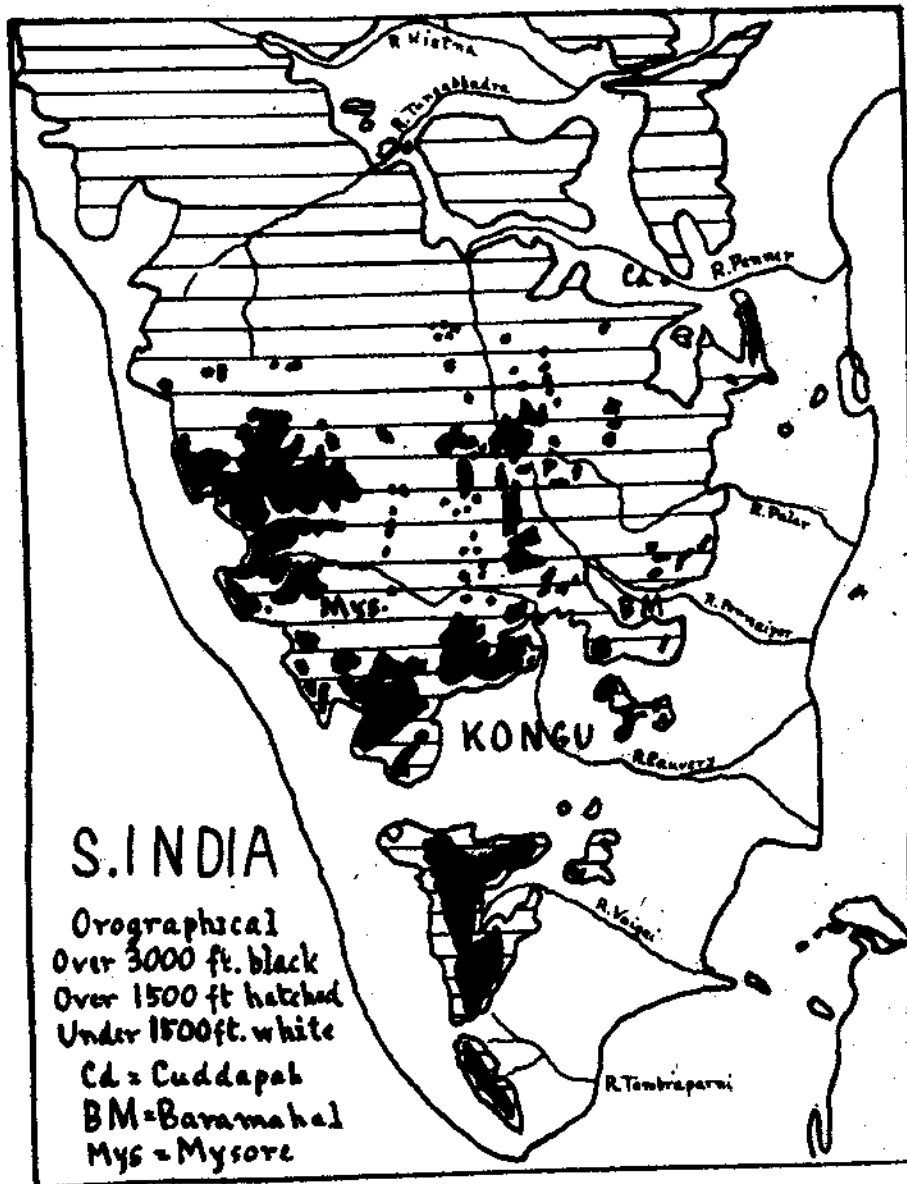


Fig. 2.

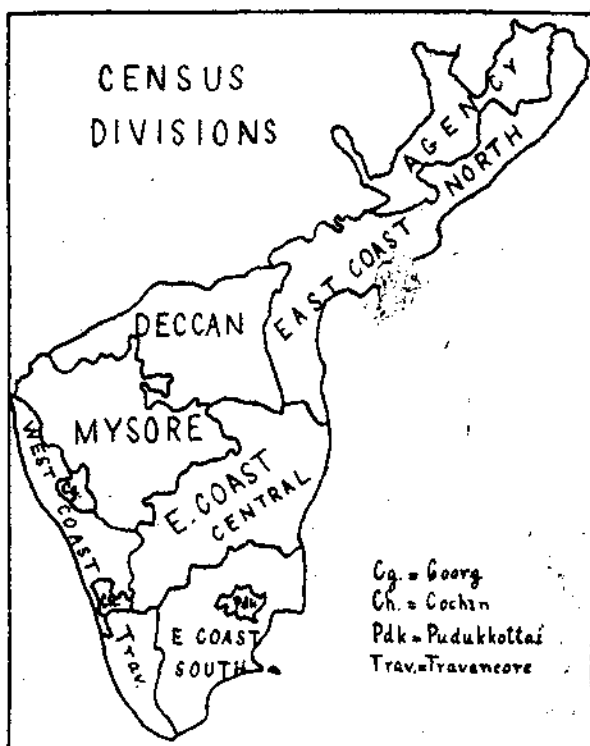


Fig. 3.

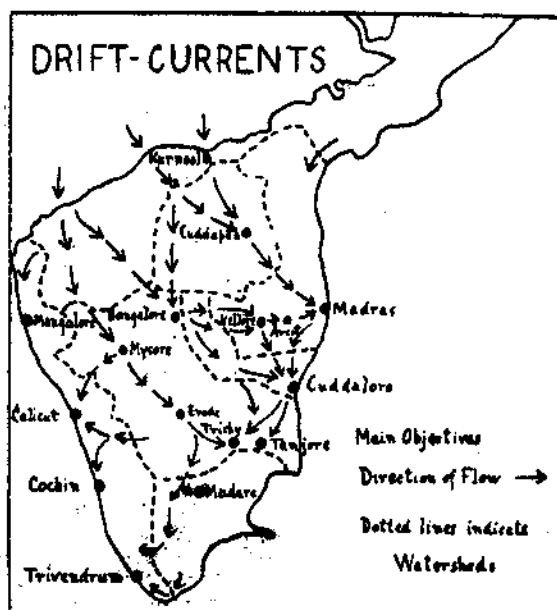


Fig. 4.

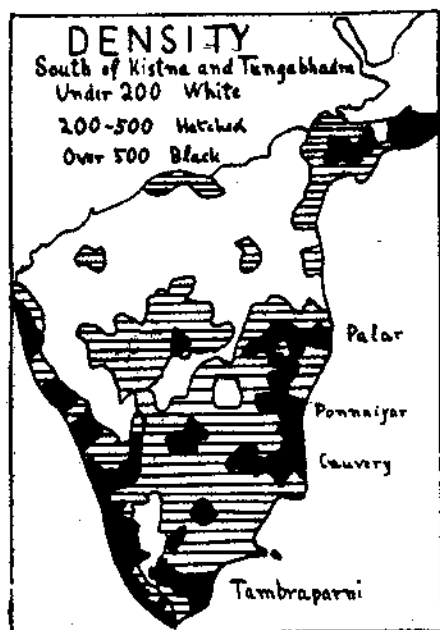


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

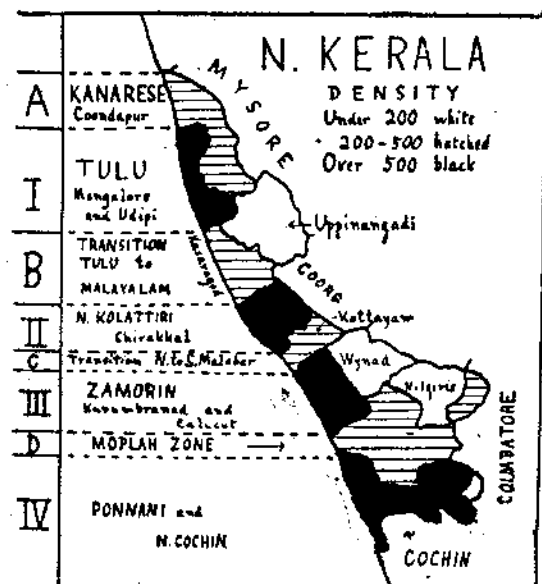


Fig. 7.

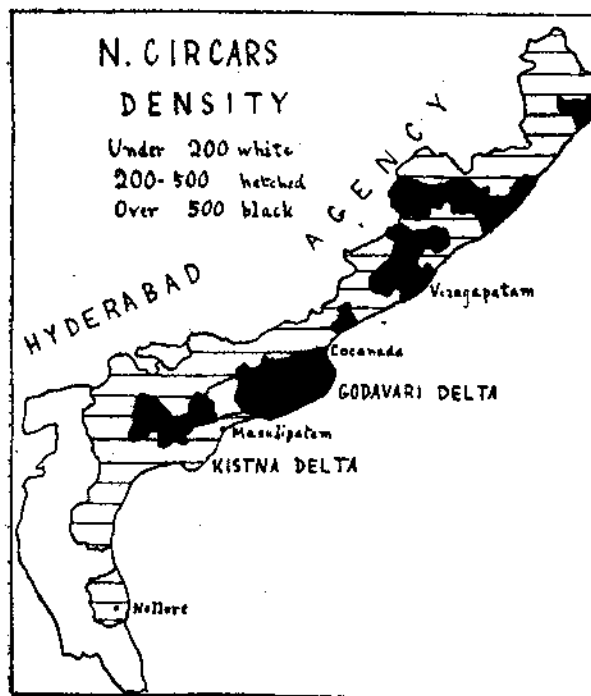
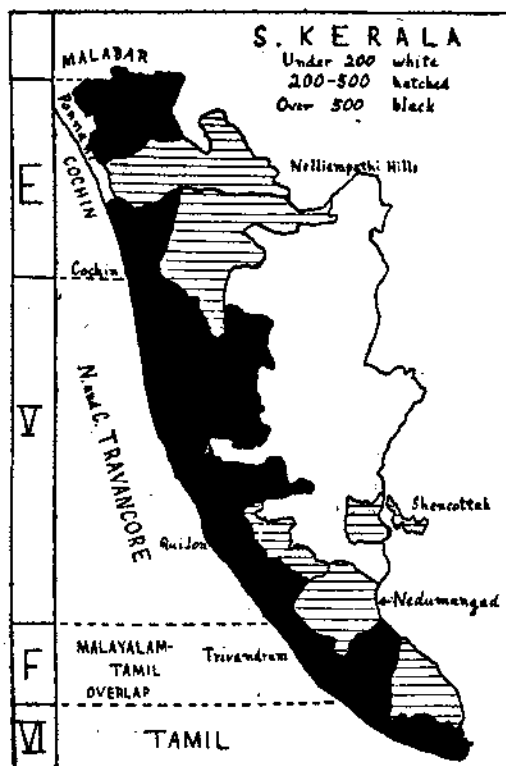


Fig. 8.

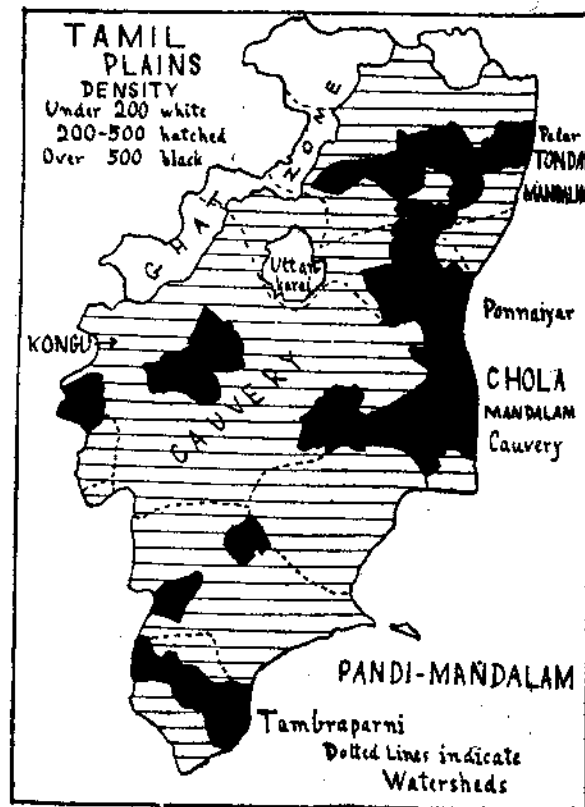


Fig. 9.

Three big rivers, the Kistna, the Godāvari and the Kāvēri rise in the Western Ghāts and flow across the plateau to the East Coast. In the south-eastern portion of the plateau, between the basins of the Kistna and the Kāvēri, and taking their rise from Nandidrug, is another "trinity of rivers"—the North Pinākini or Penner, the Pālār and the South Pinākini or Ponnaiyār. (Fig. 3, Pl. II.)

For census purposes the Presidency is divided into six natural divisions. (Fig. 2, Pl. II.)

1. West Coast.	4. Deccan.
2. Agency.	5. East Coast, Central.
3. East Coast, North.	6. East Coast, South.

I have examined each of these divisions in detail; also the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. Taking the *tāluk* as a unit (the district is too large a unit for detailed study), I have plotted the results in Fig. 4, Pl. II.

1. The West Coast is a marginal area. The narrow coastal plain, densely populated, is backed by a belt of low density, the area covered by the Western Ghāts. The continuity of this mountain belt is broken by two gaps—(1) at Pālgāt and (2) at Shencottah. Only at these two points is the line crossed by railways.

The high density of the coastal plain is interrupted in three places by areas of medium density. It is conspicuously constricted at two other points, viz., South Cochin and again south of the Tinnevely-Quilon Railway. (Figs. 6 and 7, Pl. III.)

Along this strip north-to-south movement is not easy: rivers are numerous and torrential. The railway from Tellicherry to Mangalore is a recent extension; Travancore is provided for by a fairly complete system of canals from Cochin to Trivandrum.

This configuration is reflected in the history and geography of the tract. Political frontiers oscillate, but the oscillations are controlled by geographical factors. I tabulate the areas, numbering the high density sections and lettering those of low density from north to south.

A. Coondapoor Tāluk (Fig. 6, Pl. III), populated by Kanarese speaking Bants, is a "spill-area" of cultural and racial influence from NW. Mysore State (Shimoga Dt.) through the territory of the Nāyakas of Bednūr (otherwise known as Keladi or Nagar). The Ghāts here are partly broken by the Sharāvati river, which plunges down the famous Gersoppa Falls. The Kanarese element is intrusive and has not made much impression.

I. Udupi and Mangalore Tāluka, the stronghold of the Tulus, a matrilineal folk.

B. Kāsaragod Tāluk: the transitional area between the Tulu country and Malayāli Kārāla, the home of the Nāyar and the Nambūdīri. The approach to the sea of the sparsely populated tāluk of Uppinangadi has no doubt helped to make this a frontier.

II. Chirakkal tāluk, the seat of the Northern Kolattiris, the principal beneficiary in North Malabar in the partition effected by the Perumāls.

C. Kōttayam tāluk, and III (a) Kurumbranād tāluk at one time owed allegiance to the Northern Kolattiri. Kōttayam being of lower density than Chirakkal or Kurumbranād, the territory was not homogeneous, the Kolattiri was always troubled by the rebellion of his feudatories (particularly his own relative, the Kōttayam Rāja) and the aggressions of Zamorin.

III. (b) Calicut, the seat of the Zamorin, who got no territory at the Perumāl's partition, but only a sword to conquer with.

D. Ernād and Walluvanād tāluka, the "Moplah Zone." The Moplahs were the Zamorin's men. They are associated with the Zamorin's policy of trade with Arabia, which brought Vasco da Gama to Calicut,

IV. Ponnāni tāluk : an intensely fertile tract with a density of over 1000. Pālghāt in the hinterland is the gate to the Tamil country and dominated by Tamil Brāhmans. Ethnographically, Pālghāt contains strong Tamil elements; e.g., Taragars and Kaikolars. But the immigrants have all, to some extent, assimilated Malayāli culture. Ponnāni is an area of transition, and owes its importance, in part at least, to the peculiar configuration of the Cochin State. The northern portion of Cochin supports a population of over 500 per square mile, and, with South Walluvanad, forms an avenue of approach to the port of Cochin and its backwater, which might be one of the finest harbours in the world, but for the difficulties created by its bar and the south-west monsoon. Cochin backwater is the strongest "magnetic" centre on the West Coast south of Bombay, a centripetal focus *par excellence*. It has attracted Romans, Jews and Syrian Christians, Portuguese, Dutch and British. The Shoranūr-Ernakulam Railway is but one of many evidences of the deflection of movement—cultural, racial and economic—to the objective of Cochin backwater. The railway takes a short cut through broken country; the real route lay through Ponnāni tāluk, and there is evidence of this deflection in the social ingredients of Ponnāni tāluk itself.

E. To the Nelliampathi Hills (see Fig. 7, Pl. III) Cochin undoubtedly owes its survival as a sovereign state. For generations Cochin groaned beneath the upper and nether millstones, the Zamorin and Travancore. But thanks to the Nelliampathis, Cochin can only be attacked from the north on a narrow front, and Trivandrum is too far distant to control it effectively.

V. In North and Central Travancore, the culture of Kērala has full play. A strip of maximum density (over 1000 per square mile) runs almost without break along the seaboard from end to end. The Ghāts form an impenetrable shield except for the loophole of the Shencottah Pass, and even here Tamil influence has not penetrated far, for Travancore holds territory to the eastward of the pass and density is relatively low.

F. Nedumangād, with a population of only 300 to the square mile, marks the end of undiluted Malabar. Trivandrum is the southern limit of the "maximum density" seaboard. Nearly one-fifth of its people speak Tamil.

VI. Thence southward lies an area of transition, and at Cape Comorin the transition is complete. We know from inscriptions that the southernmost tāluks of Travancore were for centuries dominated politically and culturally by Tamil Pāndyas. The Census figures (1901) are significant.⁴

2. The Agency is, thanks to malaria, one vast area of isolation. Geographically it is an annexe to the great mountain belt that separates the Indo-Gangetic plains from Peninsular India. In the transmission of cultural influence it is a barrier which cannot be crossed. True, there are racial and cultural movements within it, and parts of it are loosely controlled by an immigrant aristocracy, but these can only be explained by a comprehensive study of the whole Vindhya belt, and such a study has yet to be made. Only in two tāluks, Jeypore and the Northern Udayagiri, does density rise beyond 150 per square mile. For my present purpose the Agency may be regarded as a blank wall.

3. The East Coast, Northern Division (the Northern Circars) is a narrow coastal plain, not unlike the West Coast. On the north its extension in the coastal plain of Orissa gives access to Bengal. The Oriyas have penetrated into Ganjam, but the passage is constricted by the Chilka Lake. In the centre two large magnetic foci are created (Fig. 8, Pl. III) by the deltas of the Godāvari and Kistna, between which lies the Colair Lake. The Kistna delta is accessible from the Deccan, as the histories of Bādāmi, Warangal and Golkonda and the railway from Warangal to Bezwāda and from Guntakkal to Guntūr testify. The Colair Lake has,

⁴ From north to south the percentage of Tamil speakers in the southern tāluks is as follows: Trivandrum 19, Neyyattinkara 15, Vilavankod 71, Kalkulam 83, Eraniel 92, Agastisvaram 97, Tovala 99.

to some extent, but very imperfectly, protected the Godâvari Delta from aggression from this quarter.

On the south these deltas can be got at from two quarters by way of the narrow barren plain of Nellore, *viz.*, (1) from Madras, and (2) from Cuddapah. But transit by these routes is not easy, the passage from Madras is constricted by the Pulicat Lake and spurs of the Chittoor hills, that from Cuddapah by the difficulties of the Badvel Pass. The Tamil Chôlas forced their way northward, and the Kâkatiyas of Warangal southward, past Pulicat, but they could not hold their conquests. Krishna Râya of Vijayanagar only succeeded (via Cuddapah) by capturing Udayagiri, where the Badvel Pass debouches, and by protecting his flank from Warangal aggression by the quadrilateral of forts Vinukonda, Konḍavidu, Konḍapalli and Bellamkonda. (See Fig. 5, Pl. II.)

On the whole the history of this Eastern Coastal Plain is not unlike that of the West Coast. Within the area political boundaries oscillate and sections of it tend to break up into petty principalities.

4. **The Deccan** (Northern and Central) is a vast area of low density, broken here and there with patches of medium density, most of them marking the sites of former capitals, *e.g.*, Gulbarga, Golkonda, Warangal, Banavâsi, Adoni, Kurnool and Cuddapah. On East and West alike its frontier is a belt of deterrent mountains and jungles. To the south, in Mysore State, lies a large compact area carrying a moderately dense population, and this in turn is bounded on the south by a belt of low density, broken only at one point, south-east of Mysore. This belt, the "Poligar Belt," is of great importance in the history and ethnography of South India, for it is the line along which the Plateau breaks away to the Plains, and it marks the frontier between the Tamils and the Telugu-Kanarese nations. It is true that this frontier has frequently been overpassed, but whoever crosses it finds himself in a foreign and hostile country.

The fairly populous area within this belt is not homogeneous. The western and larger portion, the Mysore homeland, lies within the basin of the Upper Kâvêri. The eastern portion, East Mysore, is an overlap area covering the head streams of the Penner, the Ponnaiyâr, and the Pâlâr. The significance of this distinction will be apparent when we come to examine—

5 and 6. **The East Coast, Central and Southern Divisions.**—These divisions are best taken together. They comprise the homeland of the Tamils. They have three centripetal foci, areas of maximum density,—(a) Madras, (b) Kumbakonam and (c) Madura.

The first two are linked by a densely populated area of irregular shape. This area is made up of the basins of the Middle and Lower Pâlâr in the north and the basin of the Lower Kâvêri in the south. Between the two is the fertile basin of the Lower Ponnaiyâr, which enters the sea near Cuddalore. The Ponnaiyâr area is linked with the Kâvêri area by the basin of the Velâr, which flows into the sea at Porto Novo. The Pâlâr area is linked with the Ponnaiyâr area, not by the coast line, but by a fertile tract comprised in the tâluks of Wandiwash and Gingee.

At the head of the Kâvêri delta stands Trichinopoly, the principal seat of Chôla power, and throughout the ages of immense strategic importance. The Pâlâr enters the coastal plain at Arcot, not far from Conjeeveram, the capital of the Pâlâr Plain from time immemorial. The strategic centre of the middle Pâlâr is Vellore. It is obvious that to any army marching between the Pâlâr area and the lower Kâvêri the possession of Gingee is vital.

Madura stands by itself. It is not linked up with any other area of high density. To this fact it owes its strength and importance. It is sheltered from aggression on the north and west and east by a belt of rough untempting country, the stronghold of the predatory Kallar, and beyond this, to the east and south, stretch the dreary plains of Râmnâd, the homeland of the warlike Maravars. Even the railway from Madras makes a big detour through Dindigul to get there.

Beyond Madura to the south lies the "terminal" area of Tinnevely; through the heart of which runs the densely populated valley of the Tambraparni, with Tuticorin still trading overseas, as Kāyal did in the Middle Ages, and Korkai in the days of the early Cæsars.

Tinnevely is the handmaid, but never the master, of Madura. The two together formed the homeland of the Pāndyas, as the Lower Kāvêri did that of the Chôlas, and the Lower Pālār (known to history as *Tondamandalam*) that of the Pallavas.

Two other areas remain. In the hinterland north of Salem is a sparsely populated area, the tāluk of Uttangarai. The paucity of population is due to the hill complex which culminates in the Shevaroyas. (See Fig. 11, Pl. IV.) These hills are more important than a density map would lead us to suppose. They stretch north-eastwards (south of the Pālār) right through to Vellore, with outliers beyond. They spread southwards and eastwards into the districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot. Westwards they trend, at lower elevations, right up to the Kāvêri at the point where it quits the Poligar Belt. Only at three points do these hills permit⁵ of access to the coastal plain, viz., (1) through the Āttūr gap east of Salem to the headwaters of the Vellār, (2) through the rough Chengam Pass (near where the Ponnaiyār breaks through) to Tirukkoyilūr and Cuddalore, and (3) in the north-west corner, by way of Tiruppattūr to Vellore and the Pālār valley.

The westward limit of this hill complex is the frontier between the basins of the Middle Kāvêri and the Middle Ponnaiyār, the former the Kongu country of history, (the present district of Coimbatore and the southern half of Salem), the latter the Bāramahāl (North Salem).

These two areas, Kongu and the Bāramahāl, the basins of the Middle Kāvêri and Middle Ponnaiyār, have an important bearing on migrations in South India. So also has the "entrenched" basin of the Middle Penner (North Pinākini). It is these that determine the three lines of approach to the Tamil country. (Figs. 10 and 11, Pl. IV.)

A. *Tondamandalam* is accessible with difficulty from the Northern Circars, as already described, by way of Nellore. It is easily accessible from the south. It is also accessible by the Middle Pālār valley, and on this several routes impinge. The chief of them are, (i) the Māmandūr Pass, through which the railway runs from Cuddapah to Madras, (ii) The Dāmalcheruvu Pass in the north-west corner of Chittoor district, (iii) the Mōgili Pass from Kolār to Chittoor, (iv) the Nāyakanēri Pass a little further south, which enters the Pālār valley north of Āmbūr. The valley can also, as already pointed out, be entered from the Bāramahāl, which, in turn, is fairly easily accessible from Bangalore, Mysore and Kolār.

B. *Chôlamandalam* (the Kāvêri Delta) is accessible easily from the north, as already described; also from the west from Kongu. Access from the Bāramahāl (through Chengam) is difficult.

C. *Pāndimandalam* (the districts of Madura and Tinnevely) is accessible only with difficulty from *Chôlamandalam*, but with comparative ease from the north-west corner, i.e., from Kongu. But Madura City is shielded by the hills that lie between it and Dindigul. On the other hand, *Chôlamandalam* bears a teeming population and, owing to the narrowing of the valley above Trichinopoly, it is well adapted for defence against aggression from the West. Hence a movement from Kongu is apt to be checked at Trichinopoly, and diverted through Dindigul into the western half of Tinnevely, missing out Madura.

Kongu itself was accessible from Mysore by the three passes of (i) Gajjalhatti, (ii) Hāsānūr and (iii) Kāvêripuram. During the nineteenth century all these three routes, which traverse very rough country, have gone out of use.

(To be continued.)

⁵ Or did till recently. We can safely ignore the achievements of modern road and railway engineering.

Fig. 10.

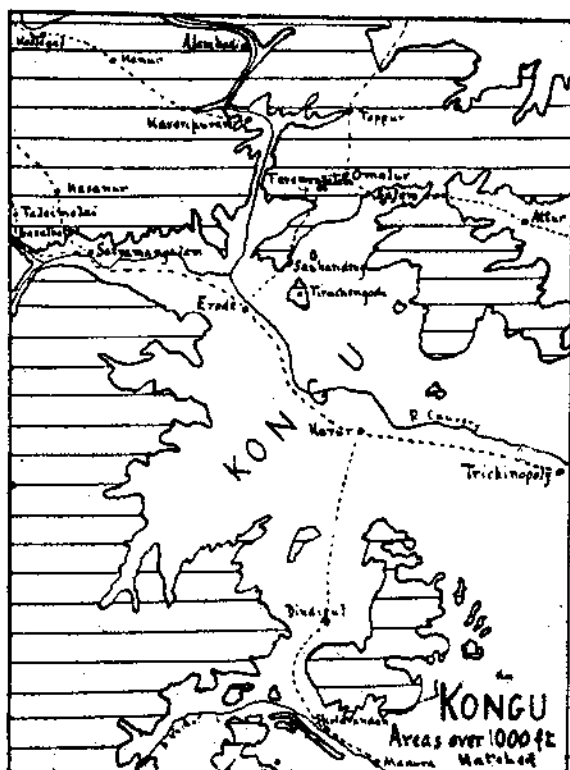


Fig. 11.

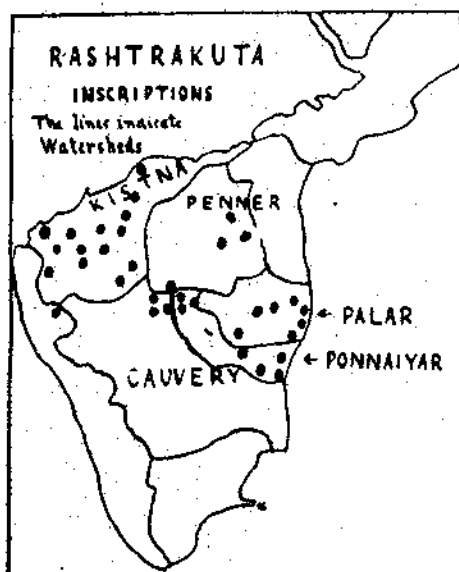
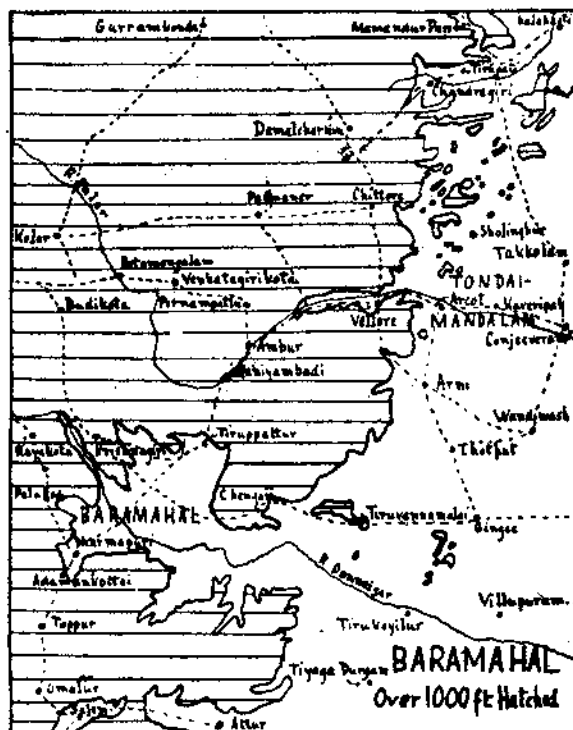


Fig. 12.

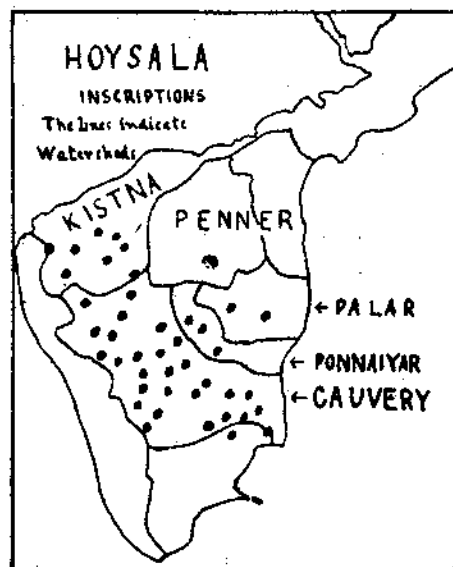


Fig. 13.

SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retired.)

THE Turkish admiral Sidi 'Alī is widely known to students of geography as the author of the *Muhīt*, the 'encircling' or 'surrounding' (sea), a compilation from different sources of instructions for navigating the seas between Persia and China. We now know, thanks to the researches of MM. Ferrand and Gaudefroy-Demombynes,¹ that this work is largely a translation from certain previous records, MS. copies of which are preserved among the Arabic MSS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. Whatever his sources may have been, the work is of great value in that it contains much detailed information about the routes followed by the Arab navigators in the later middle ages, before the Portuguese had traversed these eastern waters and by their descriptions and charts revealed them to the West. The *topographical chapters of the Muhīt* were carefully translated into German by Dr. M. Bittner of the Imperial University of Vienna. This translation was published in 1897, with a learned introduction and a series of valuable maps specially prepared to illustrate the geographical information furnished therein, as compared with that available from the earliest Portuguese maps and charts, by Dr. W. Tomaschek of the same University.²

Another work by Sidi 'Alī, entitled *Mirāt al-mamlūk*, 'The Mirror of Countries,' is perhaps less widely known. This was edited and translated into German by H. F. von Diez in 1815, and some years later translated into French by M. Morris and published in the *Journal Asiatique* 1^{re} série, t. IX and X, 1826-27. In 1899 the celebrated Central Asian traveller and explorer, Arminius Vambéry, published a fresh translation in English from the then latest printed edition published at Constantinople in 1895. This little book, which has been described by the late Dr. V. A. Smith as "badly translated and annotated,"³ is not often met with. A perusal of the portion relating to Sidi 'Alī's adventures in India and the identifications suggested for some of the places visited might indeed lead a casual reader to doubt whether the admiral had actually made the journeys and had the experiences he relates. A close examination, however, shows that the narrative is corroborated in numerous respects from a variety of independent sources, that his route can be clearly identified from stage to stage, and, therefore, that his story may be accepted as a genuine record of travel. As the account of his experiences in Gujarāt, Sind and the Panjāb is of interest and value from many points of view, I propose to give a short summary thereof, following him from place to place. It will be necessary, first of all, to set forth briefly the circumstances that led to his unpremeditated visit to India and thereafter impelled him to undertake his venturesome land journey.

We know little about Sidi 'Alī beyond what he tells us himself in this remarkable work. He was a contemporary of the great Ottoman emperor, Sulaimān I, "the Magnificent" (1494-1566), who reigned from 1520 to 1566; and most of his active service was passed in the employment of that monarch. His father's name was Husain, and he tells us that his father and ancestor (? grandfather) had held charge of the royal arsenal at Galata since the capture of Constantinople (1453), where they had acquired eminence in their profession, and that he had inherited their knowledge of nautical matters. He had himself studied deeply the art of navigation. He had been present at the capture of Rhodes (referring apparently to the sanguinary attack of 1522, when the Turks suffered such heavy losses). He had taken part, he says, in all the fights in the "western seas" (i.e., in the Mediterranean) and had been present at all the victories of Khairu'd-dīn Pasha.⁴ He had written books

¹ See *Journal Asiatique*, 10^e série, t. XX, 1912, p. 547 f.; and G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, etc., t. II, 1914, p. 484 f.

² *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohit*, Wien, Verlag der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft, 1897.

³ V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 1917, p. 464.

⁴ His original name was Khizr, but he became more famous in the West under the soubriquet *Barbarossa* ('Red Beard').

on astronomy and philosophy and on matters relating to navigation, and was popularly known as Kâtib-i-Rûmî (i.e., 'the Turkish writer').

In the course of the war between the Mughal emperor Humâyûn and Bahâdur Shâh, Sultân of Gujarât, the latter retreated in 1535 to the strong hill fortress of Mândû, which was closely invested by Humâyûn. When one of the outer gates of the fort was thrown open to the Mughals by treachery, according to the *Mirât-i-Sikandari*, Bahâdur fled first to the fort at Champaner and thence on to Diu, with the object of enlisting the aid of the Portuguese. At the same time he sent an envoy to Egypt, to solicit the assistance of the Turks. Later on he sent an envoy to the Sultân of Turkey himself. Meanwhile the Portuguese having, in the course of their negotiations with Bahâdur, obtained the grant of a site on which to build a fort at Diu, pushed on its construction with the utmost rapidity. The Ottoman Sultân, whose ships had previously encountered the Portuguese in eastern waters, appears to have been taken with the idea of seizing the occasion to avenge himself upon them and at the same time to obtain a footing in India. A large fleet was accordingly collected at Suez, troops were despatched and the command of the expedition entrusted to Sulaimân Pasha, the governor of Cairo. The fleet started in June 1538; Aden was sacked in August, and Diu reached in September. Faulty tactics, quarrels with the Gujarâtis and the gallantry of the Portuguese defence ultimately led to Sulaimân Pasha's discomfiture and finally to his retreat in November. A few years later the Sultân of the Turks once more conceived a plan for revenging himself upon the Portuguese by completing the annexation of Arabia and capturing Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, which was the key to their ascendancy in that region. The command of the expedition fitted out for this purpose was given to the Egyptian Admiral Pîrî Beg, who left Suez in 1553 for Hormuz with some 30 vessels. After many vicissitudes, and after taking Maskat and pillaging Hormuz, he was encountered by the Portuguese fleet and defeated. He himself escaped to Egypt with two ships, while all that remained of his fleet sought refuge at Basrah. Murâd Beg, who was appointed to take command of these vessels, attempted to take them back to Egypt, but was intercepted by the Portuguese near Hormuz and, after a sanguinary contest, was driven back to Basrah. Our author was then appointed by the Sultân to the post of Admiral of Egypt, and he was directed to proceed to Basrah and take the fleet back.

Sîdî 'Alî describes briefly his route from Aleppo, where the Sultân was then holding court, via Nisibin and Mosul to Baghdâd, making a trip from there to Karbala, to visit that sacred site. Returning to Baghdâd, he proceeded down the Tigris past Ctesiphon to Kut al-Amâra, whence he seems to have gone down the Shatt al Hai channel, as he passed Wâsiṭ. From Wâsiṭ he went on to Zakya, paying a visit to Ezra's tomb, and then by Mezera (near Qûrna) down to Basrah. He sailed from Basrah on the 1st *Sha'bân* 961 A.H. (beginning of July 1554)⁵ to Rîshahr (near Bushire) with the ships bound for Egypt. If the route followed from Wâsiṭ past Basrah to the open sea were accurately identified, it might furnish some interesting evidence as to the conditions of the Euphrates-Tigris delta some four centuries ago. From Rîshahr the fleet crossed the Gulf to Qâtif on the Arabian coast of al-Hasa, passing on to Bahrain, recrossing the Gulf to Qais Island, and so on to Hormuz. No news being obtainable at any of these stages of the Portuguese fleet, Sîdî 'Alî moved on to the Julfâr (modern Râs al-Khaima) coast round cape Râs Masandam and past Lîmah until, in the vicinity of Khûr Fakkân, he met the Portuguese fleet comprising 25 vessels, of which 12 were small galleys. After a fierce fight, he tells us, the Portuguese lost one galleon and hove off in the direction of Hormuz. Sîdî 'Alî proceeded to Sohâr, where he seems to have stopped, as it was not till the 16th day after the fight near Khûr Fakkân that he arrived opposite Maskat and Qalhât, when another and stronger Portuguese fleet, commanded by "the admiral of Goa, the son of the Governor," put out from Maskat and attacked him. The Turkish fleet was no match for their opponents' big and heavily armed ships of war.

⁵ Vambéry writes on the 1st *Shawwâl*, which is clearly incorrect.

However, they seem to have put up a gallant fight till nightfall, when, according to our author, the Portuguese sailed off in the direction of Hormuz. The Portuguese account of this battle is very different, claiming a more or less complete victory, as in fact it must have been, as only nine out of fifteen Turkish ships escaped. A storm coming on, the Turkish fleet, which was close inshore, dragged their anchors and had to set sail and put out to sea. Instead of making Râs al Hadd, as they should have if they were to reach Egypt, they drifted across the Gulf of Omân towards the coast of the Kirmân province, near Jâsk. Sailing on in an undecided manner, perhaps driven by the wind, they next approached the coast of Kij-Makrân. Driven out to sea once more, they were buffeted about and next touched at Shâhbâr (close to Tiz), where they fell in with a Muhammadan pirate ship, the captain of which guided them to Gwâdar. Here a pilot was provided by the local ruler, and the fleet, of nine vessels, is said to have headed for Yemen. They had been at sea for several days and were approaching the Arabian coast (according to Diez, near Râs al-Hadd; according to Vambéry, towards Zufâr and Shahar) when a violent storm accompanied by torrential rain broke from the west and, raging continuously for ten days, blew the fleet right across the Arabian Sea to the vicinity of the gulf (or bay) of Jaked,⁶ by which is meant the Gulf of Kacch. Here they could see a Hindu ("idol") temple on the coast.⁷ Continuing, they skirted the coast of Kâthiâwâd, passing Miâni,⁸ Mangrol,⁹ Somanâtha,¹⁰ and Diu. Sidi 'Ali naively mentions that while in the neighbourhood of Diu they took care to have no sails hoisted out of fear of the "infidels" (i.e., the Portuguese). The precaution was almost superfluous, as the storm was still so violent that no one could move about on the decks, and the ships were driven headlong towards the coast of Gujarât. Sidi 'Ali tells us that his vessel was caught in a whirlpool, sucked downwards and so nearly swamped that he and his crew stripped off all their clothing and seized hold of casks and other things, in case they were precipitated into the sea. In this crisis Sidi 'Ali freed all his slaves and vowed 100 ducats to the poor of Makka. When the sky cleared a little in the afternoon, they found they were about two miles from Damân. The storm-tossed and damaged ships had to lie off Damân for five days more, owing to the wind and the continuous rain, the monsoon¹¹ being in full force. It would appear from our author's narrative that all nine ships that escaped from the fight near Maskat had kept the same course—a remarkable fact, having regard to the weather conditions—and reached the coast near Damân. Three ran ashore and were evidently completely wrecked, as their guns and equipment were made over to Malik Asad, "the Governor of Damân." His own ship had sprung a very bad leak. We are not told to what extent the others had been damaged, but all were evidently in a bad way, as it took another five days to struggle on to Surat, whither they were invited by Imâdu'l-mulk, the Vazir of Sulţân Ahmad, so that they might be safe from attack by the Portuguese, Damân being then an "open port."

The story told by Sidi 'Ali of the adventures of this Turkish fleet differs materially from the accounts given by the Portuguese historians, which have been briefly presented in the following extract from *The Portuguese in India* by Mr. F. C. Danvers:—

"The Grand Turk, on hearing that Moradobec had fared no better than the unfortunate Pirbec, gave the command of fifteen galleys to Alechelubij, who had boasted a great deal

⁶ The Teheked of Diez; the Djugd of Vambéry; the Râs Jaked of the *Muht*; the Punta de Jaquete of the Portuguese; the Jigat of Alexander Hamilton. This is a name that appears in a great variety of spellings on old maps for the westernmost point of Kâthiâwâd, near Dvârakâ.

⁷ The "country of Djamher" according to Diez; the "coast of Djamher" according to Vambéry, who adds in a note: "*Rectius* Djamkher, a subdivision of Ahmed-nagar, in the Residency of Bombay!" The temple seen was that of Dvârakâ, a well known landmark.

⁸ The Fourmian of Diez; Formyan of Vambéry; Fûrmiân of the *Muht*; the Miane of the Portuguese.

⁹ Manghalor of Diez; Menglir of Vambéry, who adds a characteristic footnote: "Perhaps meant for Manglaus, Menglaur, in the District of Sahranpur (*sic*)."

¹⁰ Soumenat of Diez; Somenat of Vambéry.

¹¹ Vambéry translates the sentence: "for we were now in the Badzad or rainy season of India," and in a footnote suggests the Persian *bâdzad*, 'hurricane,' 'whirlwind'; but the word is obviously meant for *barsât*, the usual term (of Sanskrit origin) for the rainy season in India.

about what he could do. Dom Fernando de Noronha, who had returned from the Red Sea after his fruitless endeavour to capture the fort of Dofar, went out to meet Alechelubij, and fell in with him on the 25th August, 1553,¹² near Muscat. The enemy, not daring to risk a battle, endeavoured to escape with his whole fleet, but six of his vessels were captured by the Portuguese caravels. Dom Fernando de Noronha then put into Muscat, where he refitted the galleys, purchased slaves, and appointed captains. Alechelubij was pursued by some Portuguese vessels, and driven with seven out of his nine ships, into Surat, and there hemmed in by Dom Jeronymo de Castello-Branco, Nuno de Castro, and Dom Manoel de Mascarenhas. The remaining two ships were pursued by Dom Fernando de Monroyo and Antonio Valladares, who drove them on to the coasts of Daman and Daru¹³ (*sic*) respectively, where they went on the rocks and were dashed to pieces."

Danvers seems to have relied chiefly on Faria y Sousa. The accounts given by Diogo do Couto and Francisco d'Andrada similarly differ in several respects from the narrative of Sidi 'Ali—naturally enough, in that they set forth the version of his opponents—but in other matters they corroborate him. For instance, Sidi 'Ali writes that he left Basrah with fifteen vessels under his command; that he encountered the Portuguese fleet near Maskat, whence it issued on the 27th *Ramāḍān* 761 A.H. at dawn of day; that the Portuguese admiral was the son of the Governor of Goa; that one of his vessels was set on fire; that the Portuguese ships were all beflagged; that he escaped with nine of his vessels; and that they were eventually driven (by incessant storms, however, and not by the Portuguese) on to the coast of Gujarāt. On all these points, Sidi 'Ali is borne out by Portuguese accounts. For example, do Couto says Alecheluby had fifteen vessels, of which nine escaped in the direction of Cambay; that Dom Fernando, son of Dom Affonso de Noronha, commanded the Portuguese fleet, which fought with flags dressed out. Sidi 'Ali states that he reached Surat three months after leaving Basrah, which means at the beginning of October; and as he did not enter Surat harbour till at least ten days after he had arrived at the coast near Daman, he must have reached the coast of Gujarāt towards the end of September, which is consistent with d'Andrada's account. All the Portuguese accounts (possibly deriving from the same source) seem to agree in saying that seven Turkish ships took refuge at Surat. Sidi 'Ali does not tell us how many reached Surat, but he says three ran ashore on the coast; so, unless one of these was salvaged, he could only have taken six into Surat. Again, though the Portuguese accounts state that the Turks were pursued, we are not told when the pursuit started, or what happened to the pursuing ships between Maskat and Gujarāt, to prevent their reaching Gujarāt before the Turks. Sidi 'Ali's narrative, on the other hand, would explain why his vessels were so delayed in reaching Daman in spite of the strong SW. monsoon blowing. There appears, then, to be no valid reason for disbelieving his account of his adventures by the coasts of Kirmān, Makrān and Kāthiāwād, or in fact to doubt the reliability of his narrative as a whole.

Unfortunately the period during which Sidi 'Ali arrived in Gujarāt was one of the greatest turmoil and confusion in its history. Māhmūd II had recently been murdered, and Ahmad Khān had been set up as Ahmad Shāh II, a Sultān in little more than name, while the ministers and nobles quarrelled and fought among themselves, frequent changes occurring in the personnel of the court and local officials. Sidi 'Ali tells us that he made over the cannon and munitions saved from the stranded ships to Malik Asad,¹⁴ then in command at Daman. Some of his crew took service at once under this officer, while some went by land to Surat. He himself with such of his officers and crew as remained faithful, proceeded, at

¹² 1553 is clearly a mistake on the part of Danvers for 1554, as it is unmistakable from the Portuguese histories that the sea-fight took place in August 1554. Sidi 'Ali fixes the date in stating that it was the *laylatu'l-qadr* (i.e., 27th *Ramāḍān*) 761 A.H.

¹³ Danvers writes "Daru," but there is no such place. The Danu of do Couto and d'Andrada is obviously Dāhānu, on the coast about 35 miles S. of Daman, a place once held by the Portuguese, where there is still an old fort. (See *I.G.*, s.v. Danu.)

¹⁴ Probably Asad Khān Ismā'il Salmānī.

the invitation of Imâdu'l-mulk,¹⁵ "the Grand Vazîr of Sultân Ahmad," by sea to Surat, where he was safe for the time being from the Portuguese. He gives us a brief account of the local political conditions, referring to the recent murder of Sultân Mahmûd, and mentioning Nâsiru'l-mulk, Khudâwand Khân and 'Adil Khân, all of whom are known to have played various roles at that time.

Having come to the conclusion that it was out of the question attempting to return to Egypt by sea, Sidi 'Ali decided to try and make his way back to Constantinople by land, via Sind, the Panjâb and Afghânistân. The deserted ships, with all that was left of their armament, were made over to Khudâwand Khân, Governor of Surat, on condition that he would remit to the Porte the amount settled as their value. We are not told whether this account was ever discharged!

Towards the end of November¹⁶ or the beginning of December,¹⁷ 1554,¹⁸ Sidi 'Ali started on his long land journey, accompanied by Mustafa Âghâ, commandant of the Egyptian janissaries, 'Ali Âghâ, captain of the gunners, and about fifty men, travelling via Broach,¹⁹ Barodâ,²⁰ Champaner and Mahmûdâbâd²¹ to Ahmadâbâd, still the capital of Gujarât, though declining with the decay of the kingdom. On his way he notices the growth of the *târî* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*), and how the 'toddy' was collected in pots and left to ferment, and the drinking booths beneath the trees, which were a great attraction to his men. Over-indulgence on one occasion led to a disgraceful brawl, in which two of his men were wounded and one killed. He describes the Banyan tree (*Ficus indica*), with its aerial roots and enormous extent of shade (enough for "thousands" of people), and the huge "bats," i.e., the common Flying Fox (*Pteropus medius*), that hung from them in large numbers; and the innumerable paroquets and thousands of monkeys that surrounded the camp at some stages.

Ahmadâbâd was reached about 50 days after leaving Surat, probably in the latter half of January 1555. There Sidi 'Ali had an interview with the Vazîr (Imâdu'l-mulk) and the Sultân (Ahmad II), who treated him graciously, presenting him with a horse, a team of camels and money towards the expenses of his journey. The Sultân also, he says, offered him the governorship (?) of Broach, with a large income, but this he declined. At the Vazîr's house one day he chanced to meet a Portuguese envoy, and words ran high between them, the envoy threatening that all the ports would be watched against his escape, while Sidi 'Ali hinted that he could travel by land as well as by sea. While at Ahmadâbâd, our traveller took the opportunity of paying a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Maghribî at Sarkhej,²² some five miles distant. This is an important statement since it provides another chance of checking the reliability of Sidi 'Ali's narrative. From the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*,²³ we find that at Sarkhej there is the tomb of "Shekh Ahmad Khattu Ganj Bakhsh of Anhilvâdâ," begun in 1445 A.D. by Muḥammad Shâh and completed in 1451. This tomb is also mentioned in the Ahmadâbâd volume of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, edited by Sir J. M. Campbell,²⁴ as that of Shaikh Ahmad Khâthî

¹⁵ This must have been Imâdu'l-mulk Aslân Turkî, frequently mentioned by Hâjji ad-Dabîr, in his *Arabic History of Gujarat*, as in attendance on Ahmad II, becoming Prime Minister in 963 A.H. (1555-56).

¹⁶ On the 1st Muḥarram 962 A.H., according to Diez (= 26 November 1554).

¹⁷ Vambéry writes: "in the beginning of Muḥarram."

¹⁸ Vambéry incorrectly writes 1552.

¹⁹ Bouroudj of Diez; Burudj of Vambéry; neither of them have identified the place.

²⁰ Boloudri of Diez; Bolodra of Vambéry, who suggests it is Balotra in Jodhpur State!

²¹ The Mehmâdâbâd of our maps and the *I.O.*, but the correct name is Mahmûdâbâd, as the town was founded by the famous Sultân Mahmûd Begada. Strange to say, Vambéry failed to identify even this town, noting: "there is only a place of that name known in Oudh."

²² Tchorkesch of Diez, and Cherkes of Vambéry, but unidentified by them.

²³ Originally compiled by Dr. J. Burgess, revised by Mr. H. Cousens in 1897. See p. 81.

²⁴ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. IV, Ahmedabad (1879), p. 18.

Ganj Bakhsh. That the Sultān of Gujarāt should have had the tomb built indicates that the *pīr* " was held in great veneration. It is possible that he originally came from Africa or the West, and was therefore called Maghribī.^{24a} In connexion with his stay at Ahmadābād, it should be mentioned that it was here that he compiled his better known work, the *Muhīṭ*, to which reference has been made above (p. 219).

(To be continued.)

THE NINE DVIPAS OF BHARATAVARSA.

By SASHIBHUSHAN CHAUDHURI, M.A.

(Continued from page 208.)

It is not easy to ascertain how many of them belong to the domain of sober Geography. The division into nine was probably a sober statement of fact, but the names of the *dvīpas* in some cases may simply be imaginary also. Moreover, the fact that in the list of the *dvīpas* some have been misplaced is evident from the text of the *Garuḍa* and *Vāmana*, which name other *dvīpas* and do not conform to the usual list ; and so, in the absence of other evidence to corroborate their statements, we are compelled to accept the list of the *dvīpas* given in most of the *Purāṇas*, some of which admit of identification.

Indradvīpa was possibly Burma, as the late Mr. S. N. Mazumdar suggested.³² He also thought that Kaserumat was the Malay Peninsula.³³ By Tāmravarṇa was probably intended Ceylon. The ancient Greeks called it Taprobane, and Aśoka refers to it as Tambapanni. Gabhastimān is identified with the Laccadive and Maldive islands, and Nāga with the islands of Salsette and Elephanta near Bombay.³⁴ Regarding the Saumya *dvīpa* we have no evidence to enable us to fix its locality, but we can very probably trace the name in the modern name Siam. In fact there is a very close philological similarity between the two names. There is also good reason to think that Siam was one of the nine *dvīpas*, in view of the fact that Burma and Malaya were one. Regarding Gāndharva, Mr. Mazumdar gave good reasons for believing that it was the country of Gāndhāra.³⁵ The next *dvīpa* is Vārūṇa. As for myself, I find the only trace of the name in the present Borneo, the striking similarity in the names making the identification likely. The name Vārūṇa, it seems to me, survives in a plainly recognizable form in the present Borneo. And the ninth *dvīpa* was India proper. So we see that the nine *dvīpas* implied India proper and some of the islands of the Far East and of the Indian ocean, all of which came under the general designation of Bhāratavarṣa. The scheme of the nine *dvīpas* was, therefore, an attempt to show the geographical connexion of India proper with the Far East, which at that time was sufficiently impregnated with Indian culture and religion. The result was the geographical conception of the nine *dvīpas* of Bhāratavarṣa, set forth by the *Purāṇas*, intended to bring into closer union with India proper the islands of the Far East and other islands. The *dvīpas* were not, therefore, divisions of India proper.

But we cannot safely accept this conclusion as finally established. There is some other evidence which lends colour to the opposite view, namely, that the nine *dvīpas* represent but another scheme of the nine divisions of India proper in addition to what we know. It has been noticed in connexion with the *ślokas* quoted on page 205 that the ninth *dvīpa* is unanimously stated to have been of one thousand *yojanas* in length. That each of the other

^{24a} Sir R. C. Temple, drawing my attention to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Jarrett, III, 371, points out that Shaikh Ahmad Khāthī was the disciple of Bābā Ishāq Maghribī, and that the title probably descended from preceptor to disciple.

³² Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar), p. 751.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 752. *

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 753.

³⁵ *Ibid.* But there is a strong objection to accepting this identification. Gāndhāra is not a *dvīpa* in the same sense as are the other *dvīpas*, which were inaccessible from India proper (of course conventionally), being separated by an ocean.

eight *dvīpas* was also of one thousand *yojanas* is also often stated.³⁶ Now, as Bhāratavarṣa was divided into nine *dvīpas*, each of which has been stated to be of one thousand *yojanas*, it necessarily follows that Bhāratavarṣa was of nine thousand *yojanas*; and in fact all the Purāṇas agree as to this.³⁷ What may be the equivalent in British miles of nine thousand *yojanas* we need not discuss here³⁸; or if ascertainable, whether this estimate can be reconciled with the present dimensions of India is quite a different question. What is striking is, that the Purāṇas generally are unanimous with regard to the nine thousand *yojana* extent of Bhāratavarṣa, inasmuch as they are all agreed with regard to the one thousand length of each of the *dvīpas*. So if India proper is Kumāra *dvīpa*, the other countries, such as Burma, Siam, etc., with which the other islands have been identified, must also be equal to it. But this is not a fact, and so there is good reason to consider the reverse view that these nine *dvīpas* are but another scheme for dividing India proper into nine divisions, in addition to the other schemes we know of. In this view we should not be justified in looking to the countries and islands of the Far East for the identification of the *dvīpas*.³⁹ But if not, how can we explain the unanimous testimony of all the Purāṇas that all the *dvīpas* were separated from each other by ocean, and as such were mutually inaccessible. It seems to me, as pointed out before, that such statements were merely conventional,³⁹ inserted only to conform with the symmetrical scheme of the other (primary) *dvīpas*, such as Śālmali, Kuśa, Jambu, Krauñca, Plakṣa, etc., which are described as being surrounded by so many concentric circles of ocean and as such mutually inaccessible. So, having placed a sea round each *dvīpa* of the universe, might not the Purāṇic compilers place a sea round each *dvīpa* of Bhāratavarṣa also, if only to satisfy their fanciful idea of concentric oceans, implying, of course, that the boundary rivers of a particular *dvīpa* or division will stand for the encircling ocean and convey the idea of a *dvīpa*. We have already seen that Pāṇini considered *dvīpa* as simply meaning 'having water on two sides.' So these nine *dvīpas* surrounded by the ocean, and as such mutually inaccessible can also be interpreted as denoting nine divisions of India proper having rivers as their boundaries; and India with its countless rivers will not fail to provide *dvīpas*⁴⁰ in this sense.

What is more striking is that a *śloka* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*⁴¹ actually restricts Kumārikā Khaṇḍa (*navama dvīpa*) to the territory between the Pāriyātra and Mahendra mountains, and Indradvīpa to the eastern coastal portion of India behind the Mahendra range. Unfortunately the *Skanda Purāṇa* has recorded no other *śloka* of this kind, but the *śloka* quoted above is sufficient to indicate that there was another tradition, which regarded the *dvīpas* as so many divisions of India proper. Curiously enough the famous erudite scholar Abul Fazl also (*Āin*, iii, p. 31) shows acquaintance with this idea. Thus he places Indradvīpa between Laṅkā and Mahendra, and Kaserumat between Mahendra and Śukti, and in this way attempts to record the corresponding divisions of the *dvīpas*. Abul Fazl, therefore, also

³⁶ *Ekasikam yojanasahasrapramāṇam* (Var. 85, 1 f.) The *Skanda Purāṇa* also repeats this statement (i, 2, 39, 114); so also Rājasekhara: *Pratyekam yojanasahasraadvādhayo* (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 92).

³⁷ *Tasyādyaṃ Bhāratam varṣam taccāpi Navadhāsmṛtam*

Navayojana sāhasram Dakṣiṇottara mātatah. (*Skanda Purāṇa*, vii, 1, 11, 7.)

In the *Viṣ.* (iii, 3, 2), *Br.* (19, 2), *Agni.* (118, 1), *Kārma* (46, 22), and again in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (iv, 1, 55), such statements are to be found.

³⁸ Megasthenes put the extent at 22,300 *stadia* and Patrokles put it as 15,000 *stadia* (1,724 miles. *Camb. Hist. of India*, p. 400). The actual distance is probably about 1,800 miles. The distance from east to west is about 1,360 miles (*ibid.*).

³⁹ Even if the *dvīpas* be identifiable with the islands of the Far East as suggested, they were certainly not inaccessible in ancient times, for Hindu maritime and colonizing enterprise was very active.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Antardvīpa*, which meant the Doab between the Ganges and the Yamunā.

⁴¹ *Mahendraparataścaiva Indradvīpo nigadyate.*

Pāriyātrasya caivadrūḥ khāṇḍam kaumḍrikam smṛtam (i, 2, 39, 113).

agrees with the tradition which regarded the nine *dvīpas* as so many divisions of India proper. Neither was Alberuni unfamiliar with this. Thus he also represents Indradvīpa (Sachau's edn., vol. I, p. 296) as identical with Mid-India, places Kaserumat to the east of the Madhyadeśa and Gabhastimān to the south of it, and in this way endeavours to locate the several *dvīpas*. But whether or not Abul Fazl and Alberuni agree in their conception of the identification of the *dvīpas* is, however, a different question. As a matter of fact, they do not wholly agree,⁴² for the two scholars were separated by a wide interval of time, during which the notions of the *dvīpas* might have undergone change. So what we are to note carefully is that, in spite of their conflicting statements, neither of them proposes to identify any of the *dvīpas* with the islands of the Far East, and both agree in regarding the *dvīpas* as so many divisions of India proper in accordance with the tradition recorded in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

Nothing can be decided with assurance in the present state of our knowledge. We can only state the two possible views. But it may be said, as against the tradition of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, that we have got a clear hint of a greater India connection in the *dvīpas*, from the testimony of the *Garuḍa* and *Vāmana*. As the *Skanda* is a comparatively modern *Purāṇa*, a conjecture may be hazarded that originally the nine *dvīpas* included, not only India proper, but also the islands of the Far East and other western islands. In a subsequent age perhaps there arose an independent tradition, which sought to increase the number of the stereotyped schemes for the division of India proper into nine parts⁴³ by evolving another distribution of the continent into nine so-called *dvīpas*. Such a thing was quite possible, if not probable. The *Skanda Purāṇa*, being comparatively modern, embodies this tradition. That such was the common and prevalent idea with regard to the *dvīpas* in medieval times is evident from the testimony of Alberuni and Abul Fazl.

BOOK-NOTICES.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT, by T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A. 11" X 8½"; pp. 44; with index and 12 plates. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Madras Govt. Press, 1929.

Of all districts in southern India, Guntur may well claim pre-eminence in respect of the many sites within its limits where important Buddhist remains have been found. Amarāvati and Bhaṭṭiprolu have long been famous, and within the last few years Mr. Longhurst has shown us that Nāgārjunakonda bids fair to prove of even greater archaeological interest. Not many miles from the latter site, lower down the Kistnā valley, lies the village of Goli, a name which the late Mr. Robert Sewell thought to be probably derived from the three dolmens, or "graves (*gōli*) of the Rakṣasas" found near by, but which may possibly have been

suggested by the 'globular' *stūpa*, from the ruins of which the sculptures described in this *Bulletin* have been recovered. As noted by Mr. Ramachandran, Sewell refers to the *stūpa* site, in vol. I (not vol. 2) of his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* (1882), under Mallavaram, which is the name of another village in the vicinity. In recording the find of two sculptured slabs similar to those at Amarāvati, Sewell added a warning that the place should be watched, as the remains might prove of great importance. Apparently no heed was paid to this advice, as those two slabs have since been appropriated by the villagers. The possibilities of the site seem to have attracted the attention of that accomplished scholar, Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil, who in 1926 had excavations carried out, and the further sculptures recovered were, with his assistance, secured for the Madras Museum,

⁴² Thus Alberuni identifies Indradvīpa with Mid-India, and Abul Fazl places it between Laṅkā and Mahendra. But in some cases they also roughly agree. Thus Alberuni places Kaserumat to the east of Madhyadeśa and Abul Fazl places it between Mahendra and Śukti. With regard to Gabhastimān also they agree to great extent.

⁴³ The scheme of dividing India into nine parts has been presented in different forms, some of which have been illustrated by lists of countries and peoples in each division. These nine divisions variously represent—

- (1) The nine lunar stations (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXII, p. 169).
- (2) The eight petals and the central part of the lotus flower (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; ed. by Wilson, vol. II, p. 9).
- (3) The nine different parts of the tortoise's body (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*; ch. 58).
- (4) The nine *dvīpas* (various *Purāṇas*).

where they are now preserved. These include three friezes and a number of other slabs of varying size, on which are finely sculptured scenes illustrative of some of the well-known *Jātaka* stories and incidents in the life and teaching of the Buddha.

A detailed and careful description has been given of each panel and slab, noting divergencies from the usual representation of the subject. As most of the themes have been presented in the sculptures at Amarāvati, the author adds a useful tabular statement, comparing the treatment of the several subjects at the two sites. The correspondence in certain cases, as well as the similarity of the characters engraved on the *caitya* slab (Pl. X) with some inscriptions at Amarāvati assignable to the third century A.D., lead Mr. Ramachandran to suggest that the Goli *stūpa* probably dates from the same period, no definite indication of its date having been otherwise discovered.

This appears to be the first of a new series of bulletins under preparation by the museum authorities; and we think Mr. Ramachandran is to be congratulated on the work; it has been carefully written and suitably arranged, and the plates have been creditably reproduced. A sketch map would have been welcome showing the position of the sites referred to, as Goli and Mallavaram are not marked on the maps ordinarily available. We shall look forward to the appearance of the other works on which, we understand, the author is at present engaged.

C. E. A. W. O.

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS, by V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., with an Introduction by DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, University of Madras, 1929.

As stated by the learned writer of the Introduction, this work attempts to present a picture of the administrative institutions of the Hindus based primarily on the political portions of the *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* treatises. The author has devoted praiseworthy industry to the undertaking. The result is a volume of some 400 pages, dealing exhaustively with early Hindu ideas governing the general principles of administration, a description of the machinery and its component parts, including all departments from the Central Government down to the village staff. As would be expected, the writer draws liberally on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kaṭilya for his materials.

This is a field that has already attracted many workers. The reign of Chandragupta furnishes a convenient starting point for speculation on the method of Government prevailing at the headquarters of the state and in the villages in early Hindu times. A special impetus has been given to such studies by the present political status of India.

Writers such as Mr. Dikshitar seem to set before themselves two objectives, which are pursued by methods that are not consistently historical. The excellence of early Hindu institutions is insisted on, and from this starting point inferences are drawn of

the inherent and inherited capacity of modern Hindu politicians to repeat the triumphs of Aśoka and his ministers. The chief defect of such literary excursions lies in the readiness of the writer to assume that such documents as the *arthaśāstra* convey an accurate impression of the state of India at the time they were composed, and that the working of institutions can be gathered from the intentions of their authors. No such far reaching assumption can be found to be justified by the teachings of experience.

Writers such as the author of the present work have in mind the reasonable deductions that can be drawn from any recorded code of penal legislation, i.e., that the offences for which punishments are provided occur sufficiently frequently to require the provision of specific penalties. On the other hand, however, it is quite impossible to assume that the punishments laid down are regularly, or even usually, inflicted; and, *a fortiori*, a code of principles for civil and criminal administration, however admirable its precepts, affords little indication of the conduct of officials charged with the duty of enforcing them; and it is on this latter factor that the state of the country and the happiness of its people obviously depends. From this point of view, Mr. Dikshitar is not an infallible guide when, as on p. 48 *et seq.*, he attempts to contrast the working of western institutions with the former social experiences of Hindu organization. The attempt to prove (p. 76 *et seq.*) that in ancient days Hindu monarchs had only the good of their subjects at heart and were entirely free from military ambition is not, in the light of recorded history, entirely convincing. Further, the inspiring list of popular forms of embezzlement (pp. 208, 209) taken from Kaṭilya, throws an interesting light on the work of the public services in the much vaunted early Hindu administration. These forty entries appear to embody the results of much painful experience. The sphere of the *Purohita* comes in for much favourable notice. As the *Mahābhārata* puts it: a king without *purohita* is like an elephant without a *mahāvat*. Here we are clearly dealing with a point of view that draws much emphasis from the fact that it emanates from a Brāhman. A comparison of the position of the *purohita* among the ministers to the Archbishop of Canterbury does not strike us as particularly apt; but it is no doubt true that a Kshatriya monarch gained much from the intelligent direction of his priestly adviser.

On p. 244 the writer refers to a controversy with the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes regarding the methods of dealing with evil-doers in Mughal and Hindu times, and the use of torture in the discovery of crime. Here again Mr. Dikshitar's standard for Mauryan administration is the written record of principles. There is little doubt that Mr. Edwardes' scepticism, which is shared by others, has more foundation than Mr. Dikshitar's somewhat facile deductions from the code of Kaṭilya. Here we must bring this brief notice to an end. It must not be assumed, from the criticisms above, that this

work is not worthy of very careful study. Where the writer adheres to his text he is deserving of close consideration. When he gives us such striking information as (p. 373) in England until recently horses were used in the driving of ploughs, or augurs well for the future of Indian politics from the assumed happiness of the country in the days of Mauryan emperors, we must needs handle his pages with some caution.

R. E. E.

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA, vol. I. Pre-historic India, by V. RANGACHARYA, M.A. 9½" x 5½"; pp. vii+247. Madras, 1929.

The author has set himself the big and somewhat ambitious task of compiling a history of India from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquest, to be completed in 9 volumes, which will deal with the following periods: (1) Pre-historic India; (2) Vedic India; (3) India from 650 B.C. to 320 B.C.; (4) the Mauryan Empire; (5) India from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas; (6) the Gupta Empire; (7) North India from 600 to 1200 A.D.; (8) Dakkan from 600 to 1310 A.D.; and (9) the Tamil States from 600 to 1310 A.D. The volume before us treats of prehistoric India, carrying us down only to the so-called "Vedic period." Chapter I deals chiefly with the geological evolution of the continent. The next four chapters, which are devoted to Early Man and the Eolithic Age, the Palæolithic Age and the transition from this to the Neolithic Age, contain much that from the nature of things must be speculative. When we reach the Neolithic Age (Ch. VI) we stand upon somewhat firmer ground, as, thanks to the lifelong labour of Bruce Foote and the more recent work in the same field, we have now a mass of material, found over a wide area (chiefly to the south of the Vindhyas and Aravallis) more or less definitely assignable to this period. Mr. Rangacharya collates the evidence available from neolithic sites and offers his suggestions as to the life and culture of the people of that age, their habitations, occupations, arts, dress, food, religion, etc. He emphasizes the reason which apparently led to the selection of sites for settlement by the neolithic folk, viz., the presence of supplies of trap rock, the material chiefly used by them in fashioning their implements, just as the palæolithic men seem to have been guided by the occurrence of light-coloured quartzite.

Though not prepared to accept Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's views as to the five geographical divisions of the people into 'coastal', 'agricultural', 'pastoral', 'hilly' and 'desert' being formed in the neolithic period, or as to the Vedic term *pañcājana* referring to these five types, he is inclined to think that the tendency for the neolithic people to become specialized in distinct areas was "instrumental in inspiring and fostering" the system of caste. All that we shall say here is, that there seem cogent reasons for seeking an indigenous origin for this

system, rather than for regarding it as introduced by the "Aryan invaders." Again, Mr. Rangacharya declines to endorse the suggestion of Mr. P. T. S. Aiyangar and others that the Aryans were mere descendants of the Dravidians and became estranged from the latter only by the adoption of the fire cult and the priestly language of Sanskrit. He thinks the fact is that the Aryans and the Dravidians originally belonged to the same race (the Mediterranean), but to different stages of culture, becoming further differentiated by the mixture of Dravidians with pre-Dravidians and by diversity of climatic environment.

In Chapter VII (the Advent of Metals) he puts forward arguments for regarding gold as an Indian discovery, and suggests that the art of smelting copper may also prove to have originated in India. Chapter VIII is devoted to the Indus Valley Civilization, and the question whether it was prior to or later than the Sumerian culture is discussed; but here the author, like all other scholars interested in this subject, is handicapped by the want of full reports of what has actually been found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Until such details are available it is somewhat premature to discuss the conclusions suggested. As regards the vexed question of the original home of the Aryans, he writes (Ch. IX): "The probability of the Kashmir-Bactrian [*sic*] Panjab hypothesis is, in my opinion, not less strong than that of the European..... We may thus conclude that about 3000 B.C. a section of the Mediterranean dolicocephals who occupied the region of Bactria-Kashmir-Himalayan uplands, the lands of the archaic Vedic and Paisachi dialects, developed a sacrificial cult and during the next millennium gradually spread themselves across the Western Asiatic plateau, influenced the Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations and penetrating the European plain through the Caspian, Black Sea and Balkan regions, laid the foundations of Aryan Europe." We fear this view cannot help materially to solve the difficulties of this problem. As to the date of the Vedic civilization he seems disposed to agree generally with Dr. Winternitz and MM. H. P. Sastri, and he considers that their views receive corroboration from the discoveries since made at Mohenjodaro and Harappa.

The author has presented the material culled from many sources in a very readable form, interwoven largely with original observations often meriting consideration. The typographical blemishes are rather numerous, due it seems to the hurry with which, we are told, the volume was printed; but we do not understand why the strange forms "Palæozoic," "Mes-Ozoic," etc., have been allowed to stand. Such defects should be avoided in the ensuing volumes. We should like to add a tribute to the fair-minded spirit in which Mr. Rangacharya states the theories and opinions of others and the impartiality with which he treats them.

C. E. A. W. O.

Fig. 14.

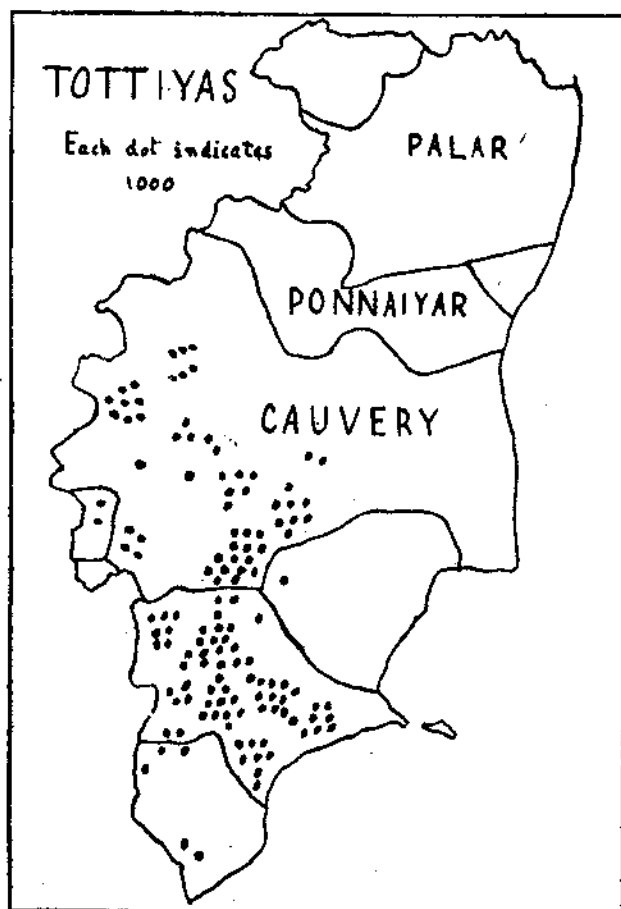
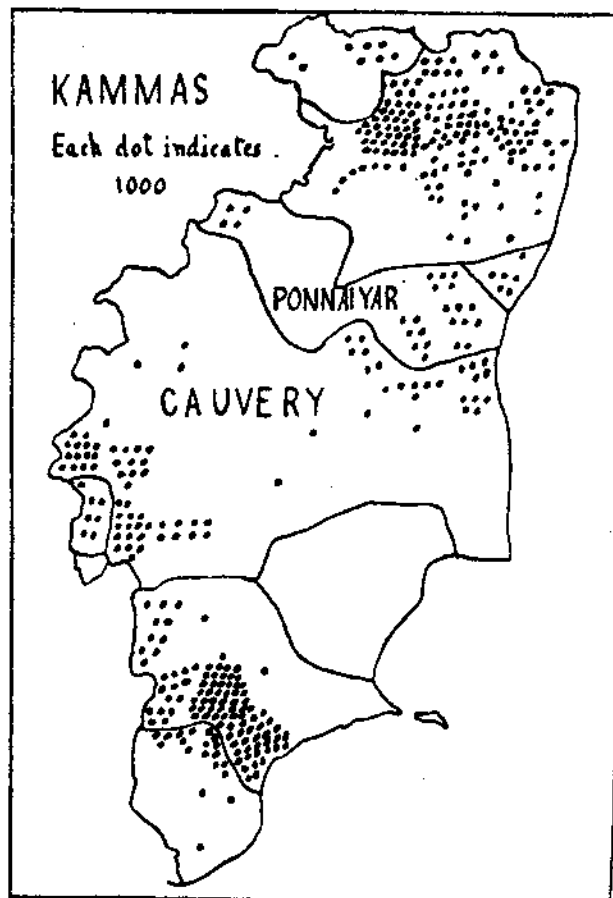


Fig. 15.



RACE DRIFT IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired.)

(Continued from page 218.)

The practicable route between the Bāramahāl and Kongu was the Tōppūr Pass. An alternative route lay through Perumbālai. The Manjavādi Ghāt road (east of the Shevaroyes) is of recent origin. The Mallāpuram Ghāt is accessible only by rail.

The Mysore homeland, i.e., the basin of the Upper Kāvêri, in the south-west of Mysore State, is fertile, extensive and self-contained. Also it is a "recessed" area, off the direct line of route from the Northern Deccan to the Tamil country. It is exposed to attack from the north, across the open and lightly populated area which "overlaps" the basins of the Upper Kāvêri and the Tungabhadra with its tributaries. Its natural outlet is southwards, and the rich and populous villages of the Middle Kāvêri invite invasion.

There are thus three lines of approach to the Tamil country across the Deccan—(1) through Cuddapah, (2) through East Mysore, (3) through the Mysore homeland.

(1) The Cuddapah route makes for *Tondamandalam* through the Middle Pālār valley.

(2) The East Mysore route makes for *Tondamandalam* by way of the Bāramahāl and the Middle Pālār valley, or directly into the latter, but it gives access also (but not easy access) to *Chōlamandalam* by way of Cuddalore or Kongu.

(3) The Mysore homeland route leads through Kongu to the Kāvêri Delta or, in the alternative, to the Pāndiyan country.

B. HISTORICAL.

This diagnosis is borne out in a remarkable way by historical records and campaigns and by the distribution of certain communities. I note a few below :

(1) The Rāshtrakūṭas in the tenth century left records (Fig. 12, Pl. IV) in Bellary and Cuddapah, in North-West Mysore (Shimoga and Chitaldrug) in Sira and Gubbi tāluks and in Bangalore, along the Middle Pālār valley, all over *Tondamandalam* and as far south as Cuddalore. They do not appear in Kongu or the Bāramahāl or the Lower Kāvêri valley.

(2) The Hoysalas in the thirteenth century (Fig. 13, Pl. IV) ruled over most of Mysore, the Bāramahāl, Kongu and the upper Chōla country (they do not appear in the coast tāluks), but in *Tondamandalam* they are only mentioned in Vellore, Conjeeveram and Cheyyār.

(3) Malik Kāfūr marched direct on the Hoysala capital, Dwāra-samudra (Halebid), and this route took him to Madura and Rāmēswaram.

(4) The Nāyaks of Madura in the seventeenth century directed their campaign against Mysore through Kongu, following the precedent of the Chōlas at the beginning of the eleventh century. The Mysore Odeyars returned the compliment. They were still hovering round Trichinopoly in the days of Clive. Haidar Ali held the Bāramahāl, Kongu and Dinḍigul till his death; but his operations in *Tondamandalam* and the Kāvêri Delta and the intervening country were confined to raids.

(5) Sivāji in 1677 starting from Hyderabad, marched on Tanjore through *Tondamandalam*, and returned home through East Mysore.

(6) Cornwallis in 1791 advanced from *Tondamandalam* (the Pālār valley) on Bangalore and failed at Seringapatam. Harris in 1799, moving from the Bāramahāl and avoiding Bangalore, marched directly on Seringapatam and took it.

(7) Haidar Ali advanced to the Tungabhadra, much farther northwards than any Odeyars of Mysore. His operations round Chitaldrug, Bellary, Adoni, Kurnool and Cuddapah were defensive (against the Marāṭhas) on the principle adopted by the Rāyas of Vijayanagar when, after Talikōṭa, they fixed their strategic capital at Penukōṇḍa.

C. ETHNOGRAPHICAL.

(1) The Telugu and Kanarese Tōttiya chieftains (Fig. 14, Pl. V) are settled (a) in western Kongu, (b) in Karūr, Musiri and Kulittalai tāluks of Trichinopoly, (c) in all the western tāluks of Madura, Rāmṇād and Tinnevely as far south as Koilpatti, but never got east of

Trichinopoly or into the Kallar country, or the country of the Great and Little Maravars, except its south-western fringe.

(2) The Telugu Kammas (Fig. 15, Pl. V) cluster densely in (a) north-west *Tondamandalam*, (b) western Kongu, (c) the two western tâluks of Madura (Palni and Periyakulam), the two western tâluks of Râmnâd (especially Sâtâtûr) and the two northern tâluks of Tinnevely (especially Koilpatti). Along the coast they are lightly scattered from Madras to Chidambaram and do not appear in the Kâvêri Delta.

Examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but the subject deserves a monograph of its own. The main fact is that, for geographical reasons, the Kallar country, the greater part of Râmnâd, and eastern Madura and south Tinnevely are exceptionally resistant to aggression.

V. Application.

That Geography has an intimate bearing on questions of History, Race and Language in S. India I hope I have made plain. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely; in fact, there are few, if any, features in the religious, social, artistic or material culture of India which would not repay detailed topographical scrutiny.

Research on these lines is no mere academic exercise; it brings to light factors which no statesman can afford to ignore.

Peninsular India is the home of five great nations, Marâthâ, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil, Malayâli. Nations they are, in every sense of the word, although their present somewhat fortuitous distribution between British Presidencies and Indian States obscures the fact. Each of these nations has a history and culture of its own, a national language and literature, special cults and customs, a distinctive social, economic and religious organization. (Cf. Herodotus, 8, 144.)

Of these five nations, four preserve Dravidian speech. With the Telugu and Kanarese peoples this essay is not directly concerned. Between them and the Tamils lies the Poligar Belt. Time and again this barrier has been crossed, by Tamils as well as by Telugus and Kanarese, as soldiers and also as settlers; yet none of these nations has succeeded in imposing its culture, or even its rule for any length of time, on its neighbour beyond this geographical borderland.

This ebb and flow is vital. The drift of races may invigorate or it may destroy. Thanks to the Poligar Belt, the Tamils have never been swamped by mass migration; but they have never been cut off from the main stream of Indian life.

Kêrala is different. The Western Ghâts are a stiffer obstacle than the Poligar Belt. Neither the Kanarese in the north nor the Tamils in the south have advanced very far. Yet Kêrala is no stagnant backwater; its people are as alert and vigorous as any in India, perhaps more so. They have elaborated a civilization astonishingly unlike any other in India; a noteworthy testimony to its charm and vitality is the readiness with which settlers of other nations adapt themselves to the Malayâli way of life.

Yet the Malayâlis, like the Tamils, have had an ample share in the cultural life of India; like them, too, they have given as generously as they have received; and their gifts are of their own mintage, not mere copies of alien types. Few teachers, for instance, have had a deeper or wider influence in India than Śrī Śankarâchârya of Kêrala or Śrī Râmânujâchârya the Tamil. Most of what is best in North Indian Hinduism to-day owes its inspiration to them.

Cultural unity is not dependent on political unity; nor does cultural diversity necessarily involve hostility. Dravidians appreciate the value of toleration and compromise. For nearly three centuries the Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil nations stood united under the leadership of Vijayanagar in the fight with the Deccan Sultanates; for half that period the five nations have given of their best for the good government of South India, British and Indian alike. But national sentiment is still a living force, and although their political boundaries may fluctuate, their cultural boundaries are founded on rock. They are willing to co-operate, but not to be submerged. Their local loyalties, the most stable factor in South Indian History, deserve respect; it would be wrong to suggest that they no longer exist.

DRAVIDIC MISCELLANY.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

I. DRAVIDIAN BASE *væ* (*ve*, *vā*).

ONE of the oldest of Dravidian bases *væ*¹ (along with its variants) is preserved in the South in a recognisable state: Tamil *veṅḡḡan* (tyrant), *veṇḍuppu* (hot anger), *veyyil* (sunshine), *vayyu* (to abuse), *vayi* (pain), *vēnal* (heat, summer), etc.

Kannada: *bayi* (pain), *bay* (to abuse), *bayisu* (to desire), *bedaku* (to desire), *bede* (heat), *bevi* (to perspire), *bisi* (heat), *bisu* (sun), etc. Kann. *d-* in *bedaku*, *bede*, goes back to original medial glide *ȳ*: *ȳ* > *y* > *j* > *dj* > *d*; for which cf. *tudi* (end) and Tam. *tuyi*.² Kann. *s* in *bisi* and *bisu* is also from original *ȳ*: *ȳ* > *y* > *s* > *s*.

The semantic developments are obvious. 'Heat' is associated with strong feeling (pain, joy, desire or anger) by a process of metonymy, and a number of forms expressive of these ideas have arisen.

The base in its primary state is also evident in Kurukh *basnā* (to boil), *bi'ina* (to cook); Tulu *bē* (to boil), *baya* (to heat); in Brāhūi *bāsing* (to become hot), *bising* (to heat), *bāsun* (hot); in Kūi *vāja* (to cook), etc.; in Gōpdi *vē* (to cook), etc.

Medial *-s-* in the Brāhūi and the Kurukh forms and *-j-* of the Kūi form go back here probably to a medial glide *ȳ*.³

The alternance of *v* and *b* observable in many of the above instances is quite characteristic of certain Dravidian dialects (Kannada, Kurukh, Brāhūi).

Formative affixes were added to the base at a very early stage in Dravidian and numerous new bases were produced. Some of the most active, ancient formative affix-particles were *-r* (*-r*), *-g*, *-l* and *-l*.

The activity of the ancient affixes *-r* (probably connected with *ir*, 'to remain,' etc.) and *r* in ancient Dravidian was phenomenal; *væ*+*r*, *r* or *ḍ* produced a crop of forms with varied meanings and connotations.

One set has given us forms meaning 'ardent admiration,' 'detestation,' 'fear,' etc.:—Tamil *veṇuppu* (detestation, hatred), *veṇu* (admiration), *veṇukkai* (glory),⁴ *veṇu* (fear), *vēdi*,

¹ Striking similarities exist between this Dravidian base and a large number of forms in Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian and Australian. Prof. Rivet has given a list of these latter in his recent thesis *Sumerien et Oceanien*. It is remarkable that three different Dravidian bases for 'fire,' 'heat,' etc., are analogical in form and meaning to three groups of forms adduced by him as occurring in Oceanic and Sumerian. These three Dravidian groups are the following:—

- (1) *tu*, *ti*—group.
- (2) *ve*, *væ*—group.
- (3) *kāy*, *ki*—group.

It will be interesting to investigate why forms for 'fire,' 'heat' should be so remarkably alike basically in these different language-families.

² This change of *y* to *d* through *j* appears to have cropped up in Tamil itself (cf. the instances I have given on page 149, *IHQ*, March 1929). The change is quite common in Tulu (vide the same article).

Kannada medial *-s-* represents in many instances Tamil medial *-y-*.

³ *-s-* does appear to be the development of *y* in this and the following Brāhūi instances:—

- khiṣun* (red).
- tusiṅ* (to faint)—cf. southern *tuy*.
- nusiṅ* (to grind corn)—cf. sn. *nuy*, *nuy* (bits, pieces).

In the following Brāhūi instances, however, *s* stands for an older *t* represented in other dialects:—

- pūsukun* (new)—cf. *pud-*, *pucc-* of the South.
- asus* (was) where the past affix *-t-* has changed into *-s-*.
- musiṅ* (three)—cf. *mū(n)dru*, *māḍu* of the South.
- huṣiṅ* (to burn)—cf. *śūṣ* of the South.

Cf. *Kurṇi*, last stanza of the chapter dealing with *ākkamudatmat* (அக்கமுதமம்—Energy):
uṇamoruṇat-kulla veṇukkai yaḍḍillār
maramakkaiḍḍallē vēru.

(The real glory of man is firmness of mind; those who are devoid of it are like trees, their human form a sham.)

pēḍi (fear), Gōṇḍi *vaṛi* (to fear), Tulu *pōḍi*, Kann. *beragu* (haste) should be related to this series.

Another set retained the literal meaning, 'to be dry,' etc., in Tamil *varu*, *varaḷu*, *vaṛu*, *vaṛu*,⁵ etc.; Kann. *baṛu*, *battu*, *bara* (firewood), *baraḍu* (barrenness), etc.; Tel. *varuvu* (dry); Mal. *viragu* (firewood), *varakku* (fry), *varuṭṭi* (dried cowdung); Gōṇḍi *vaṛi* (to brand), *vall* (to be dry); Kūi *veju* (wood); Kurukh *batt* (to be dry), *bīr* (sun); Brāhūi *barun* (to be dry); *pirāing* (to become dry).

Tamil *viyar*, *veyar* (perspiration), Mal. *viśarpu*, Tel.-Kann. *bedaru* (perspiration) are probably comparatively late formations, as the formative suffix appears more or less prominently in them.

The formative suffix *-gu* combined with *vē* and produced the following forms with literal meanings:

Tamil	<i>vēgu</i> (to boil).
Tel.	<i>vēgu</i> , <i>vēsu</i> .
Kann.	<i>baga</i> (blaze).
Kūi	<i>vah</i> (to fry); <i>vah</i> (to be hot).
Brāhūi	<i>beghīng</i> (to knead).

-h- in the Kūi words and *-gh-* in the Brāhūi word are from an original *k* or *g* through an intermediate fricative; cf. Kūi inter-vocal *-h-* in *maha* (mango), *toḥ-* (to tie), etc.

Kann. *baga* (blaze) is also connected with this series.

The following forms (with *-gu*) have figurative meanings by the process of metonymy:

Tamil: *vehgu* (to desire), *veḡuḷu* (to be angry), *veḡuḷi* (agitation), *pagai*⁶ (hatred); Kann. *bakkuḍi* (agitation), *bekuḷi* (fear), *bakuḷi* (excessive desire), *biguru* (fear), *baga* (hatred), etc.

It is remarkable that forms with *-gu* possessing figurative meanings are found only in the South.

(3) The formative suffix *!* produced *ve!* with various meanings; *ve!* with the meaning 'light' appears in

Tam.	<i>veḷiccam</i> ⁷ (light), <i>viḷangu</i> (to shine).
Kann.	<i>beḷaku</i> (lamp), <i>beḷagu</i> (to shine).
Mal.	<i>veḷiccam</i> , <i>veḷuppu</i> (dawn).
Kurukh	<i>billi</i> (light), <i>bilch</i> (to shine); <i>bijj-</i> (to become white).
Tulu	<i>bilagu</i> (to shine).
Gōṇḍi	<i>pīal</i> (by day); <i>pīō</i> (steam).
Brāhūi	<i>piun</i> (white).
Gōṇḍi	<i>vērchi</i> (light), <i>mērci</i> (dawn).
Tel.	<i>vele</i> (to shine).

Tamil-Mal. *venmai*, *veḷuppu* (whiteness), *veḷli* (silver), etc. Kann. *biḷi* (white), *beḷli* (silver), Tulu *bolli*, etc., are immediate derivatives from the above.

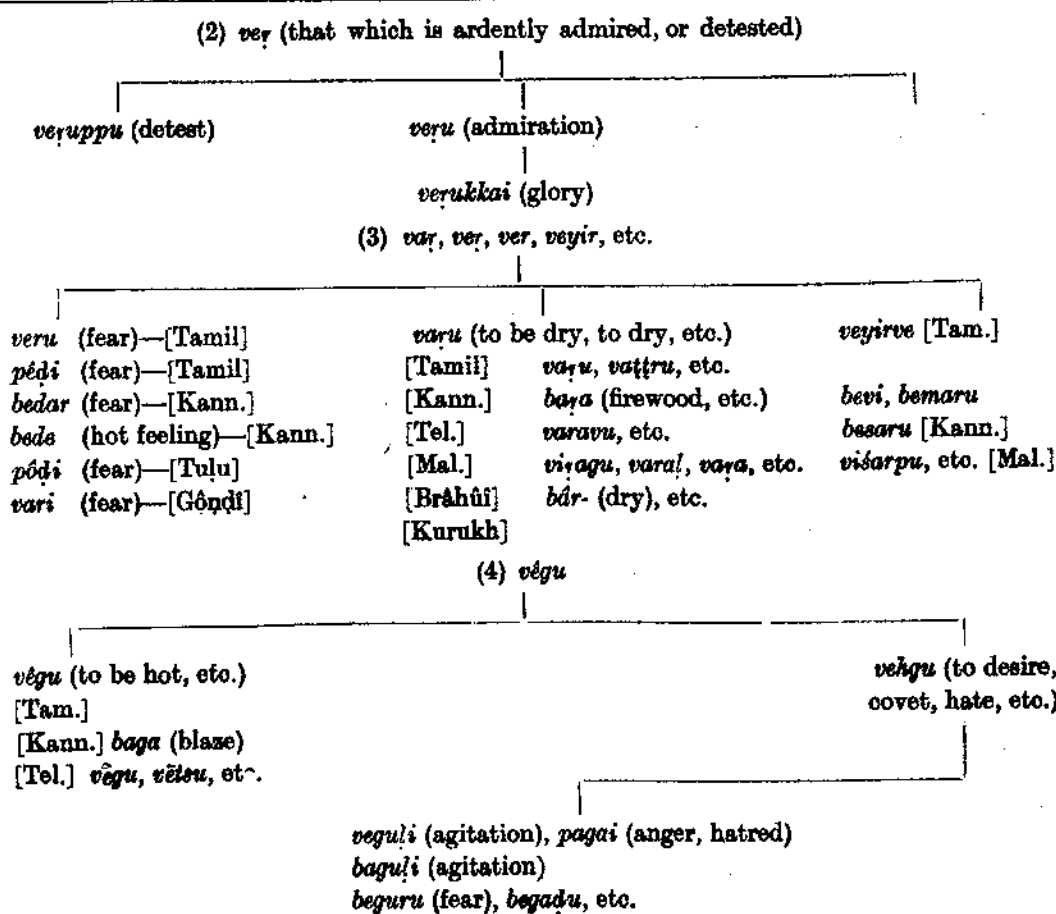
⁵ The formative suffixes of Dravidian could easily be detached from the most ancient of the extant forms. 'Base + primary suffix + secondary suffixes' forms the common scheme of Dravidian word-formation. The common suffixes which occur numerously in a recognizable condition in Tamil are *-d* (*-nd*), *-ḍ*, *-r*, *-ṛ*, *-l*, *-ḷ*, *-g* (*-ng*), *-b* (*-mb*), etc. Both primary and secondary affixes could be distinguished as such in the instances given in this essay.

-r, *-ṛ* appear to be one of the most ancient primary affixes which formed nouns and verbs from elementary bases. (Cf. my article on *Brāhūi r-verbs* in *JOR*, March 1930).

This suffix appears to have undergone further changes under certain definite conditions in the dialects: —(a) *r > tr > t* (vide *IHQ*, March 1929); (b) *r > tr > t > d > j* in Tulu and Kūi (vide the same article, p. 148).

⁶ For the probable ancient change of initial *v* to *p*, see below.

⁷ *-ccam* goes back to *-ttam* (= *-t*, the formative affix, geminated in Tamil + *-am*, the neuter affix of Tam.-Kann.-Mal. group). Cf. *naḍattam* (walking), *maṛicc-al* (turning), *ericc-al* (burning), etc.



II. DRAVIDIAN *vā*, *bā(i)* (MOUTH).

This base is found in all Dravidian dialects.⁹ Its antiquity is undoubted, and it has given rise to various forms in Dravidian.

Kurukh *ba'a* (to say), *bār* (to be called, to have a title), Kūi *ves* (to speak), Gōṇḍi *vās* in *vāori* (tale), *veh* (to narrate) indicate a very early stage when verbs were formed from *vā* or *bā*. The first Kurukh word mentioned above is directly from *bā*,¹⁰ whereas the second one contains the formative affix (Middle-Passive) -*r*- which has changed the initially formed verb-sense into the idea of 'being named,' 'having a title,' etc.

Now, are a number of forms with the initial surd *p*- meaning 'to say,' 'to speak,' 'to command' cognate with the above series? The *p*-forms are the following:—

Tam.	<i>pēṣ-u</i> (to speak), <i>paṛ-ēngu</i> (to speak).
Tel.	<i>pēlu</i> , <i>prēlu</i> (to chatter).
Kann.	<i>pēl</i> (to speak).
Tulu	<i>pan</i> (to speak).
Mal.	<i>para</i> (to speak).
Brāhūi	<i>pan-ing</i> (to speak).

(To be continued.)

⁹ For possible word-correspondences in other language-families, cf. Austric *bā*, *pā* (mouth), Indo-Chinese (Ahom) *bā* (to say).

¹⁰ The following forms of Dravidian are probably traceable to this base:—*pān-ai*, *bāne* (earthen pot with large mouth); *vānu*, *bānu* (to make pots); *vāru*, *bāru*, *vālu* (to pour out); *vāḷai*, *vāḷal* (door, gateway), etc.

CHITOR AND ITS SIEGES.

By R. R. HALDER.

(Continued from page 166.)

"Bhimsi was the uncle of the young prince, and protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chauhan) of Ceylon, the cause of woes unnumbered to the Sesodias. Her name was Padmini, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair The Hindu bard recognizes the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alau'd-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Padmini; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajput, he entered Chitor slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, returned. The Rajput unwilling to be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress; amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Ala risked his own safety, relying on the superior faith of the Hindu. Here he had an ambush; Bhimsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Padmini."

The artifice by which Padmini contrived to rescue Bhimsi and save her own honour, by sending to 'Alau'd-din's camp, instead of herself and her handmaids, as pretended, 700 covered litters containing picked warriors, each borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters; how Bhimsi escaped on a fleet horse and was pursued to the fort; how the Muhammadans were foiled in their assault; how 'Alau'd-din, having recruited his strength, returned to the attack later on, and ultimately captured the fortress; and how the heroic women sacrificed themselves one and all by the awful rite of *janhar*, "to find security from dishonour in the devouring element"; all this is vividly and eloquently told in the glowing pages of Tod in a famous chapter, which need not be quoted at length here."⁴³

The account given in Briggs' *Ferishta* is as follows:—

"Alla-ood-Deen about this time sent an army by the way of Bengal to reduce the fort of Wurungole in Tulingana, while he himself marched towards Chittoor, a place never before attacked by the troops of the Mahomedans. After a siege of six months, Chitor was reduced in the year 703, and the government of it conferred on the king's eldest son, the Prince Khizr Khan, after whom it was called Khizrabad"⁴⁴

Among the events of the next year, *Ferishta* further says:—

"At this time, however, Ray Ruttun Sein, the Raja of Chittoor, who had been prisoner since the king had taken the fort, made his escape⁴⁵ in an extraordinary manner.

"Alla-ood-Deen, having received an extravagant account of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the Raja's daughters, told him, that if he would deliver her over to him, he should be released. The Raja, who was very ill-treated during his confinement, consented and sent for his daughter, with a manifest design to prostitute her to the king. The Raja's family, however, hearing of this dishonourable proposal, concerted measures for poisoning the princess, to save the reputation of the house. But the Raja's daughter contrived a stratagem by which she proposed to procure her father's release, and preserve her own honour. She accordingly wrote to her father to let it be known that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Dehly on a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this. Having selected a number of the dependents of the family, who, in complete armour, concealed themselves in litters (such as are used by women), she proceeded with such a retinue of horse and foot, as is customary to guard ladies of rank. Through her father's means, she received the king's passport, and the cavalcade proceeding by slow

⁴³ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 307-11.

⁴⁴ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 353-54.

⁴⁵ The escape of Ratansinha is also mentioned in Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 385, and Duff's *Chronology*, p. 211.

marches to Dehly, was admitted without interruption. It was night when the party arrived, and, by the king's especial permission, the litters were allowed to be carried into the prison, the attendants, having taken their stations without. No sooner were they within the walls, than the armed men leaping out of the litters, put the king's guards to the sword, and carried off the Raja. Horses being already prepared for his flight, he mounted one, and rushing with his attendants through the city, before opposition could be made, fled to his own country among the hills, where his family were concealed. Thus, by the exertions of his ingenious daughter, the Raja effected his escape, and from that day continued to ravage the country then in possession of the Mahomedans. At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the king ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja. This Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of this reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot."⁴⁶

Now, as regards the account given by Col. Tod, it may be stated that Lakhamai was not the ruler of Mewar when Chitor was attacked by 'Alau'd-din. He was the ruler of an estate called Sisodā in Mewar and was subordinate to Ratnasimha. He was killed fighting along with his seven sons against 'Alau'd-din at the siege of Chitor.⁴⁷ Bhīmasi (Bhīmasimha) was not the uncle, but the grandfather⁴⁸ of Lakhamai (Lakshmanasimha), and must have died many years before the attack on Chitor; for his grandson, Lakhamai, being a father of eight sons, seems to have reached an advanced age at the time of the siege. Chitor was attacked only once⁴⁹ by 'Alau'd-din, and at that time its ruler was Ratansen (Ratnasimha), as is rightly stated by Firishta. But Firishta is certainly wrong in saying that 'Alau'd-din asked Ratnasimha to deliver one of his daughters to him and that the Rājā (Ratnasimha) effected his escape from prison at Delhi through the exertions of his daughter. Padmini was the wife of Ratnasimha, though her parentage is yet unknown, and she was not the object for which 'Alau'd-din attacked Chitor: it was his warlike spirit and desire for conquest which led him to besiege Chitor, Ranthambhor, Jalor and other places in Rājputānā. Both Col. Tod and Firishta are mistaken in stating that Ratnasimha was taken prisoner to Delhi by 'Alau'd-din, and that Padmini went there to effect the escape of her husband or father by a stratagem, in which she succeeded. Neither Ratnasimha nor Padmini went to Delhi: the former met his death in the fighting at Chitor, and the latter in the flames of *jauhar* after her husband had been killed, as is correctly stated by Col. Tod. There was no king of Ceylon named 'Hamir Sank,' who was contemporary with Rāwal Ratnasimha of Mewar.⁵⁰

The story narrated by Col. Tod and Firishta about the attack of 'Alau'd-din on Chitor may also be found in earlier compilations. For instance, the Hindi poem⁵¹ on Padmāvatī compiled by Mahmūd Jayasi in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. gives, more or less, the same account. The purport of the story is given below:—

Ratansen, son of Chitransen, king of Chitor, having learnt through a parrot of the extraordinary beauty of Padmini, the daughter of Champāvatī, the queen of the king Gandhravāsen of Simhaladvīpa (Ceylon), went to Ceylon in the guise of a mendicant to obtain a sight of her. They accidentally met in a Śiva temple and fell in love with each other. Subsequently, on the growth of an intense love between them, they were married by Padmini's father. After spending some time in Ceylon, Ratansen returned to Chitor with Padmini. At Chitor there was a Brāhmaṇa named Rāghavachetana, who incurred the displeasure of the Rājā and was banished from the kingdom. He went direct to Sultān 'Alau'd-din of Delhi and informed

⁴⁶ Briggs' *Firishta*, vol. I, pp. 362-63.

⁴⁷ *Rājputānā Museum Report*, 1925-26, p. 2.

⁴⁸ MM. Rai Bahādur G. H. Ojha's *History of Rājputānā* (in Hindi), vol. I, p. 522.

⁴⁹ Briggs' *Firishta*, vol. I, p. 353. Elliot: *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 76-77.

⁵⁰ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 321; H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. xviii, 78-80.

⁵¹ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, vol. IV, p. 419. Also as in note 48 above, pp. 487-491.

him of the exquisite beauty of Ratansen's wife, Padmini. The Sulṭān at once asked Ratansen to deliver Padmini to him and, on his refusing to do so, attacked Chitor with a large army. The fighting continued for eight years, and seeing that the fort could not be conquered, the Sulṭān expressed his desire merely to have an interview with Ratansen and then return to Delhi. Ratansen acceded to this request. On the occasion of his visit the Sulṭān accidentally beheld Padmini, through a mirror while he was playing chess with Ratansen, and determined to secure possession of her at any cost. While returning from Chitor, he treacherously made Ratansen prisoner and took him to Delhi in chains.

Hearing of this sad news, Padmini, under the direction of her two chiefs, Gorā and Bādal, went to Delhi with 1,600 covered litters containing brave Rājput̃s disguised as her hand-maids. On reaching Delhi, permission was obtained for her (Padmini) to hand over the keys of Chitor to the king Ratansen and then to present herself to the Sulṭān. In the course of this visit, the king's chains were cut, and he mounted a horse and rode towards Chitor along with Padmini and Bādal. When this news reached 'Alāu'd-dīn, he ordered his army to pursue the Rājput̃s. The latter, under the leadership of Gorā, turned and opposed the Delhi forces. Gorā was killed in the fight that ensued, but meanwhile the king, queen and Bādal managed to reach Chitor safely. Shortly after this, king Ratansen died, leaving Chitor in charge of Bādal. Padmini and the other queen, Nāgamatī, became *saṭīs* after the death of their husband. Soon after this, Chitor was attacked by 'Alāu'd-dīn and captured.

Thus we see that the story of the poem is nearly the same as that narrated by Tod and Firishta. It is probable that this story, being the earlier composition, was used, with variations, by Firishta, and that Tod afterwards drew on Firishta. The part played by the parrot in the love-affair between Ratnasimha of Chitor and Padmini of Ceylon, as well as the story of the marriage between them having taken place in Ceylon, may have been added to give more dramatic effect to a tale that was based, at all events, on one fact, namely, that 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī attacked Chitor.

After the assaults by the Sulṭāns of Delhi, Chitor fell a prey to those of the Sulṭāns of Mālwa and Gujarāt. During the reign of Hammira's successor, Mahārāṇā Kṣetrasimha, an attack by Amī Shāh of Mālwa seems to have been delivered upon Chitor. This may be concluded from the inscription,⁵² dated S. 1545, of the time of Mahārāṇā Rāyamal and from the inscription,⁵³ dated S. 1485, at Śringī Rishi, which tell us that Kṣetrasimha defeated Amī Shāh and humbled his pride. The Amī Shāh of these inscriptions was evidently Sulṭān Dilāwar Khān Ghori of Mālwa.⁵⁴

In Tod's *Rājasthān*, Kṣetrasimha is said to have defeated the emperor Humāyūn near Bākrol.⁵⁵ This is impossible, as Humāyūn reigned between 1530 and 1555 A.D., while Kṣetrasimha ruled in 1364—82 A.D.

The next attack on Chitor was made by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī of Mālwa in the year 846 A.H. (1443 A.D.), after he had assaulted one of the forts in the Kumbhāmer district defended by Benirāya, the deputy of Rāṇā Kumbhā (Kumbhākarna) of Chitor. The army of the Sulṭān carried by storm the lower fort; but the death of his father, A'zam Humāyūn, in the meantime, prevented further action. After a short time the Sulṭān once more led his army against Chitor, determined to begin operations after the rainy season was over. Mahārāṇā Kumbhā, however, made an attack upon him with a force of 12,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry, but, as the Sulṭān had occupied an advantageous position, the assault failed. Then the Sulṭān in his turn attacked the Mahārāṇā's force, and, after inflicting some loss on the Mahārāṇā, returned to Māndū. It was about this time that the Mahārāṇā began erecting the famous Kirtistambha, the Tower of Fame. In the year 850 A.H. (1446 A.D.), the Sulṭān sent Tāj Khān with a force of cavalry to attack Chitor, with no definite result. After a few

⁵² *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 119, v. 29.

⁵³ *Rājputānā Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* (Rogers and Beveridge), vol. I, p. 407. Elliot: *History of India*, vol. IV, p. 552.

⁵⁵ *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 321.

years (in 858 A.H.=1454 A.D.) he himself again marched towards Chitor, but finding his position difficult, accepted a sum of money from the Mahārāṇā and returned to Māṇḍū. About this time the Mahārāṇā attacked the Sultān's army under Tāj Khān and forced him to retreat.⁵⁶ When the Sultān of Mālwa found himself unable to overpower the Mahārāṇā single-handed, he sought an alliance with the Sultān of Gujarāt. For this purpose he sent Tāj Khān to Gujarāt to propose an offensive alliance with Quṭb Shāh against the Rājputs of Mewār. Accordingly, a treaty was signed at Champaner by their respective envoys in the year 860 A.H. (1456 A.D.), and in the following year Quṭb Shāh of Gujarāt and Maḥmūd Khālji of Mālwa began their attacks on the Mahārāṇā. After some fruitless attempts, Maḥmūd Khālji returned to Mālwa, and Quṭb Shāh went to Ahmadābād, where he died in 863 A.H. (A.D. 1459).⁵⁷

A few years after these events, in 1468 A.D., the death⁵⁸ of Mahārāṇā Kumbhākarna was caused by the hand of his own son, Udayasimha, and Chitor soon became the scene of civil war. The parricide Udayasimha was quickly repudiated by the people of Mewār, who invited his younger brother, Rāyamal, to seize the throne. After severe fighting at Jāwar, Dāimpur, Pānagarh and other places, Rāyamal made an attack on Chitor, which he captured, after stout opposition,⁵⁹ in Samvat 1530 (1473 A.D.). The dethroned Udayasimha ultimately formed an alliance with Sultān Ghiyāsu'd-dīn of Mālwa for recovering Chitor, but died almost immediately afterwards, being struck by lightning.⁶⁰ The Sultān, however, with the intention of placing the two sons of Udayasimha on the throne of Chitor, attacked the fortress, and being defeated after a severe contest, retreated to Māṇḍū.⁶¹

After Ghiyāsu'd-dīn, his son Nāsiru'd-dīn succeeded as Sultān of Mālwa. In the Hijri year 909 (1503 A.D.), he proceeded towards Chitor, whence, having received a large sum of money from Mahārāṇā Rāyamal and the daughter of Jivanadās, one of the subordinate Chiefs, he returned to Māṇḍū.⁶² After a short time, Nāsiru'd-dīn again sent an army against Chitor, in order to help Sūrajmal and Sāraṅgadeva, son and uncle, respectively, of the late Mahārāṇā Udayasimha. After some engagements, this force was defeated and obliged to retire.

After these minor attempts Chitor became the butt of two fierce attacks made on it by Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. In the year 938 A.H. (1532 A.D.), the Sultān decided to attack the fort of Rāisin and subdue its ruler Silhadi, as the latter refused to present himself at court. He pitched his camp near the fort of Rāisin, the walls of which were levelled to the ground, and orders issued for an attack. Upon this, Silhadi expressed his wish to become a Muhammadan and give up the fort to the Sultān; but his brother Lakṣmanasen, dissenting from such action, determined to hold the place till succour arrived from Rāṇā Vikramājit of Chitor, to whom Silhadi's son, Bhūpat, was despatched for assistance. On hearing that a force of 40,000 horse was being sent by the Rāṇā of Chitor to the aid of the garrison of Rāisin, Bahādur Shāh sent Muḥammad Khān Āsirī and 'Imādu'l-mulk with a force against the Rāṇā, and soon joined this force himself after appointing Ikhtiyār Khān to continue the siege of Rāisin. Within 24 hours he travelled 70 kos and put fresh life into his army by his presence. The Rāṇā declined an action, and retreated towards Chitor on learning the superiority of the Sultān's force. Bahādur pursued the Rāṇā with the speed of lightning, but the latter reached Chitor first. As the Rāisin fort was still untaken, the Sultān decided not to attack Chitor until matters were settled at Rāisin, and accordingly he returned to Rāisin, capturing the fort on the last day of Ramazān 938 A.H. (1532 A.D.).⁶³ Shortly after this Bahādur Shāh collected an enormous supply of arms, artillery and ammunition and

⁵⁶ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. IV, pp. 208-23.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

⁵⁸ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 338.

⁵⁹ *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 121, and *Vira Vinod*, vol. I, p. 337.

⁶⁰ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 339.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 345. Tod gives the name of the Sultān of Mālwa as Muzaffar, which is a mistake.

⁶² Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. IV, p. 243.

⁶³ Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, pp. 356-365.

despatched them for the siege of Chitor. He ordered Muhammad Khan Asiri and Khudawand Khan to proceed with his army from Mandû to Chitor. When they reached Mandasor, they were met by the *wakils* of the Rânâ, who stated that the Rânâ was prepared to offer his submission to the Sulân, if the siege of Chitor were abandoned. This proposal was conveyed to Bahâdur Shâh at Mândû by Shajā'at Khan. Bahâdur Shâh, however, remembering the Rânâ's bold action in sending aid to Silhadi, and being bent upon investing the fortress of Chitor, rejected the Rânâ's offer, and sent Tâtâr Khan with veteran troops for the subjugation of the place. On the 5th Rajab 939 A.H. (1533 A.D.) Tâtâr Khan took and plundered the suburbs of Chitor. Next day he attacked the outer gate and carried that also. On the 8th of the month, Muhammad Shâh and Khudawand Khan came up with heavy cannon and a siege-train, and the fortress was completely invested. The Sulân started from Mândû with an escort of five horsemen and reached Chitor in 24 hours. His large army came up behind him. He gave directions for bringing up and placing in position the battering guns. The great gun which had been brought from Diu sent "rocks tumbling down on rocks and buildings upon buildings." The exertions of the Sulân in pressing on the siege were unprecedented. It is said that he had sufficient men and artillery to have besieged four such places as Chitor.

(To be continued.)

SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retired.)

(Continued from page 224.)

Before going on to relate his further travels, Sidi 'Ali remarks that among the *Bânîâns* of the country, by whom, we know from a subsequent passage, he refers to the Hindus in general,²⁵ there is a literate class called *Bat* (i.e., *Bhatt*), whose duty it was to guide and protect and stand surety for merchants and travellers. These *Bats* accompanied the caravans, and if robbers attacked them on the way, drew their daggers and, pointing them to their own breasts, threatened to kill themselves on the spot if any harm were done to the travellers.²⁶ Accompanied by two of these men Sidi 'Ali and his companions set out from Ahmadâbâd about the middle of the month of *Safar* A.H. 962 (January 1555) on their long overland journey to Turkey. In five days they reached Pâtan²⁷ (the ancient Anbilvâdâ), the chief town of western India until superseded, under Muhammadan rule, by Ahmadâbâd, from which it lies about 63 miles NNW. Here the Pulâdi brothers, Sher Khan and Mûsâ Khan,²⁸ who were making preparations to attack the ruler of Râdhanpur, tried to prevent them from proceeding to the latter place. Sidi 'Ali insisted upon moving on, and in five days more he arrived at Râdhanpur, which lies about 40 miles to the west of Pâtan. Here the *Bats* were sent back to Ahmadâbâd and the journey continued to Nagar-Pârkâr, then in the possession of Râjpûts (probably Sodas, still dominant in that district). As the distance from Râdhanpur

²⁵ The use of this word in this general sense is interesting as indicating the important position held by merchants in Western India in those days. It is the Marâthî *vâzi* and Gujarâtî *vâziyo*, reproduced by the Portuguese in their intercourse with the west coast as 'Bancano'; and this has given us our word 'Banyan.'

²⁶ Compare the account given in Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, vol. II, p. 814. See also *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, edited by Sir J. M. Campbell, vol. IX, p. 209 f.

²⁷ Vambéry failed to identify the place. He writes Patna, instead of Patan (پتان), as read by Diez.

²⁸ For some account of these brothers, see Hâjji 'ad-Dahîr's *History of Gujarat* and the *Mirdât al-Sikandari*.

would be about 70 miles, the party must have been delayed en route, as ten days were spent on the road. Here they were attacked by a band of hostile Rājputs, but, forming a zareba with the camels and opening fire, they cowed their assailants. After this they wandered across sand and desert for some ten days²⁹ till they reached Wānga, which lay, Sidi 'Alī tells us, on the frontier of Sind. This is Wānga or Wāngo Bāzār, marked on nearly all maps of Sind, on the bank of the Nārā, 80½ miles SW. from Hyderabad, on the road that crosses the Rann of Kacch to Bhūj. It is of geographical interest to learn that this was regarded as the eastern boundary of Sind at that period; and we may, I think, assume that this boundary was formed by an important river, probably the main eastern branch of the Indus.

From Wānga, where they hired fresh camels, they moved on to Jūn and Bāgh-i-Fath. Jūn is the Joon of James Burnes's map of 1827-28,³⁰ marked as situated about 45 miles E. by N. from Tatta and some 12 miles S. by E. from Tāndo Muḥammad Khān. Though there is now only a *deh*³¹ of this name in Taluka Guni, Hyderabad district, to mark its site, Jūn was once a place of considerable importance, situated near the bank of one of the branches of the Indus,³² the lands around being well irrigated and fertile. It was here that Humāyūn settled down for some eight months³³ after leaving Umarkot, being influenced in moving there by the prospect of obtaining supplies of grain for his troops and followers. He pitched his tent in a large garden, while his whole encampment was surrounded by an earthen rampart and ditch as a protection from attack by Shāh Mirzā Husain. In his *Tarkhān-nāma*, Saiyid Jamāl writes³⁴ of Jūn: "This place is celebrated amongst the cities of Sind for the number and beauty of its gardens, abounding in rivulets which present fresh and delightful scenes." Ma'sūm in his *History of Sind*,³⁵ writes: "There are many gardens there, such as the heart rejoices in, with fruit trees, on which account it raises its head above all the other towns in Sind." Bāgh-i-Fath does not appear to be marked on the Survey sheets available, but it lay a few miles further on, to the NNW. of Jūn. Both Jūn and Bāgh-i-Fath are named in the *Āfn-i-Akbari*³⁶ as *maḥals* of *sarkār* Hājkan, the heavy assessment on the former indicating its reputation for fertility. The only maps I know of, in which both these places are shown are—(1) Map III, facing p. 30, in Major-General Haig's work, *The Indus Delta Country*, and (2) the map forming Plate CIII to Mr. H. Cousens' *Antiquities of Sind* (1929).³⁷ On the latter map they will be seen marked about 11 and 6 miles, respectively, SE. of Tāndo Muḥammad Khān, on the route to Badin. In fact all these three places (all of them old sites) probably lay on the then main route northwards to Naṣrpur, Sehwan and Bukkur, which, with Tatta, were the most important towns in Sind at that time. It must be remembered that there was no such place as Hyderabad in those days. The main western branch of the Indus then flowed a long way east of the site on which Hyderabad

²⁹ As there was no direct road, the distance travelled might be anything from 100 to 120 miles.

³⁰ *A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind*, 1831, frontispiece.

³¹ *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 1907, p. 103.

³² The Ravi river, according to Saiyid Jamāl, see Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, I, 318.

³³ From November 1542 to July 1543.

³⁴ See extract from the *Tarkhān-nāma* in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, I, 318.

³⁵ Muhammad Ma'sūm, *History of Sind*, translated by Captain G. G. Malet, *Bombay Government Record*, 1855, p. 113. Jauhar also describes Humāyūn's stay at Jūn, see *Tazkiratu'l-vaq'at*, translated by C. Stewart, *Oriental Trans. Fund series*, 1832, p. 44 f.

³⁶ Spelt 'Jaun' and 'Bāgh Fath' in Blochmann & Jarrett's translation, II, 339. Bāgh-i-Fath must also have been a place of importance at one time, as we are told in Jamāl's *Tarkhān-nāma* that Mirzā 'Isa Tarkhān (who was Governor of Tatta in 1555) had been "Governor of Fath Bāgh" in 1553.

Prof. Vambéry supposed that Jūne (or Juna, as he writes it) was a mistake for Junāgarh (in Kāthiāwāḍ).

³⁷ *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XLVI, Imperial Series, last plate.

now stands, past Nasrpur, on the west of that town, bifurcating, it seems, lower down, the principal channel, probably flowing past Tatta to the sea, the other taking a S. by E. course, passing Bâgh-i-Fath, Jûn and Badin, to the Rann.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON CHIAMAY.

(The Mysterious Lake of the Far East.)

By SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt.

THE derivation of Chiamay, as a name, that at once suggests itself is that it represents Chiengmai, the Zimmè of the Burmese, on the western branch of the Menam, which was subjugated by the Burmese-Shan king of Taungu just about the time of Mendez Pinto. There is, however, no lake in Chiengmai, but a temporarily inundated area, such as early European writers speak of in connection with lower Siamese valleys and existing during any given traveller's visit, may account for the term "Lake" being attached to Chiengmai. Even a modern writer, Hallet, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, speaks of the river plains in the Shan States being sometimes flooded artificially for the sake of the fishery, and also as being liable to inundations when irrigation works are neglected.

In 1921 Mr. Edward Heawood kindly sent me some rough notes of his own (not then with any view to publication) on this "mystery" of the Far East, and these I now reproduce, with his consent, in an ordered form. To his mind, it was quite possible that the story of the lake has somewhere a foundation in fact, but it was nevertheless mythical in stating that the lake was the common origin of the four great rivers that run to the south in Indo-China. Mendez Pinto is the standard, but by no means the only, authority for the statement and for the name Lake Chiamay, and Mr. Heawood thought that as his version agrees so nearly with the current belief in his time, it argues his dependence thereon in the main rather than on his personal knowledge, though he may have seen a lake, perhaps that of Talifu, which he took to be the Chiamay of then current geography. This presupposes a common origin which he and other early writers copied. Going upon the evidence he had collected, Mr. Heawood was inclined to place the "lake" near Chiengmai in the basin of the Meping in Siam, possibly as a temporarily flooded area of the kind described above.

Before Pinto's date, however (wrote Mr. Heawood) in the sixteenth century, Camoens speaks of Lake Chiamay in canto X, stanza 125, of the *Lusiads*, which, though not published till 1572, were composed before 1560, and gives the Menam as the only effluent, getting nearer the truth than the other early versions of the myth. "Cingapura" is mentioned in the same stanza, and this may be the origin of Pinto's name "Singapamor" (see below), given to the lake, probably due to some confusion. The next stanza mentions the "Gueos" (Gwé Shans, though some say Karens or Kachins), one of the names associated by Pinto with the river debouching from Lake Chiamay at Martaban. But see my own note on Gueos below.

Turning now to Pinto's account: in ch. 128 of the original Portuguese edition of 1614 (p. 41, § 4 of Cogan's English version of 1653), he describes a supposed journey, by a great river throughout, from North China to Indo-China, passing by Lake Singapamor (*que os naturaes da terra nomeão por Cunabalee*). It has a circuit of 36 leagues, and harbours a great number of birds. Four great rivers emerge therefrom:

- (1) Ventrau, traverses Sornau (Siam) and enters the sea at Chiantabuu.

- (2) Jangumaa, flows south and south-east and traverses the kingdom of Chiammay, the Laos and Gueos, and part of Dambambuu, entering the sea at the "barra de Martauao" in the kingdom of Pegu.
- (3) Pumfileu, traverses the whole of Capimper, Sacotay, and Monginoco, part of Meleytay and Souady, entering the sea at the barra de Cosmin [Bassein] near Arração. [Here the present writer would remark that the term Monginoco is of especial interest as an echo of the Portuguese name Branginoco for Bhuringyinaungchau (pronounced now Bayin-gyi-naungzaw), a title of the Burmese-Shan overlord of Pegu and Lower Burma in the early seventeenth century.]
- (4) Not known by any name, but probably the Ganges of Satégao in the kingdom of Bengala.

Pinto and his companions crossed the lake and went on by Caleypute. Elsewhere he speaks of a war of the king of Siam against the king of Chiamay, in the course of which he came to the "Lake Singapanior, usually called Chiamay."

Yule, *Mission to the Court of Ava* (ch. VIII of 1858 ed. and Note E of 1856), speaks of Pinto's account, and says he is probably the only traveller who declares that he has seen the Lake of Chiamay. He identifies elsewhere Jangomaa with Chiengmai, and speaks of the general belief of a common origin for the great rivers of Indo-China, associating it with the fact that the great rivers of Northern India rise so near each other.

Next Barros (quoted by Ramusio at the end of vol. I) gives an account of Lake Chiamay and the rivers in *Dec. I, liv. ix, cap. i* [ed. of 1777, I (2), p. 308]. He says that the great river of Pegu comes from Lake Chiamai, 200 leagues in the interior, from which six rivers issue, three joining to make the great river of Siam and three others entering the "Enscada de Bengala." One of these last traverses the kingdom of Caor [Gaur, or Northern Bengal], whence the river takes its name," and also the kingdoms of Camotai and Cirote, debouching near Chatigão (Chittagong) into the branch of the Ganges, opposite the island of Sornagão. The river of Pegu [here obviously the Irrawaddy] traverses the kingdom of Ava, and the third makes its exit at Martabão, between Tavay (*sic*) and Pegu. The "Capo di Cingapura" is repeatedly mentioned in the same chapter.

Pinto probably added knowledge of his own, if he had any, to the common stock of his time, as the other early accounts agree better among themselves than with him. Gastaldi (map of 1561) gives the name Chiamay to the town near it as well as to the lake, whereas Pinto speaks of a country of that name, not as being near the lake, but as situated on one of its effluents. Pinto also calls his second river issuing from Lake Chiamay, the Jangumaa, *i.e.*, Chiengmai, which is Gastaldi's name for a kingdom east of all the four rivers. His third river, the Pamphileu, is Caipumo in Gastaldi, which again seems to be the Capimper of Pinto. This river, Mercator (1569 and later) calls Cosmin, from the old name for Bassein, which place Pinto places at its bar. Magini, it may be noted, gives an account of the lake and the rivers in his supplement to Ptolemy in 1596. Chiamay does not seem to be mentioned by Gaspar da Cruz (*ob.* 1570).

Sven Hedin has a chapter on Lake Chiamay in his *Southern Tibet*, in which he strangely identifies the lake with Mansarowar, merely because one of its effluents was supposed to be the Ganges.

To the above notes by Mr. Heawood I added the following at the same time. The obvious remark to make is that Pinto, Barros, etc., and the cartographers of the day were reporting only what they heard, and at the best but partially comprehended, with the result the name Chiamay came to stand for a State, a town, a river and a lake in various situations,

widely separated geographically. In such circumstances it might well have been applied in all four senses. This suggests that Chiamay sprang out of the Shan term Chiengmai=Burmese Zimmè. But it is quite possible that something entirely different has been confused with it.

There is in the hinterland of Burma and Pegu more than one celebrated lake whose fame might have reached the early Europeans on the coasts in a confused manner:— (1) There was a great lake in the Kentung Shan State, which was drained off by nature, not by man, within historical times, and the memory of the consequent flooding lives in legend among the Shans, Kachins and Karens as stories of a Deluge. (2) Yawng-Hwe Lake in the Southern Shan States has a people called the Inthàs (Lake-dwellers) celebrated in story. (3) Nawng-Hkeo Lake in the Wild Wa country and head-hunting centre has a wide uncanny reputation. (4) Nawng-tung Lake in the Kentung Shan State has also a wide reputation as the scene of the triennial festival of the Nawng-tung Vestals, when picked maidens are 'married' to the Spirit of the Lake. Tales concerning any one of these lakes may have filtered through to the Portuguese in a garbled form, pointing to a famous inland lake. But the whole question wants following up before anything definite could be asserted.

Then there is the periodic flooding in places—especially in the deltas—of the country about the great rivers. The Irrawaddy, as high up as Mandalay, gave me personally, when in charge of the town in 1887-1889, much trouble in this respect. No doubt also the Sittang, the Salween, the Menam and the Mekong are equally liable to flood in places.

Lastly, there is the great Tonlesap Lake in Cambodia, and no doubt others, of which accounts came through to the Portuguese. However, one can say little of the likelihood or otherwise of such speculations without a careful critical examination of texts and maps, old and new.

References to Chiamay occur in Dames' *Barbosa*, e.g., II, 168, where Chiengmai is described as a possible location for the "Gucos"; see also II, 242, and II, 244, where Barros, *Decadas*, is quoted.

Dames and others seem puzzled by the name Gueo for a large tribe, and there is no doubt that it wants hunting to earth. I think it will on critical examination turn out to be a Shan tribe. The King of Pegu, whom the early Portuguese met, was by acquired nationality a Talaing, but by descent a "Gwe" Shan, which fact makes one think. Some have thought the Gueos to be Kachins, i.e., of Tibeto-Burman race. Others that they were Karens; others again that they were Was, i.e., a branch of the Mon Race, as are the Talaings themselves, whereas Shans and Siamese make up a race of their own. Then there are the Giaos or Giaochis—again a 'Chinese' Wild Tribe (Barbarians)—as indeed are all the rest above-mentioned. The whole question wants critical examination and settling.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MEANING OF BHAVABHŪṢAṆA-SANTATI AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF APARA-MANDĀRA IN THE RĀMACARITA OF SANDHYĀKARA NANDI.

BHAVABHŪṢAṆA-SANTATI IN THE RĀMACARITAM.

The Rāmacaritam of Sandhyākara Nandi (twelfth century A.D.), after describing at length the successful campaign of Rāmapāla, the last great emperor of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, against the insurgent Kaivartas of Varendra (northern Bengal), and referring to the construction of a city by him, called after his name, Rāmāvatī, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā, introduces a verse purporting that he, the Pāla monarch, conquered Utkala (Orissa) and Kālīnga, but restored the former to the descendants of the 'Bhavabhūṣaṇa' family. The verse as it is, runs thus :—

Bhavabhūṣaṇa-santati-bhuvan-avajagrāhitaṁ Utkalāraṁ yāḥ

Jagadavatiṁ samastaṁ Kālīngatātān nīdāchārān nighnaṁ. (III, 45.)

Opinion differs as to the significance of the expression *Bhavabhūṣaṇa-santati*. In his introduction to the Rāmacaritam, Mahamahopādhyāya Dr. H. P. Śāstri, who has discovered and edited the work (*Mem.A.S.B.*, vol. III, No. 1, p. 1 ff.), regards it as alluding to the Nāgavāṁśīs. There are others who have taken it in the sense of the kings of the so-called lunar dynasty. But consistency of facts can only be preserved if it be supposed to imply what was called the Kēśari dynasty. Bhavabhūṣaṇa, or literally, the ornament of Bhava, an epithet of Mahādeva in his water-presiding character, denotes the serpents, which are but the mane (*keśara*) of him. Setting it in an historical background, it would be noticed that prior to the expedition of Rāmapāla against the Kaivartas, the lord of Utkala was one Karpakeśari, who was overthrown by Jayasimha, king of Daṇḍabhukti and an associate of Rāmapāla in that famous expedition. Because of the cognomen *keśara* the house of Karpakeśari had been, so it appears, claiming descent right from the *keśara* (mane) of Bhava, just as the Chālukyas did from the *chuluka* or water-vessel of Brahmā.

While mentioning that Karpakeśari was worsted by Jayasimha, Sandhyākara Nandi otherwise designates the former as *sarid-vallabha-kumbha-sambhava*, that is, 'having originated from the pitcher of the lord of water' (cf. II, 5, Com.). This also tends to the same conclusion. It is a most befitting conception that Mahādeva, when viewed as a deity in association with the lordship of water, should also have a pitcher on his head, instead of the serpents, that, being clotted together, ordinarily constitute his crest and mane.

Curiously enough, neither the name of Karpakeśari, nor that of Udyotakeśari, whose historical existence as a ruler of Orissa is substantiated by epigraphical testimony (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, App., p. 90, No. 668), occurs in the long list furnished by the

palm-leaf records of Jagannātha (*vide* Sir W. W. Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. II, App. VII, pp. 186-87), of the Kēśari kings, who are alleged to have ruled in succession in Orissa, and numbered not less than forty-four. These records, although certainly considerably lacking in authenticity, contain, at any rate, a nucleus of truth about the rule in Orissa of a dynasty comprising a number of kings with the surname *Kēśari*, before the province had finally become subjugated by the Gaṅga prince of Kālīnganagara, Anantavarmā Chōḍagaṅga, in the eleventh century A.D.

It is, however, difficult to maintain with precision who it was that usurped possession of Utkala on the dethronement of Karpakeśari. Obviously, Jayasimha himself did not. In that case, along with Utkala, his original kingdom in Daṇḍabhukti, too, would have equally felt the brunt of the ungrateful arms of Rāmapāla. Jayasimha appears only to have fought in the van of another aggressive prince against Karpakeśari, and the Rāmacaritam never records the actual possession of Utkala by Jayasimha. As for Anantavarmā Chōḍagaṅga, the conquest of Orissa by him in the tenth century A.D. is not yet established by any reliable evidence. This point, therefore, awaits the discovery of further material before a definite conclusion can be drawn.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF APARA-MANDĀRA.

Amongst the motley of kings that temporarily joined together and made common cause with Rāmapāla against the revolting Kaivartas of northern Bengal, there was one Lakṣmīśūra of 'Apara-Mandāra' (II, 5, Com.), the site of which has yet to be identified.

Mandāra, the famous hill in the Bhāgalpur district, and with which is associated the myths about its being used by the gods and the demons during the churning of the ocean, is "situated about 30 miles south of the town Bhāgalpur." (*I.G.*, vol. VI, p. 289.) "It is on the eastern side of the river Chandan, 2½ miles N. of Bausi and 29 S. of Bhāgalpur in Lat. 24° 50½' N., Long. 87° 6' E." (*I.A.*, vol. I, p. 46, footnote). Cunningham puts it: "The famous hill of Mandar stands about 1½ miles off the present road from Bhāgalpur to Seuri, near the village of Oureya....." (*A.S.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 130.) He also supposes that Pliny's Mount Maleus or Mallus is probably "intended for the celebrated Mount Mandar....." (*Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by S. Majumdar Śāstri, p. 582). In the seventh century A.D., two tanks were caused to be excavated there by Kopaḍevī, consort of Adityasena of the later Gupta dynasty (*Fleet's C.I.I.*, vol. III, p. 212). The antiquities and their interests, which are not few, about the hill have been discussed at greater length by R. B. Bose (*I.A.*, vol. I, p. 46 ff.)

The expression *apara-Mandāra*, denoting, as it does, 'on the other (side) of Mandāra,' is, in the present instance, applicable to the region on the southern and south-western sides of the hill, since the northern side of it, which was *Aṅga* proper, was awayed over

at that eventful time by Mathanadeva, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, while to the east lay the kingdom of Kayāṅgala (Hiuen Tsang's Kajāṅgala), the capital of which has been located near modern Rājmaḥāl. It is, therefore, highly probable that Lakṣmīśūra's territory comprised the site of modern Deoghara, Vaidyanātha, etc., and that he was the chief among the feudatories who ruled over the whole of that silvan tract of land and its vicinity. This is exactly in keeping with the description in the Rāmacaritam, viz., *Apara-Mandāra-maithusūdanah-samastājavikāśamanta-chakrahādāmāṣṭh* (II, 5. Com.). As for the poet Sandhyākara Nandi, an inhabitant of Paundra-Vardhana, which was geographically situated in the north-eastern direction from the Mandāra hill, he does not seem unjustified in describing the south-western side of that hill as its 'other side.' The explanation of the phrase *apara-Mandāra* as 'another Mandāra' (*Mem. A.S.B.*, vol. V, p. 89), although correct in a general way, would yield here no meaning at all.

While sometime between 1021 and 1025 A.D., the generals of Rājendradevachōla I (*Ep. Ind.*, vol.

XVIII, pp. 53-54) invaded north-eastern India, the rulership of the southern Rādha country was vested in one Rapaśūra (*S.I.I.*, vol. III, p. 27, No. 18). It is not improbable that overthrown by the Chōla army, he, Rapaśūra, fled towards the so-called Apara-Mandāra, and established a kingdom there anew, and that to his dynasty belonged Lakṣmīśūra.

Gadh-Mandāran in the southern Rādha country, which is sometime identified as Apara-Mandāra, appears to be wholly wide of the mark, one, though not the only, reason for this being that Lakṣmīśūra would, in that case, best appear as the overlord of the Kōṭa forest, but the Rāmacaritam would not have it. Again, it would be going too far, on the strength of a remark in the Ceylonee chronicle, *Mahāvamsa*, to assume that even in the days of Rāmapāla or Sandhyākara-Nandi, the southern Rādha country itself was covered with dense forest. The short description of southern Rādha about the eleventh century A.D. in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendradevachōla I, may well be taken into consideration here.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

BOOK-NOTICE.

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI: by DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN, B.LITT. (Oxon.), M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. (Kegan Paul Trench Trübner & Co., 1930.)

Of the five biographies of Shivaji which Dr. Sen has collated, the longest (pp. 1-170) and, in his judgment, one of the most important, is Cosme da Guarda's *Vida e accoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy*, which he has translated from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon. The author, who describes himself as a native of Murmagão, near Goa, wrote the book in 1696, but it was not published until 1730. While admitting that most of the information which it offers is "incomplete and unreliable," Dr. Sen claims that it is not without its value. Most people, after reading Dr. Sen's translation, will share the view of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who was aware of the existence of the book in spite of its rarity, and who dismisses it as "full of gross inaccuracies." We are asked, *inter alia*, to believe (p. 1) that Shivaji was born in Portuguese territory, at Virar near Bassein (a fiction also propounded by Thévenot) and that "people were not wanting" who declared him to be the son of Dom Manoel de Menezes, "the lord of this village." The stratagem by which Shivaji escaped from Agra in a basket is well-known: a wholly different and utterly fantastic version is provided (p. 130), and the escape is said to have been made from Delhi. Other instances might be adduced. There is no attempt at chronological order; and although it may be true that no other author had anything to say about the naval battle between the Marathas and the Portuguese near Murmagão, we are left in the dark as to the date, and Dr. Sen does not

help us, although he states that there is corroboration of the incident to be found in unpublished papers in the *Archivo Ultramarino* at Lisbon.

Thévenot's short biographical sketch, which comes next, is oddly silent on the subject of the much-discussed murder of Afzal Khan, and also the campaign of Jai Singh which led to Shivaji's visit to Agra. The third on Dr. Sen's list is the Abbé Barthélemy Carré's account of Shivaji, translated from his *Voyage aux Indes Orientales mûlé de plusieurs histoires curieuses*, published at Paris in two small volumes in 1699. The work was known to Orme, whose poor opinion of it Dr. Sen declines to share. The portions relating to Shivaji have been translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Historical Miscellany* of the Bharat Itihas Sanghoshak Mandal, September 1928): but Dr. Sen is dissatisfied with Sir Jadunath's version, and supplies his own (pp. 187-217, 221-258). In several footnotes he criticizes Sir Jadunath's translation: and it must be admitted that the rendering (p. 222) of *homme de tête* as "headman" is open to question. Carré went to India with Caron—a Dutchman, who had been appointed Director-General of the French Company by Colbert—arrived at Surat in 1668, returned in 1671, and found his way back to India in 1672. Like Cosme da Guarda, he is an enthusiastic admirer of Shivaji: and Dr. Sen claims that his book, at the date of his publication, was "practically unrivalled in accuracy and wealth of details." At the same time, he acknowledges that there is much in his narrative "that is no better than bazar gossip." It is clear, therefore, that it must be used with caution.

Dr. Sen's fourth excerpt is the account of the Carnatic expedition of 1677, which he has taken from

François Martin's unpublished *Mémoires sur l'Établissement des Colonies françaises aux Indes Orientales*, 1664-1696. The original MS., which M. Alfred Martineau (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, v. 616) declares to be of the utmost value, is in the Archives Nationales at Paris: and there is a transcript by the late M. P. Margry in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which all students of Indian history would be glad to see in print. Dr. Sen has therefore done good service in translating the portion which deals with the most notable of Shivaji's military achievements. The fifth document in Dr. Sen's volume is the "Beschryving van Suratte" in the first volume (pp. 264-267) of Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien* (Amsterdam, 1724). The description of the first sack of Surat, which is well known, is evidently based on the day book of the Dutch Factory, which Dr. Sen reproduces later on (pp. 372-382) together with other extracts from the copies of the Dutch Records preserved at the India Office.

In his Introduction Dr. Sen discusses at some length (pp. xxi-xxviii) the charge brought against Shivaji in connexion with the first sack of Surat, that he cut off the heads and hands of a number of prisoners. The evidence for this is contained in the Rev. John L'Escalot's letter which is among the Sloane MSS. at the British Museum and was transcribed by Sir William Foster in the *Indian Antiquary* for December 1921 (vol. L., pp. 312-321), the log of the *Loyall Merchant* (Orme MSS. No. 263) and a letter from the President and Council at Surat, dated January 28, 1664. Dr. Sen declines to accept any of these authorities on the ground, firstly, that the Dutch records make no reference to the incident, and secondly, that the accounts are all based upon the testimony of Anthony Smith, an English factor, who was a prisoner for three days in the hands of Shivaji and who was sent to England a year later with an extremely bad report of his character. This hardly seems an adequate reason for supposing that Smith deliberately lied: and in any case Dr. Sen appears to have overlooked the following independent evidence which he will find in L'Escalot's letter. We are told that a cloth merchant "from about Agra" took refuge in the English Factory: he had presented himself before Shivaji and offered all he had. As this was cloth and "noe mony, the villaine made his right hand to

be cutt off immediatly and then told him begone: he had noe need of his cloth." This story, at all events, does not emanate from Smith: but is it worth while to attach so much importance to the matter? As Dr. Sen himself says, Shivaji did not go to Surat "on a mission of mercy," and "the process of relieving opulent merchants of so much money must have involved torture and death, cruelty and oppression." The cult of Shivaji as a national hero is perfectly intelligible, and he was remarkable both as a general and as an administrator; but he was not an angel incarnate. An interesting passage is cited (pp. 386-387) from the Dutch Records, which disposes of the favourite tradition, endorsed, among others, by Mr. Kincaid (*History of the Maratha People*) and Professor Takakhav and Mr. Keluskar (*Life of Shivaji Maharaj*: Bombay, 1921), that the family of Shivaji was connected with the Sesodia clan of Rajputs, of which the Mahārāṇā of Udaipur is the Chief. The fact is that the founder of the house—Bhosavant Bhosle—was in reality a *patel* or village headman, and, like the great mass of the Mahratta people, was by caste a Kunbi or cultivator. The Bhosles are neither Kshatriyas nor members of any twice-born caste: and if we turn to the pages of Ranade and Sarker, we shall find that the genealogy of descent from the sun was fabricated by Balaji Avji and other agents of Shivaji, in order to overcome the Brahman prejudice against the coronation of a Sudra king, and that Gaga Bhat, a *paṇḍit* from Benares, accepted it as genuine in return for a huge fee. That these manoeuvres were publicly known at the time, is evidenced by the Dutch letter of October 13, 1674, to which we have referred. "Sivasy" is distinctly stated to have declared that "he could not be crowned unless he had abandoned his present caste of Bhonsla and taken the caste of Kettery."

The series is completed by a number of selections from the Bombay original correspondence. These relate principally to the various embassies to Shivaji—of Lieut. Stephen Usticke in 1672, Thomas Niccolls in 1673, Henry Oxinden in 1674, and Samuel Austen in 1675. Usticke's journal appears to have been lost; the journals of the others are printed in full. That of Oxinden is of particular interest, as he was present at the coronation.

EVAN COTTON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CHANGE IN THE COURSE OF THE SON RIVER.

In a note to his translation of the *Indika* of Arrian, and again in his later work, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, the late Dr. McCrindle stated that the Son joined the Ganges in the immediate vicinity of Patna till the year 1379, when it forsook its old channel and shifted westwards.

Can any reader of the *Indian Antiquary* refer me to the authority (not quoted by McCrindle) for assigning the shifting of the channel of the Son river to this particular year?

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE KHIZRI SCRIPT.

Mr. H. A. Rose, *Tribes and Castes of the Panjab*, p. 564, writes: "In Jalalpur Jattan in the Gujrat District [of the Panjab] a script called Khizri is well known. The writers say that Khwaja Khizr [the ubiquitous supernatural being of the East] taught their forefathers the art of writing."

Can any reader tell me the nature and origin of this script, or where a MS. or sample of it can be got?

R. C. TEMPLE.

The object then of the operations which Mr. Vaux, with the assistance of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bonig, conducted with such conspicuous endurance, courage and skill has been entirely carried out. Precise information has been obtained of the location of the Jarawas, of the real object of their annual raids and of the best mode of reaching them, and they have been taught that they cannot raid and murder with impunity. The return of the captured women will teach the tribe something of ourselves and that we have the power, if we choose, to take their families away from them. Thanks also to the energy and determination of Messrs. Vaux and Rogers, much knowledge of the nature of the country and forests in the hitherto untouched interior of the South Andaman has been gained, and it is very satisfactory to note that the parties of Jarawas punished belonged to the actual perpetrators of the latest raids. No operations in relation to the Jarawas have hitherto been anything like so successful. It is therefore all the more to be deplored that the leader should have lost his life in the chances of a struggle. It is a still more regrettable circumstance to record that the life need not have been lost, for at the last moment Mr. Vaux made an error in judgment in not waiting as usual for the Andamanese to rush into the camp first. Had this been done, it is more than probable that no life would have been lost. But it has been ascertained that he feared that if he did so the Andamanese accompanying him would kill all the men they could and that the rest would escape with most of their weapons and stolen property. It was to avoid this that he determined to go before them when the word was given to attack, and thus he lost his life in a laudable, though mistaken, attempt to save bloodshed.

II.

Extracts from Reports and Diaries of two Reconnaissances of the Country supposed to be occupied by the Jarawas.

FIRST RECONNAISSANCE.

(a) *Extract from the Report, 25th January to 4th February, 1902, dated 8th February 1902, from the late Mr. P. Vaux, Officer in charge, Andamanese, Port Blair.*

25th January.—Left Port Blair at 6-30 P.M. in the steam launch *Belle* with Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, a Havildar and 6 Constables of the Port Blair Police and a party of 15 Andamanese. Reached Macpherson's Strait at 9 P.M., and anchored for the night.

26th January.—Weighed anchor at 9 A.M., the delay being due to our giving the Police and Andamanese a run on shore. Proceeded on to Port Mouat to take on an Andamanese canoe. Left as soon as possible and proceeded to Constance Bay. We landed here and found some self-supporter convicts from Templeganj. One of these men told me a story about some of his villagers being attacked by Jarawas two days before, and I thought it worth while to send for the Chaudhri [Headman] and the villagers. On their arrival they all denied having ever seen anything of the Jarawas and denied having spread any such report. There seemed to be no truth whatever in the story; so I sent them all back. Anchored here for the night.

27th January.—Started from Constance Bay at 7 A.M., and arrived at Port Campbell at 11 A.M. I sent a party of Andamanese and Police into the jungle to the south, to try and pick up traces of the Jarawas. I and Mr. Bonig searched with others along the shore but found no recent traces. Mr. Bonig picked up an old bow and a basket. It seems probable that the Jarawas have not camped here since the man was shot by the Census party last year [1901]. The Police and Andamanese returned in the evening without having found anything. The Janglis [Andamanese] had a grand turtle hunt in the evening, shooting some dozen turtles and a small pig, the latter a splendid running shot by quite a young boy. There was so much excitement over the turtle hunt, that those on the launch thought we were being attacked, and the remaining Police and Andamanese came hastening off, including the women, the latter with piles of arrows.

28th January.—Up to to-day we had done nothing, but from to-day the real business began. Mr. Bonig and I each took a party and we began a systematic beat of the jungle. We arranged for Mr. Bonig to examine the coast to the north and the adjoining jungle, while I beat the jungle in the interior. My party consisted of 5 Andamanese and 3 policemen, Mr. Bonig taking the remaining Andamanese and Police, except a guard of two of the latter who were left on board. I rowed off in the dinghy at 8 A.M., and landed on the northern shore of Port Campbell opposite the southern extremity of Clyde Island. Here we searched in the dense jungle about the swamps and hills, and came upon the footsteps of Jārawas, some old and some fairly recent. About 10 o'clock we came on the fresh traces of a Jārawa. There was only one man, and he was evidently hunting, but after following his tracks for a considerable distance we gave it up, as he was obviously after game, and his tracks led nowhere. It was not until midday that we came upon a Jārawa camp. Amid considerable excitement we surrounded it, only to find it empty. Our Andamanese at once seated themselves in the huts, and lit their pipes. This I discovered afterwards was their universal procedure. It was a five-hut camp—three large huts in the middle and one at each side, at a little distance; these latter our Janglis explained were for look-outs, where only men slept. The Andamanese said it had not been occupied since the rains. It was substantially built, with stout *ballis* [wooden posts], and was well thatched. A string of pig skulls was hanging from the roof, besides this an old basket and an arrow was all we could find. The Andamanese told me the Jārawas would use it again next rains. The huts were on slightly rising ground alongside a fresh water stream. We waded up the stream between 2 and 3 miles, sometimes waist deep, and frequently knee deep. It was here that it first struck me, that the theory of the Jārawa raids being due to scarcity of water was unfounded, and of this, as will be seen, I had plenty of confirmation before returning to Port Blair. In the course of the day we came on several water holes and springs. When not walking along the course of the stream, we were literally wriggling through the dense jungle up and down hill. We got out on the coast again about 4 P.M. and reached the boat about half an hour later. We had been walking from 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. with perhaps one hour's rest, certainly not more, taken in intervals of about 10 minutes at a time. Yet I doubt whether we covered more than 15 miles. But no walking in the world could be more fatiguing, as we were bent double creeping through the dense jungle, every shrub of which seemed to bear a thorn. We then had a two-hours' pull back to the launch, as by this time it was quite low-tide and there was shoal water all around. We reached the launch at 6.30 P.M., Mr. Bonig and his party returning only a few minutes earlier. He reported having come on fresh Jārawa footsteps on the seashore, at a Bay called Bilep in Andamanese, north of Ike Bay. He also reported finding three anchors and a quantity of iron kentledge on the seashore close to Bilep, evidently from the wreck of a barque. I do not know whether this has been reported before. The wreck, he informs me, must have been quite an old one.

29th January.—As the traces of the Jārawas all seemed to be to the north of where we were, we left Port Campbell at daylight and anchored at Bilep at 7 A.M. Here we again divided into two parties, mine consisting of 7 Andamanese and the policemen, and Mr. Bonig's of similar numbers. Two policemen were left on board, one of whom, however, had fever. This constable was ill from start to finish and never landed at all. I rowed up a creek in the dinghy a little to the south of Bilep Bay, Mr. Bonig going up another creek in his boat which flows into the Bay. The creek I went up is called Gering-chaps-jig by the Andamanese; it was a fine broad piece of water quite as big as Brigade Creek. We were

now in the heart of Jārawa country and every precaution was observed. The dinghy was rowed for, I suppose, a little over a mile up the creek. On either bank, signs of Jārawas were visible in the shape of felled saplings and leaves. At every bend in the creek the Andamanese drew their bows and fitted in their arrows, and at the least sound in the jungle they stood up in the boat with full drawn bows, as it was possible to have an arrow into the boat any minute. However, nothing happened, and soon the creek got too shallow for the boat, and we hauled it up high and dry, and tethered it to a tree.

We then all proceeded up the river bed in the same order as yesterday, an advance party of Andamanese, then myself and the Police, and another party of Andamanese in the rear. We soon came upon the track of Jārawas. First of a man, then of a man and woman, and then also of a child, all proceeding up the gorge. The river, or mountain stream, was of a most difficult nature to climb. It was very deep in parts, and most of the time at the commencement we were knee deep, often waist deep, and once, when I slipped into a pool, I had to swim. Similar accidents befell the Police, and these experiences have altogether dispelled the water theory of Jārawa raids as far as I am concerned. At times we reached almost insurmountable walls of rocks, which we had the greatest difficulty to get over. Sometimes I had to be hauled up the slippery rocks by the Andamanese, at other times we crawled through water-channels underneath them, and at others we were creeping through the leech-infested jungle on either side, slowly working our way up the channel. The higher we got up, the more tracks were visible and we were evidently on a Jārawa highway, as men's, women's and children's footsteps could be seen ascending and descending. At about 1 P.M. we were evidently near an encampment. Trees were arranged as bridges over some of the boulders and pools and a beaten track was found on the side of the jungle where the river bed was impassable. Saplings were seen cut on every side and in one place a cold fire and a few shells were found. At last we got to level ground, where the boulders ceased and the mountain torrent became a stream. We waded through deepish water for a fairly long distance. It was very cold as the sun could not penetrate the dense jungle. As the signs of Jārawas increased so did our excitement. At last about 2 P.M., the Andamanese seemed nonplussed, but after searching here and there went up a beaten track without hesitation, which ascended a hill, and there was the Jārawa camp. We approached it with the utmost caution, only to find it empty. It was a six-hut camp, arranged with the usual two-look-out huts at the sides; it had been left about a week, and there were only pig skulls and an old basket in it.

After a short rest we turned homewards down a Jārawa path. These paths are quite clear, branches and saplings being felled on either side, and, except that they are made for small people, are quite as good as dacoit paths in Burma. Thinking all was over we proceeded quite carelessly, when suddenly the Andamanese spread themselves out with every sign of excitement and a column of smoke could be discerned and afterwards huts. With the utmost caution again we approached and again found the huts empty. The occupants could only have left six hours before at earliest. The logs were smouldering, boiled prawn heads were strewn about, water vessels made of leaves with water in them were in the huts, and everything betokened recent habitation. But no cooking pots or bows were in the huts, some baskets, arrows, and a child's bow were all that we could find. The Andamanese were doubtful whether the Jārawas would return, saying no property of value had been left. Still I determined to wait and we lay in ambush round the camp. This was an eight-hut camp, and built just as the others were. After about half an hour there was a distinct cry

from the direction of the camp we had previously visited, another cry followed, and afterwards two fainter ones. I believe myself our visit to the first camp had been discovered, and the cries were cries of warning. At about 3-30 p.m. the Andamanese said the Jārawas would not return and that we must get back. This I did not altogether believe, but after much consideration I concluded that there was nothing else to be done. We had many weary miles to travel through cold water, and break-neck boulders, and leech-infested jungle. So with the greatest reluctance, I gave the order to turn homewards by a Jārawa track, which led into a small stream, which in its turn flowed into the big mountain stream of our morning's ascent.

We hurried down the river bed, floundering over the rocks, falling up to our necks in the pools, and jumping and tumbling down the semi-precipitous track. In such haste were we that even the Janglis occasionally stumbled and fell. In spite of all our haste, night was soon upon us. It was dark at 6, so thick was the jungle on the banks of the stream, and from 6 to 7 we staggered along in what had become pitch darkness. It is difficult to say which was the worst, stumbling and falling over the steep, slippery rocks, or forcing one's way in the black darkness through the pathless, thorny jungle. It is a mercy that no serious accident occurred. At 7 o'clock I thought it hopeless to go any further, and though no one had eaten anything since leaving the launch I thought it better to camp where we were. But the Andamanese said they would manage it. They had now found a clump of bamboos, and cutting these they splintered them with stones, and set them on fire. Thus each holding a torch we completed the last few miles to the boat, over the rocks, through deep water and under and through the jungle. It was as rough work as one can well imagine, but infinitely better than the horrible half hour of inky darkness that had preceded it. At last at well past 8 we reached the boat. The tide was out and we had great difficulty in launching it and getting it over the first quarter of a mile. Then we got into deep water, pulled out of the creek, and finally reached the launch at 9-30. We had been absent 13½ hours, and must have been wading, climbing and stumbling at least eleven of them. We must have gone well over 20 miles. The Police with me again behaved excellently, though they were nearly done up: so was I, and even the Andamanese, though still full of laughter and cheerfulness, admitted they were very tired.

Mr. Bonig was waiting on board, but his report was very disappointing. After hours of jungle work, he had come on the track of four or five Jārawas who crossed into my river bed, followed them a long way down it, then through the jungle and out on to the sea coast near the launch. There he discovered that they had not only escaped, but that they had looted his boat, taking two of the four rowlocks (thoughtfully leaving him two to pull the boat back with, the only considerate thing I have ever heard of Jārawas doing), an old knife belonging to an Andamanese boy, and the bucket, and then gone off into the jungle. They had sat under a tree looking at the launch for an hour-and-a-half, within full view of those on board. There were two policemen on board. There were also an Andamanese boy Henry, who was lame, through having fallen on the rocks two days previously, three Andamanese women, the whole of the crew, free and convict, and a lame convict *mallah* [boatman]. Out of all these people none had the sense to get the Andamanese canoe alongside, get it manned and row over and approach the Jārawas. The rest of us had done all we possibly could to come up with Jārawas, and here they were in sight of over a dozen men waiting to be approached, and were allowed

to remain and to leave unmolested. After the hardships we had been through, this piece of news was really too discouraging.

I may as well add here what had really happened, though this we did not discover until a careful examination of the tracks the following day. A party of two or three men, a woman, and a child had left the last huts I had visited early in the morning. Proceeding by a Jarawa track, to the river bed, their highway to the sea, they had come on the tracks of my party and followed them down to see who we were, and where we had come from. Having arrived at nearly the bottom of the river they broke off through the jungle in order to avoid the deep water, and came out on the coast, thus missing my boat. Here they found the launch, and after watching it for an hour and-a-half, and finding themselves unmolested, they had strolled off and found their way to Mr. Bonig's boat. Having looted this they returned, either to the huts from which they came, or to some others near by. While they were following my tracks, Mr. Bonig and his party had come on theirs, and were hurrying after them as fast as possible, arriving an hour too late, and it was then too late to hunt them further, so they had had the narrowest escape. I had been an hour or so too early for them, Mr. Bonig a bare hour too late, while the people on the launch had had them in view for a whole hour and more and had done nothing.

30th January.—To-day was a day of comparative rest. As our efforts to come across the Jarawas in the jungle had all been fruitless, we tried to tempt them to attack us. For this purpose the Andamanese were ordered to bathe and play about on the beach, the three women we had with us being landed with the rest. Only two policemen, Mr. Bonig and myself landed and strolled about in an unconcerned manner. But all to no purpose. The wily savages, either from fright or some other reason, declined to oblige us. The Andamanese said that finding so many people about, they had gone to give intelligence to the remainder of the tribe. However that may be, we could see no signs of them and at half-past one, after frequent blowing of the whistle, we left, Mr. Bonig took the steam launch up to Kaichwa Bay, while I marched up the coast. I found an old shelter on the shore close to Port Campbell, and after that the whole way up the coast the only sign I could find of them was an old piece of wreckage with nails in it, out of which the Jarawas had evidently removed several nails. After the last two days' operations the journey was quite an easy march of eight miles or so along the beach. On arrival I found Mr. Bonig had taken a party in to search the jungle. He returned at 6 P.M., having found no signs of any one.

31st January.—Left Kaichwa at 6 A.M. for Port Anson, arriving at 9 A.M. Picked up two Andamanese who knew the country well here and proceeded to the southern end of the harbour called by the Andamanese Dum-la-chôrag. Set off for the shore at once with four policemen and a large party of Andamanese. We rowed a short way up a creek called by the Andamanese Dum-la-chorâg-jig, and then landed in the mangrove swamp, taking the precaution to hide our rowlocks in the jungle. We marched through this for two or three miles. It was fairly open ground, but the mangrove mud was rather trying walking. At the end of the swamp we divided into two parties and separated to search for tracks. My party soon picked up some footsteps, and after a little hesitation found a Jarawa path and proceeded along it. This was of the same description as those I had previously struck, and I knew we were on a Jarawa highway.

After going about a quarter of a mile we overtook Mr. Bonig's party, which had struck the track a little sooner. We all proceeded along together, and after going up and down-hill for two or three miles, as we ascended a steep hill, a clearing was visible through the jungle.

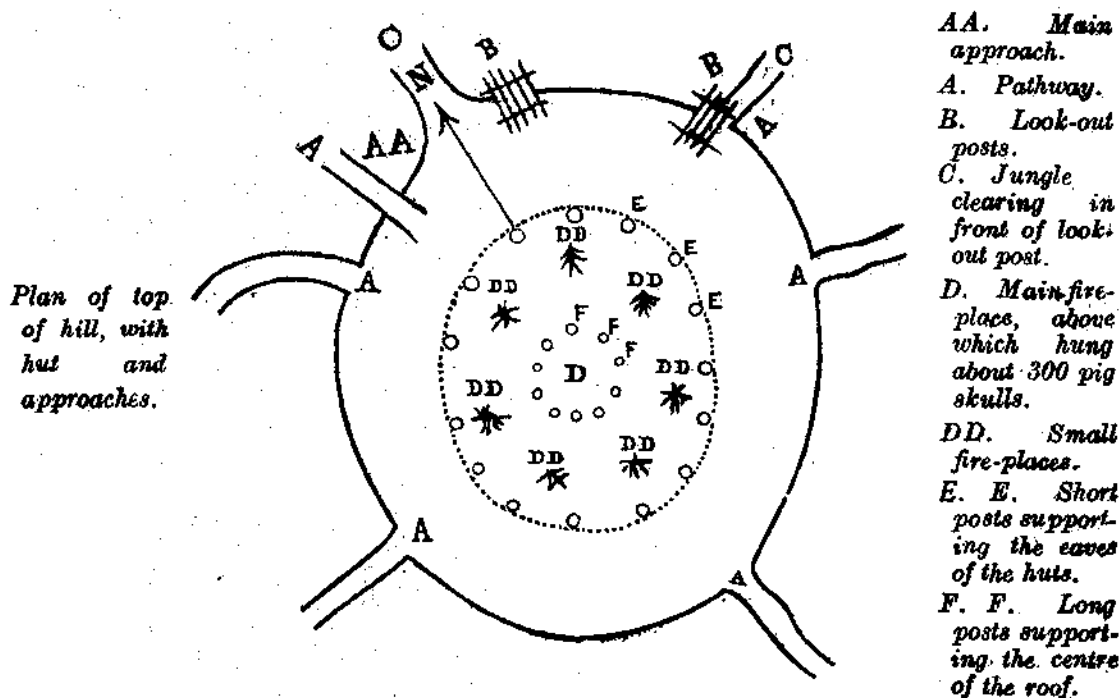
With extreme caution the Andamanese advanced, and on the summit sure enough was the big Jarawa camp. The Andamanese call the place Pochang, and it was as far as I can judge five miles from the mouth of Dum-la-chorag-jig Creek. We advanced to the hut and found it empty. After seeing the substantial hunting huts erected by the Jarawas in the jungle, I had been prepared for a big house, but I never expected such a large, well constructed building. It was roughly oval in shape, the length being 60 feet and the breadth 40 feet, while it was 54 yards in circumference. Seven stout posts in a rough circle in the centre of the house were the main supports of the roof. These were about 17 feet in height, and some were 8 inches in diameter, and all were barked and smoothened. Rafters stretched from these to bullies [posts] on the outer circle, where the roof sloped to about 3 feet from the ground. Except that it had no floor it was quite as good as an ordinary Shan or Karen house in Burma, and was large enough to contain from 80 to 100 people.

From the top of the roof, between the 7 centre posts, were suspended, on strips of cane 9 or 10 feet long, over 250 pig skulls, neatly fastened up in basket work. Below the skulls was the big fire-place, around the sides of the hut were the smaller fire-places, evidently used by separate families. There were about half-a-dozen of these, but when the house is in full occupation there would be at least a dozen. Each fire-place consists of four stakes driven into the ground. Between these the fire is lighted, and some 3 feet from the ground a piece of neat matting like a chick [Indian matting] is fastened to the stakes so as to form a shelf for the meat, etc. A dozen well made vessels, which the Andamanese said were honey pots, were suspended from the rafters, as well as baskets of all sizes, unstrung bows, leaf water vessels, and other things. The thatching was decorated with bunches of leaves like fans used in their dances, and of these there were hundreds. Several children's bows were found, also wooden balls for them to play with, and a rough circular piece of wood which the Andamanese said was rolled along, and into which they shot their arrows. There was a large *dэгчт* [saucepan] made out of a tree trunk fitted into one of the honey pots, and neatly-worked mats used as shelves for the food, and also I think to sit on. Among other things I discovered a glass bottle, and it is worthy of note that they had a stock of firewood chopped and tied up with cane ready for use in one corner of the building.

The house was on the summit of a hill, and there were seven paths leading up to it. All were well cleared at their opening on to the hill and each could be commanded by a man with a bow and arrow. Over two of the entrances were raised platforms of logs sloping from the ground to about 3 feet in height. These were the look-outs and each commanded a path, and my own impression is that when the camp is in habitation, over each path a similar platform is erected, and each path is thus well commanded. The main approach leading due north was as well cleared as a Forest Department road, and must have been 15 yards broad at the exit from the camp. Large trees had been felled and saplings cut a foot from the ground, and around the hut the grass had been cleared as carefully as at a jungle *pongyi-kyung* [Buddhist monastery] in Burma. They had even taken the trouble to cut down several large trees, one quite 5 feet in diameter, evidently to have a view of the next ridge. In fact so much care had been taken both in the building of the house, and the clearing of the precincts, and so well were both done, that it is difficult to believe that savages have been able to do this unaided.

The Andamanese say there is another, possibly two similar huts to this. They say that the whole Jarawa tribe collects in one of these in the rains. I am rather doubtful myself whether the whole tribe could occupy the house; I rather think they under-rate

their numbers, as the traces of them on every side in the jungle make me think there are from 80 to 100 men, whereas the Andamanese put down their numbers at 100 all told. They say that they burned a similar hut to this some years ago at Maillitilek. In the dry weather the Jārawas scatter, hunting and live in their hunting huts.



After exploiting the house we considered what was best to be done. At first we determined to camp in the house for the night, and for that purpose sent back a party to bring up food. Then leaving a guard of Police and Andamanese, we went down the main path towards the north. It was very easy going, and though it narrowed from its 15-yard entrance to a path only wide enough for a man, there was no difficulty in getting along. We, however, found no fresh traces, indeed the only track we saw was that of a man who, the Andamanese said, was going to look after the house. They explained that every two or three days in the dry weather a man or two goes to see that nothing is wrong with the house. After proceeding about a mile we again considered what it was best to do, and eventually I came to the conclusion to leave the house and to return. I took one specimen of everything to take back to Port Blair, and left everything else in its place, so as not to frighten the Jārawas. We then returned as fast as we could, reaching the launch at 6 P.M. To-day's expedition was not a hard one. We had had a tramp of 5 miles or so to the camp and a mile further on and back, so the whole day's march was not more than 12 or 13 miles.

February 1st.—Started from Port Anson at 6 A.M. and arrived 10-30 A.M. at Port Blair. Received orders to start the next day, and return with Mr. Rogers.

February 2nd.—Left Port Blair at 7-45 A.M. and arrived at Dūratāng at 10-45 A.M. Proceeded on to Jātāng at 11-30 A.M. Met Mr. Rogers and handed him the Superintendent's [Sir R. C. Temple's] letter. Returned with him at once getting back to the launch at 4 P.M.

February 3rd.—Started at daybreak and anchored in Port Anson harbour at Dūm-la-ohōrag at 9 A.M. Started off for the Jārawa house in boats at 9-30. On this occasion we pulled considerably further up the creek so as to avoid as much as possible of the mangrove swamp. On landing we almost at once came on the fresh tracks of five Jārawas, so

leaving a guard of one policeman and several Andamanese at the boat, Mr. Bonig and myself followed them for about half a mile, but as we found they were only following our tracks of Friday we returned, and all made for the Jārawa camp at Pōchāng. We arrived about noon. We found the Jārawas had visited it since our discovery of it on January 31st and had carried off all the more valuable articles, such as the *dēgchī* and the honey pots. I had feared this when we came on their fresh footsteps. They had also slightly dismantled the house so as to make rude barricades on the unprotected approaches. I sent our Andamanese into the jungle to see that there were none lurking near, and then Mr. Rogers photographed the house, exterior and interior, while Mr. Needham, who was also with us, sketched it, after which we removed all the remaining baskets and other belongings, and cut down the pig skulls in the centre. After this we collected the Andamanese, and they executed a war dance with the Jārawa leaf-fans. Then gathering up the trophies, consisting mostly of pig skulls, we returned to the launch, arriving at 4 P.M. Weighed anchor and proceeded to the Andaman Home at Port Anson, where we remained for the night.

February 4th.—Left Port Anson at 11-30 A.M., arriving at Port Blair at 4-30 P.M. The four policemen who accompanied Mr. Bonig and myself on our several marches worked very well, and were always close to us. The work of the smarter boys among the Andamanese was splendid, and their tracking was a revelation to me. Their unerring knowledge of the jungle, too, was marvellous. For instance they had only visited Geringchāpa-jig once previously, and that years before. Yet without a compass and with hardly a glimpse of the sun to guide them, they never faltered, knew exactly where they were and took the nearest way home. Two or three of them afterwards pointed out our position correctly on the map, and told us where we should have to go to find the Jārawa Headquarters. Without them we should have accomplished nothing. I am rewarding them suitably for their good work.

(b) *Extracts from the Report of Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Port Blair, from 28th January to 4th February, 1902.*

My party went out into the forest beyond the Jātāng camp, but did not find any traces of Jārawas. They were out the whole day long and returned in the evening to camp. As they returned very late to camp on the evening of the 28th, I gave them a day's rest on the 29th and started on the 30th myself for a three days' trip into the interior. The Andamanese sent were all young, and I think I may say inexperienced men, for we came upon comparatively recent tracks of the Jārawas and a fresh camp, which I think they must have occupied the night before they killed the two convicts on the 11th January last, and they absolutely failed to follow up this clue.

As soon as I had satisfied myself that the Andamanese were not working properly and that they were only moving in circuits and not going far from camp, I took the direction of our course into my own hands and steered due west. We passed over a succession of hills, chiefly running in a generally north and south direction, and crossed a large number of streams, also for the most part flowing south or north. Many of these contained running water which was shallow where it was flowing (6 to 9 inches deep), but contained a large number of deep pools. Two at least of these streams contained fresh water fish, 8 to 12 inches long, and, I think, may be considered to be perpetual water-supplies which never dry up. The water in them was deliciously cold and perfectly sweet and good. The sun only shines on the water in the middle of the day, so they lose very little water by evaporation. There is infinitely more water in the interior of the island than there is near the coast, and the Jārawas can never have come to Jātāng or other places where they have attacked convicts—in my opinion—in search of water. Pig tracks were also plentiful. All streams mentioned in my diary contained a good supply of drinking water.

We saw no footprints of Jārawas while going west. They, I think, chiefly use the beds of the streams as thoroughfares and do not as a rule go straight across country; though they would cross some ridges to go from one stream to another. Near the place where we camped on the night of the 30th, we found a prickly cane cut with a *dah*, which showed that the Jārawas had been up that stream some time. I never saw the sea on the West Coast, nor do I exactly know how far across the island I reached, but think that I must have crossed about half-way, and that with five days' provisions it would be possible to cross and recross the island near Jātāng, if you go due west through and over everything and due east back again. I noticed some padouk trees near Jātāng beyond where the working for London squares had gone.

After we had passed the first large stream running south, I saw no padouk. The forest seemed to be very poor, to contain but few large trees, and to be composed chiefly of small poles or trees and a dense matted undergrowth of canes, creepers and creeping banyans, which made it very difficult to force one's way through it and formed an efficient screen against the sun. The map does not accurately represent the nature of the interior of the island. There must be nearly 20 ridges to be crossed in going from Jātāng to Ike Bay. Most of these are not very high, probably not more than 300 to 500 feet, while some of them are as much as 800 to 1,000 feet I think. The consequence of my having taken the Andamanese straight up and down all the ridges going north and south was that they told me, when I had decided to turn back, so as to reach Jātāng while our provisions lasted, that they were absolutely unable to take me back to Jātāng. So I had to guide the party across the island myself by means of a compass which I carried with me and was much relieved when the Andamanese recognised (at 3-30 P.M.) what they thought was Jātāng Hill and Duratāng, as I then knew that we should reach Jātāng some time the next day.

The party I took with me consisted of 8 Policemen, 1 Orderly, 10 Andamanese and their *pahrdwāla* [Indian guard], 4 convicts as coolies, and an office peon and one of my *mallāhs* [boatmen]. We took a blanket each and rations and nothing else and slept out in the open near water. We camped on the second night in an old Jārawa camp and left marks in the recent shooting camp we found that we had been there and took away the two pig skulls found there.

So far as ascertaining where the encampments of the Jārawas near Port Meadows and Jātāng lay is concerned, the expedition has been a failure, and as I failed to reach the West Coast I have been unable to locate their encampments between Port Campbell and Ike Bay. But the expedition has been useful in giving me an idea of what the interior of the island is like, which will be most useful in helping to determine the alignment of the path from Jātāng to Ike Bay.

I accompanied Mr. Vaux back to the *Belle* on the 1st February, and went with him and Mr. Bonig and returned to Port Blair with them on the 4th instant. I took photographs of the exterior and interior of the Jārawa hut, which have turned out well.

(c) *Extracts from the Diary of Mr. C. J. Rogers of his exploration into the interior of the South Andaman, west of Jātāng, during the 30th and 31st January and 1st February 1902.*

30th January 1902.—Left camp at 7 A.M. Went north and north-west for 30 minutes and north with little west for 20 minutes, first through the forest and then following a stream. First halt for a few minutes at 8-10 A.M. Then followed a winding stream flowing generally north: at 8-25 A.M. came across a pole which had been cut with a *dah* or axe and from which arrows had been made. At 8-30 A.M. came across some footprints of Jārawas in small stream running west. At 8-45 A.M. found a recent Jārawa encampment⁹ on a ridge. There were eight fireplaces in it. The charred ends of the wood and the ashes showed it

⁹ The Jārawas probably slept here on the night of the 10th January, previous to their raid on the 11th at Jātāng.

had not long been vacated. The Andamanese say there must have been a lot of people there, both men, women and children. Two fresh pigs' skulls were tied up to bamboos, some pieces of half-burnt leaves used for roasting the meat were found and also some cups made of leaves and bamboo water vessels. The fires were arranged more or less in a circle, and some bunches of leaf sticks said to be used for dancing were also found. All the wood was collected and placed in a heap in the centre of the camp and two or three bamboos cut and placed over the heap to show that we had been there. There were no shelters put up.

At 8.50 A.M., a little further on, we came upon an old camp which showed no signs of having been used recently. Some decayed shelters and two decayed fishing baskets were found, but nothing else. The Andamanese then followed up the trail for a short distance and then lost it. They had absolutely lost all traces of the Jārawas at 9.30 A.M. We then followed a stream running north till 10.10 A.M. and the Andamanese then took us up a hill to the east, where they said they thought the permanent camp of the Jārawas would be found. We reached the top of the ridge at 10.40 A.M. It is probably a spur from Jātāng Hill, but we found no trace of any Jārawas. From 10.40 to 11 A.M., we went north and west on the flank of the spur and halted from 11 to 11.15 A.M. We then followed up a stream flowing south till we came to the water-parting of it and a stream flowing north.

30th January 1902.—As the Andamanese were wandering about aimlessly I then took them in hand and directed the line of march to the west along a spur running east and west, and at 12.20 we reached a large stream flowing south, where we halted till 2 P.M.

We then proceeded due west and crossed another ridge, reaching another stream flowing north and south at 2.40 P.M. At 2.55 P.M. we reached a small stream (going west the whole time) running south-east, which soon fell into a large stream with lots of water in it flowing north and south. We left this stream at 3 P.M., and reached (going west) the top of a steep hill at 3.25 P.M., and saw a high ridge running apparently north-west and south-east to the east of us. We halted here till 3.30 P.M., and then again went west down a steep slope and then along a stream till 4 P.M. We then went south along this stream for a short distance. In the stream we found a dry cane, which was lying in the stream and had been cut with some cutting instrument and soon met a large winding stream flowing west, where we pitched our camp at 4.10 P.M. The stream had large fish, 8 to 10 inches long, in it, and the water was perfectly fresh and nice.

31st January 1902.—The camp was undisturbed at night. We left camp at 7.30 A.M., and went up a steep spur going west with a little south in it. At 7.50 A.M. going west with a little south we crossed another stream flowing south with water in it; till 8.5 A.M., we went up steep uphill and then halted for 10 minutes to let the baggage coolies catch us up; at 8.30 A.M. we reached the top of the hill. An Andamanese here climbed a tree and said that he could not see the sea, but that there was another high ridge to be crossed to the west and another high peak to the south-west from which he thought we should get a good view, and he wanted to go to the peak to the south-west and not that to the west. This I consented to and started again at 8.40 A.M., going south-west and reached another hill at 8.15 A.M. From this the peak was said to be visible, so we went on down the flank of the hill. I observed the Andamanese and found that they were not going south-west, but had turned to the west and then again to the north and were going up the hill we had just come down! Only on a different spur of it.

This proved to me conclusively the futility of allowing the Andamanese to guide our movements, so I stopped them about 9.15 A.M., and we had a talk. They then confessed that they knew nothing about finding their way in the forest and had (so they said) never had to find their way in one. I asked them if they could take me back to Jātāng and they said no, they could not do so. So after some consideration I came to the conclusion that it was not wise to go further west and that I had better try and guide the party back to Jātāng.

For if we went further west and I was not right in my directions, we might not get back to Jâtâng before our provisions gave out.

At 10-20 A.M., started due east towards Jâtâng, reached the top of a ridge at 10-40 A.M., and going due east came to a large stream flowing south at 12 noon, stayed there till 1-30 P.M. At 2 P.M., going still due east, we reached the top of the next ridge. Halted 15 minutes, reached the top of the next ridge at 2-50 P.M., having crossed another valley. Halted till 3-10 P.M. An Andamanese climbing a tree said he could see the survey station (a hill cleared of jungle with a post on it) and also Kyd Island which he recognised by a large gurjan tree, we went still due east and came to a stream with water in it at 3-25 P.M., and crossed it. An Andamanese went up it and said he had found an old Jàrawa camp a little way up it. Went to see it and found the remains of two huts. It had not been used for a long while. As we had had a tiring day, decided to spend the night in the camp and to return to Jâtâng the next morning.

1st February 1902.—Left camp at 7-20 A.M., going due east, reached a stream flowing north at 7-40 A.M., and still going east another large stream flowing east at 7-45 A.M.; this soon bent to the north, so we left it and continued going east. This stream had lots of water in it and an Andamanese speared a fresh water fish about 10 inches long in it: followed along the stream for 100 yards and left it at 8-10 A.M., reached the top of another ridge, from which an Andamanese from the top of a tree could see Kyd Island, but not the sea.

At 8-25 A.M., going a little to the east of south, we reached the top of a ridge, from which the top of Jâtâng Hill (Survey Station) could be seen. At 9-5 A.M., going a little to the east of south, reached the next ridge and halted there for 5 minutes, and at 9-30 A.M. we reached a stream which the Police had visited the second day that they went out by themselves. Picked up the Forest Department's elephants' tracks at 10-30 A.M., and reached Jâtâng camp at 11-25 A.M.

(d) *Diary, dated 5th February 1902, of Mr. M. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, Port Blair, from 25th January to 4th February 1902.*

25th January.—Left Port Blair in the steam launch *Belle* at 6-30 P.M., with Mr. Vaux, also 1 Naik, 6 Police, 15 Andamanese and 3 convict servants. Arrived at Macpherson Strait at 9 P.M. and anchored there for the night.

26th January.—Left Macpherson Strait at 9 A.M., arrived at Port Mouat at 11 A.M.; left Port Mouat at 1-35 P.M., and proceeded to Constance Bay and anchored off a place called by the Andamanese Koyâb-l'âr-tenga, at 2-30 P.M. Took an Andamanese canoe in tow from here.

27th January.—Left Constance Bay at 7-20 A.M. for Port Campbell and arrived at the latter place at 11 A.M. Went ashore with Mr. Vaux, first at Montgomery Island and then on the mainland to search for new traces of Jàrawas. Found an old Jàrawa bow, a basket and a bamboo drinking cup in the jungle, but no new tracks of Jàrawas were found; they do not appear to have frequented this place since the Census expedition in February 1901.¹⁰ The Andamanese shot 12 turtles in the evening in the shallow water between Montgomery Island and the mainland, which place seems to be a feeding ground for turtles.

28th January.—Left the ship at 7-30 A.M., with 9 Andamanese, 4 Police and 1 convict, crossed Chànga Jûru between Clyde Island and the mainland and landed on the mainland opposite. Sent the Havildar of Police with 3 Constables and 3 Andamanese along a small creek into the jungle, to search for fresh tracks of Jàrawas, with instructions to try and meet us about four miles further north. I went with the remainder of the Andamanese along the shore up to Gering-châpâ-jig and followed up the left bank, while I sent three Andamanese up the right bank, with instructions to follow us as soon as they had found fresh tracks. We soon discovered that the Jàrawas frequented the vicinity, there being footprints of Jàrawas in the swamp. The footprints of Jàrawas are easily distinguished from any other, as the

¹⁰ See ante p. 21.

Jarawas appear to walk in a crouching attitude with their toes turned inwards, most probably the result of having to live in the dense jungle of the Andamans, where upright walking would be impossible. We also observed that a large tree had been stripped by them of its bark for the purpose, as the Andamanese informed me, of making waist ornaments.

After having searched in the jungle for another four miles to try and find our other party, we returned to the beach. The three other Andamanese had not yet arrived, so we forded the creek and followed them up and observed by the footprints, that they had followed a single Jarawa along the shore. We caught them up again after a little while, and as it was getting late then, I decided to return on board. Going along the shore I saw the remains of a wreck: there were only left of it three anchors, some chains, part of the windlass and about 20 tons of cast iron kentledge; judging from the size of the anchors it must have been a 200 to 300 ton vessel. When I returned to the boat, I found that my other party had returned before noon without having seen anything, so I decided not to send them alone in future. Arrived on board at 6.30 P.M.

29th January.—Left Port Campbell for Bilep at daybreak, arriving at the latter place at 7.3 A.M. Mr. Vaux and myself divided again into two parties, Mr. Vaux following up Gering-châpâ-jig, while I went up Bilep-jig. We rowed about a mile up the creek and went ashore, leaving the boat by itself. We soon found the Jarawa tracks and followed them up through the jungle. We saw by the footprints that there were two men, one woman and a child in the vicinity. We followed these up and came on a temporary encampment, where they had been resting the night previous. It consisted of only a few leaves put on the ground to sleep on and a piece of wood as a head-rest, they having selected for this camp a promontory on the bank of a small waterfall, where it would have been extremely difficult to have taken them by surprise.

After having followed the footprints a few miles further south, we came on the foot-steps of Mr. Vaux's party, which the Jarawas had followed to the beach, so we followed these as fast as we possibly could. When we came near the launch the crew shouted out to us that ten Jarawas were sitting under a certain tree on the beach, so we advanced cautiously, keeping a good distance from the edge of the jungle. I left the Police behind a little so as not to frighten the Jarawas by our large numbers, but we found to our great disappointment that the Jarawas had left the place and gone up the creek again; coming on our boat, they had taken away from it two rowlocks and a bucket, having left the other two rowlocks with the remainder of the gear undisturbed. They had then followed our tracks into the jungle again. As it was getting dark now, it was of no use following them any further, so we returned in our boat to the ship. I may say that the number of Jarawas who passed the ship had been greatly exaggerated by the crew, as we saw by the footprints, there had only been the three adults and one child that we had followed the whole day. Mr. Vaux returned on board at 9.30 P.M.

30th January.—We went on shore in the early morning and remained on the beach, thinking that the Jarawas would either return to the beach or else leave this place altogether. But as the Jarawas did not come out, we returned on board and left Bilep for Kaichwa-lôg, while Mr. Vaux went with his party along the beach. Arrived at Kaichwa-lôg at about 4.30 P.M. and anchored inside the small harbour there at about 4.30 P.M.

This is a very good anchorage in any wind, except when it is blowing from the west. Deepest water is found near the north shore of the entrance. Went on shore again with the Andamanese and searched the jungle in the neighbourhood, but no traces of Jarawas were seen. We returned on board at 6.30 P.M., Mr. Vaux having arrived an hour previously.

31st January.—Left Kaichwa-lôg at 6 A.M. and arrived at Port Anson at 9 A.M. Took two other Andamanese on board here and steamed down to Dum-la-chôrag, where we anchored at 10 A.M. Went ashore and passed through about four miles of mangrove swamp.

We then separated in two parties again and after our having crossed a short distance of jungle, we came on a large Jārawa path. Having followed it a little way up, we were caught up by Mr. Vaux's party. This path led us on to a large hut. After having unsuccessfully searched the jungle for another mile or so, Mr. Vaux decided that we should take a few of the Jārawa objects of interest out of their hut and return with the launch to Port Blair.

1st February.—Left Dum-la-chôrag at daybreak and arrived at Port Blair, about 10-30 A.M.

2nd February.—Left Port Blair at 7-50 A.M. for Kyd Island and arrived at the latter place at 10-10 A.M., rowed up Jâtāng creek with Mr. Vaux and party, and landed at the Forest Department depôt, where we picked up Mr. Rogers, and then returned to Kyd Island.

3rd February.—Left Kyd Island at 6 A.M. and arrived at Dum-la-chôrag at 8-40 A.M. Went ashore with Mr. Vaux and party to the Jārawa camp. We took away from it as many pigs' skulls, baskets, etc., as we could carry. The Jārawas, who had been there the day previous, had taken away all the wooden buckets we had seen there on Friday, of which a specimen had been taken away by us. We returned on board and left Dum-la-chôrag at 4-35 P.M. for Lekerā-luntā, where we anchored at 5-30 P.M.

4th February.—Left Lekerā-luntā at 11-40 A.M., and arrived Port Blair at 4-30 P.M.

SECOND RECONNAISSANCE.

(a) *Extract from the Diary of the late Mr. P. Vaux, Port Officer, Port Blair, from 17th to 23rd February 1902.*

17th February.—Left Port Blair 5 P.M., arriving at Macpherson's Straits at 8 P.M.; anchored for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Straits at daybreak, arriving at Bājā-luntā at 10 A.M. Left at 10-30 with Mr. Rogers. It was a long pull and by the time we had landed and separated it was past 11. Beat about the swamp for some time for footsteps, and while doing so came on Mr. Rogers. Left him at once, going south myself, while he went north. We soon came on tracks, and these we followed for the remainder of the day. We soon discovered that the party of Jārawas was only just in front of us. So close were we to them, that at one place where they had sat down to take their food, we found a live fish that they had caught in the creek. We were following up a small stream and our direction was nearly due east. We slacked off somewhat as our intention was to come up with them in the evening. At about 2 P.M. we heard them cutting down branches and afterwards came to the boughs of trees that had been cut down for the insects inside them.

The Andamanese said the party would be sure to camp in the evening and that then was our time. They were proceeding quite slowly, and we did the same occasionally losing their steps, but never for long. About 4 P.M., we heard them commence to cut down trees for their camp, and we could distinctly hear the voices of men, women and children. It took them about an hour to prepare their huts, and then they settled down and every sound nearly was audible. With the utmost caution we got to within a few hundred yards of them and there waited, deciding, as it was moonlight, in fact full moon, that we would rush their camp at night. It was most weary work waiting, and very cold and miserable, as we were all wet through. About 7-30 all sounds ceased, and at 8 o'clock the three best Andamanese crept away to discover where their camp was. It seemed an eternity before their return, which, as a matter of fact, was just an hour. They reported that they had found the huts and that all the Jārawas were sound asleep.

We then all advanced, in nearly absolute silence, at about the pace of a yard a minute. It must have been half-past ten, when in the flickering moonlight, we discerned their huts. I got separated from the Andamanese, who went to the back of the huts, while I and the

Police went to flank. The camp was in absolute sleep. A baby cried and was hushed to sleep, while we were within 20 yards of the camp. As we stole along through the jungle, dead twigs broke and cracked and their noise at last awakened the sleepers; there were voices, exclamations, then figures could be seen emerging from the huts. A shot was fired from a rifle, then others, and all was confusion. I rushed into the middle and pulled at the post of one of the houses. I then saw a figure escaping into the jungle and I seized hold of it. This I believe to have been a woman. She escaped owing to the stupidity of a policeman. I called to one of the sepoy to seize her, and ran back again to order the firing to cease. The policeman let her go and she escaped. I believe her to be a woman, as she was smeared with white and as she did not attack me or bite, but only struggled to get loose. I had dragged her out of the jungle to the edge of the fire and all that the policeman had to do was to hold her, but even this he did not do. Two children, a girl aged about seven, and a baby ten months or so, were seized by my direction close by. When the confusion had subsided, I made the Police and Andamanese make large fires around the camp and we collected the bows and arrows of the Jārawas and sat round the fires. I ordered a shot to be fired every quarter of an hour to scare them away in case they should return.

The camp was of three huts, a mere shelter in the middle of the jungle. It was occupied by two families and two lads who did not belong to them, i.e., two full grown men, two boys, two women and four children. What must have happened is that the Andamanese got close up to the huts and then the inmates awoke. They said they shot one of the men, putting two arrows into him, a large one under the arm and another fish arrow through his thigh. Then the boys and women ran out and the Police fired, and then all was confusion. I had expected when the sounds of our coming had aroused the Jārawas, that they would have run out in front and fired at myself and the Police, who were plainly visible, but they were caught so sound asleep that they could do nothing and only thought of escaping.

We passed a most miserable night crouched round the fires, with a shot being fired every fifteen minutes or so. None of us had had anything to eat since seven o'clock in the morning, but fish and pigs' flesh and potatoes were found in the huts and the Andamanese had a little, while I and the Police had a few *chupātis* [unleavened pancakes]. Sleep of course was impossible for me and the Police, and we shivered over the fires from eleven in the night till daybreak. When it was light enough, I and the Andamanese followed up the blood stains, and found the two arrows covered with blood that the Andamanese had shot into one of the Jārawas, and which the man had succeeded in pulling out. We lost the blood stains very soon and then there was nothing to be done but to return. So we set off for the coast, taking the two children with us, and came out about 9. We then had a two-mile walk through the sea and mangrove swamp getting back at 10 o'clock. Mr. Rogers pulled off with the boat when he heard us fire a shot. Mr. Bonig had gone south and returned in the evening, having found no signs of anything.

20th February.—Learning from the Andamanese that there was a woman giving milk at Port Anson, we changed all previous arrangements and proceeded to Port Anson, as it was very necessary to give the Jārawa baby some milk. Left at 7-30 and arrived at 1. To my great disappointment the woman was absent in the jungle. We tried feeding the child with milk, but we could hardly force any down its throat. So after waiting until the night for the woman to return and finding she did not, I decided to send the launch back to Port Blair in the morning with both the children and Mr. Bonig, and to camp at Pôchâng, the site of the chief Jārawa camp, till the morning with Mr. Rogers.

21st February.—Left Port Anson at daybreak and anchored at Dum-la-chôrag at 7-30 A.M. Mr. Rogers and myself, a dozen Andamanese and 12 policemen landed, Mr. Bonig with the remaining Andamanese, the 2 Jārawa children and 5 Police returning to Port Blair.

It took two trips of the Andamanese boat to land all, and as every one was taking a week's rations, we were all heavily loaded. The tide was exceptionally high, and we had a very hard time, struggling through the mangrove swamp with our heavy loads deep in water. It took us nearly four hours to do this, and about an hour to finish the march up to Pôchâng, where all arrived, very glad to lay down their loads. We pitched camp on the ridge of the big Jàrawa house. Cleared a spot and all camped. The men rigged up a shelter of saplings and leaves for Mr. Rogers and self, and the others camped round. There was a stream of water at the bottom of the hill, so for the remainder of the day we made ourselves as comfortable as we could under the circumstances.

22nd February.—Started out at 7-30 A.M. with a party of 6 Andamanese and one policeman. Wandered through creeks and over precipitous hills and through dense jungle all day long: found absolutely nothing but very old tracks; could not get on to any big path, and eventually, after walking many miles, got on to the main *khârî* [creek] from Port Anson and walked up to our camp. Mr. Rogers arrived half an hour later. Mr. Bonig had arrived at 10 A.M. from Port Blair and left a note to say that he had gone off hunting. He did not return that night. Mr. Rogers reported having discovered the main track south and a big encampment.

23rd February.—Waited until about 9-30 A.M. for Mr. Bonig, when, as it seemed doubtful whether he would turn up until evening, Mr. Rogers and self decided to move camp to the big hunting camp discovered by him. We accordingly packed up, and each shouldering a load as before, we set off and tramped about 6 miles along a Jàrawa path to the hunting camp. The road lay due south and we only climbed a couple of hills, the rest of the way being along the slopes, and along a broad stream, some 20 yards broad, flowing due south; although only 6 miles or so off, we went so slowly, carrying our loads, that it was 2-30 or so before we arrived. The hunting camp was similar in construction to several I found, consisting of six huts facing a well cleared open space. It was on a hill-top and had several paths running up to it. Water was close by Gôrlâkâbang.

[Note.—Mr. Vaux was killed on the 24th.]

(b) *Extract from the Diary of Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests, from the 17th to 26th February 1902.*

17th February.—Left Port Blair in the *Belle* about 5 P.M. and reached Macpherson's Straits soon after sunset and anchored there for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Straits at daybreak and steamed up the West Coast of the island and through the Labyrinth Islands to the place called Tâlaplungtâ on the Andamans Topographical Survey Map (2 miles = 1 inch). Mr. Bonig found a passage through the coral reefs and anchored about a quarter mile from the shore and the estuary of the stream which enters the sea here. The Andamanese called it Bâjâluntâ. We landed with Andamanese to look for Jàrawa tracks, camps and houses. Mr. Bonig went to the bay to the north. Mr. Vaux and self went up the estuary and landed at 11-15 A.M. He went to the south and I continued up the *khârî* [creek], and at 11-40 the Andamanese with me came across some fresh Jàrawa tracks. We followed these up, and at 11-50 Mr. Vaux and his party caught us up, as the tracks they had found led them to the *khârî* up which I had gone. Each of us (Mr. Vaux, Mr. Bonig and self) had four or more Andamanese and three policemen, leaving three policemen on the launch. Sharks were plentiful where we landed and the Andamanese shot two, one of which was killed, the other going off with two arrows in it. The one killed was about three feet long. Where Mr. Vaux had caught me up, the *khârî* branched. Mr. Vaux followed up the more southerly of the two streams, and I went up the northerly one.

The *khârî* I followed went generally north. My party crossed a ridge running north and south and came into another branch of the *khârî* and followed it up. On another ridge,

which we reached at 12-10 (noon), was the site of an old hunting camp, which had not been recently used.

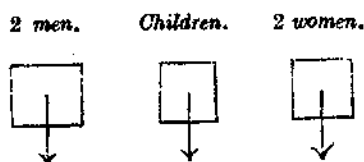
At half-past twelve we left the *khârî* and went through the forest on the eastern and southern flanks of the intersected point marked 677 (height in feet) on the map above referred to. We did not find any new tracks of Jārawas until about 1 P.M., when we found some new tracks, including those of two young children, and following up these tracks came upon a fresh hunting camp, which had quite recently been left, as the fires were still burning. Flies were thick on the pieces of fish which had been thrown away and some cooked fish (whole) were found in the shelters in which the Jārawas had slept, and this was eaten by our Andamanese. The pig's skulls were found and taken away. We followed up the fresh tracks from this camp and they took us back to the *khârî*, at the point where Mr. Vaux and myself had separated in the morning.

As it was late and I was very tired, not being very well, we returned to the boat, which we reached at 5-30 P.M. and waited till midnight for Mr. Vaux, who did not turn up. About 7 P.M. we heard the report of a gun, and thinking that perhaps Mr. Vaux had been benighted and was trying to find his way back to the boat, fired a shot in return and waited. About 9 P.M. we heard another shot, which we thought was nearer, so replied to it. The next shot we heard, about an hour afterwards, seemed to be further off, so after waiting till midnight, I decided to go off to the launch and return to the landing place at daylight. Reached launch at 1 A.M.

At that time I never dreamt of Mr. Vaux's having found any Jārawas. I only thought he had been following up fresh tracks and had gone too far to return to the ship that night. About 8 P.M., while waiting for Mr. Vaux, we heard shouts to the north of us. The Andamanese suggested that the sounds were those of Jārawas. I said I thought it was Mr. Bonig's party returning home, and on my return to the launch, I found Mr. Bonig there, and he told me that they had had to wade a good deal of the way home and had to shout to keep off sharks. He was up to his neck in the water and more than once was attacked by large sharks. The Andamanese would not come into the water and Mr. Bonig had to send for them after he had reached the launch. The tide was out when we landed. It was full when we returned, and so Mr. Bonig's boat was some way from the shore on his return. The Andamanese called the place we anchored a *Bājāluntā*.

Some poles at the camp we found had been cut with some cutting instrument, while a tree in the camp was hacked with what looked like (judging from the incisions made) an adze.

The camp consisted of three huts arranged thus :—



Arrows show entrance into huts.

The Andamanese said the camp had been occupied by two grown up men, two women and some children. The huts or shelters were about 5 feet long and 4 broad, and 4 feet high. They are made of a framework of sticks, some poles being bent down also and tied; leaves of a large palm cut with long stalks stuck into the ground, formed the back and roof of the huts. There were remains of fires inside the huts and in front of them and a considerable amount of white wood ash.

19th February.—Started at 6 A.M. and returned to the place where we had landed, to wait for Mr. Vaux. Mr. Bonig was asleep when I left. I left a message for him to say that I would be back at 9 A.M. He came to me about 7-30 A.M. and I asked him to go down the coast and see if Mr. Vaux had got out on to the coast, and if so to bring him back and asked him to be back on the launch by nightfall. I told him that if Mr. Vaux did not return by 9 A.M., I should go back to the launch, have some food and start off to follow Mr. Vaux's tracks and see what had happened to him. Mr. Vaux did not return to our landing place, so I went back to the launch and had some breakfast, while the Andamanese had their food and made preparations to follow Mr. Vaux's tracks and to stay out a night in the forest, if necessary; as I had told Mr. Bonig I would do this and that he was not to be anxious about me, as I should return without fail the day after. Got ready food for Andamanese and Mr. Vaux.

While at breakfast I heard the report of a gun and saw Mr. Vaux and party on the shore at the mouth of the estuary of the creek we had gone up. Put off at once to fetch him and found that he had come across the Jārawa party, whose camp we had found. He had attacked the camp at night and taken two children prisoners. One child was a girl four or five years old, and the other a baby boy of about nine months. Mr. Vaux had camped on the site of the Jārawa camp and had shots fired at intervals to keep off the Jārawas, but was not attacked. The two men in it were said to have been wounded by the Andamanese who were with Mr. Vaux. The Andamanese shot at the men in the camp, while Mr. Vaux rushed into it. The Andamanese say there were two men, two women and two large boys and some small children.

We waited for Mr. Bonig, who returned about 6-30 P.M. He had seen a party on the shore on his way down the coast and thought it was mine; so went on and then landed and struck into the interior, but found no new traces of Jārawas, and so returned to the shore and came back to the launch soon after sunset.

20th February.—The capture of the girl and baby boy upset all our plans, as it was necessary to take the baby somewhere, where it could be fed. The Andamanese said there was a woman with a baby at Lekerāluntā (Port Anson), so we decided to take the baby there and return to Port Campbell or Bilap and continue our search for Jārawa houses. Left Bājaluntā at 7-30 A.M., and arrived at Lekerāluntā at 1 P.M. The Andamanese woman was out on a hunting trip, and as she was expected back in the evening we waited for her.

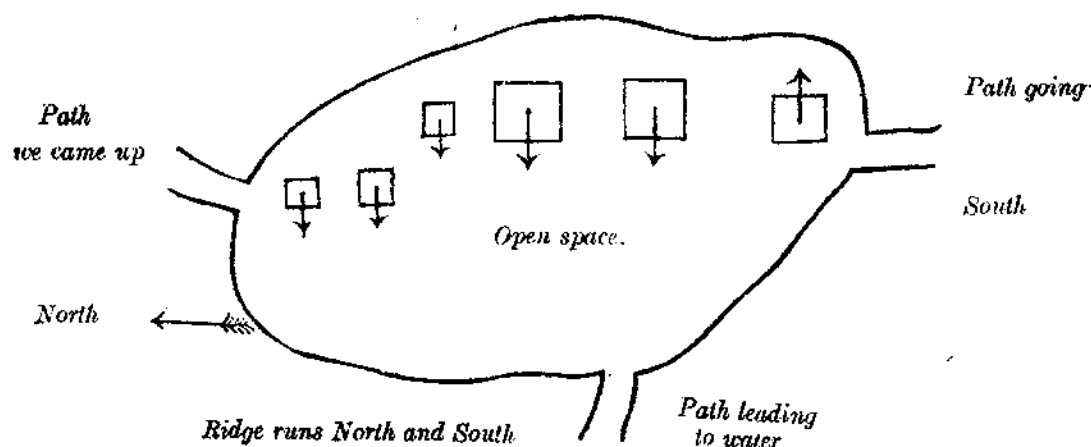
21st February.—As the Andamanese woman with a child did not come back, Mr. Vaux decided that Mr. Bonig should take the two Jārawa children to Port Blair, while myself and Mr. Vaux went to the large Jārawa hut at Pôchāng and looked for the main track south, and that Mr. Bonig was to join us the next morning at Pôchāng.

Weighed anchor at 6-30 A.M. Reached Dum-la-chôrag at 7-30 A.M., disembarked and sent the boat back to the launch. Mr. Vaux, self, servants, 8 policemen and 13 Andamanese landed, while 4 policemen and 4 Andamanese went with Mr. Bonig to Port Blair. The tide was up, so we had considerable difficulty in getting up the estuary to Pôchāng, the site of the large Jārawa hut, which we had discovered on the first expedition. We reached Pôchāng about 1 P.M. and pitched camp a little beyond and above the site of the large Jārawa hut.

22nd February.—Mr. Vaux and self, each accompanied by one policeman and four Andamanese, started off in different directions to look for the main track of the Jārawas from their large hut. We left camp at 7-30 A.M. I followed the stream, from which we got our drinking water, (it flowed a little east of south for half an hour); and then climbed up the ridge,

which we could see south from the camp, running in a generally north and south direction. At 10 minutes past 9 we picked up some old Jārawa tracks in the bed of the stream, and at 9-40 reached a very old disused hunting camp on a ridge to the south of the stream, which there bent to the west. We then crossed the ridge and went south-east, and at 10 o'clock reached another stream flowing south, which we followed, and at 10-10 A.M. reached a salt water stream, which flows to the east of south and probably flows into the Middle Straits. Where we met it, it was about 40 feet wide. This is probably Pāpluntājig.

We turned back from this and went west and turned south at 10-35 A.M., following down a stream which flowed into the same salt water *khārī*, which was here 50 feet wide. We reached the *khārī* the second time at 10-45 A.M. and swam across it. My watch got under water and stopped and my revolver also got wet. We crossed a ridge to the west of the *khārī*, and came into a fresh water stream flowing south which we followed, and soon picked up a well defined track going along the flank of a low ridge with gentle slope going south. We followed along this for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles and came on to a large hunting camp with six huts, which had been recently occupied. The huts were arranged as shown below. The arrows show the entrance into the huts.



The Andamanese were satisfied that this was a hunting camp on the Jārawa path going south and that we should find another large hut, if we continued to march south along the track. Decided to return to Pōchāng as it was about 3 o'clock and consult with Mr. Vaux and find out what he had found. Followed the track, which was most distinct the whole way right back to the Jārawa camp at Pōchāng. Found Mr. Vaux in camp. Mr. Bonig had come and had gone out to look for tracks. Mr. Vaux had not come upon any tracks and we decided to move camp the next day to the camp I had found. Mr. Bonig did not come back this night.

23rd February.—Waited some time for Mr. Bonig, and as he did not return, left a message for him to say where we had gone, and moved our camp to the Jārawa hunting camp that my party had found the day before. Followed along the Jārawa track and reached the camp about 2 P.M. Blazed trees along the track to show Mr. Bonig where we had gone. When we were about one mile from the camp an Andamanese (Daniel) caught us up. He had been sent by Mr. Bonig to tell us that he was going back to Pōchāng, as he thought we were looking for him. Daniel told us that Mr. Bonig had fever and was going back to the launch. About half an hour before nightfall, however, Mr. Bonig arrived. He had felt better when he reached Pōchāng, so came on and joined us, instead of returning to the launch as he had first intended to do.

We came part of the way another route to the Jārawa camp and passed through another camp, which Mr. Bonig had seen yesterday and also found his footprints, so knew that he had come the way we had yesterday. He must have followed the track which led to the camp I found for a long way, and eventually gone off to some other track, where they had found fresh Jārawa tracks; which shows how extremely difficult it is to follow a Jārawa track, even when you have found it. The Andamanese called this camp Gōrlākābang.

24th February.—Left camp about 7-30 A.M. Our party consisted of:—

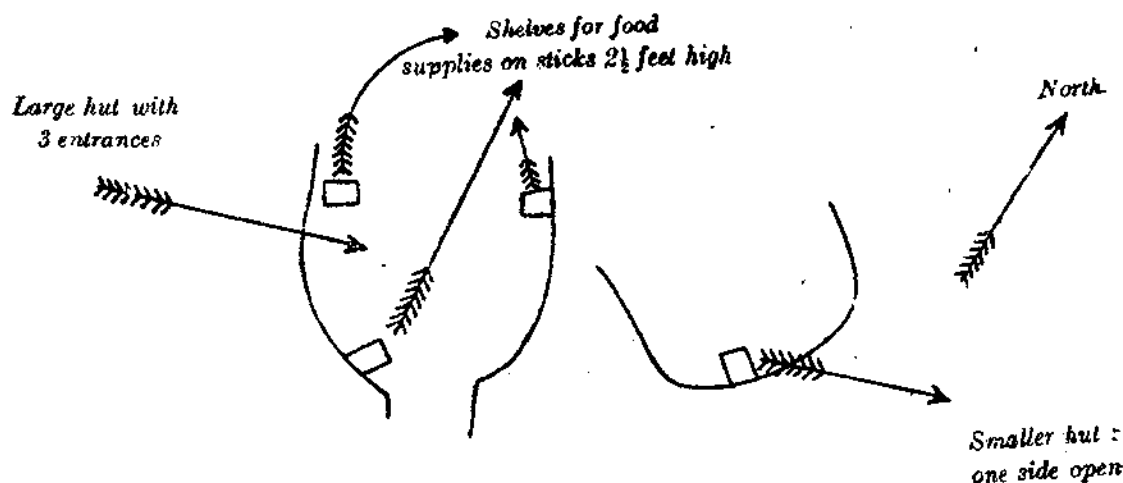
Mr. Vaux.
Mr. Rogers.
Mr. Bonig.
16 Andamanese.

- (1) Henry.
- (2) Golot.
- (3) Magri.
- (4) Daniel.
- (5) Bobby.
- (6) Beala.
- (7) Matthew.
- (8) Wuloga.

- (9) Jack.
- (10) Thomas.
- (11) Arē.
- (12) Dōra.
- (13) Barat.
- (14) David.
- (15) Beabōi.
- (16) Iragud.

One policeman.
My *malla* [boatman] Sher Khan.
Mr. Bonig's servant.
Mr. Vaux's servant.

We first went south with little east in it along a stream, which we then followed up to its source and along a ridge and up a slope to the top of a rounded hill with gentle slopes, the highest hill about. The top of the hill was a bamboo forest. Found a rains hunting camp perched on the summit of the hill, consisting of two huts, one of which was much larger than in the cold weather hunting camps. The huts were arranged as shown below and were under the shade of bamboos.

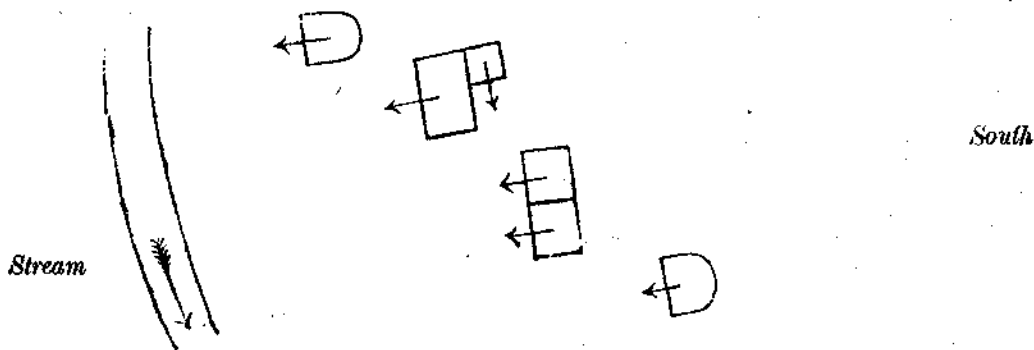


We reached this camp about 9 A.M. The thatching leaves were quite dry, but the roofs were in good order and waterproof. There is no water anywhere near it in the cold weather. David (Andamanese) and two others had come on as far as this camp yesterday while reconnoitring for the path, so took us at a smart walk to it. We then went down the flanks of this hill (shown as an intersected point on the survey map) and followed down a stream some way, and leaving it crossed a ridge and followed down another stream and came upon another hunting camp, which had been recently vacated: the Andamanese said probably about four days before.

On our way to this camp we found some branches bent down in hoops and tied across the path. The Andamanese said this was done to stop the birds from telling us where the Jārawas had gone. In the camp two large stones were tied up with a piece of bark and left in the camp; we were told that this had been done for a similar reason.¹¹

There were six huts in this camp arranged as shown below. The thatching leaves were still green.

Arrows show
entrances to huts



We reached this camp about 10-30 A.M. and went on along the flank of the hill and then down a stream, both going generally south. About 11-30 A.M. we heard the sounds of an axe and also voices, which were Jārawas'. So we at once retired up the stream, while the Andamanese went down a little way to see where the camp was, or if it was a camp. They came back soon after to say there was a camp with six huts and probably eight men belonging to it. So we decided to wait till evening till the men had come home with their bows, arrows, and tools, and to rush the camp when the moon rose, and try and capture a woman to suckle the Jārawa baby Mr. Vaux had taken. It was of no use taking the camp till the men had returned, as they would have their bows, arrows, and tools with them.

We waited till the moon was almost visible and then started down the stream towards the camp. It was too dark, so we soon had to halt until we could see a little better. After two halts we came to a more open place, from which we thought we could see the red glow of the smouldering logs of the Jārawa fires and after a short halt crept on once more. Three Andamanese went first, then came Mr. Vaux holding the hand of an Andamanese. I held Mr. Vaux's hand, Mr. Bonig held mine, the Policeman held his; and so on. We crept down into a depression and then seeing dimly huts in front of us, Mr. Vaux sprang up and rushed forwards to the nearest hut. I followed, passed him and rushed into a hut to the left. The Andamanese behind us fired arrows into the huts, while we were rushing on them. One shot was fired. My *mallah*, Sher Khan, followed me. I caught sight of a figure trying to escape and found that I had secured a woman with a baby. My *mallah* secured another woman with a baby.

Soon after this Mr. Bonig came to me and said that Mr. Vaux was badly wounded and he thought was done for. As soon as I could see some one to whom I could make over the woman I had caught, I went to Mr. Vaux's help, as Mr. Bonig had come to me a second time.

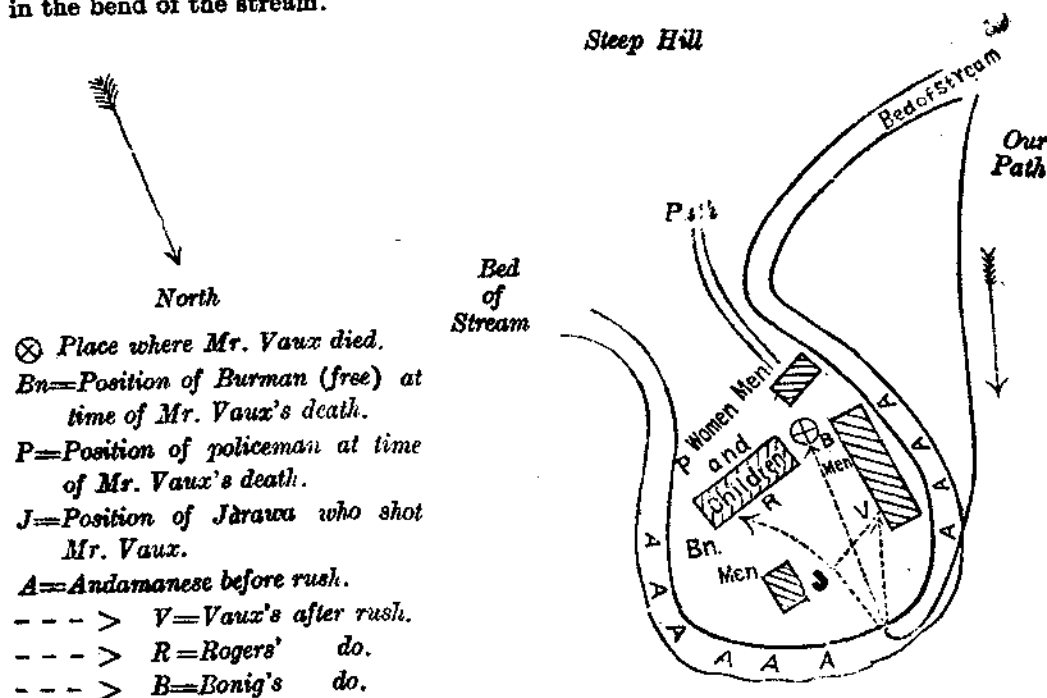
¹¹ This may account for the heavy stones which are found on the bodies of persons murdered by the Jārawas.

Meanwhile the sepoy and Mr. Vaux's Burman (a free man) were firing carbines. I did not use my revolver. When I came to Mr. Vaux I found him in a semi-unconscious state, and he died two minutes afterwards.

When Mr. Vaux had passed away, I stopped the indiscriminate firing of carbines which was going on, secured the prisoners, two women and six children, including two babies, and posted the sepoy on one flank of the camp, some Andamanese to look out all around the camp, and went to the other flank myself, while Mr. Bonig stayed midway between myself and the policeman. The moon was not very bright, so it was impossible to make a thorough search of the huts, nor to make our way back : so I decided to stay where I was till daylight appeared and then to search the camp thoroughly for tools and pots, etc., and if possible to get back to the steam-launch with Mr. Vaux's body. The police sentry stuck to his watch well all through the night. Mr. Bonig, self, and sentry fired shots occasionally to show the Jārawas we were on the alert and to prevent a night attack. The Andamanese gradually all fell asleep and it was very hard to keep any of them awake, but Mr. Bonig, self, policeman, and my *mīllah* kept watch the whole night through. We were not attacked and I was very thankful when the first rays of dawn became apparent.

25th and 26th February.—As soon as it was light enough I sent off two Andamanese to fetch six policemen to help to carry Mr. Vaux's body. We then made a thorough search of the camp and found one axe of European manufacture, several Andamanese adzes, and two rude knives, probably made of dahs, and a number of honeypots, etc., of which we took away as many as we could, as well as all the bows and arrows that we could find.

Daylight showed that the huts were arranged, as shown below, on a flat piece of land in the bend of the stream.



The stream had well defined steep banks from 3 to 6 feet high around the camp ; where we entered it, the bank was about 4 feet high. No dead bodies of Jārawas were found in the camp, and we did not go down the stream to look for them. As it was a very long way from the launch I had to push on as quickly as possible, so as to reach the launch before nightfall. The place where Mr. Vaux was killed is called Wibtāng, and it had taken us three days to get from the launch to this spot. The [Bā] Andamanese know the names

of these places, as they once occupied this country and were driven out of it by the Jārawas, when these last were pushed north by the expansion of the settlement.

Mr. Vaux's body was slung to a strong bamboo and hung down from it and the bamboo was carried by :—(1) the policeman, (2) my *mallah* Sher Khan, (3) Mr. Vaux's Burman, (4) Mr. Bonig's Burman, until the Police met us and after that it was carried by the Police to the coast. The policemen behaved admirably. They met us about half mile to the south of the Rains Camp on the high hill (intersection point on survey map). We left the camp which we had rushed at daybreak, and must have reached the camp where the policemen were left behind about 11 o'clock. The women and children came with us quite cheerfully and willingly, and gave us no trouble.

We halted about quarter of an hour at Gōrlākābang Camp, where we all had some food, while the things were packed up, and then pushed on to Pōchāng Camp, leaving behind us what rations we had not consumed, so as to lighten the loads to be carried as much as possible. About four miles from the Pōchāng Camp Mr. Bonig, who was in the front part of the line, told me that Andamanese Matthew had been shot in the arm by a Jārawa. Shortly before this some of the Andamanese with me told me that they thought they had heard some Jārawas going on ahead.

Mr. Bonig then led the line, while I stayed in the rear with two policemen and three Andamanese, and I put some more policemen in the middle, and after a temporary halt pushed on as fast as we could, keeping all close together and firing at intervals to keep off the Jārawas. I was not told how many Jārawas had been seen and what they had done, so was anxious until we had got right out to the estuary. We reached the estuary of Dumla-chōrag about 5-30 P.M.: so if we consider that we walked $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, which I think we did, we must have covered about 17 miles of country.

The tide was out when we reached the sea coast, and as it was full tide when we had landed, we had considerable difficulty in pulling the boat to the water and getting off through about three-quarters of a mile of soft mud to get the boat afloat. I reached the launch at 7-30 P.M. Mr. Bonig at once started. Crossed the bar at the entrance of the Middle Straits and ran straight down to Port Blair.

(c) *Extract from the Diary of Mr. M. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master,
from the 17th to 28th February 1902.*

17th February.—Left Port Blair 5 P.M. arriving at Macpherson's Strait at 8 P.M.; anchored for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Strait at daybreak for Bājāluntā. Bājā-luntā-lōg is the Andamanese name of the Bay, about 8 miles south of Port Campbell. It is named on the chart Talap-longtā, which the Andamanese informed us to be incorrect. Anchored in this Bay at 10 A.M., and went ashore in the dinghy with six Andamanese, three Police and two Burmans. Landed on the north shore of the Bay, Messrs. Rogers and Vaux and party landing at the mouth of the creek at the head of the Bay.

We found new tracks of Jārawas almost as soon as we landed, and followed them up; the Andamanese also shot a pig which had been previously wounded by Jārawas. When it was getting late in the afternoon we lost the Jārawa tracks, so we cut through the jungle towards the seashore, and followed it. We then came upon a temporary Jārawa encampment, and from it we took away two bamboo water vessels which had been left behind. This is the only Jārawa encampment we found near the seashore, the others all being in the interior.

As it was getting dark and the tide rising, we had a very difficult journey back to the ship; often going up to our necks through the sea. The place was infested with sharks, but we kept them off by shouting constantly. One of them, about 6 feet long, came straight for us and I only just managed to scare it away by jumping on it, touching it with my hands.

The Andamanese refused to come any further with us and they camped, while I with the Police and Burmans went to the boat, which we reached at 10 p.m. Two Andamanese had found their way through the jungle to the boat, so with these went on board and sent the boat back for the remainder. We heard the report of a gun shortly after we came on board. Mr. Rogers arrived with his party at about 12 p.m., Mr. Vaux remaining in the jungle for the night.

19th February.—Mr. Vaux not having arrived this morning, Mr. Rogers went ashore at daybreak, while I followed him about an hour later. After consulting with Mr. Rogers, who was waiting on the shore for Mr. Vaux, it was decided that I should go south a few miles along the shore and then go in the jungle. I accordingly went about four miles down the coast and searched the jungle the whole day. I did not find any new tracks of Jārawas, but a number of old encampments showed that they had frequented this part of the jungle six months ago. On my return to the launch about 7 p.m., I found both Messrs. Rogers and Vaux on board and I was informed that Mr. Vaux had captured two children (one girl and one baby) the night previous, which he had brought on board. Mr. Vaux therefore decided that we should start for Port Anson early the next morning to find an Andamanese woman to nurse the Jārawa baby, which could take no nourishment from us.

20th February.—Left Bājā-luntā for Port Anson at 7.30 A.M., arriving at the latter place about noon. To our great disappointment we found that the Andamanese woman, who was to have nursed the baby was absent in the jungle. We waited for her the whole day. As she did not return, Mr. Vaux decided that I should take the Jārawa children to Port Blair early next morning, while he and Mr. Rogers would encamp at Pôchāng, the site of the Jārawa camp we had found on our previous trip.

21st February.—Left Lokerāluntā at 5.30 A.M. for Dum-la-chôrag where Messrs. Vaux, Rogers and party disembarked. I proceeded to Port Blair, arriving at the latter place about noon. Delivered Mr. Vaux's letter to the Chief Commissioner [Sir R. C. Temple], who ordered that the Jārawa baby was to be taken to the Haddo Home and the little girl was to remain at Government House with the Andamanese woman Topsy. As it was too late to return to Port Anson that afternoon, I decided to leave early next morning, so as to arrive outside Middle Straits at daybreak.

22nd February.—Left Port Blair at 3 A.M., arrived at Port Anson at 7.30 A.M. Anchored the *Belle* at Dum-la-chôrag. Proceeded at once with one Police constable and four Andamanese ashore to Pôchāng. We had great difficulty in getting to the camp, as the mangrove swamp, which we had to cross, was completely under water. Arrived at the camp at about noon. I found that Messrs. Vaux and Rogers had both left in different directions to search for Jārawas. I therefore left the Chief Commissioner's letter for Mr. Vaux with the Police Havildar and went with my party of Police and Andamanese in another direction to search for Jārawas. We soon came across a Jārawa encampment consisting of four huts. We followed the path which led from it further south. Having followed this about four miles, we found fresh tracks of eight Jārawas. We followed these till the evening, and as it was too late to go back to the camp, we remained for the night in the jungle.

23rd February.—Returned to the camp at Pôchāng. On our way the Andamanese informed me that they could see by the foot-marks that both Messrs. Vaux and Rogers had gone further south, most likely to search for our party; so I sent two Andamanese to follow them and to inform them of my return to Pôchāng. On our arrival there at 2 p.m. I found a note from Mr. Vaux tied to a tree, saying that they had proceeded to another camp, six miles further south, and that I was to follow them there, or else to return on board. I followed them and reached the camp at about 5.30 p.m.

24th February.—Left camp at 7-30 A.M. with Messrs. Vaux and Rogers, one policeman, three convict servants and sixteen Andamanese. We followed up the Jārawa track and came on an encampment about 9 o'clock. We proceeded on our way and came on another encampment an hour later. As the Jārawas had apparently only recently left this, we did not disturb it, for fear of disclosing our whereabouts to the Jārawas, should they be in the neighbourhood. After having rested a little while, we proceeded till at about 11 A.M., we heard the Jārawas shouting a short distance ahead. Mr. Vaux then decided to wait till the evening until the Jārawas had gone to sleep and to attack their encampment as soon as the moon rose.

So we waited there the whole day, and when the moon rose we proceeded very slowly to the attack, a few Andamanese going ahead; and Mr. Vaux, Mr. Rogers and myself holding each other's hands so as not to lose ourselves in the dark, slowly crept up to the Jārawa camp. As soon as we got near the camp we waited for a second and when Mr. Vaux passed the word, the Andamanese shouted and shot a number of arrows in the Jārawa huts. Mr. Vaux then at once with his *dak* in his hand rushed to the nearest hut on the left, while Mr. Rogers went to the right and I went straight ahead. When I had advanced a few yards the Andamanese Golat shouted out to me in Hindustāni "*Sāhib baithō; Jārawa tr mārī hai; bandūk mārō* (Sir, sit down; a Jārawa is shooting arrows; fire your revolver):" so I lay down flat on the ground, and not seeing any Jārawa about I fired my revolver in the air. I had not done this before, as Mr. Vaux had previously ordered us not to fire till he passed the word. I then saw several children come out of the hut behind which Mr. Rogers had disappeared. I crept up and secured these with the help of an Andamanese.

I then heard Mr. Vaux shouting out "I am hurt," and turning round I saw him staggering and fall down. I at once went to him and asked him where he was hurt, Mr. Vaux only replied "I am done," and the Andamanese showed me that he was wounded by an arrow in the left side. Mr. Vaux then said "For God's sake take this arrow out." As I saw that the whole of the arrow head had disappeared into his body, I went for Mr. Rogers' assistance. I found Mr. Rogers struggling with a Jārawa woman, and he said that he would come in a second, as he did not wish to let the woman go. I then returned to Mr. Vaux. The Andamanese were just extracting the arrow, and Mr. Vaux asked for Mr. Rogers and myself, and if we could do nothing for him. As Mr. Rogers had not turned up then, I became anxious about him, thinking that the Jārawas might have wounded him also. I went to him again and told him that I thought Mr. Vaux was dying. We both went back to Mr. Vaux, who was only a couple of yards away. We bandaged him up. Mr. Vaux asked for light and water, which we gave him. After this Mr. Vaux fell back and died. We then waited in the Jārawa camp till the morning, firing a gun every half an hour to keep the Jārawas away.

25th and 26th February.—As soon as the day broke we gathered together the bows and arrows the Jārawas had left behind, and made arrangements for carrying Mr. Vaux's body. Having done this, we started back for the launch with it and the six Jārawa children and two women we had captured. Mr. Rogers sent two Andamanese ahead to go to the camp and tell the Havildar of Police to send six policemen to carry Mr. Vaux's body. We reached the camp about noon and after having packed all our things we proceeded, I going ahead and Mr. Rogers bringing up the rear. As I thought the launch would have no steam I sent some Andamanese and a free Burman with a gun ahead to inform the syrang [Indian mate] to have the launch ready to proceed to Port Blair that evening.

We had not advanced more than a few hundred yards when we heard the report of a gun; and directly afterwards caught up the party we had sent in advance. We then saw that the Andamanese Matthew had been wounded by a Jārawa, who had hidden behind a

tree in front of him. The Burman had at once fired the gun and two Jārawas had escaped in the jungle, one of them leaving a bundle of fish arrows behind. The arrow which wounded Matthew was an iron-pointed one, which had wounded a Jārawa during the attack on the camp and had been extracted from the wounded man and fired at Matthew. This shows that they had not any iron-pointed arrows left with them. We must have secured all the iron arrows they had.

Without further accident we reached the boats. To our further disappointment we found that the dinghy had sunk in the creek, most likely having been caught under the mangrove roots, and all the oars had floated away. We floated the dinghy again and reached the ship at 5-30 P.M. Mr. Rogers came about an hour later, his boat having been left by the tide high and dry in the mangrove swamp. After everybody had come on board we started for Port Blair, arriving at the latter place about midnight.

III.

Visit to the Middle Straits to set at Liberty Captive Jarawa Women and Children.

Diary of Mr. C. Gilbert Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Andamans Division, from the 11th to 14th March 1902.

11th March.—Left Port Blair in the steam launch *Belle*, accompanied by Mr. Bonig, some Andamanese and six Military Policemen and the two Jārawa women, each with a child, and three girls at 8 A.M. The names of the Jārawa captives whom we were taking back to release are, so far as we can gather, as follows:—*Women*—Wātāngemai, Tijê Buluwa; *Infants* (boys) Atu-to-anê, Wôtâma-tamanê; *Girls*—Tijê-tāng, Etêlê Orlai. The last-named girl came from the Bājāluntā Hunting Camp, the others from the Wibtāng Camp. The two boys from the Wibtāng Camp, sons of Wātāngemai, and the infant from the Bājāluntā Camp, whom the women would not take away, we left behind in Port Blair.

We reached Dūratāng at 10 A.M. and landed the Jārawas to see the Andamanese Home and also to get some yams for them and then proceeded up the Middle Strait. The whole of the country on either side of the Middle Strait seemed familiar to them and they made signs that they would like to be landed near the Pāpāluntā Jig, but this we did not do.

We proceeded straight to Dumlachōrag, anchored, and putting the Jārawas into a boat and taking an escort of Andamanese and four policemen, rowed up the creek and landed the Jārawas as near to the Pôchāng Jārawa Camp as the creek would allow of our doing. We took them a short distance across a mangrove swamp on to a low ridge, where we made a fire for them. We also made shelters with the blankets we had given them, deposited what we would carry of the yams, beads, red cloth, cocoanuts, earthenware, cooking pots and a bucket of drinking water and left them.

Near the boat we found some plantains and cocoanuts which had accidentally been left behind. I returned with these to the camp accompanied by some policemen and Andamanese. The women did not run away when they saw us coming back, but smiled when they saw what had brought us. While we were away the baby had upset the drinking water. They made signs to us that they could get some near by and asked us to break some cocoanuts for them. This we did and left them.

We then returned to the steam launch *Belle* and proceeded to Port Anson, where we anchored for the night.

12th March.—Left Port Anson at 7-20 A.M. for Dumlachōrag; anchored there, and proceeded in a boat with Police and Andamanese escort to the ridge, where we had left the liberated Jārawas yesterday. Reached the camp about 9 A.M. Found the camp empty. The fires were still burning. The women and children had gone away with as much of the

presents and food as they could carry. They had taken with them all the beads, most of the red cloth, one set of earthenware cooking pots, all the cocoanuts, and as much food as they could carry, and would doubtless return with their men for the remainder of the things. We then returned to Dumlachôrag and proceeded to Port Anson and went outside and salvaged a teak log and a numbered padouk square, which were stranded on the West Coast of the Middle Andamanas. Stayed the night at Port Anson.

13th March.—Left Port Anson at 6 A.M., and steamed down to Shoal Bay. Anchored a little way up Shoal Bay Creek at 10 A.M., and proceeded in a boat to Jâtâng. Returned to Shoal Bay on the ebbing tide and dropped down to Dûratâng, where we anchored for the night. Inspected the Andamanese Home.

14th March.—Steamed down to the mouth of the Pirij Creek in the early morning. Found Daniel and three Andamanese and three sepoy of the Military Police. They had been hunting for the three Burmese runaways, who had attacked the self-supporters near Kâlâtâng not long before, but they had failed to catch them. They had come across two places where they had camped, but state that they skilfully mix their trail with those of the self-supporters and convicts working in the forest, and that in consequence they had eluded pursuit.

Returned to the launch and started for Port Blair. Reached Ross at 12 noon and reported my arrival to the Chief Commissioner.

IV.

List of Jarawa Articles taken by Mr. P. Vaux from the Hunting Camp at Bâjâluntâ on 19th February 1902.

- 1 Honey pot, empty.
- 1 Do. with resin and cyrena shells.
- 1 Do. with honey edibles and prepared bees'-wax.
- 2 Pottery vessels.
- 5 Net bags, empty.
- 1 Do. with 2 packets red ochre in palm leaves and fibres for binding arrows.
- 1 Packet honeycomb.
- 2 Baskets, cane.
- 2 Andaman adzes, made out of *dahs*.
- 1 *Basûla*, new, of Forest Department marked with $\frac{3}{2}\Delta$ (broad arrow). Stolen on 22nd November 1901.
- 1 Bowstring.
- 2 Bows.
- 92 Bamboo-shaft and wooden-pointed fish-arrows.
- 92 Do. iron-pointed fish-arrows.
- 3 Barbed iron pig-arrows.
- 16 Bamboo arrow-shafts.

V.

List of Jarawa Articles taken by Mr. C. G. Rogers, from the Hunting Camp at Wîbtâng on 24th February 1902.

- 6 Honey pots, empty.
- 1 Do. with fibre.
- 1 Do. with fibre in honey and child's wooden feeding brush.
- 5 Andaman adzes, of sizes.
- 1 Axe, European head.
- 2 Knife blades made of *dahs*.

- 1 Adze head—European make.
- 1 Honey pot with king-crow chaplet, 2 bowstrings, 2 string cards, 2 pieces of resin, and 5 shells.
- 1 Palm leaf containing netting materials in net.
- 7 Empty nets.
- 1 Net containing 2 pots of pigment for pig arrows.
- 1 Do. 2 pieces of iron and 4 shells for pigment.
- 1 Packet red ochre.
- 1 Net containing 2 pieces of iron and 2 small nets.
- 1 Piece of hollowed wood, containing red ochre prepared for arrow heads
- 7 Iron-headed arrows.
- 2 Pots.
- 96 Bamboo wooden-headed fish-arrows.
- 8 Bows.
- 5 Arrow-shafts.
- 5 Pig-arrows, iron.
- 1 Iron arrow head.

VI.

Report by Mr. C. G. Rogers, dated the 19th May 1902, on Jarawa captives while at Port Blair.

An infant boy and a little girl, called Orlai, captured by the late Mr. Vaux near Bajaluntā (Talaplontā of the maps) were brought to Port Blair by Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, on the 21st February 1902. The little girl, Orlai, had a very pronounced squint in her left eye. She was kept at Government House until the 26th February, when she was allowed to join the other Jarawa captives, who were taken at Wibtang on the night of the 24th February and reached Port Blair on the 26th in the *Belle* in the charge of Messrs. Rogers and Bonig. The captives taken at Wibtang comprised two women and six children including two babies. They were kept at first in the hospital at Haddo and after that in the Haddo Andamanese Home, as they got out of the hospital one morning early and were found at the *ghāt* [landing place] evidently trying to escape. After this they were placed definitely in the charge of Luke [Andamanese] and the watchman at the Home and did not again try to escape.

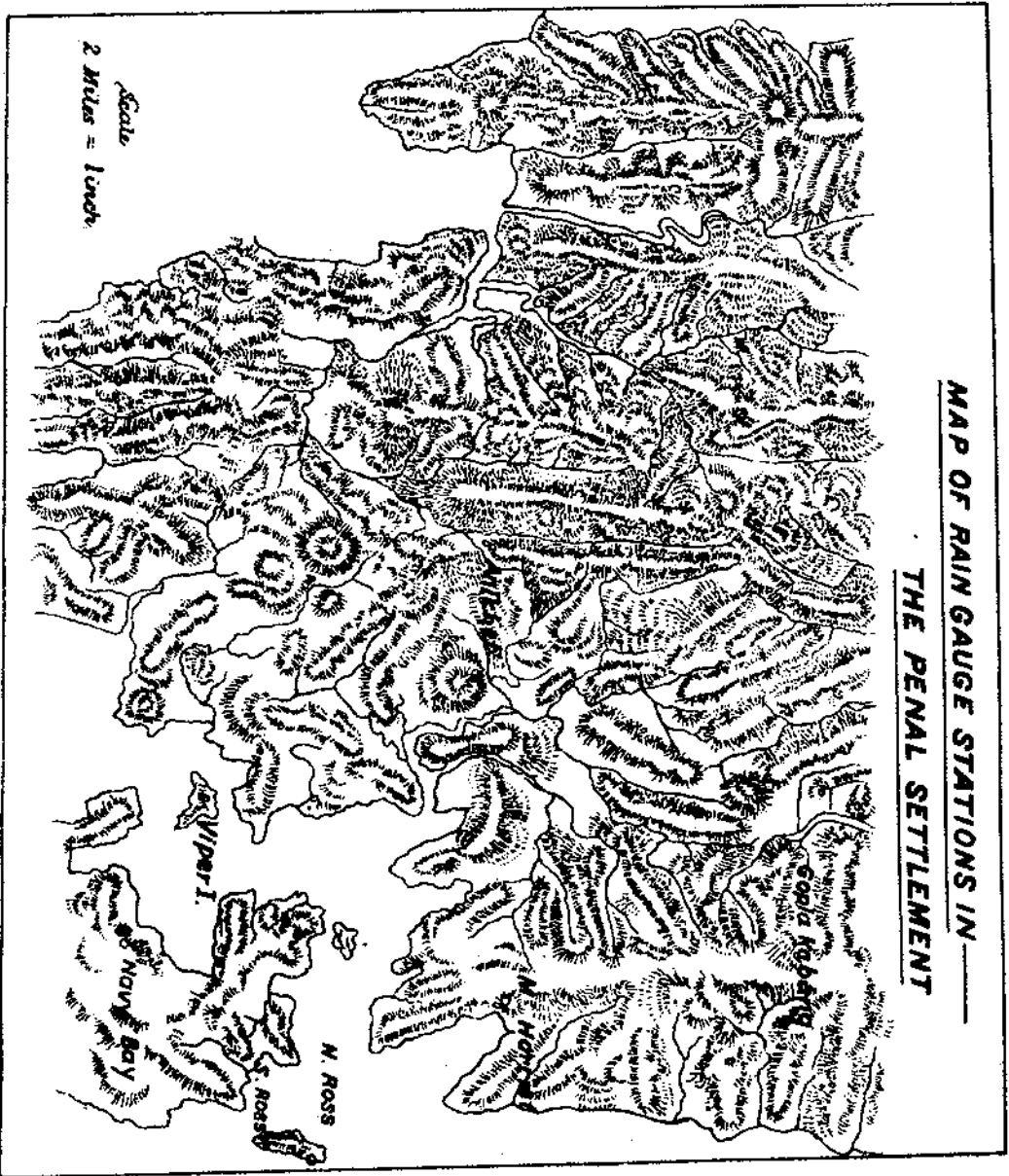
The Jarawas would not touch rice, or any of the rations supplied to the Andamanese, nor would they smoke. They were fed on yams, fish, pig's flesh, when it could be obtained for them, and crabs. They cooked their food very thoroughly before eating it. They were very fond of cocoanuts, when they were given them, and had evidently eaten them before. They drank water, but did not care for either milk or tea. They did not like sugar or anything sweet. They would not touch honey from the Andamanese store, which had fermented slightly, but liked fresh honey in the honey-comb. The friendly Andamanese could not understand a word of the Jarawa language nor could the Jarawas understand the Andamanese; they made themselves understood to a certain extent by signs. While the captives were at Port Blair we only learnt what we believe to be their names and a few words for the food they eat.

The Jarawas were quite friendly and evidently felt that they would be well treated. Mr. Bonig and myself went to see them almost every evening while they were in Port Blair and took them out for walks, and they looked forward to our visits and the women usually took our arms, while the children clung to us. While they were in Port Blair we took them over Ross, Phoenix Bay Workshops and Chatham Sawmills. They evinced no astonishment at what they saw, but some fright. They do not seem capable of evincing pronounced emotions of any kind, either of grief or astonishment or pleasure. On the 10th March

I took the Jārawas to see the two companies of the West Riding Regiment fire at the Ranges. We first went to the firing points and saw volleys fired from 1,700, 1,500 and 1,100 yards, and then went into the butts, while the men fired at and broke a *ghara* [earthenpot] filled with water, and put bullets through a kerosine oil tin and through a hat. I showed them all this carefully and they thoroughly understand what a rifle can do and that it causes death. When we landed the Jārawas at Dum-la-Chôrag I killed a flying-fox, which flew over the boat as we were rowing up the creek, and showed them the shot holes in it and they examined these carefully and must now associate death with the discharge of a gun.

The Jārawas also visited Lamba Line Village and were hospitably entertained by the (Native Indian) villagers, who clothed them and entertained them with music. The Jārawas and villagers passed their babies from one to another, and evidently enjoyed themselves, as they laughed and talked and seemed quite pleased.

On the evening of the 10th March I took some photographs of the Jārawas. On the 11th March Mr. Bonig and self took the two women, two babies and four girls back to Pôchâng, keeping the two boys, as ordered, here. The boys were very sorry to leave their parent. They were brothers. We took the Jārawas to the Dûratâng Andamanese Home on Kyd Island on the way. Before leaving the women at Pôchâng we made signs to them that we would bring the two boys back to the place where we left them.



THE SCATTERGOODS AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(Continued from vol. LII.)

V.

JOHN SCATTERGOOD JUNIOR, FREE MERCHANT, HIS MERCANTILE CAREER
IN THE EAST, 1698—1723.

John Scattergood Junior, only son of John Scattergood and Elizabeth Radcliffe,¹⁶³ was born in 1682, shortly after his father's death. While very young he was sent to England, most likely about the time of his mother's second marriage with Richard Trenchfield,¹⁶⁴ a factor in the Company's service at Fort St. George, Madras. There is no record of the baptism of the child nor of his mother's remarriage, nor has any information been unearthed regarding his early years. He was probably placed under the care of some member of the Scattergood or Radcliffe family, who was responsible for him. He is first mentioned in the India Office Records in October 1697,¹⁶⁵ as a youth "born in India and sent hither for his better education," to whom permission was granted to sail in one of the Company's ships to India, "he paying only the charges of his transportation." The usual permission fee was possibly remitted on account of his father's service under the Company.

The three ships sent out to Madras and Bengal in 1697-8 were the *Martha*, the *Fame* and the *Anna*. In the *Martha* went Thomas Pitt, the newly-appointed Governor of Fort St. George, previously a hated "interloper" and subsequently remembered in connection with the "Pitt Diamond." The young John Scattergood either sailed in the *Martha* or the *Fame*, for the *Anna* went direct to Bengal without touching at Fort St. George. The log of the *Fame* is the only one of the three ships extant,¹⁶⁶ and from it we learn that the vessels left the Downs on 10 February 1697-8, and having made a brief stay at St. Jago (Santiago), one of the Cape Verde Islands, sailed straight for Madras without putting in at the Cape. On 8 July 1698 the *Fame*, which arrived two days after the *Martha*, saluted the Fort with 15 guns, says the log, and "they returned us 13 in answer and wee gave them 1 for thanks."

At Fort St. George John Scattergood found his mother and his stepfather in residence, with their younger children, the two elder, Elihu and Elizabeth, having been sent to England in the *Sidney* in the previous January. Richard Trenchfield had been dismissed the Company's service in 1688 on account of his violent antagonism to Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, but had been permitted to remain in India as a freeman and was thus able to trade within certain prescribed limits.

Less than a month after his arrival in Madras, John Scattergood was placed under Captain William How, master of a country trading vessel, bound to Bengal. How had been in India for at least twenty years and had made many such voyages on behalf of free merchants and the Company's servants. He engaged the lad at Rs. 24 (£2 12s.) per month.

John Scattergood's remarkable commercial aptitude showed itself at once. No sooner did he enter Captain How's employ than he began to keep an account of his receipts and disbursements, and it is owing to the preservation of the memoranda given below that his movements for the first eighteen months after his arrival in India can be ascertained. Captain How's *Elizabeth*, a vessel of 300 tons, sailed from Madras on 4 August 1698, and on 1 September Scattergood's entries are dated in Bengal.

1. [NOTES OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS BY JOHN SCATTERGOOD, 1698, 1699.]

		Madras 1698.		Rups. A. P.	
July 30th	.. In Money I have for Traffick occasions	..	..	672.	— .
Augt. 1	.. Received of Capt. How the Summe of seventy Rupees and half being for three months wages	..	..	70.	8. —
	Bought a half a hogshead of Goa Arrack to send to England to Mrs. Mounk	..	..	17.	8. —

¹⁶³ See Vol. LII, Supplement, p. 27.¹⁶⁵ Court Book, XXXVII, 414.¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.¹⁶⁶ *Marine Records, Logs*, Vol. CXI.

Bengall 1698—1698/9.				Rups.	A.	P.
Sept. 1	..	Bought my boy some cloth and mak[ing]	.. .. .	3.	—	—
6	..	Bought a sett of boles of Dr. Warrain	.. .. .	8.	—	—
20	..	Sold to Coja Surhaud a pair of Pistolls	.. .. .	70.	—	—
	..	Bought two pair of Madrass Stockings	.. .. .	3.	—	—
Oct. 11	..	Bought Severall things at Mr. Mungar's Outery	.. .. .	16.	—	—
	..	Paid the Washerman for two months washing my Cloth	.. .. .	1.	—	—
	..	Bought Six pair of Shooes	.. .. .	1.	—	—
	..	Munseur Tarverneers Travills of Mr. Radshaw	.. .. .	6.	—	—
Nov. 1st	..	A Pair of stookings	.. .. .	1.	8.	—
	..	A Ream of Paper of Mr. Bugden	.. .. .	6.	—	—
	..	Two months pockett expences	.. .. .	12.	—	—
	..	Paid my seryants two months wages	.. .. .	5.	—	—
20	..	Given to Mr. Winders boy for looking after me when sick	.. .. .	4.	—	—
Dec. 1	..	Paid Mr. Willis for a Case	.. .. .	7.	—	—
	..	Paid the Washerman two months wages	.. .. .	1.	—	—
7	..	Paid the Doctor for looking after my boy when sick	.. .. .	6.	—	—
10	..	Received of Captain Mabb a corge of Romalls as an adven- Valued at	.. .. .	70.	—	—
	..	Received of Captain How the Summe of an hundred and twenty Rupees being for 5 months wages at 24 Rs. Per month	.. .. .	120.	—	—
28	..	Paid Mr. Winder for sundry goods sent to England as Presents	.. .. .	47.	—	—
1698/9						
Jan. 1	..	Paid the Doctor	.. .. .	40.	—	—
	..	Two months pockett expences	.. .. .	16.	—	—
3	..	Bought Sundry goods of Mr. Beards Bannian for Persia vizt.	.. .. .			
			Rs.			
		Romalls 3 Corge @ 75 Rs. Per Corge	.. .. .	225.		
		Shaulbafts 7co[veds]. 10 long & 2 br. @ 37.8	.. .. .	262.	8.	
		Elachees 6.14 & 1½ br. @ 22.7 Rs.	.. .. .	135.	—	
		Sooses 10 p[ie]ce[s]. @ 6 Rs. Per Ps.	.. .. .	60.	—	
				682.	8.	
		Charges Marchandize	.. .. .	8.	2.	
				690.	10.	
		Gained by Dustore	.. .. .	10.	10.	680.
		Received of Mr. Winder as an adven- 7 ps. of Sooses and 6 of Chucklaes.				
		Received of Mr. Wind[er] Sundry good[s] on Account of my father Mr. Richard Trenchfield as Per Invoice valued at with all Charges	.. .. .	200.	6.	—
10	..	Bought some cloths and severall odd things for my voyage to Persia	.. .. .	51.	8.	—

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 1.]

Entry 1 August. Arrack, rice-spirit ('araq). That obtained from Goa was noted at this period.

Entry 5 September. Dr. Warrain. William Warren, surgeon to the Factory at Calcutta from February 1704, notorious for his marriage with Elizabeth Binns, a widow, while his wife was still alive in England (See Wilson, *Early Annals*, I. 201).

Entry 20th September. Coja Surhaud. Khwāja Isrāil Sarhād, an influential Armenian merchant, who was employed in 1714-1717 to accompany the Embassy of John Surman to the Court of Farrukhsiyar.

Entries 11 October. Mr. Munger's outcry. The auction of the effects of John Monger, a writer in the Company's service, who died on 7 October.

Monseur Taverneers Travells. The Travels of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, an English translation of which had been published in 1684.

Mr. Radshaw. George Redshaw, a merchant in the Company's service, later Charges-General-Keeper at Calcutta.

Entry 1 November. Mr. Bugden. William Bugden, Company's servant, who later on filled the offices of Secretary and Collector at Calcutta. He died in 1700 (*Early Annals*, I. 363-4).

Entry 20 November. Mr. Winder. Jonathan Winder, Company's servant and Member of Council.

Entry 10 December. Corge of Romalls. Score of *rūmāl*, kerchiefs (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Corge).

Entries 3 January. Mr. Beards Bannian. John Beard's *baniyā*, Hindu trader. John Beard, then Second of Council, became President of Bengal in 1701.

Shaulbafts. *Shālbāft*, woven cloth for shawls; *bāfta*, cotton cloth, made especially at Broach.

Elachees. *Alācha*, *ilācha*, silk cloth, with a wavy pattern.

Sooses. *Sūsī*, silk cloth.

Dustore. *Dastūr*, commission.

Chucklaes. *Chakla*, silk and cotton cloth.

On the day when the last entry was made in the above account, 10 January 1698/9, the *Elizabeth* sailed for Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbās), where John Scattergood probably disposed of the piece-goods on which he had expended the money entrusted to him for "traffick." There is no record of this, nor of his first voyage to Persia, among the *Scattergood Papers*, but from the *Records of Fort St. George* we learn that the *Elizabeth* returned to Madras in August 1699, two months after the death of Richard Trenchfield. Thenceforward John Scattergood's name appears in the "List of Seafaring men, not constant inhabitants" of Fort St. George, shewing that he was continuing to make trading voyages from that place. In 1704 he was at Tuticorin, on the south-east coast of Madras, with Captain Henry Harnett, who, like Captain William How, was commander of a "country" ship, that is, one making voyages from port to port in India, independently of, but countenanced by, the Company. Harnett had already commanded the *George*, the *Anne*, the *Sidgwick* and the *Goodwill* in voyages to Bencoolen, Bengal and Malacca and it is not unlikely that John Scattergood had accompanied him to the latter place in 1703. He was now master of the *Goodhope* and apparently sailed from Tuticorin to Anjengo on the Malabar coast, taking letters to the Chief of that factory, and thence to Persia, whence he returned to Madras, as the *Fort St. George Diary* records, in June 1705. There is no direct mention of John Scattergood as a companion of Harnett on this voyage, but the following account showing his interest in the cargo of the vessel and the details of goods consigned to him and the master of the *Goodhope* is evidence that he acted as supercargo.

2. [ACCOUNTS, &c., PERSIA VOYAGE, 1705.]

Gombroons the 9th May 1705.

Invoice of cost and charges of one hundred bales of Ruinass and fifty chests Shirash wine Freight on ship *Goodhope*, Captain Henry Harnett Commander, being on the proper

Account and resque of William Lee Merchant in Gombroone and goes consigned to Captain Henry Harnott and Mr. John Scattergood att Madrass, being markt and number'd as per Margent, and particulars as followeth vizt.

Shas. Coz.

Ruinass 100 bales each qt. 20 mds. tabrs. at Sha. 437.5 coz. pr bale is. 43750.

Charges vizt.

Skinning each bale 10 Sha.	1000.	-.		
Freight Sh. 44 pr bale	4400.	-.		
boathire and hamg :	100.	-.	5500.	49250. -

Shirash Wine for 50 chests each qt. 10 flasks vizt.

40 chests Ashce at Sha. 140 per chest is.. ..	5600.	-.		
10 chests Shirash or Amboree at Sha. 120 ea. ..	1200.	-.	6800.	

Charges vizt.

matting each chest Sha. 2 is	100.	-.		
Freight Sha. 42 each	2100.	-.		
Boathire and hamg :	50.	-.	2250.	9050. -.
			Shas.	58300. -.

Errors Excepted

By WILLIAM LEE.

Laden on board Ship *Goodhope* Captain Henry Harnott Commander by William Lee merchant in Gombroone, one hundred bales of ruinass and fivety chests of wine being markt and numbered as per margent, and are to be Delivered (the Danger of the Sea's excepted) to Captain Henry Harnott and Mr. John Scattergood att Madrass ; for true performance thereof I have signed to two bills of this tenour and Date, one being accomlisht the other to be void and of none Effect, dated in Gombroon the 9th May 1705.

Insides and contents unknown.

HENRY HARNETT.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 2.]

The goods mentioned are : "ruinass," *rûnâs*, madder, and wine of "Shirash" (Shiraz), "Ashce" (? Ashu) and Amboree (? Ambar).

The terms for the coinage weights and measures, &c., are those of Persia, viz.

Shas., i.e., shahee, *shâhi*, c. 4d.

Coz., i.e., cosbeague, *ghâzbeği*, 10 of which went to a *shâhi*.

Qt. is the seventeenth and early eighteenth century abbreviation for "containing" or "content."

Mds. tabrs., i.e., maunds Tabreez, *man* of Tabriz, c. 5½ lb. (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* and Fryer, ed. Crooke, II. 139, for the above.)

Hamg., i.e., hamallage, portorage, Ar. *hâmil*, porter.

William Lee appears to have been a free merchant residing at Gombroon.

Besides the foregoing there is a statement of account of goods freighted in the *Goodhope* by Ralph Sheldon, member of Council in Bengal. It is dated Calcutta 29 November 1705, and endorsed "An Account Current between Mr. Sheldon and myself" (John Scattergood), but it contains nothing of special interest.

In 1706-7 Scattergood continued his commercial relations with Persia, for accounts exist among the *Papers* showing that he was trading with money entrusted to him and Thomas Lovell, a merchant at Isfahân, by Governor Thomas Pitt and Padre Lewis, chaplain at Fort St. George, and that he was also interested in the cargoes of the ships *Monsoon* and *Ralph* and

Betty trading from Calcutta to Surat. The investments were made in "Bulgar hides" (leather from Bolghâr on the Volga), Persian carpets and "Agula wood" (eagle-wood, aloes-wood).

On 16 August 1706 John Scattergood married, at St. Mary's, Fort St. George, Arabella, widow of Francis Forbes, Company's servant in Surat (who died in 1704), and daughter of John Burniston, late Deputy-Governor of Bombay. On the death of the latter, in 1705, his widow, Carolina, removed to Madras with her family, and thus her son-in-law eventually became possessor of many interesting documents relating to the Forbes and Burniston families.

A few months after his marriage John Scattergood made another voyage to Persia and remained there for about a year, so that he was not present at the baptism of his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, in June 1707. During his absence also, his mother, Elizabeth Trenchfield sailed for England, taking the rest of her family with her. By this date John Scattergood had become a merchant of considerable standing, carrying out sales of goods on behalf of various traders, Hindu and English. He had dealings with the Seths, the great commercial house at Calcutta, with members of Council in Madras and Bengal, with free merchants and their wives. The commodities disposed of at this period were chiefly cotton piece-goods of Bengal and the Coromandel Coast, which found a ready market in Persia.

Wherever he happened to be, John Scattergood at once mastered the intricacies of the coinage of the place. Thus, on his arrival at Fort St. George, he made his entries in pagodas and fanams; at Calcutta he changed to rupees and annas, and in Persia his accounts were kept in mahmudis and shahis. There is a fine collection of the "Persia Accounts" in 1707-8, and from them we learn that Scattergood was at Gombroon in April 1707 and that in May he went to Isfahân with Peter Curgenven, a connection by marriage of Governor Thomas Pitt. Here he appears to have remained for several months, journeying back to Gombroon in February to May 1708.

On this occasion he kept a diary, the only one found among the *Papers*. The journal, although it covers no new ground, is nevertheless valuable for the following reasons. It is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the only early eighteenth century account extant of such a journey. It contains full details of the prices of provisions and the rates of hire and wages of that period.

Of the seventeenth century travellers who have left their record of the road from Isfahân to Gombroon, only two, John Struys (in 1672) and Dr. John Fryer (in 1678), followed the same route as Scattergood, who travelled from Yezdikhast to Shirâz, *via* Abâdeh and Sîvand, while Herbert in 1627, Jean de Thevenot in 1665, Tavernier in 1666, as well as Fryer in an earlier journey in 1677, all followed the more frequented route by Deh-i-Kurd and Kûshk-i-Zard.

Fryer's journeys have been ably edited by Dr. Wm. Crooke for the Hakluyt Society and his notes have been of great assistance in the identification of Scattergood's place names.

It is worthy of remark that all six travellers started either from Isfahân or Gombroon in January or February. Fryer alone undertaking similar journeys at different seasons, viz., in June-August 1677 and April-July of 1678.

The journal itself is that of an unromantic business man. There are no vivid descriptions of scenery, no pen-paintings of the persons encountered or of the dangers escaped. There is only a sober record of the events of each day, with comments on the excellence, or otherwise, of the inns at the various halting places, and minute entries of the expenses incurred.

It has been thought best to give the *Diary* before the Gombroon to Isfahân Accounts so that the complete expense of the journey can be appreciated at once. But before printing the journal a short historical note on the Persia of Scattergood's day is needful.

Persia was then under the Safavi ("Great Sophie") Dynasty, which was drawing to its close. Founded by the great Shâh Ismâ'il (1499-1524), who made Tabriz his capital, it was carried on with much magnificence and some skill by his immediate successor, Shâh Tahmasp (1524-1578), on whose death succeeded twenty years of anarchy, until another great Shâh arose in the person of Shâh 'Abbâs I (1586-1628), reigning at Kazvin and Isfahân, to keep the country in order. But Persia was unfortunate in his three successors, Shâh Sûfi, Shâh 'Abbâs

II and Shâh Sulaimân (1628-1694), who, while keeping up the old magnificence of the Court at Isfahân, and through their subordinate officials also the internal peace established by Shâh 'Abbâs II, were really incapable rulers who lost much of their kingdom to intruders.

The ruler in Scattergood's time was Shâh Husain (1694-1729), deliberately selected by his Court to succeed Shâh Sulaimân for his pacific temperament. For twenty years after his accession Persia was still kept in profound peace, but the Dynasty was nevertheless distinctly on its decline, and about 1714 there commenced the Afghan aggressions which overwhelmed the whole country between 1722 and 1725. Between the latter date and 1729 the Afghans misruled an unhappy land till the celebrated Nâdir Shâh set up the old Dynasty again, but it did not last long, and in 1736 Nâdir Shâh was himself proclaimed ruler and saviour of his adopted country, whereon the once mighty Safavi Dynasty came to an inglorious end.

However, at the date of Scattergood's *Diary* Persia was still enjoying the internal peace procured for her by the Safavis, who were all well affected towards Christians and Europeans, then allowed an access to an Oriental Muhammadan country which was extraordinarily free.

PERSIA DIARY 1707/8.¹⁶⁷

[*John Scattergood's Journal of his Journey from Isfahân to Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbâs), 1707/8.*]

5 February 1707/8. Departed from Spahaune [Isfahân] the 5th February at 3 afternoon. Came to Mayer about 9 at night, being 8 Farsangs; good way except the Yerchan hills and that but small; an extraordinary caravensaroy, very [every] thing plenty, but no good water being a little brackish. Messrs. Wildon, Mr. Foulks and Peter Lillye in Company.

6 [February]. Stayed at Mayer being snowey weather.

7 [February]. In the morning, about 7 a'clock sett out for Comashaw. In the way Mr. Weldon rideing after an antelope fell down, horse and man, and hurt himself, but not dangerous. Came to our mansell about 12 at noon. Here is a good towne where may have all manner of eatables. From Mayer to Comashaw is a fine garden, a Coffee house, fine tanke full of fish, some with gold rings in their noses. The place is called Shaw Rasay after a Persian saints name.

About 5 in the Evening tooke leave of Messrs. Weldon and Foulkes, the former being abed by reason of his fall. Peter Lillye came with me to Muchsawbeggu, where arived about 10 at night, being 4 farsangs, good way; a bad caravensaroy, may have all things for a Traveller.

My expences here :

	Shas.
4 mds. Tabs. barley at 1 shas. per md.	4. 0.
4 mds. do. Straw at 4 goss per md.	1. 6.
to the Caravensaddar for Coffee &c.	4. 0.
6 mds. Tabs. wood	3. 0.
Oyle for lamp	4. .

13. -. 13. -.

8 [February]. At 6 in the morning sett out for Yudacoss; very cold, a great dele of snow and ice in the way; good way, a little stoney. Arrived here at 12 at noon with a Coffala. This is a large town in a bottom. Here is good caravensaroy: may have all things, but especially good bread, for which this place is famous.

Expences :

5 mds. barley 5 shas. stray [straw] 9 mds. 3.6	8. 6.
meat 1.5, Wood 8 mds. 3.2, Gerah for 4 servants for 3 days past at 1 shas. per dien	12. -.

20. 6. 20. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Remarks on the places and persons mentioned, necessary identifications and notes on coinage, &c., will be found at the end of the *Journal*.

9 [February]. About 7 in the morning sett out for Sagrestone, 6 farsangs ; good way ; a fine large plain, hills on each side full of snow, extreme cold ; the Cafala goeing this way, being something hotter than the way by Cuscazar, being told at Yezadacess that three men died goeing Cuscazar way by the extreamity of cold. Arrived at our Stage about 2 afternoon : a good Caravensaroy &c.

4½ mds. barley 4½ shas. 8 md. straw 3.2	..	..	..	..	7. 7.
10 mds. wood at 4 goz per md. 4 shas. Oyle 8 goss..	..	..	..	..	4. 8.
Gerah	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
					16. 5. 16. 5.

10 [February]. About 8 set out for Obadah, 6 farsangs ; plain way. Came to our mansell about 1 afternoon ; very bad Caravensaroy, but a large village where may have all things.

4½ mds. barley, 4½ shas. 8 mds. Straw, 3.2	..	..	..	..	7. 7.
4 mds. wood, 1 shas. Eggs, 8 goz.	..	..	..	..	1. 8.
Oyle, 4 goz. rader, 2 shas. Gerah, 4 shas.	..	..	..	..	6. 4.
					15. 9. 15. 9.

11th [February]. Set out about 7 in the morning for Surma, 5 farsangs ; fine plain way ; came thro a great many villages ; at noon arrived at our mansell ; large village but bad caravensaroy.

4½ mds. barley at 8 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	3. 6.
8½ mds. straw at 2 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	1. 7.
8 mds. wood at 4 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	3. 2.
3 fowles, 4 shas. Gerah, 4 shas.	..	..	..	..	8. 0.
					16. 5. 16. 5.

12th [February]. At midnight set out for Conacorra, 8 farsangs, good plain way : arrived at our stage about 7 in the morning, an old ruinated caravensaroy built castlewise with six bastions ; no village near it, nor can have nothing except provender for our beasts. A small spring of water just by the door.

4½ mds. barley at 8 goz.	..	..	..	..	3. 6.
8½ mds. straw at 2 goz., 1.	..	..	..	..	7.
wood 6 ms. 4 goz.	..	..	..	..	2. 4.
					4. 1.
Gerah	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
					11. 7. 11. 7.

13th [February]. About midnight set out for Conakergone, 10 farsangs ; about 1½ farsang from the last place is a small hill to pass, all the rest of the way plain ; about 7 farsangs is a pretty good Caravensaroy, from whence must take bread, wood &c., for at Conakergone nothing to be had ; the barley and straw was fetchd ½ a farsang off, a sad ruinated place ; arrived at our stage about 10 in the morning.

My expence[s] :

Wood, 1 shas. 4½ mds.; barley, 4½ shas.	..	..	..	..	5. 5.
5 md. straw 2.5 ; Gerah, 5 shas.	..	..	..	..	7. 5.
					13. 0. 13. 0.

14th [February]. From Conakergone to Mother of Solaman or Muskatt, 5 farsangs, very bad way mountanious, was forced to gett off[f] our horses and walk a foot some part of the way ; arrived here at noon : a fine large village where may have all things. Here is no Caravensaroy but had a good house to lye at, a fine large plain, good arrable ground with severall springs of water here. In the middle of the plain is severall ruinated antient, build-ings, most of marble, a small house said to be Solamans mother by the Countrey people. Tis built heigh, about 8 or 10 heigh marble steps round about it and rounded with about 30 or 40 Pillers, some standing and some fallen ; at the entrance Ancient Carecters. [At] a little Distance is a ruinated building, looks like a Collage, with severall roomes, built most

of white marble with large Antient Corecters at the portall. [At] a little Distance is a large heigh marble piller standing and severall others that time has ruined ; it lookes as if it had been a large pallace or temple, for severall peices of building are round about it.

My expences are :

4½ mds. barley at 8 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 6.
8 mds. straw at 3 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	2. 4.
6 mds. wood at 4 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	2. 4.
Oile, 4 goz.; Gerah, 5 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 4.
						13. 8.

was presented with a goat, fowles and fruit enough to last to Shirass

[Shirâz] for which gave the Calenter 60. 0.

73. 8. 73. 8.

15th [February]. At noon Arrived at Sevan, 5 farsangs. The first farsang good way, the next two bad cragie way, amongst rocks and mountains, but the last 2 good way again ; most of our way had a fine large brooke runing by the road, good store of game. Sevan is a large village lyeing under a hill ; in the middle of the hill a Large Cave big enough to hold 3 or 400 hundred Sheep.

Lay at a house, where may have fowles &c. : good water, but must fetch it a mile off.

My expences are :

4½ md. brasley [sic] at 8 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 6.
8 mds. straw at 3 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	2. 4.
8 mds. wood at 4 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 2.
to the man that showed us the Cave	..	..	..	..	..	1. 0.
Oile, 4 goz. ; Gerah, 5 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 4.

15. 6. 15. 6.

16th [February]. At noon came to Meercoossagone, 8 farsangs from our last stage, good way. About 1½ farsang from this place saw a large hill, in four places cut out like windows and abundance of carve work cut out of the rock, of men dancing round, and above them 2 or 3 men offering sacrifice. The window had a large hole where a man might creep in at. I beleive severall roomes were within, but none of the countrey people could informe me. Below the winders in one place is a large man upon a large horse with two men more see[m]ing to fall down at the man on horse back feet, who the countrey people calls Rustam, one of their former Kings. There is abundance of antient Carecters cut out behind the horse, but no one in the whole countrey can read. In another place is Rustam and another man on horse back, their horses head[s] meeting, with several people behind them. Cut out in very large proportion before these images is a small house of stone. This carved mountain lyes at the intrance of the plains of Presopolis, as you come from Spahaune [Isfahân] the lower or hott way, as the Cafala [caravan] people calls it. Tis about 1½ mile from Presopolis to the Northward. After you come ½ a mile from it, may see Presopolis and this place both together. This village of Meercoossagone lyes in the middle of the plain. About a League from Presopolis in a fine large plain, good arrable ground and a great dele of water runing in it. From Presopolis may count above 30 villages. Presopolis is described very well in severall books.

[Expenses]

4½ mds. barley at 8 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 6.
8 mds. straw at 3 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	2. 4.
6 mds. wood at 2 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	1. 2.
Gerah	..	..	..	..	..	5. 0.

12. 2. 12. 2.

17th [February]. At 11 arrived at Zergone, being 5 farsangs, good way; came over a large bridge, a small river running under it; 3 farsangs more came over a great quantity of water and mud, had three or four mules stuck in it. In this place saw a vast quantity of wild fowls; being weary, would not go after them. Zergone is a large village under a great hill; here may buy good butter, fowles &c.

My expences here :

Shas.

1 md. Gee 16 shas. barley &c. 20 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	36. 0.	36. 0.

Dined here and went away for Shirass, being 5 farsangs, bad way up hills and down; about the middle of the way in a fine plain is a good caravensaroy. Arrived at Shirass at 8 at night.

21st [February], being Sunday. Went away for Bobbahodge, 9 farsangs good way.

My Expences at Shirass vizt. :

6½ mds. Pomegranetts at 1 md. 8 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	18. 2.
½ mds. Candles, 12 shas; Coffee, 3 Shas.	..	..	..	..	..	15. 0.
Shoes for the horse 10 shas; mending saddle 3=	..	..	..	..	..	13. 0.
To the servants of the House ..	..	..	..	..	..	40. 0.
Spice 1 shas; Rice 4 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 0.
Gerah for 5 days for 5 servants at 1 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	25. 0.

116. 2. 116. 2.

My Expences at Bobahodge, vizt. :

At Shirass forgott to the washerman ..	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
to the Armenian, to make up to ½ a Toman ..	..	..	..	..	..	20. 0.
at Boba Hodge, 4½ mds. barley ..	..	..	..	..	..	4. 5.
6 mds. straw at 3 goz. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1. 8.
Oile 4 goz; wood 4 goz. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0. 8.

31. 1. 31. 1.

22nd [February]. In the morning sett out for Musafferree, 7 farsangs, good way except for a farsang at the begining w[h]ere you goe over a small hill, and little stoney way in sight of Bobahodge. Arrived about 2 afternoon.

My expences, vizt. :

4½ mds. barley, 9 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
6 mds. straw at 3 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	1. 8.
A small lamb 3 shas.; a foule 15 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	4. 5.
6 mds. wood at 4 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	2. 4.
Oile 4 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	0. 4.

13. 1. 13. 1.

About 12 at night sett out for Gossaw, 7½ farsangs, bad stoney way, but no mountain to pass. Past by Piraw, 5 farsangs to this place; here is a good Caravensaroy. Arrived here the 23rd about 11 forenoon.

[Expenses] :

4½ mds. barley 9 goz., per md.	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
6 mds. straw at 3 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	1. 8.
To Caravensaradder ..	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
Gerah for 3 days ..	..	..	..	..	..	15. 0.

24. 8. 24. 8.

About 6 in the Evening sett out for Mochook Suckta, 7 farsangs, pretty good way.

Past by Asmungerd, a good caravensaroy, about 2 farsangs from Gossaw. Arrived here about 2 in the morning, an extroardin[ar]y Caravensaroy ; a large hill just before the interry.

My expences :

4½ mds. barley at 1 shas. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	4. 5.
6 mds. straw at 4 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	2. 4.
wood 6 goz ; Oile 4 goz. ; bread 2 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	1. 2.
to Butter 8 shas. ; Gerah 5 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	13. 0.

21. 1. 21. 1.

Att 4 In the Evening the 24th Sett out for Jaroone, 5 farsangs : the first two farsangs bad stoney way till you come to a small caravensaroy with a tanck of water before it ; the other 3 farsangs good smooth way. Jaroone is a large pleasant town full of Date trees ; good caravensaroy, may have all things needfull for travellers.

My Expences here :

4½ mds. brarley [sic] at 11 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 0.
7 mds. straw at 5 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 5.
6 mds. wood at 5 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 6.
3 lambs 2 shas. 4 goz. ; Oranges 2 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	4. 4.
Oile 4 goz. ; Gerah 5 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 4.

21. 9. 21. 9.

25th [February]. Att 4 Evening sett out for Chisalk, 6 farsangs ; very bad way, all hills, called the hills of Jaroone. In abundance of places was forced to gett off[f] our horses and walk on foot, and in some places the way not above a foot wide upon the eidge of a heigh mountain. About the middle of the way is [a] bridge joyneing one mountain to another. Arrived at our stage about 10 at night. Chitalk a good Caravensaroy but near no village.

[Expenses]

4½ mds. barley at 1 shas. 1 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 0.
6 mds. straw at 4 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	2. 4.
Oile 4 goz. ; bread 4 goz. ; Gerah 5 shas. ; Wood 4 g[oz]	..	..	..	..	..	6. 2.

13. 6. 13. 6.

Att 4 sett out the 26th for Bonaroo, 10 farsangs ; the first 2 farsangs bad way. Went over a small mountain ; at the bottom a fine small spring of good water where supped and went 2 farsangs more to Murall, pretty good way. Arrived 8 at night ; lay there in small but good caravensaroy till about 1 in the morning, then sett out for Bonaroo, 6 farsangs more ; good way. Bonaroo, indeferent caravensaroy, but large village, lyes at the foot of severall mountains meeting together.

[Expenses]

4½ mds. barley at 11 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 0.
9 mds. straw at 4 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 6.
grain 5 goz. ; wood 1 shas. ; Oile 4 goz. ; bread 4 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	2. 3.
Gerah	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.

14. 9. 14. 9.

27th [February]. About 5 sett out for Diacoo, 9 farsangs; the 1st farsang bad way, the other 2 good till you come to a Radeler house; 3 farsangs more very bad way. Went over a great many mountains, going up hill and down till come to Beris about 1 in the morning. Beris is a very good caravensaroy and a good village; lay there till morning and went to Diacoo, 3 farsangs more; good way, very good caravensaroy and good village.

[Expenses]:

4½ mds. barley at 12 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 4.
6 mds. straw at 5 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 0.
3 do. at 4 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	1. 2.
wood 6 goz.; Oile 4 goz.; bread 4 goz.; Gerah 5 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	6. 4.
						16. 0. 16. 0.

28th [February]. About 4 afternoon sett out for Larr, 5 farsangs; the first two very good way till come to Picataw, a good caravensaroy lying at the foot of a great mountain which must clime over to goe the other three farsangs to Laar. Stoney way.

[Expenses]:

Meat 3 mds. 8 shas.; wood 4 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	12. 0.
4½ mds. barley at 1 shas. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	4. 5.
10 mds. straw at 5 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 0.
Radder 12 shas.; Gerah 5 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	17. 0.
bread 4 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	0. 4.
						38. 9. 38. 9.

March the 1st. At 4 afternoon sett out for Warsalle, 5 farsangs; the first two good way, the other 3 bad stoney way. Warsale is a small caravensaroy kept by an old woman.

My Expenses here:

4½ mds. barley at 15 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	6. 8.
10 mds. Straw at 5 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 0.
wood 2 goz.; bread 4 goz., Gerah	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
Gerah for a shotter sent to Bunder	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
						19. 8. 19. 8.

March the 2d. At 4 afternoon sett out for Cormoot, 7 farsangs; the 1st farsang a little stoney, 4 more good way till come to a Radeler house at the foot of a mountain which we must pass, being one farsang bad way; the last farsang good way. Cormoot is a large village with abundance of Date trees; may have your horse shod and anything else fitt for Travellers.

My expences:

4½ mds. barley at 15 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	6. 8.
10 mds. straw at 5 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 0.
wood 4 goz.; bread 5 goz.; Gerah 4 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	4. 9.
						16. 7. 16. 7.

3 [March]. Sett out for Jehun, 7 farsangs, very bad stoney way. About 8 at night arrived at Tankadalone, 5 farsangs, a good caravensaroy with a Tank in the middle built in form of a cross within side. Here lay till 4 in the morning; then sett out for Jehun, the other 2 farsangs. Arrived about 6 in the morning the 4th March. This is a good caravensaroy tho small; a great distance from any village.

My Expences here, vizt. :

4½ mds. barley at 15 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	6. 8.
11 mds. straw at 5 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	5. 5.
wood 8 goz.; bread 12 goz.; Gerah 4 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	6. 0.
						18. 3. 18. 3.

4th March. About 3 afternoon sett out for Coverstone, 7 farsangs, stoney way; about 3 farsangs came to a Caravensaroy called Goos Basargoon. Coverstone is a small good Caravensaroy, a very good village just by it, where may have all things eatable.

[Expenses].

4½ [mds.] barley at 1 mams. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	9. 0.
10 mds. straw at 8 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	8. 0.
2 fowles	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
wood 2 shas.; bread 12 goz.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 2.
Gerah 4 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	4. 0.
						28. 2. 28. 2.

March 5th. About 3 afternoon sett out for Getchee, 6 farsangs. Half way is a bridge and some water that you must pass over. About 7 at night arrived at our Mansell.

[Expenses].

3 mds. barley at 2 shas. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	6. 0.
10 mds. straw at 8 goz. per md.	..	..	..	..	..	8. 0.
wood 16 goz.; fowle 2 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	3. 6.
Butter 4 shas.; Gerah 4 shas.	..	..	..	..	..	8. 0.
						25. 6. 25. 6.

6th March. Sett out for Bendaly, 4 farsangs, a little hilly way.

7th March. In the morning, about 9 in the morning, arrived at Gombroon with the Cheife, Mr. John Eaton Dodsworth, Mr. Dennis, Mr. Beavis and Batson who all came out a little way to meet me.

NOTES.

Diary of 5 February 1707/8.

Spahaun, i.e., Isfahân, was the capital of Persia at that period.

Mayer. Mâyâr, 25 miles S.S.E. of Isfahân. See Fryer, ed. Crooke, II, 238 and f.n.

Farsangs. Pers. *farsang*; Ar. *farsakh*; Gr. *parasang*; a measure of distance variously computed at from about 3½ to 4 miles. Scattergood seems to have reckoned it at about 3½ miles.

Yerchan hills. The Uchîni Pass, lit., the "Pass of the Stairway," in the range of hills to the south of Isfahân. See Fryer, *op. cit.*, II, 237; Curzon's *Persia*, II, 61.

Caravanseroy. *Kârudnsarât*, a wayside inn. Tavernier, *Persian Travels*, p. 245, also found, as early as 1665, a "very good Inn" at "Mahiar," and Le Bruyn, who was there in October 1704 and December 1706, says, *Travels*, II, 2-3, 140-41, that the fine stone building was erected by Shâh Sulaimân and that the place, of which he has two illustrations was more like a palace than a house of entertainment for travellers.

Mr. Weldon. Robert Weldon, elected factor for Persia on 15 November 1704 (*Court Book*, 41. 347), was a servant of the E. I. Co. His securities (ib. 355) were his brother, Walker Weldon of Swanscomb and Captain Anthony Weltden, who was subsequently President of Bengal. At the date of Scattergood's visit, Robert Weldon was Third (and later, Second) of Council at Isfahân. He died there 1 December 1708 (*Factory Records, Persia*, Vol. I).

Mr. Foulkes. ? Robert Foulkes, like John Scattergood, appears to have been a Free Merchant trading in India. He is mentioned once in the Company's Records in 1704 (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 101) and several times in the *Scattergood Papers*. From these we learn that the two men had business relations and that Foulkes died in Bengal, c. 1711, in Scattergood's debt.

Peter Lilly. This man is probably identical with the individual of that name who had been employed in the garrison of Fort St. George prior to 6 March 1705, when he was "discharged from further service at his own request" (*Madras Public Consultations*, Vol. 83). He seems to have subsequently entered the service of Henry Bradshaw, supercargo of the *Nathaniel*, who died in Gombroon in 1707.

Diary of 7 February 1707/8.

Comasha. Qumisheh. See Fryer (*op. cit.*, II, 237) and Tavernier (*Persian Travels*, p. 245), who calls the place "Comsha."

Mansell. *Manzil*, a stage, haltingplace.

Tank. An Anglo Indian term for an artificial reservoir or pond.

Shaw Rasay. Imâmzâda Shâh Rizâ, probably a son of the great Imâm Mûsa al Kâzîm. The mausoleum is described by Le Bruyn (II, 2): "On one side of this town (Komminiya), we observed the tomb of a saint named Zja-resa. It is enclosed with a wall whose inward space is ornamented with several trees, and two fountains filled with fish, which the Persian superstition will not permit any one to touch. We saw carps in the smallest and large fish in the other. This tomb has a lofty situation on the slope of a mountain." See also Thévenot, *Travels*, Part II, 120.

Muckshawbeggu. Maqsûd Begî. This much abused name represents a village called after Maqsûd Beg, a noble of the days of Shâh Sulaimân (1668-1694). It is the De-Moxalbeg of Herbert (p. 148), the Maksoud Begi of Thévenot (p. 120), the Makson (?Maksou) begui of Tavernier (p. 246), the Moxutebeggy of Fryer (II, 234), the Macksoud Beigh of Hedges (Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, I, 209) and the Magsoe-begie of Le Bruyn (II, 3). In Thévenot's time (1665) the inn was new, "that of the village being demolished." Hedges, however, 20 years later, found "a very old ruinous Caravan Serai, and bad water."

Mds. Tabs. *Man* of Tabriz. See p. 36.

Shas. *Shâhî*. See p. 36.

Goss. Goz., *ghazbegî*, a tenth of a *shâhî*, reckoned as a halfpenny by Europeans of that period. The prices quoted make the modern traveller's mouth water. A quarter of barley was purchasable at about 1s. 6d., the same amount of straw for 6d. and half as much again of firewood for 1s.

Caravensadder. *Kârwan sardâr*, innkeeper. Scattergood paid him 1s. 4d. for coffee, which shows that this commodity was comparatively dear.

Diary of 8 February 1707/8.

Yudacoss. Yazd-i-Khâst. The Izdekhest of Della Valle (Hak. Soc. ed. III, 296). For a long note on this place see Fryer, *op. cit.*, II, 233. When Thévenot first visited "Yes-de-Kast" in 1665 (pp. 120-121), he found it "very little, having but only one

street," the place "built upon a narrow rock" and "in manifest danger" of "falling down topsie turvy all at once." In 1667 he found the old village forsaken and another town, the one visited by Scattergood, in process of erection "to the northward." Struys says (p. 339) that the village was formerly called "Jurgestan, now Jesegas," and Hedges remarks of "Yes-de-gas" (I, 209) that it had "a good Caravan Serai, built in a vast great ditch. Le Bruyn (II, 3) has an illustration of the village of "Jesdagae" as it appeared from the Kârwânsarâi in October 1704.

Coffala. *Qâfila*, caravan, company of people.

Good bread. Thévenot remarks (Part II, 121): "The Land about Yez-de-Kast bears the best Corn in Persia, and indeed they make most excellent Bread there: the Inhabitants (as they say) mingling dry Pease with the Corn, which makes the Bread so good." Le Bruyn also praises the bread at "Jesdagae" (II, 3-4): "We were presented, at the Caravanserai where we lodged, with little hot loaves of white bread, made in the manner of our country, for the Europeans who travel in these parts, and altogether as good as the small loaves of Amsterdam. This part of the country produces the best corn in all Persia, which the governor of Zjie-raas preserves for the King and court. This proceeding occasioned the Persian proverb, 'Zjie-raas for wine, Jesdagae for bread, and Jes for women,' all which are in perfection in those places. Ovens are very numerous through the whole kingdom; and they are made in the form of wells, in each of which the paste is rolled into thin cakes, which are baked in a moment; and when they are taken out, others are immediately placed in the room. Large bread is likewise baked in these ovens, as among us; and they make biscuits at Ispahan, which are altogether as good as those in France."

Gerah. Pers. *kird*, 'hire,' 'rent,' here used apparently for wages for servants.

Diary of 9, 10, 11 and 12 February 1707/8.

Sagrestone. Shulgistân. See Fryer, *op. cit.*, II, 317, n. 1.

Cuscazer. Kûshk-i-Zard. See Fryer, *op. cit.*, II, 232, n. 1.

Obadah. Abâdeh. See Fryer, *op. cit.*, II, 317, n. 3.

Rader. Pers. *râhdâr*, lit. master of the road, toll-collector, customs officer.

Surma. Surmê or Surmek, about 16 mi. SE. of Abâdeh. See Fryer, *op. cit.*, II, 317, n. 4.

Conacorra. Khân-i-Kharre, or Khân-i-Khurreh. See Fryer, *op. cit.*, II, 317, n. 5.

Diary of 13 and 14 February 1707/8.

Conakergone. Khân-i-Kirgâni. See Fryer, II, 318, n. 3.

Mother of Solaman or Muskatt. The Madre Solyman and Mader Soliman of Rennell and D'Anville (Maps of Persia, 1831 and 1799). For "Muskatt" we should probably read Mushatt, i.e., the "Mushad" of Fryer (II, 318), identified by Crooke as Mashad-i-Murghâb, 12 miles S. of Khân-i Kirgâni. Fryer also found no inn in the village and lodged in a "Farmer's House."

Le Bruyn, who made a detour from Shiraz in 1706 to see "Mazyt-Madre-Sulimoen or the mosque of Solomon's mother" (? the mother of Shâh Sulaimân, 1666-1694), gives an illustration, and thus describes it (II, 138): "This structure is of stone and higher than all the rest. There is still to be seen a large apartment, which has no tomb in it, and there are some other buildings raised about it. At the distance of two musket shots from thence toward the north, upon the plain, there are also some ruins, and a large portal without any figure, and two leagues and a half from thence a wall, built with large stones round a mountain, on whose top there appears to have been some structure in antient times, but it is impossible to form any judgment of it by the little which is now left. These ruins are about a league from the village of Sefaboenia." See also Struys, p. 331.

Calenter. Pers. *kalântar*, the chief man in a town, mayor; tax-collector, clerk of the market. See Fryer, II, 204, n. 1, and III, 24.

Savan. Siwand. See Fryer, II, 319, n. 1.

Diary of 16 February 1707/8.

Meercossagone. This place is called Mehroascoon, Meergoscoon, Emer-Cascoon, and Mier-chas-koen by Della Valle (II, 316), Fryer (II, 221), Hedges (I, 208) and Le Bruyn (II, 8) respectively. See Sir Wm. Crooke's remarks on its probable identity (Fryer II, 221, n. 1). No such place is marked on the modern maps: it evidently lay on the plain between Naqsh-i-Rustam and Takht-i-Jamshid.

Carve work . . . Rustam . . . Persopolis. Here Scattergood is describing the sculptures and tombs of Naqsh-i-Rustam. See Della Valle (III, 316), Struys (p. 335), Fryer (II, 225 and n. 2) and Le Bruyn, II, 9-44). The last named has numerous illustrations of the objects described.

Scattergood's concluding remark is characteristic. He would have considered it waste of time to enlarge on a subject already treated by previous travellers.

Diary of 17 February 1707/8.

Zergone. Zarghûn. See Della Valle (III, 321), Struys, p. 336, Fryer (II, 218 and n. 3), Hedges (I, 208). Le Bruyn (II, 8) says that "Zargoen" is "pleasantly situated among mountains, and is full of gardens, which abound with melons, grapes and all sorts of fruits." Of the "large bridge" mentioned by Scattergood, Le Bruyn remarks (*loc. cit.*) that it was "a very lofty stone bridge with five arches, three of which are very large, and the other two but small; and the river I have lately mentioned runs with much rapidity under them. This river is resorted to by various species of ducks, and it must be crossed before one can arrive at Persopolis, which lies at no greater distance from it than two leagues."

Gee. *Ghf*, boiled butter.

Shirass. Shirâz. It is astonishing that although Scattergood spent three clear days at Shirâz, he has no remarks on the place. He may have thought that, as in the case of "Persopolis" it had already been "described very well" by others. See Fryer, II, 211-217, and Le Bruyn, II, 45-52, who has a long account and several illustrations of the city.

Diary of 21 February 1707/8.

Bobbahodge. Bâbâ Hâjî. See Tavernier (*Persian Travels*, p. 251), who calls the place Badaadge; Fryer (II, 208 and n. 3). Le Bruyn stayed at the "Caravanserai of Babba-had-jie, five leagues from Zjie-ras" in August 1704 (II, 64), and again in November 1706 (II, 137), when he calls the place "Babasjie."

Toman. *Tûmân*, a money of account, reckoned at £3 6s. 8d. in Fryer's time (II, 139).

Diary of 22 February 1707/8.

Musafferree. Muzaffari. See Fryer, II, 208, n. 2. At "Mosse-ferrie," Le Bruyn, who arrived there at nine at night in August 1705, "went a fishing with flambeaux and caught some carp and cray fish" (II, 64). On his second visit in November 1706, he found "so much company" at "Moesa-farie" that "there was not room to lodge above half of them tho' the Caravanserai is very large and commodious" (II, 137).

Gossaw. This place, called Cossir by Hedges (I, 207) and Chaser by Thévenot (Pt. II, 128), seems to be identical with the Caifer of Fryer, the Khafri of Wilson's map (Fryer, II, 206, n. 4), and the Kafer of Rennell's *Map of Western Asia* (1831). Khafr lies about 9 miles WNW. from Âsmângird.

Piraw. Pâin-Râh, about 16½ miles WNW. from Âsmângird. Fryer calls the place "Firaw, the Foot of the Way," but Thévenot (Pt. II, 127) has Paira, and Le Bruyn Paeyra and Payra (II, 64, 137). Fryer correctly interprets the name: Pers. *pâ'in*, 'bottom,' and *râh*, 'road.'

Mochock Suckta. Mukhak. Suckta probably=*sokhta*, 'burnt': the Mukhek of Wilson's map. See Fryer, II, 215, n. 1. Thévenot (p. 128) calls it Moucheh, and Hedges (I, 206) found a "large convenient Caravan-Serai at "Moocack Sookta", with "good water and no want of provisions." Le Bruyn also halted at the "Caravanserai of Michgeck Sogte" in 1705 (II, 65).

Asmungerd. Āsmāngird. This place is not mentioned by Fryer, but Le Bruyn slept at Asmongeer, between Paeyra and Michgeck Sogte in 1705 and again in 1706 (II, 65, 137).

Diary of 24 February 1707/8.

Jaroone. Jāhrūm. The Dgiarum of Thévenot (pp. 128-9), the Jarron of Tavernier (p. 252), the Gerom of Fryer (II, 202), the Scharim of Struys (p. 342) and the Jarroon of Hedges (p. 206). Thévenot remarks on the "large Karvanseray" and the town "on all hands encompassed with gardens full of palm-trees, which there are so numerous and grow so near one another, that they make a great Forrest." Struys says of "Scharim" that it stood in the middle of a grove "altogether of date-trees," and was "a town of considerable traffic in cotton goods, "there being very many weavers." Hedges also found that "Jarroon affords plenty of all things for the use of a traveller in these parts." Le Bruyn who stayed at Jāhrūm two days in 1705 (II, 66), has an illustration of the city, "which is very mean and looks more like a village, the houses being all built of earth, and separate from one another. I saw two or three poor little mosques, in which they were performing service. As this city is full of palm-trees, it looks at a distance like a wood. This, of all the trees in that country, is what is esteemed most, both for its beauty and the goodness of the fruit, which is the best in all Persia."

Diary of 25 February 1707/8.

Chisalk. Chāh Talkh; Pers. *chāh-i-talkh*, 'bitter well.' See Fryer, II, 200, n. 2 and 201. It is the Tchah-telkh of Thévenot (Pt. II, 129), "that is to say bitter well, because of a well not far from that Karvanseray where the water is bitter." Le Bruyn calls the place Zistalle (II, 67) and says that the inn was a "Beautiful stone building and very commodious for travellers."

Hills of Jaroone. Le Bruyn also (II, 67) found "the way very difficult to our horses," for "we were always mounting aloft or descending between rocks."

A bridge joyneing one mountain to another. Fryer (II, 202) remarks of these mountains that their "Clifts could never be gained, had they not been joined together by vast Arches from Rock to Rock, their dismal Pits otherwise being rendred impassable."

Diary of 26 February 1707/8.

Bonaroo. Binārū. See Fryer II, 198 and n. 3. Both Herbert and Thévenot stopped at "Bannarow," "Banarou," but Le Bruyn has no mention of the place.

Murall seems to be an error for Musall, the Momzer of Thévenot (Pt. II, 129), which had "a fair Karvanseray, standing alone by itself." It is the Monsar of Fryer (II, 200) which Crooke thinks perhaps may represent Mansūrābād (*ibid*, n. 1). Le Bruyn, who was at the place in 1706 (II, 135), calls it Mousel. Rennell's map has Momzir. The name is not found on the modern maps: it lay somewhere close to Jūwūn.

Diary of 27 February 1707/8.

Diacoo. Dibakū. The Deachow (or Techoo) of Herbert (p. 129), the Deh-hi-Kourid of Thévenot (Pt. II, 129), the De-hakoe and Dekoe of Le Bruyn (II, 68, 134), and the Dehi-Koh of D'Anville's map.

Radeler house. Customs station, where was a *rāhdār*, customs officer.

Beris, Biriz. The Bury of Fryer (II, 198 and n. 1), and the Bibri of Thévenot (Pt. II, 130), who had a similar experience of "very stormy way . . . up hill and down hill," but found the inn "a fair new built" structure, "one of the loveliest Karavanserais in all Persia." Le Bruyn also (II, 68) praises the inn at "Bieries," and the one in the "large handsome village" of "De-hakoe."

Diary of 28 February 1707/8.

Picataw. Pers. *pâ-i-kutâl* (or *kûtal*) 'foot of the pass.' The Pa Chotali of Thévenot (Pt. II, 197) and the Pokutal of Fryer (II, 197 and f.n.).

Laar. Lâr. Here again where one would expect a description of the city, Scattergood passes it over without remark. See Fryer (II, 190) and Le Bruyn (II, 69), who has an illustration of "Laer."

Radder. See p. 48.

Diary of 1 March 1707/8.

Warsalle. (? Wâris 'Alî.) This place, not mentioned by Fryer, is the Basiele of Le Bruyn (II, 70) who remarks on the "little Caravanserai half demolished, where we found an aged woman with some provisions." The place is not marked on the maps: it must have been somewhere near the modern 'Aliâbâd.

Shotter. Ar. *shûtir*, used in Persia in the sense of a courier or messenger. "Gerah for a shotter" is thus "payment for a messenger."

Bunder. Bandar 'Abbâs, Gombroon.

Diary of 2 March 1707/8.

Gormoot. Hormuz. Le Bruyn (II, 70 and 134) calls it Gormoet and Germoet, and he has an illustration of the inn.

Diary of 3 March 1707/8.

Jehun. Jaihûn. See Fryer, II, 189 and n. 1.

Tankadalone. Tang-i-Dâlân, a narrow gorge: Pers. *tang*, 'narrow,' and *dâlân*, 'corridor,' here meaning a gorge. See Fryer, II, 189 and n. 2. Le Bruyn (II, 70-1) calls it Tang-boedalou and says that "A small canal passes through the Caravanserai, which is not very large, but extremely agreeable, and well-built: It is all of stone, and the water of the canal, which runs through it, flows from a little rivulet at a small distance from it. It has likewise the advantage of being sheltered from the hot winds." He does not mention the inn in the plain of Jehun, "a great distance from any village," where Scattergood halted.

Diary of 4 March 1707/8.

Coverstone. Kuristân. Le Bruyn (II, 71) describes it as "the great town of Koreston seated in a plain."

Goos Basargoon. ? Gor-i-Bâzargân ('tomb of the merchant'). See Fryer, II, 188 and n. 1. It is the Goer-Baser-goer of Le Bruyn (II, 71, 134) where, in 1706, he found "no company." The name is not found on modern maps. It is the Kurybazirgon of Rennell.

1 mams. 1 *mahmûdî*, worth 3 *shâhî*, or about 1 shilling English.

Diary of 5 March 1707/8.

Getchee. Gachîn. See Fryer, II, 184 and n. 1. Le Bruyn also halted at Gesje in 1705 (II, 70), where he found women "who sold fresh butter, with eggs and good fowls," but the water was "very indifferent." When he returned in the following year (II, 134) he calls the place Getjie.

Bridge. This seems to be the bridge described by Fryer (II, 186 and n. 1) and Le Bruyn, who saw it in 1705 (II, 71): "We . . . passed over a large plain full of wild trees, and crossed the river of Koreston [Shor], which was then very low; but it frequently overflows in the winter. There is a bridge a quarter of a league in length; but entirely useless, by reason of its being ruinous in the middle. I found this to be seven paces wide; it had likewise several arches, and a parapet on each side."

Diary of 6 March 1707/8.

Bendaly. Band-i-'Alî. See Fryer, II, 177 and n. 1. Le Bruyn praises the "Caravanserai of Band-Ali" (II, 71): "That building is open on all sides, for the commodious

admission of the breezes, which blow from the sea, and are very refreshing; that place being not above 3000 paces distant from the gulf of Persia, which much resembles the main sea."

Gombroon, the old name of Bandar 'Abbās. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Gombroon. For a description and illustration of the city in 1705 see Le Bruyn, II, 73-75.

Mr. John Eaton Dodsworth. John Eaton Dodsworth was elected writer for Persia on 19 June 1696, his securities being Barrington Eaton and John Dodsworth of London, merchants (*Court Book*, 37, 143, 149). On arrival at Bombay he had a "long fit of sickness." When he recovered in December, 1697, he was sent to Gombroon with his brother Christopher, who died on the way (*Factory Records, Bombay*, Vol. 13, and *Miscellaneous*, Vol. 5). In 1699 John Eaton Dodsworth was at Isfahān (*Original Correspondence* 6672). In 1702 he became a factor and gave additional security (*Court Book*, 39, 23). In 1705 he was sent to Carmania in order to supervise the proceedings of Walter Evans, suspected of fraud (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 101), and he remained there till April 1706, when he was relieved in order that he might return to Isfahān to attend the Company's "affaires in a particular manner" (*Original Correspondence*, No. 8449) and act as Third of Council there (*Original Correspondence* 8469). In 1707 he was sent to Gombroon as Second (*Original Correspondence* 8522 and 8525), and in 1709 he ranked Third in Persia (*Court Book*, 43, 794). In 1710, owing to illness, he sailed to Bombay in the *George* (*Bombay Abs.*, p. 157), and thence to England, arriving in April 1712 (*Court Book*, 45, 11).

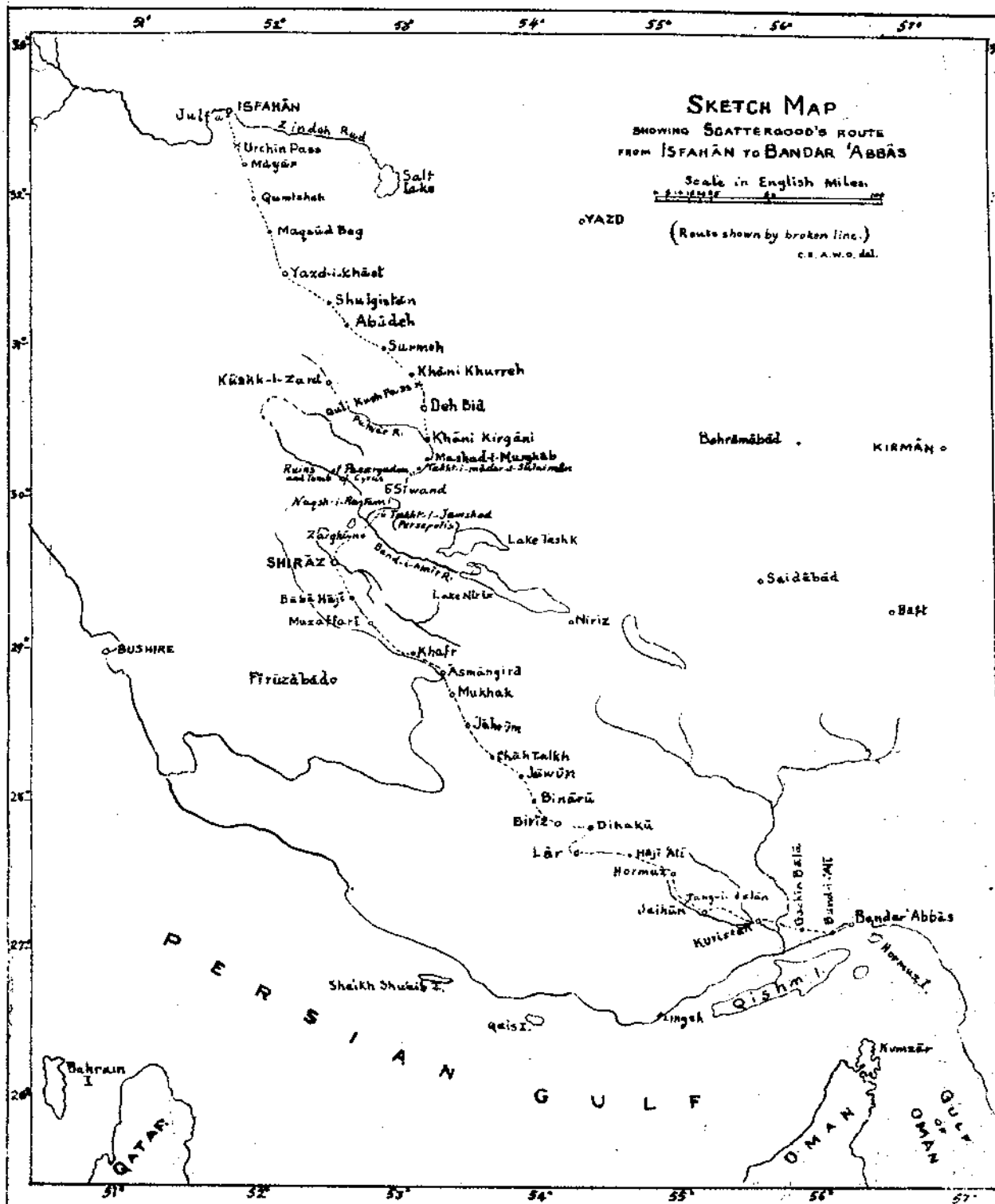
Mr. Dennis. Edward Dennis was elected factor for Bombay on 15 April 1700, his securities being Benjamin Dennis of Limehouse, merchant, and Robert Dennis of Ratcliff, tobaccoonist (*Court Book*, 39, 126). He served the Company at Mahim and Swally Marine until April 1702, when he was sent to Gombroon (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 100), where he was "Second for Affaires of the Hon. United East India Company" at the date of his will, 6 May 1708 (*P. C. C.*, 7, Tenison). He died before September 1710 when John Harrison, one of the executors, made an affidavit regarding the receipt from John Batson of an attested copy of the will, which, however, was not proved until January 1717/18 in London.

Mr. Beavis. Arthur (also called Anthony) Beavis was elected factor for Persia 1 December 1704 (*Court Book*, 41, 371). His securities were John Leigh, merchant, and Richard Beavis "Notary Publick" (*Ibid.*, 384, 397). On arrival he was made secretary at Gombroon where he succeeded John Eaton Dodsworth as Chief, and in 1714 ranked Second in Persia (*Court Book*, 45, 660). In December 1717 he was appointed Agent in Persia and was ordered to reside at Gombroon and "retrench all superfluous expences" (*Bombay Abstracts*, p. 282). However, the next despatch from England revoked his appointment and he was superseded by James Peachey, whereupon he complained of the treatment accorded to him after 14 years' service and returned to England in the *Dartmouth* in 1719 (*Factory Records, Persia*, Vol. 2, and *Bombay Abstracts* p. 329). He seems to be identical with Arthur Beavis of Charterhouse Yard, Middlesex, whose will, dated 5 August 1724, was proved in London 8 October 1725 (*P. C. C.*, 205, Romney).

Mr. Batson. John Batson was elected writer for Persia on 22 November 1704, his securities being Thomas Chapman of St. Olaves, Silver St., "Wyre drawer," and Edward Howard, of Clerkenwell, tanner (*Court Book*, 41, 355). In 1708 he was steward at Gombroon (*Factory Records, Persia*, Vol. 1). In September 1709 he was transferred from Gombroon to Isfahān, where he rose to be Second in Council in 1718 (*Factory Records, Persia*, Vols. 1 and 2).

The route followed by Scattergood is shown on the accompanying sketch map, on which the place names have been entered in their modern spelling.

(To be continued.)



PERSIA ACCOUNTS.

1707-1708.

Immediately on his arrival in Persia in 1707, John Scattergood appears to have occupied himself in settling up the affairs of Henry Bradshaw, with which task he had been entrusted by Governor Thomas Pitt, from whose *Letter Books* (B.M. Add. MSS. 22850, No. 86) we learn that Henry Bradshaw was the son of Samuel Bradshaw of Holbrooke, Derbyshire, that he was chief supercargo of the *Nathaniel*, East Indiaman, and that he was preparing to go to Isfahan when he died. He left a will appointing his father executor, and Thomas Pitt and Gulston Addison, trustees, which last "put the care of his estate, which is all there [in Persia], under Mr. Lock the Agent, and Mr. Scattergood, with orders to remit the produce to us."

[3 (a) HENRY BRADSHAW'S ACCOUNTS.]

Gombroon Aprill the 20th 1707.

Account Sundry Goods belonging to Mr. Henry Bradshaw Packet and Delivered the Cophala who is to deliver the same at Spahaune vizt.

Bales.										Pieces.	Pieces.
N.	1	4	Soosies 48 lo. and 1½ broad	..	..	..	..	..	..	300	
	2	6	Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..	458	
											758.
	3	12	Chucklaes 48 lo. and 1½ broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		578.
	4	6	Sancoes Bulgarie 24 lo. and 2 broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		380.
	5	6	Laycowries 21 long and yard broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		380.
	6	3	Corodaries 20 long and 2½ do.	..	..	..	..	..	..		128.
	7	5	Sancoes Mahoonpore 24 long and 2 broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		260.
	8	3	Do. Burroon 28 long and 2 broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		128.
	9	3	Shaulbafts 18 long and 2 broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		388.
	10	3	Hummums 24 long and 3 broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		128.
	11	1	Cossos Maulda 36 long 2½ wide	..	..	..	..	..	..		65.
	12	1	Romalls Bursoot 22½ long and 1½ broad	..	..	..	..	..	..	109	
			Part of N. 13.	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	
											128.
	13	2	Do. Radnagur 22½ long and 1½ broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		128.
	14	1	Cuttancees 13 long 1½ broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		139.
			No. 13 part of said bale qt. Santa. Mullmulls 40 long and 2 broad	..	..	..	..	..	..	64.	
	20	2	Mullmulls Santapore	..	..	..	..	..	..	150.	
											214.
			In said bale Seerbunds with gold heads	..	..	..	..	..	..		183.
	15	1	Elatchees Culcapore 14 long 1½ broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		128.
	16	2	Sancoes Cuttipore 24 long and 2 broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		128.
	17	1	Doreas 40 long 2½ broad fine	..	..	..	..	..	..	58.	
			ordinary	..	..	..	..	..	..	42.	
											100.
	18	8	Chests Sancoes Ballasore	..	..	..	..	..	..		418.
	19	2	Tepoyes Tussery 14 long and 1½ broad	..	..	..	..	..	..		216.

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CARDIMUMS.

Account Charges on said Goods at Bundar [1707] vizt.

						Shas. Coz.	Shas. Coz.
Trankey hire unloading his goods	..	..	..	..	..		80. -
To homallage Packing 72 Bales	..	..	..	..	..	28. 4.	
To Packers Do.	..	..	..	..	..	57. 8.	
To victuals for the Packers	..	..	..	..	..	10. -	

	Shas. Coz.	Shas. Coz.
To Twine	15. —	
To Ropes	20. —	
		131. —
To the Camellmen 60 shas. pr load	2160. —	
To Calatee 6 shas. pr Do.	216. —	
		2376. —
To Homallage Packers &c. for 14 Bales Cardimums	13. —	
To the Camells 7 load 60 shas. pr load	420. —	
To Callatte 6 shas. pr load	42. —	
		475. —
		Shas. 3062. —

Errors Excepted Per
P. C.

[3 (b) HENRY BRADSHAW'S ACCOUNTS—*contd.*]

The Amount of apparell &c. Necessarys belonging to Mr. Henry Bradshaw deceased sold att Outery in Gombroone the 12th May 1707.

1 Chest	20.
4 pr Old Stockings	10.
3 pr Tepoy Breeches	13.
3 white Gingham Coats	21.
1 Camblet Suite	100.
1 old Red Coate	24.
1 Black Coat	10.
1 Fine do. Lac'd	506.
6 Chellah Shirts 4 Wastcoats 3 Baman Coats	20.
1 Long Wigge	100.
3 Wastcoats	7.
1 red Cloak	52.
1 ps Chucklaes	27.
9 pr Breeches old	5.
1 Hatt	17.
1 ps. Taffety	12.
16 Shirts	60.
8 Charconna Handkerchiefs	7.
4 new Neckcloths	11.
7 pr Stockings and 2 Caps	12.
18 Towells and 1 Table Cloth	10.
5 Reeds for a Hautboy	3½.
1 Gown &c.	1.
4 pr English Shooes	32.
3 pr Bengall do.	2.
1 Silver Hilted Sword	100.
1 Gold Head Cane	90.
1 pr Silver Buckles	21.
1 Desk	95.
1 Cott	21.
2 Wiggs	2.
1 Snuffbox & Penknife	16.

Commission 5 pr cent. 1427. 10.
71. 7.
Mahmod, 1356. 3.

[3 (c) HENRY BRADSHAW'S ACCOUNTS—*contd.*]*Mr. Henry Bradshaw deceased [1707].*

<i>Dr.</i>		<i>Pr Contra. Cr.</i>	
To freight paid Sir George Mathews for goods brought from Bengall as pr Sir George Mathews' receipt.. ..	1091. 5.	By amount of Mr. Bradshaw deceased'd wearing apparrell &c. 2712. 6.	
To Dr. Stewart for looking after him when sick	400. —.	By the Produce of his Goods sold the Agent Mr. John Lock..	172663. 1.
To Capt. Dennis for the Taylor..	86. —.	By the Nett Produce of his Cardimums &c. ..	20348. —.
To Peter Lilly for 3 mo. 8 days wages	444. —.	By Peter Curgenvven for his note 163½ rups at 8 shas. Pr. Rupee ..	1308. —.
To the Barber	20. —.	Advance in Proportion to what made on his goods	200. 2.
To Hamalls to carry him to his grave	20. —.		1508. 2.
To Carpenters for making his coffin	20. —.		
To Grave digger	20. —.		
To Asses hire	10. —.		
To Mr. Beavis's bill for sundry things	464. 4.		
To Mr. Curgenvven's bill for Piscaroy for goods sent to Spahaune	3062. —.		
	5637. 9.		
To 8 Per cent on 2925.3 being the ballance of his Account at Bundar	234. —.		
	5871. 9.		

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 3.]

(a)

Caphila. *Qāfila*, caravan. See p. 46.

Soosies. See p. 35.

Chucklaes. See p. 35.

Sancoes Bulgarie. *Sānā*, cotton cloth from (?).

Laycowries (laokowries), cotton cloth from Lakhāwar, now in Gayā District.

Corodaries (carridaries). ? *Karīdarī*, stout (lit. 'stiff') cotton cloth.Sancoes Mahoonpore and Burroon. *Sānā* from Mohanpur and Barān.

Shaulbafts. See p. 35.

Hummums. *Hammām*, stout cotton cloth ; bath sheets.Cossos Maulda. *Khāssa*, fine muslin from Mālda, Bengal.

Romalls Bursoot and Radnagar. *Rūmāl*, kerchiefs of silk or cotton, from Barsūt and Rādhānagar, Bengal.

Cuttanees. ? *Katanī*, spun (woven) cloth.

Qt. Containing. See p. 36.

Mullmulls Santapore. *Malmal*, muslin, from Sāntipur, on the Hūgli.

Seerbunds. *Sirband*, turban.

Elatches Culeapore. *Alācha* (see *ante*, p. 35) from Kālikāpur.

Sancoes Cuttipore. *Sānū* from Katipur.

Doreas. *Doriya*, striped cloth.

Tepoys Tussery. Tepoy is apparently a form of "tapie" which, Sir Wm. Foster remarks (*Letters Received*, VI. 45, f. n.) "is found in several combinations as the name of various piece-goods." Sir William derives the term either from Javanese *tāpt*, a skirt or border, or from Ar. *'attābi*, variegated silk or cotton fabrics, from a quarter of Baghdād called *al-'attābiya*, a class of goods widely imitated elsewhere. The latter derivation, whence comes our English term "tabby" for striped or wavy silk, seems the more probable. "Tussari" is *tassar* ('tussore') silk.

Bundar. Bandar 'Abbās, Gombroon.

Trankey hire. Boat-hire: terranquin, a vessel commonly used in the Persian Gulf. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Tranky.

Calatee. Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham suggests that this word probably represents *kaldāt*, formed from Pers. *kalāt*, a market-town, thus signifying market-dues.

(b)

Outory. Auction. See p. 35.

Gingham. Indian cotton-goods.

Camblet. Goats' hair cloth.

Chellah shirts. Probably shirts of *śālū*, soft twilled cotton (Turkey red). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Shalee.

Baman coats. Possibly Banian coats. For 'banyan costume' and 'banyon coat,' see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Banyan.

Chucklaes. See p. 35.

Taffety. Glossy Chinese silk. See vol. L, p. 11, for a history of the term.

Cheronna Handkerchiefs. *Chār-khāna*, chequered cloth.

Cott. *Khāt*, bedstead.

Mahmod. *Mahmūdī*=2 or 3 shāhī. See Fryer, ed. Crooke, II, 139.

(c)

Sir George Matthews. A free-trader and commander of the *London*, of which Scattergood was supercargo.

Dr. Stewart. I have found no other mention of this individual.

Capt. Dennis. Capt. H. Dennis commanded the E. I. Co.'s ship *Nathaniel*, of which Henry Bradshaw was supercargo, in her voyage to Mocha and Bengal 1705-1708.

Peter Lilly. See p. 45, where it is inferred that he was in Bradshaw's service. Subsequent mentions, however, show that he was a free-trader.

Hamalls. Ar. *hāmil*, a carrier, porter.

Mr. Beavis. See p. 50.

Mr. Curgenven. Peter Curgenven. See below.

Piscaroy. Mr. Oldham thinks that this may perhaps stand for *pesh-kârî*, payment for writing accounts, to the *pesh-kâr*, subordinate official, writer, or, more probably, for *peshkirâya*, 'advance hire,' i.e., charge for hire paid in advance.

Besides the three accounts relating to Henry Bradshaw's affairs, given above, there are three others not printed. The first contains a list of goods, similar to those enumerated in No. 3 (a) "sold to the Worshipfull John Lock, Agent, the 1st September 1707," the second, dated December 1707, shows "the exchange to Spahaun" that summer to have been 8 per cent; and the last, dated 14 May 1708, after Scattergood's return from Isfahân, notes the cost of "a Tomb built at Gombroon, [over Henry Bradshaw's remains], 1260. 8" (*shâhî*), or about £15.

In addition to the Bradshaw accounts, there is a receipt, dated Gombroon, 16 May 1707, signed by John Eaton Dodsworth and his assistants, for Bengal goods consigned to Persia by Captain John Wright, whose directions were to be awaited, or should they not arrive, "the ballance" to be delivered "to Mr. John Scattergood on his return from Spahaun."

The journey to Isfahân was made in May 1707 in company with Peter Curgenvén, his fellow supercargo, with whom Scattergood shared his personal expenses, the cost of transmitting the goods with which he was entrusted being charged to the freighters of the cargo.

Peter Curgenvén, mentioned above, was, like Scattergood, a free merchant and the two were intimately connected in business relations for some years. Peter had two brothers in India at this time, John and Thomas, both in Bengal, the former a free merchant and the latter a factor in the Company's service. An account of the family with details of the capture of Peter Curgenvén by Angria, his ultimate release after serving as a galley-slave and his death on his arrival in England is told by Mr. A. J. Curgenvén in *Thomas Curgenvén and Three Nephews*, recently published.

[4 (a) ACCOUNT EXPENCES BETWEEN MR. CURGENVEN AND MYSELF FOR OUR JOURNEY
TO SPAHAUNE MAY THE 20TH 1707.]

Paid Edwards for sundry things bought for us	363. -
2 Gunny bags for the rice	4. -
for cocks	14. -
Paid Roy 4 months wages at 70 shas. pr. month	280. -
Paid for sundry things to the Company	938. -
2 shotters for 2 months wages at 70 shas	280. -
1 cook 2 mo.	140. -
1 Horsekeeper 2 mo.	140. -
1 man to lead the Kedgway	140. -
2 Yockdans	130. -
1 pr. Kedgway	130. -
5 Wappenges to cover it	100. -
2 ropes	8. -
for mending the Yockdans	16. -
paid a Talor for sowing the Kedgway cloth	3. -
Saddles for the Yockdans	75. -
A water pott for the Horses	36. -

for beasts for our lumber *vizt.*

2 for 2 Yockdams
2 for 2 pr. chests
1 for cockroomware
1 for Kedgway
2 for 2 pr Muffrages
1 for Horse furniture
1 for Wine
2 for Rack
2 for 2 Englishmen
1 for lumber qt. in 2 wine chests

15 mules at 190 Shas. Pr. mule ..	2850.	-.
Callatte for 15 loads at 6 Shas. pr load ..	90.	-.
	5737.	-.
at 8 pr. cent excha. ..	459.	-.
	6186.	-.

[4 (b) ACCOUNT CHARGES TRAVELLING TO SPAHAUNE (MAY 1707) *vizt.*]

To horse keeping and Gerah ..	356.	2.
To Provision on the road ..	225.	9.
To servants wages ..	495.	-.
To 7 Mules for our lumber and servants to ride on at 190 Shas. pr. load ..	1330.	-.
To Calatte for 7 mules at 6 shas. pr. mule ..	42.	-.
To Sundry necessities between Mr. Curganven and self the whol being 2177 shas. my half is ..	1038.	5.
To a Palenken ..	500.	-.
To 2 black chests ..	70.	-.
To a small carpet ..	130.	-.
To a horse ..	1000.	-.
To an Ass for a servant to ride on ..	220.	-.
	5407.	6.
To eight pr cent 5407 is ..	432.	-.
Owners Cr.		
by the horse sold here ..	200.	
by the sale of an Ass ..	200.	
To John's wages at 140 shas. pr mon. 7 months. 980.		
To Roy wages at 70 shas. 9 months ..	630.	
	1610.	-.
	7017.	6.
Charges on the Coffala to Spahaune ..	400.	-.
	6617.	6.
To Twine 10½ Maunds at 7½ pr maund ..	78.	7.
To Ropes 1007 at 10s. pr 100 ..	100.	-.

To Packing 479 bales at 8 coz. pr bale	383.	2.
To Cooley hire on Do. at 2 coz. pr bale	95.	8.
To Do. for removeing bales too and thro	40.	—
To Victuals for cooleys and Packermen	84.	—
To Piscaroy on 239½ loads at 60s. pr load	14370.	.
To Calattee on Do. at 6 pr load	1437.	—
	16588.	7.
To 8 pr cent		
To boat hire to bring the goods ashore 10 boats at 60 shas. pr boat ..	600.	—

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 4.]

(a)

Gunny. *Goné*, sacking.

Shotters. See p. 49.

Kedgway, Pers. *kajáwa*, a camel-litter.

Yockdans, Pers. *yakhdán*, a travelling trunk (lit. an ice chest, *yakh*, ice).

Wappenges. Wrappings : from an obsolete English word "wap" to wrap.

Muffrages. Pers. *máfárish* (plural), carpets.

Rack. Arrack, Ar. *'araq*, spirituous liquor.

Callatte. See p. 54.

(b)

Gerah. See p. 46.

Coffala. *Qáfila*, caravan.

Maund. The Persian *man sháhi* was equal at that time to about 12½ lb. av., and the *man-i-Tabriz* to about 6½ lb.

Piscaroy. See p. 55.

On his return to Gombroon in March 1708, Scattergood made up his accounts with private individuals and also with the freighters of the *London*. From these it is obvious that it was in the *London*, a Separate Stock ship, commanded by Sir George Matthews, that this voyage to Persia was undertaken, and it is further shown that Scattergood was chief supercargo, with Thomas Lovell as his assistant. The latter was supercargo of the *Loyall Merchant* in 1709 and was again at Gombroon in February of that year (*Factory Records, Persia*, Vol. 1).

It is only possible to print a small portion of these accounts, but a few items of interest from those omitted may be noted.

In the account of Captain John Wright, who was dead before the produce of his goods reached Madras, there is a charge for "Consolage," or customs dues, of 4 shas. per cent. and for "Sroffage," i.e., money-dealers' commission (*sarráf*, money-changer, banker) 3.4. Captain John Haslewood's goods included "brown gurrahs" (*gárhá*, lit. unbleached), unbleached cotton-cloth, and the commission on his "gruff" sales, or sales of course goods, amounting to shas. 8271 at 5 per cent, was shas. 436. From the accounts of Gulston Addison and others, we find that "chequins," sequins, were worth 29.5 "coz. per chequin," i.e. about 10s.

There is also an account with John Lock, the Company's Agent in Persia, showing that from April to September 1707 bills were drawn by Lovell and Scattergood on Agent Lock and Scattergood, payable to various native merchants, amounting to shas. 17,91,644. 1.

Besides investments by English merchants, Scattergood had been entrusted with a consignment of Bengal goods by Jonadun Seat (Janárdana Seth), a member of an important

Indian merchant-banker community in Bengal. The goods realized shas. 52,217. 6, and consisted entirely of cotton cloth.

William Lee, previously mentioned (p. 36) seems to have been a companion of Scattergood in one of his journeys either to or from Isfahân, for there is an entry of "his part of the provision on the road" and "his half the charge at Bunder and his own charges to Spahanne." In this account there is also an entry: "To sowing flowers on the Tupes" (? the tepoys mentioned on p. 51) at "5 coz." a piece.

[5 (a) MRS. ELIZABETH SHELDON'S ACCOUNT.]

Account Sale of a Bale Mullmulls Santepore belonging to Madam Elizabeth Sheldon sold at Spahaune to the Agent [1707] *vizt.*

Mullmulls Santepore ps. 107 at 56 shas.	5992. -.	
Wrappers of a Bale	32. -.	
		6024
Caroy of a Bale pz. md. Tabs. 27 at 200 shas. per 100 md.	54. -.	
Hamallage here and at Bunder &ca.	6. -.	
		60. -.
		5964. -.
Companys Duty and Brokerage $5\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent	332. 2.	
Vardar or Rebate 6 months at 6 per Cent	361. 4.	
		693. 6.
	Shas.	5270. 4.

Mrs. Elizabeth Sheldon.

Dr.

To Chequeens 185 at shas. 29. 5
coz. per Chequeen is Shas. . . 5468.

Cr.

By the nett Account Sales of her
goods sold at Spahaune the 1st
Sept. 1707 to the Rt. Worshipfull
John Lock Agent 5270. 4.
By Interest from Primo Sept. to
primo February 5 months at 9 per
cent per Annum 197. 6.

5468. -.

[5 (b) SALE OF THE CARGO OF THE *London*, 1707.]

Account Sales of goods and Merchandize belon[g]ing to the freighters of ship *London* Sir George Mathews Commander Sold in Spahaune to the Merchants and the Right Worshipfull John Lock Agent by John Scattergood for account of the above said Freighters *vizt.*

[Here follows a list of piece-goods of the descriptions noted in document No. 3 (a) totaling shas. 11,40,469. 9.]

Memorandum to deduct *vizt.*

Chucklaes unsold 60 ps. at 49	2940. -.	
Browne Gurrahs 874 ps. at 14	12236. -.	
		15176. -.
		1125293. 9.

[5 (c). SALE OF THE CARGO OF THE *London*—continued.]

Account Goods Sold to the Agent belonging to Mr. William Lee & Co. [1707] vizt.

Sannoos Ballasore	983½ at 57½	..	..	..	56541.	6.
Chucklaes	420½ at 49	..	..	..	20612.	6.
Do.	118 at 70	..	..	..	8260.	—
					28872.	6.
Shaulbafts	12 at 70	..	..	..	840.	—
Tepoies	146½ at 38	..	..	..	5573.	3.
Elatchees Maulda	1125 at 18½	..	..	..	20812.	5.
	Cost 36					
Tanjebs	72 at 48	..	..	..	3504.	—
Gouldar	158 at 17	..	..	..	2680.	—
	Cost 2					
Corrodaries	866 at 25	..	..	..	21650.	—
Omerties	250 at 31	..	..	..	7750.	—
Mull : Bahr, 289 ps. vizt.						
	208 at 31	..	..	..	6448.	—
	81 at 28	..	..	..	2268.	—
					8716.	—
Cossos Maulda	717 ps. at 49	..	..	..	35133.	—
Do. Cogmarie	159 ps. at 62	..	..	..	9858.	—
Soosies	100 at 50	..	..	..	5000.	—
	355 at 70	..	..	..	24850.	—
					29850.	—
Conconeos	16 guz. 2550 at 18	..	..	..	45900.	—
Tupes	246 at 30	..	..	..	7380.	—
Do.	275 at 38	..	..	..	10450.	—
					17830.	—
Chela	1023 at 15½	..	..	..	15856.	5.
Laycowries	1893 at 21	..	..	..	39753.	—
	250 at 18	..	..	..	4500.	—
					44253.	—
Cossos Gasporee	347 at 18	..	..	..	6246.	—
Sannoos Mahoopr.	146 at 37.5	..	..	..	5475.	—
Do. Barroon	417 at 24	..	..	..	10008.	—
					377355.	5.
Cosses Burroon	300 at 44	..	..	..	13200.	—
					390555.	5.
To Comp. Consolage &c. at 5½ pr cent	..	..			21480.	5.
To vardr. 6 mo : on shas. 336025 at 6 pr cent	..	..			20161.	5.
					41642.	—
					348913.	5.

[5 (d). ACCOUNT OF GOODS SENT TO MADRASS (IN THE *London*).]

Expences, &c. at Bunder on my [J.S.] own Account.

					Shas.	
To a chest of Rosewater and matting	..	..	..	..	122.	5.
To a chest of Fruit of sundry sorts and charges	..	..	..	..	213.	6.
To 3 Chests of Hachee at 140 shas. pr chest and mat	..	..	..	..	426.	—
To 6 Do. Shiross at 120 Shas. pr chest and mat	..	..	..	..	740.	—
					1502.	1.

To Mr. Upton for sundry goods bought as pr his Account ..	19501. --
	21003. 1.
To Chitterah for cash borrowed of him	600. --
To freight of 4 chests Wine and 1 chest fruit	540. --
To China cups &c.	12. --
To a Gold head cane	180. --
To Deal boards bought of Mr. Beavis for chests for goods	452. --
To half a horse gave Sir George [Matthews]	1080. --

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 5.]

(a)

Elizabeth Sheldon. She was the wife of Ralph Sheldon, then chairman of the United Trade Council at Calcutta. He died in April 1709 and in April 1711 his widow married Josiah Chitty, 5th of Council and Export Warehousekeeper at Calcutta. (C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, Vols. I and II, Pt. 1.)

Mulmulls Santepore. *Malmal* from Sântipur, See p. 54.

Caroy. See piscaroy (p. 55).

Hamallage. Porterage. See p. 33.

Vardar. This word is a puzzle. It apparently means discount, or charges.

(b)

Chuoklaes. See p. 35.

Brown Gurrahs. Here there is the same redundancy as on p. 57, showing that Europeans failed to catch the significance of the term *gārhd*.

(c)

Most of these goods have already been noted. Those mentioned for the first time are :—

Tanjebs. *Tanzib*, fine muslin.

Gouldar. *Gul-dâr*, flowered cloth.

Omerties. The "amberty callicoos" of Messrs. Hughes and Parker (*English Factories*, 1618-1621, p. 213). See also *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. II, s.v. *Ambati* in Index.

Mull : Bahr. *Malmal* from Bihâr (?)

Tupes. *Tâpt*. See p. 54.

Cossos Gasporee. *Khâssa* (see p. 53) from Ghauspur (?)

(d)

Hachee. Haashiah, Ar. *hâshîsh*, dried and powdered hemp leaves for smoking.

Shiross. Sbirâs wine. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, I, 141, says that there were two sorts, white and red, the white being "most esteemed."

Mr. Upton. Four individuals of this name are mentioned in the *Scattergood Papers*—Captain Upton. Ar. (? Alexander) Upton, Richard Upton and William Upton. It is probably the last named who is mentioned here.

Chitterah. Possibly Khatri (a man of the mercantile caste so called) : but the word is doubtful.

Mr. Beavis. See p. 50.

Half a horse. Scattergood apparently means that he paid half the cost of a horse presented to Sir George Matthews.

[ADDITIONAL NOTE ON DOCUMENT NO. 1 (see p. 33).]

Entry 1 August 1698. The "Mrs. Mounk" to whom Scattergood sent arrack was Frances Monk who had farmed the wine license at Fort St. George, Madras, with Simon Kilpatrick for 200 pagodas in 1698. In 1699 it was let to William Proby for three years at

250 pagodas yearly (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 10), and Mrs. Monk was evidently about to return to England when Scattergood left Madras for Bengal.

The *London*, under Sir George Matthews, with Scattergood on board, arrived at Madras from Persia on 15 June 1708 (*Fort St. George Diary*) and almost immediately Scattergood found himself involved in a dispute with the Council. The Company's ship *Kent* had come from China to Madras in March 1708, and as she was in danger of losing her passage round the Cape, if despatched to England as late as April or May, it was decided to let her out to private freighters for a voyage back to China, in the expectation that she would return in time to sail for Europe in February of 1709. The ship was accordingly hired to Edward Fleetwood and Gulston Addison on the understanding that she should leave China not later than 20 December 1708. With Addison and Fleetwood were associated four others sharing in the investment, and among them John Scattergood's name appears. The arrangement on his behalf was probably made by his friends and co-freighters, the Rev. George Lewis and William Warre, merchant.

There was some delay in concluding the terms for hire and it was not till 21 May that the *Kent* under Captain Edward Harrison sailed for China with Edward Fleetwood as chief supercargo. She was absent for nearly a year, not reaching Madras until 15 May 1709, when she had again lost her passage to England. On 4 July the Council "demanded a double freight for her, by reason they did not return in season so as to be dispatched for England," and on 14 July the freighters "put in their answers," to which Scattergood was a signatory (*Fort St. George Diary and Consultations* 1708, 1709), and a compromise was effected between the two parties.

For three years (1708-1711) Scattergood appears to have remained at Madras trading as a merchant and improving his position socially and financially. In June 1710, on a "general summons to all the inhabitants" for the raising of "trained bands," he attended and was "nominated Ensign" (*Consultation* 15 June 1710), his commission being drawn out on the following day.

The importance of Scattergood's position as a merchant at this period can be gauged from the following entry in a *Consultation* at Fort St. George of 17 January 1711:—"Mr. Scattergood this day appeared before us and offered to take up the *Susanna* for China and likewise offers 16½ for all the Company's Silver as may suit with our conveniency to spare, which is deferr'd to further consideration."

The *Susannah*, a Company's ship, had arrived at Madras from England in July 1710. Scattergood's offer to take her on freight to China does not seem to have been entertained, but his proposal regarding the Company's silver was debated and on 19 February the *Consultation* records:—

"We being low in Cash and being under a necessity of paying our Fort St. David merchants what due to them on their last contract of 50000 Pagodas . . . and we having kept the Companys silver being 32 chests till now . . . and it seeming probable that silver may become rather cheaper than dearer . . . and Mr. Scattergood now appearing before us for our answer to what he proposed last Consultation day relating to the Company's silver, in which intervall of time wee could not gett more than what he offered, it is therefore unanimously agreed that we sell Mr. Scattergood the said 32 chests of silver at the rate of 16½ per 10 Pagodas, he paying ready mony for the same." (*Fort St. George Diary and Consultations*, 1711).

Among the *Scattergood Papers* we find a receipt signed by William Martin, Warehouse-keeper dated 26 March 1711, for 5000 pagodas paid by Scattergood on "account the Right Honble. United Company[s] silver sold him."

Trade with Persia was still going on, for a receipt is also preserved, dated 5 February 1711, for 119 pagodas 29 fanams paid to Captain Thomas Saunders, Commander of the *Sylva* which sailed to Gombroon and returned in July 1711.

Scattergood was now a man of substance and was conducting mercantile transactions on a large scale. In 1711 he became associated with Edward Jones as supercargo of the *Bussorah Merchant* in a voyage to China, and it was doubtless in connection with this venture that he collected the list of goods and prices which follows :—

[6. PRICES CURRENT IN SURATT MARCH 1711.]

	Sear	R	Rups.
Quicksilver per maund of	40	-	60 to 70
Vermilion	40	-	52 to 60
Copper Japan	40	-	15 @ 16
Copper China	40	-	14 @ 15
Tutaneg	40	-	10 @ 12
Allom China	42	-	2 @ 2½
Ditto Mallacca	42	-	- - -
China camphire	42	-	22 @ 26
Annis seeds China	42	-	[6½ @ 7½]
China cash	40	-	[13] -
Ditto sugar	41	-	3½ @ 4½
Ditto sugar candy	43½	-	5 @ 6
China root	42	-	5 @ 10
Java sugar	41	-	3 @ 4
Ditto sugar candy	43½	-	5 @ 6
Gambodia	44	-	7 @ 8
Hartall	44	-	10 @ 15
Tortoise shell black and thick	40	-	according to goodness.
			[80 @ 100]
Peppar Sumatra	42	-	7 @ 8
Green tea	42	-	20 @ 25
Bohee tea	42	-	[20 @ 45]
Tin	40	-	10 @ 12
120 to 150 cloves new	42	-	125 @ 135
80 to 120 nutmegs.. .. .	42	-	85 @ 95
Mace	42	-	200 @ 210
50 to 70 Cinamon Zeilon [Ceylon]	42	-	80 @ 90
Lead English	40	-	4 @ 5½
			pucca mds.
Ditto white	44	-	8 @ 10
Ditto red	40	-	4 @ 5
Tinkull	44	-	7 @ 14
Elephants teeth 16 to the cwt.	70	-	65 @ 75
St. lack Pegu	44	-	4 @ 5
Seed lack in lumps	44	-	5 @ 7
Sandal Mallabar	40	-	5 @ 7

	Sear	R.	Rups.
Rattans		[1 : 5	@ 1 : 8]
Shark fins		[12	@ 17]
Cow beazor		[10	@ 8]
Wax—the maund	42	- 10	to 12
Rhubarb	44	- [35	good].
Cardamoms Mallabar gowl	42	- 40	@ 55
Ditto Pegu	42	- [25]	- -
Dammar : Achcen	44	- 1½	@ 1½
Bengall iron	40	- 2½	@ 3½
English ditto	40	- 4	@ 5
Almonds	42	- 3	@ 4
Rosewater 21 flasks	-	- 20	@ 30
Cochineal, sear pucka of near 30 ounces		25	@ 35
Sapan wood the maund of 42 sear		1	@ 1½
Betle nutt white	40	- 2½	@ 3½
			new.
Ditto red.			
Betle Old	40	- -	- -
Copra new	40	- 2½	@ 4
Ditto old	40	- -	- -
Gallingal china	44	- 2	@ 3
Round peppar Mallabar	41½	- 6½	@ 7½
Long peppar Bengall	44	- 6½	@ 10
Sapan wood Mallabar	42	- 2	@ 3
Gallingal Mallabar..	44	- 4	@ 7
			but it must be red.
Peppar roott	44	- -	- -
Ginger new Mallabar	42	- 3	@ 4
Turnerick	42½	- 2	@ 3
Opium	42	- 90	@ 100
Silk Bengall. 5 sort 4 to 6 Rups per sear pucka :			
Raw silk China white, the sear pucka 6 rupces.			
Putchock the maund	44	- 8	@ 10
Mirh fine	44	- 10	@ 12 or 14
Ditto Coarse	44	- 5	@ 6
Aloes Zocotra [Socotra]	44	- 7	@ 8
			as in the bales.
Olibanum not clean	44	- 3	@ 4
Coffee	42½	- 12	@ 16
Indigo Agra	41	- 45	@ 60
			and upwards.
Ditto Suratt	41	- 10	@ 16
Ruinas 3 ma. 37½ sears gross per bundle—75 Rups.			
Ditto false		25	@ 30
Ditto mixt		50	- -
Midjeat		16½ sears Surat	110 Rups.

	R.	Rups
Cotton broack, 21 maund to the candy..	55	@ 65
Rhubarb		
Cubebs	4½	and upwards.
Redwood	} [added in pencil]	(2½ @ 3]
Rosumalloes		[50 @ 55]
[Endorsed] Price Current Suratt		

March 31st 1711.

[Note.—The figures within square brackets are added in pencil in the margin.]

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 6.]

The greater number of the articles named in this list were imports from China.

Maund of 40 seer. The modern Indian standard maund (*man*) is of the same content, 40 seer (*ser*) of 80 *tola* of 180 grains. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Maund : Seer : Tola.

Tutaneg. Port. *tutenaga*, spelter.

China Cash, 40 Seer, 13 R. There is something wrong here. Scattergood probably intended to give the correct rate of exchange for cash in Surat, the usual nominal value of which was 1000 to the dollar. See Vols. XXVI and XXVII, *Currency and Coinage among the Burmese*.

China Root. *Smilax pseudo-China*. See *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, III. 212.

Gambodia. Gamboge from Cambodia and China.

Hartall. *Hartál*, arsenic.

Bohee Tea. Black tea. The term Bohea is derived from the Wu-i hills in the Fuhkien province of China. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, II. 521, s. v. Black Teas, remarks :—" Bohea or Voo-ye, the name of the country, is in the province of Fokien, and is very hilly, not only the hills are planted with tea trees, but the vallies also : the former are reckoned to grow the best tea."

Tinkull. *Tinkál*, borax.

St. Lack Pegu : Seed Lack. Pegu stick-lac, i. e., the wax of the *Tachardius lacca*, formed on trees, in its natural state. Seed-lac is the term applied to the substance when separated from the twigs and broken into small pieces. See Milburn, *op. cit.*, II. 216.

Sandal Mallabar. Sandal wood from the Malabar Coast.

Cow bezoar. For bezoar, a medicinal stone found in the bodies of certain animals, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bezoar, and for "Gowloochon" (*gau-lochan*) or cow-bezoar, see *John Marshall in India*, p. 344.

Dammar : Acheen. *Damar*, resin used for pitch, from Achin, Sumatra.

Cochineal, seer pucka of near 30 ounces. Cochineal weighed by the *pakku ser*, the larger of the two kinds in use at Surat.

Sapan wood the maund of 42 seer. Sappan-wood, also called Redwood and Brazil-wood, the wood of the *Cesalpinia Sappan*. Here the content of the *man* varies from that given for quicksilver.

Betle nut. *Betel*, the name given to the fruit of the *Areca Catechu*, which is chewed with the leaf of the *Piper Belle*.

Copra. *Khoprá*, dried coco-nut.

Gallangal China. Galangal, *Alpinia Galanga*, the aromatic root of which was formerly used in medicine.

Long pepper, Bengall. The fruit spike of the *Piper longum*, indigenous in E. Bengal.
 Putohook. *Pachak*, *Costus* root, used for medicine and incense.

Olibanum not clean. A gummy resin from certain species of trees of the genus *Boswellia* growing in Persia and Arabia, generally known as frankincense. By "not clean" Scattergood means mixed with earth and twigs.

Indigo. See Mundy's account of "the best and richer sort" of indigo, "commonly called by the name of Agra Indico" (*Travels*, ed. Temple, II. 221-3).

Ruinas false. Pers. *ronās*, madder. By "ruinas false" Scattergood probably means the chay-root of Coromandel, the root bark of *Oldenlandia umbellata*, a plant of the same family as madder.

Midjeat. Munjeet, *manjīt* (*Rubia cordifolia*), a species of madder-root from Bengal.

Cotton broack. ? Cotton Broach, i.e., cotton from Broach which was noted for its excellent quality.

Cubebs. Cubeb pepper, *kabūbckīnā*, Chinese pepper.

Redwood. Sappan-wood. See above.

Rosumalloes. Rose malloes, Malay *rasamala*. Java storax, a fragrant resin.

[7. ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR THE *Bussorah Merchant*.]

Articles of Agreement between Messrs. Thomas Frederick and Charles Boone in behalf of the Freighters of Ship *Bussera Merchant* for Canton in China on the One part and John Cockroft Philip Gamon and James Penning in behalf of themselves and Owners of the said Ship of the other part.

- Imprimis* .. Tis mutually agreed between both partys that Messrs. John Scattergood and Edward Jones doe embark with their Stock as Supra Cargoes and Mr. Guyn Purser by the 20th inst. with their Servants Necessarys &ca. satisfying the Commander for their provisions but that hee shall bee obliged to allow them a Lodging in the Great Cabin.
- 2dly* .. That for the Stock which shall bee laden by Messrs. Thomas Frederick Charles Boone &ca. Freighters the said Supra Cargoes shall pay on the produce of their Silver in China four Pr cent.
- 3dly* .. That all Port charges Anchorage Pilotage and all other charges whatsoever in China or elsewhere bee on Account of said Ship *Bossoera Merchant* excepting house Expences which the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones shall bear their part of.
- 4thly* .. That in case any Accident should prevent the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones investing their Stock before the Departure of said Ship then they shall pay no more then half freight for the Amount they shall leave behind.
- 5thly* .. The said John Cockroft &ca. doe oblidge themselves to assist the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones with their Boat and People to run their Silver and Gold but that all their risques goeing and comeing be on the Account of the said Thomas Frederick Charles Boone &ca. freighters.
- 6thly* .. It is agreed that the said John Cockroft &ca. doe keep Ship *Bussora Merchant* in Canton till the 15th November 1711 unless the Supra Cargoes John Scattergood and Edward Jones shall have finished their Business before that time.
- 7thly* .. That the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones and John Cockroft doe appear in China as Supra Cargoes of the whole concerne as well to the Merchants as to the Government.

- 8thly* .. The aforementioned John Cockroft &ca. do oblige themselves to put ashore the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones with the Treasures belonging to the Freighters and their own Effects either at Nagapatum or Trincombarr in his way to Surat.
- 9thly* .. The said John Cockroft &ca. do agree to allow the two Supra Cargoes John Scattergood and Edward Jones four thousand Pagodas freight free and what more they carry they are to pay the same freight as agreed above.
- Lastly* .. For due performance of all the aforementioned Articles the said Thomas Frederick Charles Boone &ca. Freighters do bind themselves Heirs Executors and Administrators on the one part and the said John Cockroft Phillip Gamon and James Penning in behalf of themselves &ca. Owners of the *Bussora Merchant* on the other part do bind themselves their Heirs Executors and Administrators in a penalty of five thousand Pagodas on any breach of one or more of the aforementioned Articles In witness whereof they have interchangeably sett their hands and Seals this ninth day of May one thousand seven hundred and Eleaven In Fort St. George

JOHN COCKROFT
PHILIP GAMON
JAMES PENNING

Signed Sealed and Delivered where no stamp paper is
to be had in the presence of Us

FRANCIS SEATON
FRANCIS DELTON

This is a true Copy of the Originall Articles Examined and Attested by Us

RAW[SON] HART
SAMLL. JONES

[Endorsed]

Copy of Articles of Agreement between Thos. Frederick and
Charles Boone &c. Freighters and Capt. John Cockroft &c.
on Ship *Bussora Merchant* Anno 1711.

Whereas it is omitted in the Articles of Agreement between Messrs. Thomas Frederick and Charles Boone in behalf of the Freighters of Ship *Bussora Merchant* for Canton in China on the one part and John Cockroft Philip Gamon and James Penning in behalf of themselves and Owners of the said Ship on the other part to mention what stock shall be laden on Board upon Freight it is hereby agreed that the said Freighters shall put on Board the Summe of fifty five thousand Pagodas and to strengthen the fourth Article in the Agreement that they shall be obliged to pay full freight for the Summe of fourty thousand Pagodas whether invested in China or not and for the remaining fifteen thousand Pagodas if not invested no more then half freight In Witness whereunto wee have interchangeably set our hands and Seals this 12 day of May 1711.

Signed Sealed and Delivered where no stamp
paper is to be had in the presence of Us

JOHN COCKROFT
PHILIP GAMON
JAMES PENNING

JOHN JONES
ABEL LANGEIER

This is a true copy of the Originall Examined and Attested by Us

RAW[SON] HART
SAMLL. JONES

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 7.]

As will be seen from the *Articles of Agreement*, the commander of the *Bussorah Merchant* was apparently Captain John Cockroft, but, strangely enough, his name does not appear as such, nor is the vessel mentioned in the *Fort St. George Diary* which, however, records the arrival, on 5 May 1711 at Madras, of the *Elizabeth*, with Cockroft as commander, and her departure for China, also under Cockroft, on 23 May of that year, the day following the signing of the *Articles of Agreement* for the *Bussorah Merchant*.

The most probable explanation of the puzzle seems to be that the freighters, who had made their plans before Captain Cockroft's arrival at Madras, intended to induce him to change the name of his ship or to take command of another in their behalf, both which proposals he refused, but as all the accounts for lading, etc., had been made out in the name of the *Bussorah Merchant*, there was no time to alter them, and consequently all entries in China were continued under that designation.

For actual proof that Cockroft was commander and Scattergood and Jones supercargoes of the *Elizabeth* in her voyage to China in May 1711, there is among the *Papers* a receipt dated in Macao on 28 December (to be given later on) in which they are so designated, and it is further stated that the ship was then bound for Madras. Therefore it is plain that the *Elizabeth*, alias the *Bussorah Merchant*, sailed for China on 23 May and reached Macao on her homeward voyage on 28 December 1711.

Persons mentioned in the title. (1) Thomas Frederick. He had been in the Company's service since 1703. In 1711 he was Paymaster and Seventh in Council at Fort St. George. Later he became Deputy Governor of the Company's factory at Fort St. David, Cuddalore (Kûdalûr). In January 1704/5 he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Mackrith, an associate of Job Charnock in Bengal (Mrs. Penny, *Marriages at Fort St. George*).

(2) Charles Boone, then a free merchant, was Governor of Bombay, 1716-1720. In June 1709 he married at Fort St. George, Jane, widow of Joseph Lister, daughter of Daniel Chardin and niece of Sir John Chardin (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*).

(3) John Cockroft. Like Scattergood, Captain John Cockroft was a "seafaring man, not constant inhabitant" of Fort St. George. He had been in India for some years and had already made voyages to Surat and China. In August 1708 he married Ann Crump, who seems to have been his third wife (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*). He disappears from the *Madras Records* and the *Scattergood Papers* after 1711. If he complied with the 8th Article of the *Agreement*, he would have gone on to Surat, where he may have remained.

(4) Captain Philip Gamon (or Gammon), of whom no mention has been found in the *Madras Records*, appears to have been a free trader. The *Papers* show that he died before October 1713.

(5) James Penning. No other mention has been found of this individual. He was probably connected with Thomas Penning, a factor at Calicut and a friend of Francis Forbes, the first husband of Scattergood's wife, Arabella.

Imprimis. Edward Jones, also "a seafaring man, not constant inhabitant" of Fort St. George, had been supercargo of the *Sweepstakes*, owned by Catherine, widow of John Nicks, and commanded by Captain Thomas Gaywood. The ship was lost at Tranquebar in April 1710, and Gaywood and Jones were ordered "to make satisfaction for the damage sustained" to the trustees of Mrs. Nicks, who had died in the interval. They appealed against the award, but without result (*Fort St. George Diary and Consultations*, 1711).

Mr. Guyn. John Gwynn, later a shareholder in the *Amity* and *Britannia*, in both of which Scattergood was largely interested.

Stthly. Nagapatam. Negapatam in Tanjore District, 160 miles south of Madras, where the Dutch had a factory from 1660 to 1781.

Trincombarr. Tranquebar, also in Tanjore District, 12 miles north of Negapatam. It was given to the Danes by the Nayak of Tanjore in 1618 and they established a factory there.

There is no evidence, either in the *Papers* or in the *Madras Records* to show if the 8th *Article* were complied with, but as Cockroft is not mentioned again in the *Madras Diary* and as Scattergood reappears at Fort St. George in 1712, it seems probable that the condition was observed.

Witnesses. Francis Seaton. Captain Francis Seaton, who in February 1692/3 married Hannah Mackrith (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*) was at this time under sentence of deportation from India, being suspected of having "given information about the great diamond." On 4 September (para. 135) and 14 October 1711 (para. 107) the Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Company that, on giving adequate security, they had allowed him to go to Bengal to settle his affairs before sailing for England.

Francis Delton. No other mention of this individual has been found.

Rawson Hart. The *Papers* show that Scattergood had business relations with this man up to 1723.

Samuel Jones. This man's name appears only twice in the *Papers*, each time as a witness. He died at Fort St. George on 5 February 1712/13 (*Madras Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 35).

John Jones is perhaps identical with the Captain John Jones, who commanded the *Ann* (in which Scattergood was interested) in her voyages to China in 1714 and 1717, or with the John Jones, who married Margery, daughter of George Croke at Fort St. George in October 1710 (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*).

Abel Langelier, who arrived in India in 1707, was at this date a Junior Merchant "under the Paymaster" (*Madras Diary and Consultations*, 1711). He married Elizabeth Berners on 27 February 1713/14 (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*) and died at Fort St. George 26 June 1714 (*Madras Eccles. Records*, I, 41).

Among the *Papers* are various invoices of goods shipped aboard the *Bussorah Merchant* for China. Thus we find one dated 17 May 1711 for "three pair of fine large pearl" consigned to Scattergood and Jones by John Meverell, "Land Customer" at Fort St. David. They had been bought "by the judgment of Mr. Edward Fleetwood," and "being very grate rareties," were not to be sold "under 25 or 30 per cent profit." The pearls were valued at 700 pagodas and were "on the proper account and risque of John Meverell and Mary Fleetwood," widow of Edward Fleetwood, who died at Fort St. George 16 February 1711 (*Madras Eccles. Records*, I, 31).

Next there is an invoice, dated 21 May 1711, of 26 chests of "treasure" containing "pillar dollars," Spanish silver coins bearing a figure of the Pillars of Hercules, weighing 87,865 oz. 17 dwt. 13 gr., for "account and risq of the freighters" and a receipt for the same by Captain John Cockroft, dated the following day, the eve of the departure of the ship. This is followed by a receipt signed by Edward Jones to Scattergood for 750 pagodas "which sume he is concerned in my subscription of 5750 pagodas to the freight on ship *Bussora Merchant*, Captain John Cockroft Commander, bound to Canton in China."

Lastly, there is a memorandum, also dated 22 May, of 12 pagodas "After charges" on account the freighters of the *Bussorah Merchant*. These included payment for "Boathire for treasure, gunroom crew and conicopelys," i.e., fees to native clerks, *kanakka pillai*.

Apart from the business connected with the *Bussorah Merchant* in 1711, Scattergood had family matters which occupied his attention. He acted for his wife's young sister, Sarah Burniston, whose trustees were the minister and churchwardens of St. Mary's, Fort St. George. In May 1711 Scattergood paid over to them 267 pagodas, Sarah's dividend of a palanquin and a house at Bombay, sold by her brother-in-law, William Aislabie. Of his own domestic affairs after his return to Persia, there is the baptism in June 1709, and the burial in October following, of his elder son and the birth in 1710 of his second daughter, Carolina. His second son, who also died in infancy, was born in September 1711.

Now occurs a further puzzle. It appears certain that the *Bussorah Merchant* (or *Elizabeth*) under Cockroft, with Edward Jones on board, sailed for Canton on 23 May 1711 and it

seems natural that Scattergood, the second supercargo, should have also sailed in her. But among the *Papers* there are two documents, dated in Madras 4 July and 4 September, which imply that he was still at Fort St. George. The first is the copy of a letter in his own hand to John Russell (President of Bengal 1711-1713) and Charles Boone, with regard to money received of Mr. Foulkes with whom Scattergood had been associated in Persia (see p. 38 and note on p. 67). As Scattergood remarks that he has referred the matter to John Legg "Notray Publick," he must have been at Madras at the time he wrote the letter. The second document is a respondentia bond for 103 pagodas invested by Scattergood in the *Good Fortune*, signed by Abraham Bennett, master of the vessel. The *Good Fortune* was then bound on a trading voyage to Pegu and it is possible that the investment may have been conducted for Scattergood by his agents. But no record of any ship sailing from Madras for China in 1711 later than the *Elizabeth* (alias the *Bussorah Merchant*) in May of that year has been found, and as the *Papers* show Scattergood to have been in Canton in November, it seems pretty certain that he did accompany Jones. An explanation of the difficulty of reconciling the dates may perhaps be that we should read 4 Jany. instead of 4 July.

The following accounts give some idea of Scattergood's activities in Canton.

[8. JOHN SCATTERGOOD'S RECEIPT FOR GOLD, 30 NOVEMBER 1711.]

Received of Edward Jones eight bars of gold said to poiz tales seventy seven six mace six candrines marked as per mergent and five peices of black gelongs which I promies to deliver to Mr. Robert Jones in Madrass, the danger of the Seas &ca. excepted haveing signed to two receipts of this tennor and date, one being accomplished the other void.

Witness my hand in Canton November the 30th 1711.

J. SCATTERGOOD.

[Endorsed]

My receipt of 8 bars of Pardri : Jones gold.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 8.]

Poiz. Weighing, an abbreviation of avoirdupois, used in the seventeenth century for weight generally.

Tales, mace, candrines. The tale (tael, *tâhîl*, *tâil*), used for currency and weight in China, about 1½ oz. avoirdupois. In 1637 Mundy found "16 Tayes" to contain "20½ ounces nearest hand" (*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, III, 310). Mace (*mâs*, *mâsha*) a tenth of a tale. Candarine (Malay *konduri*, Dutch *condorin*), a tenth of a mace. See Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 309 f.n.; *ante*, vol. XXVI, 314, etc., XXVII, 33, etc.

Black gelongs. The *O. E. D.* gives this term as obsolete, rare, and has only one example of its use, from the *Merchant's Warehouse* of 1696, where it is described as an Indian silk having "a few flowers up and down in it." Lockyer, however, *Trade in India*, 1771, p. 122, includes gelongs among goods procurable at Tonquin and Canton and says the material was a kind of silk crape, used by European officers for neckcloths and by the natives of India for turbans.

Robert Jones. One of the Company's chaplains at Fort St. George. He did not receive the goods consigned to him, as he died of dysentery on 12 November 1711 (*Diary and Consultations at Fort St. George*, 1711).

[9. EDWARD JONES'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT REGARDING SCATTERGOOD'S COMMISSION ON THE CHINA STOCK 6 DECEMBER 1711.]

This acknowledges that Mr. John Scattergood has received no commission one the sixty thousand Pagodas worth of silver laden by Messrs. Thomas Frederick and Charles Boone on the *Bussora Merchant*, Capt. John Cookroft, bound to Canton, and was consigned to the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones. I do hereby promies to use the same maines to

recover it, as I shall the owners stock which remains in Anquas and Leanquas hands, and in case I do recover it to lade it on board the *Howland*, Capt. Cooke, with theres.

Witness my hand in Canton December the Eighth 1711.

EDWARD JONES.

[Endorsed]

Mr. Edwd. Jones. Acknowledgment that I Recd. noe commission for our stock to China.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 9.]

Sixty thousand pagodas worth of silver. That is, the value of the 26 chests of silver mentioned above (see p. 68).

Anqua and Leanqua. A firm of Chinese brokers and merchants in Canton with whom Scattergood did much business in his later voyages. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 101, says of them: "I look upon Leanqua as a very honest man, and so are Anqua and Pinqua for Chinese."

The *Howland*, a company's ship, commanded by Captain George Cooke, was at Achin in April 1712 and at Malacca in October. There Captain Cooke died (*Diary and Cons. at Fort St. George*, 1712). Jones's intention to make use of the *Howland* seems to imply that he did not sail from China in the *Bussorah Merchant* (or *Elizabeth*).

[10. ACCOUNT OF GOODS BOUGHT IN CANTON, 1711.]

- 5 Chests qt. [containing] tea Bohee
- 4 Tubs qt. Do. green
- 2 Chests qt. silks
- 1 Do. qt. China clock work
- 15 Tubs qt. quicksilver and virmillion
- 2 Baskets of hams
- 5 Do. of Bohee tea
- 2 large Tubs of 2 large jarra
- 1 basket qt. hams marked E.T.
- 1 Tub sugar candy
- 6 Do. of soy
- 2 Chests of cloths
- 1 Esceretore large with draws

Account of goods bought of Quiqua alias Codgee in Canton, vizt.

	T.		
China clockwork 17 pieces	45.	—	—
Taffaties 2 pieces white	8.	—	—
Do. workt in black	13.	—	—
Do. 1 piece yellow embroider'd	14.	—	—
White satten 1 piece	5.	2.	—
Gold 10 pieces 98½ touch pz. 97T. 6M. —Ca. 5 Cash at 96 for 93 sisee silver ..	1053.	9.	8.
Paid 1 bag pz. 720T. 2M. 9 Pillar 1 per cent	1139.	1.	8.
7: 2: 1 ..	727.	5.	—
	411.	6.	8.
Paid Mr. Gibbons for his Account	63.	5.	—
	348.	1.	8.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 10.]

China clock work. Of this import Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 128, says: "Clock-work is in several forms as junks, men, women, horses, deer, and the like; which I know not the value of in England."

E.T. These initials stand for Elihu Trenchfield, Scattergood's step-brother, also a free merchant trading in India.

Soy. A Chinese sauce. For its composition see below. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 128, says that it "comes in tubs from Jappon", but is also "made and sold very cheap in China."

Quiqua *alias* Codgee. Also spelt Quinquia *alias* Cudgeon, Cudden, a Canton merchant with whom Scattergood had business dealings up to 1720.

Taffaties. See p. 54, note on Document No. 3 (b).

Gold . . . 98½ touch . . . at 96 for 93 sisee. 98½ touch, *i.e.*, 98½ parts pure metal and 1½ parts alloy, making in the whole 100. See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, I, 67. Pz. is a further abbreviation of poiz, weighing (see p. 69). For tale, mace, canderine, see p. 69. Cash, *kásu*, *kársha*, the lowest denomination in Chinese currency, a tenth of a canderine or 1000 to the tale. See vol. XXVIII, 32. Sisee silver, sycee (Cantonese *sai-sz ngan*), fine silk silver, of a high fixed value on account of its purity. See Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 309 n. 6; Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

Piller, *i.e.*, Pillar dollars.

Mr. Gibbons. Two individuals of this name are mentioned in the *Papers*, Capt. H. E. Gibbons who was a trustee for the affairs of John Burniston, Scattergood's father-in-law, and Mr. — Gibbons, mate of the *Bonita* in 1721. It is probably the former who is intended here.

There are among the *Papers* about a score of small accounts of goods bought and sold by Scattergood and Jones while in Canton in November and December 1711. The purchases included gold, quicksilver, vermilion, ivory and bamboo fans, cow bezoar, Chinese jars, teapots, a "Hogshaw pot," *i.e.*, a pot from Fuh-chau, the capital of Fuh-kien (written as pronounced), soy, sugar candy, silks and satins (plain and embroidered), ribbons and sewing silk. The goods were obtained from the Chinese merchants mentioned above and from Pinkee Winkee *alias* Chonqua, Laulee, Comshaw, Tuckseen and a goldsmith called Buqua.

The cargo sold consisted of pearls, silver in bullion and dollars and amber beads, and the accounts show that, besides acting for the freighters and making purchases for themselves, the supercargoes carried out sales and obtained returns in Chinese products for private individuals, European and Indian. The extracts which follow give some idea of their activities.

[11a]

LAUS DEO IN CANTON NOVEMBER 1711.

MR. EDWARD JONES.

<i>Dr.</i>				<i>Cr.</i>			
To cash lent oz. 424 : 2 is tale	..	350.	2. 1.	By cash lent me 20			
				Ryalls 8	..	14.	4. —
To Do.	..	69.	6. —	By rupees 33	..	11.	— . —
To ballance Madrass account	..	48.	2. 1.	By 8 ryalls is oz.			
				421.13 is tales	..	348.	1. 8.
To ½ a present made Monsr. Hebert junior,				By dollers made			
<i>vizl.</i>				over to Mr. Ster-			
green tea 2 peculls	24.	— . —		ling 17	..	12.	2. 4.
10 ps. damasks @ 5.5	55.	— . —		By 5 ps. birds eyes	15.	— . —	
2 ps. taffitys	..	8. 6. —		By cash paid	..	69.	6. —
12 pairs stockings	..	13. 2. —		By 9 gallons of			
24 fanns at 2½ n.	..	6. — . —		white wine	..	7. 8. 3.	
Custome paid on do.	..	11. — . —		By 4 mos. wages pd.			
his half of ea. is	..	117. 8. 0.	58. 9. —	the washerman	..	4. 6. 4.	

To ballance house expences	90.	3.	4.	By $\frac{1}{2}$ of wine sold 70 dollars his half is 35 makes tales ..	25.	2.	-.
				By 6 pairs stockings ..	6.	6.	-.
	617.	2.	6.	By the alloy and working the gold cup and plate ..	4.	-.	4.
To ballance paid	52.	9.	7.	By cash received of the owners ..	151.	5.	-.
	670.	2.	3.		670.	2.	3.

[11b]

LAUS DEO CANTON OCTOBER 1711.

Mr. Edward Jones Dr.	Pa. fa. ca.	Per contra	Cr.
To 2 pieces gold neckcloths ea. 5 ps. @ 25 fa. pr. neck	6. 34. -.	By $\frac{1}{2}$ charges provisions and liquors. ..	45. 4. 40.
To money lost at cards	7. -. -.	By ballance in pagodas ..	41. 22. 40.
			86. 27. -.

Ditto Cr.

To $\frac{1}{2}$ charges of provisions and liquors for our voyage	71. 29. -.	By lost at cards 20	dollrs.
To a piece longcloth for table linnen his half	1. -. -.	By Mr. Sterling transferring 17	
	86. 27. -.		-37 26. 6. 4.

Ditto Dr.

To ballance last Account 41.22.40 at 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. cwt. Dollars per 10 ps. is oz.	59. 2. 0.	By $\frac{1}{2}$ a gold cup & plate 8. 5. 5	
		18. 3. 0. 5	
		By $\frac{1}{2}$ Do. working &c ..	4. -. 4.
		By Rs. 33 is Tale ..	11. -. -.
		By 5 pieces silk ..	15. -. -.
		By 3 doz. white wine omitted charging. ..	7. 8. 3.
		By washerman $\frac{1}{2}$ wages ..	4. 6. 4.

[11c]

CANTON 1711.

Inqua Dr.	Ta. m. o.	Per contra	T. m.	Cr.
To Cash paid him Tales .. 203. 6. 3.		By Stookings 4 pair at per pair 1. 8.	7. 2. -.	
		By Do. 4 pair at 1. 4.	.. 5. 6. -.	
To Cash paid him 87. 7. 8.	71. 3. 2.	By Do. 12 pair at 8. 5	.. 10. 2. -.	
		2 pieces Taffaties yellow ..	8. 6. -.	
	274. 9. 5.	10 pieces Lutestring at 5. 3. per pair [? ps.] ..	53. -. -.	
		3 pieces Taffata ..	13. 5. -.	

12 pieces Damask at 5. 5. per piece..	66.	—	—
Ribon 26 pieces each a 100 covitts at			
1 Can. 8 Ca. per Covitt	46.	8.	—
Do. 24 pieces at 1. 5.	36.	—	—
Do. 4 pieces at 1. 2.	4.	8.	—
Laceing 5 Catty 5 Tales at 3T. per			
catty	15.	9.	4.
Sowing silk 2 catty	4.	—	—
Thread 3 catty	3.	—	—
	274.	6.	4.

[11d]

LAUS DEO CANTON 1711.

Buqua Goldsmith	Dr.	Per contra	Cr.
	Ta. m. ca.		
To Cash paid him in Silver.	50. —. —.	By a small chest 2 large	
To Do. ..	10. —. —.	boxes and four small	
To Do. ..	30. —. —.	ones of silver ps. ca.	
To delivered $\frac{1}{2}$ a shoo of		89.15 dwt. is Tales	74. 1. 2.
gold ps.		Looking glass ..	14. 9. 6.
To Gold remains in his			89. 0. 8.
hand ..	1. —. —.	at 40 p et. working is	35. 6. 3.
			124. 7. 1.
oz.dwt.gr.		a Cane with a silver head	1. 2. —.
No. 2—To Dollers 74.16.19.	61. 8. 1.	a small bell	— 2. —.
is Tale		3 Tortellshell canes	— 5. —.
	152. 8. 1.	19 $\frac{1}{2}$ Catty of white copper Covers ..	23. 4. —.
		2 Gold boxes and 3 heads for canes	
		working	2. 8. —.
			152. 8. 1.

[11e]

Mrs. Cooke	Dr.	T. M. C.	Per contra	Cr.	T. M. C.
To a piece of yellow Taffety..	4. 4. —.	By 50 oz. Silver is Tales ..			41. 2. 8.
To working Do. ..	14. —. —.				
To 1 piece painted Pelong ..	2. 5. —.				
To 1 piece Do. ..	2. —. —.				
To 1 piece white broad Ribon	1. 8. —.				
To 1 piece black Do. ..	1. 8. —.				
To 1 piece black Narrow ..	1. 4. —.				
To 12 catty potts of Tea at					
4 m. Per pott ..	4. 8. —.				
To 12 fanns at 5 ..	6. —. —.				
	38. 7. —.				
To Custome paid in China	2. 5. 8.				
&c. charges ..	41. 2. 8.				

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 11a.]

Monsr. Hebert junior. Probably the son of M. Hebert of Pondicherry, with whom Scattergood had business relations in 1712-13,

Mr. Sterling. William Sterling, later supercargo of the *Cambridge* and *Prosperous*. Scattergood's correspondence with him lasted until 1722.

5 ps. birds eyes. Silk marked with birds' eyes, i.e., spotted.

Gold cup and plate. There is no indication for whom this was intended. It may have been ordered by the freighters, but the next account shows that its cost was divided between Scattergood and Jones.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 11b.]

Gold neckcloths. Neckcloths embroidered with gold thread.

Money lost at cards. There are other similar entries. On one occasion Scattergood lost 65 dollars.

Shoo of gold. Gold ingots of a determined weight were known as shoos (shoes) of gold. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 122, has an interesting note on these ingots: "Gold-makers (as they are commonly call'd) cast all the gold that comes thro' their hands into Shoos of about 10 Tale weight, or 12 oz. 3 dwt. 4 gr. of an equal fineness, as one makes them 93 Touch, another is famous for 94, &c. A private mark is stamp'd in the sides, and a piece of printed paper pasted to the middle of them, by which every one's make is known, as our cutlers and other mechanics do in their trades. Both ends of the Shoos are alike, and bigger than in the middle, with thin brims rising above the rest, whence the upper side somewhat resembles a boat; from the middle which in cooling sinks into a small pit, arise circles one within another, like the rings in the balls of a man's fingers, but bigger; the smaller and closer these are the finer the gold is."

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT 11c.]

Inqua. Anqua. See note on p. 70.

Taffaties. See note on p. 71.

Lutestring. A glossy silk fabric. The *O.E.D.* gives this form as "apparently from lustring."

Damask. To be saleable, Lockyer (*op. cit.*, p. 122) says damasks should be "of brisk, lively colours, without speck, decay or other damage, and of flowers in no wise resembling European figures."

Covitts. Port. *covado*, coved, a cubit.

Laceing. Ornamental braid for men's clothes.

Catty. *Katī*, 16 tales, or about 1 lb. 5 oz. av.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT 11d.]

"Working." It is interesting to find that 40 per cent. on the cost of the silver boxes etc was charged for labour.

White copper. Tutenague (Portuguese *tutenaga*), spelter.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT 11e.]

Mrs. Cooke. Probably the wife of Captain George Cooke of the *Howland* (see p. 70).

Painted pelong. Pelongs, like gelongs, were a variety of silk. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 122, says that Tonquin pelongs were the finest, "but those made at Canton are longer and broader . . . guilt paper-flower'd silks make a fine show till they are worn in the wet or damp'd with sweat."

The entry "12 catty potts of Tea" seems fully to confirm Crawford's suggestion as to the origin of our word 'caddy.' See *Hobson-Jobson* (ed. 1903), p. 130, s.v. Caddy.

There are, among the recipes included in the *Papers*, four which seem to belong to this period and were probably acquired by Scattergood during his visit to Canton in 1711. The first is "To hatch Eggs with fire" (No. 12), a method new to him, but known to the Chinese from time immemorial. The particulars were most likely furnished by the "duckmen" with whom he dealt. The next two recipes are for the manufacture of the sauce known as Soy and also for "Missoy," obviously Mock-soy (No. 13a and b). These are followed by notes of the cost of hatching ducks and of the ingredients for the sauce (No. 13c). The fourth recipe describes the method of curing sea-slugs which Scattergood designates "Hysom" (No. 14).

THE MYSTERY AND MENTAL ATMOSPHERE.¹

By Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.

WHEN I agreed, after much searching of heart, to accept the office of President of this Congress, I was not aware that, in a Presidential Address delivered before the Society by Mr. A. R. Wright in February 1927, he had submitted "that the coming Jubilee might be suitably accompanied by a careful stock taking of the position and scope of our science." Even if I had known of such a hope expressed in so high a quarter, I am not competent to comply with it. I therefore trust that both he and you will excuse me if I go my own way in this Address, commencing it as if the suggestion above mentioned had never been made, in the hope that some one else will be able to supply the information required.

In 1921 the Folklore Society, in the forty-third year of its existence, published a brief history of its origin and scope. It was founded in 1878 for the purpose of collecting, recording and studying the fast perishing relics of folklore, a term which was defined as meaning the Learning of the People. We are told that it was invented in 1846—only 82 years ago—by Mr. W. J. Thoms, who afterwards followed the initiative of a lady, still known to folklorist readers of *Notes and Queries*, as "St. Swithin," and became a founder of the Society. The term "Folklore" was to replace the clumsy expression "Popular Antiquities," and soon established itself "as a generic term, under which the traditional beliefs, stories, songs and sayings current among backward peoples, or retained by the uncultured classes of more advanced peoples, are comprehended and included." The term covers everything which forms part of the mental equipment of the folk, as distinguished from their technical skill. It is moreover, "in fact, the expression of the psychology of early man."

The founding of the Folklore Society of England in 1878 was followed by similar foundations, in Spain in 1884, in France in 1885 and 1886, in the United States in 1888, in Germany in 1890, in Belgium in 1891, in Switzerland in 1896, in Poland in 1904, in Greece in 1909, and also in Finland, Hungary, Esthonia and other countries, delegates from some of which are with us to-day. Everywhere the object has been mainly the collection of items of the learning of the people, a point, as will be seen presently, it is important to insist on.

It was quickly clear, however, to certain folklorists that the work could not be allowed to remain altogether there, and that without forgetting that the collection must for many a year form the chief object, it would be necessary before long to go over the facts collected and see what their import was. Such a process in its infancy was discernible in articles contributed to the first Journal of the Society, *The Folklore Record*, in its earliest years, even before any of the other Societies on the Continent of Europe and in America were formed. In fact, it was soon seen that if folklorists confined themselves to the collecting and literary sides of their work, the subject would rapidly wear itself out for want of continued interest therein; and certain of them began to look forward to overhauling the collections made. In quite early years it became evident indeed that the study of folklore must become scientific if it was to live on indefinitely. Thus in the introduction to volume II of the *Folklore Record* Andrew Lang talked of the Science of Folklore in 1879.

By making a scientific study of folklore is meant looking at it according to the principles of science based on knowledge and tested by logic. But perhaps the best way of explaining the difference between the work of such a body as the Folklore Society and that of the Royal Society is that adopted by Lord Balfour the other day, when he said that the British Academy was founded because there were branches of learning not included in the work of the Royal Society, which concentrated "on what we now call natural sciences. But it left whole branches of human interest, scholarship and research wholly untouched." In our humble way, then, we folklorists also are endeavouring to fill up part of the gap, to what we may consider

¹ Presidential Address to the Folklore Jubilee Congress in London, delivered on 20th September 1928.

without undue conceit to be not an unimportant extent. A notable effort in that direction has been made recently by Miss Eleanor Hull in her book on *The Folklore of the British Isles*.

As long ago as 1886 your President ventured to put the situation plainly before the Folklore Society in a lecture entitled *The Science of Folklore*, published in volume IV of the *Folklore Record*. Oddly enough it was found, on going over it again after forty-two years, that much the same arguments are used as those to be now put forward, sometimes in almost the same words; justifying once again old legal advice given long ago that no man should hear his own judgment in appeal, as though he may have forgotten all the circumstances, his mind will lead him to the same conclusions on similar arguments and evidence.

Assuming then that it is right to look upon ourselves as a scientific conference, assembled to do honour to the Jubilee of our particular line of research, it seems fair to assume also that you look for some guidance from the chair, as to methods that might be adopted for continuing that research, on scientific lines, during the years that must elapse before a centenary ceremony can be held. Your President does not propose however to stand before you as an infallible guide, or even as a teacher; rather does he propose to take you into his confidence and show you how he has himself arrived at the theories he will describe, as that seems to be the true way for any one mind to recommend its ideas to another engaged in the same line of research. But in the first place we must bear in mind that we are holding not only a scientific but also a folklore conference, and should confine ourselves therefore to the study of folklore, i.e., of the learning of the people, lettered and unlettered, and the results of that learning. Our research is in fact limited to that extent, and the philosophy of the highly educated thinker comes into our purview only in so far as it may have affected the public unlettered and uneducated in the sense that on the other hand the philosopher is lettered and educated.

Returning then to the thought of taking you into my confidence, let me tell you that the research, which has been the occupation of such leisure as a very busy official life has permitted during nearly forty years, began thus. In the early part of 1890 I was travelling by sea from Calcutta to Rangoon, being then a Government official in Burma, and when the steamer was passing along the Arakan coast, I noticed that all the sailors on board, of whatever nationality, were performing some sort of religious ceremony in honour of something ashore. They were, as is usual in that region, a very mixed body—Eurasians (chiefly Roman Catholic), Muslims, Hindus, Chinamen—but whatever they were, the ceremonies were most simple and clearly unorthodox, and were performed in the same manner by all. Respect was being paid to something on shore, while fruit, small coins and the like were thrown into the sea.

The performances set me enquiring, and it was found that the object in view was to secure the goodwill of a holy personage, a patron of mariners who had a shrine on shore—in fact at Akyab—which they called a Buddhamakān. But Buddhamakān is so hybrid an expression, half Muslim and half Buddhist—Arakan in Burma being a Buddhist land—that it at once appeared to be an obvious corruption. It was soon discovered that the right name of the shrine was Badarmakām, the shrine of Badar, the locally celebrated mediæval Muslim saint of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, and one of the patrons of mariners in the Bay of Bengal; for there are others who need not engage our attention just now, except to point out that it is not necessary for a hero to have been personally connected with the sea in order to become a sea-saint. There is a strong instance of this in 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Jilānī, the great mediæval Persian preacher and founder of much orthodox sectarian Islam. More than probably he never saw the sea, and yet he is now a highly revered mariners' saint in the Indian Ocean. But observe how true folklore was in action in the above-mentioned

ceremonies. The sailors were turning a Muslim saint, who was presumably an Indian, into an emanation of the Buddha, because they were within the influence of a Buddhist country; and it may be added that along the Arakan-Burma-Tenasserim seaboard there are other Buddhamakāns, or more properly Badarmakāms.

The Muslim saint Badar of Chittagong, whose memory was thus travestied, was Badru'd-dīn Auliā, a typical fifteenth century saintly hero, who, like other similar personages, came from 'nowhere,' settled in Chittagong for many years as a holy man, and finally died further west into Bihar, leaving shrines in both places in his memory. Further enquiry showed that he was mixed up with the sea and sailors, because he had become identified with perhaps the most ubiquitous and mysterious of all holy personages in the East, whose ordinary Indian title is Khizar Khān, but he is also widely known there and in Persia as Khwāja Khizr, and in all the lands further west as al-Khidr. This al-Khidr, as we know from the researches of Friedländer, Hasluck and many more, bears among numerous other qualities that of patron saint and even godling of the sea and seafarers. For reasons that will become plain later on, it is necessary to lay stress on 'the numerous other qualities,' for it will be seen that al-Khidr is a general holy personage in Eastern folklore. He has usually no form and no genealogy. He is just something mysterious, something powerful and wholly unorthodox in any formal religion, but universally acknowledged nevertheless. It will be perceived then that the enquiry as to why the sailors in the steamer performed particular ceremonies off the shrine of Badru'd-dīn Auliā on the Arakan coast soon took on a universal form and became as wide as it could be.

It is however important to notice here that the enquiry was nevertheless limited, and this address will not therefore take the shape of a general philosophical discussion. It will not touch on the field of the philosophy of formal religion as such. There will be no attempt to ascertain the abstract reason why religious beliefs as such should have arisen--no attempt to answer such a question as that lately propounded: 'If God made the world, what made God?' Such speculations are beside the present point, which is actually to investigate certain beliefs which have been in the past and are still held by the peoples of a certain class of nations in the world. An effort will be made to enquire into the nature of the beliefs that led to the creation of al-Khidr in the minds of peoples coming generally under the influence of the religion promulgated by Muhammad, from Morocco to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago—a sufficiently large portion of the world in all conscience to essay to cover in an address.

It is now proposed to show where the result of such an investigation is likely to lead us and how that result may be achieved scientifically. The theories that your lecturer has arrived at have come about as follows, and it is for you to judge them at leisure and ascertain how far you think his efforts may constitute a guide for future study.

Al-Khidr in his proper form is a Muhammadan personage, and though he is not mentioned by name in the Koran, there is a well-known story therein which has been referred to him by the earliest of the Arabic commentators thereon. But though Arabia and the Near East constitute a far cry from the Bay of Bengal, there is nothing to be surprised at in his early transfer thither with the all-absorbing spread of Islam in that region, and the spread can be easily traced overland from its beginning in the seventh century in Sind in the extreme west of India. The Koran itself was brought into being in the seventh century, and by the eighth and ninth the followers of Muhammad were not only all over the Persian Empire, but had obtained a firm hold on western India both along the coast and in Sind. With them came legends of al-Khidr up and down the Indus, with specific local applications and a mingling with Hindu deities and holy personages of animistic origin and names quite

foreign to Islam. Along the lower Indus the chief distributor of the legend of Khizr—for his name naturally assumed the Persian form—was a local animistic sprite usually called Udêrô Lâl, and further north in the Panjab the great spreader was the equally animistic Gûgâ, who is as nebulous as Khizr himself. Once no doubt a Rajput, and therefore a Hindu, opponent of the early Musalman invaders of India, Gûgâ succeeded—perhaps by confusion with some North Indian aboriginal godling—to the story connected with Vāsuki, the king of the Nāgas or mythical serpents of the very ancient days of Vedic India, and as a Hindu godling he is now the Snake-god *par excellence*, whose cult is universal. But in mediæval times Gûgâ put on a fresh development as patron saint of the converts to Islam, acquired a suitable legend to account for his conversion and became identified with Khizr in several aspects—became indeed the chief cause of the spread of the cult of Khizr in North India, at any rate as far as the western confines of Bengal proper.

With the cult of Khizr came, somewhere about the ninth or tenth century, the festival of the Bêrâs or Lighted Toyboats, nowadays so prominent on the Indian rivers and reservoirs of water from the Indus to the Hugli. This festival held in the early autumn, is not connected in origin with the winter festival of the Diwâlî or Lamps, but it—or a festival like it, held at the other equinox in spring—is to be found down the whole length of the Irrawaddy in Burma. Wherever it is held it is a beautiful sight and is naturally popular, and the point for the present purpose is that it, too, has been a great distributor of the cult of Khizr.

Next we find that the mediæval Indian Muslim saints, of whom the more popular—and indeed many others—have been identified with Khizr, have served to spread and popularize his fame. Of these may be mentioned Sakhi Sarwar in the Panjab, Ghâzî Miyân in Oudh and Shâh Madâr about Cawnpore. They are all thoroughly of the class known as *bê-shara*, outside the canonical law, and all have, as it were, a family history. By popularly accepted legend Sakhi Sarwar was a holy man from Baghdâd in Irâk or Mesopotamia; Ghâzî Miyân was a nephew of the great Islamic raider from Afghanistan, Mahmûd of Ghazni, and by repute the first Muslim saint to live in India; and Shâh Madâr was a converted Jew from Aleppo in Syria—a form indeed of the Wandering Jew. And here let me digress a moment to say that the tale of the Wandering Jew is not by any means a mere mediæval legend, as has been said in one authoritative work. The story spread no doubt into Western Europe not earlier than the thirteenth century onwards, but it can—like that of al-Khidr, who by the way is also among the mysterious wanderers—be traced in something of the same form in Western Asia to the days of Muhammad. Speaking generally, the idea of the mysterious wanderer is also common in the oldest known literatures. Have not the Jews, Christians and Muslims the legend of Cain, the son of Adam? “And I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth,” cries Cain, in “the First Book of Moses, called Genesis.”

But setting the Wandering Jew aside here, enticing as he always is, and returning to the mediæval Muslim saints of India, it may be said that the legends about the majority of them are usually wide of the facts, which seem to be much the same in reality in each case. A ‘holy’ man came into India wandering from somewhere—no one really knew whence—established himself in some convenient place, acquired a wide renown for holiness and died in the odour of sanctity. It was greatly—and indeed obviously—to the interest of his descendants and *entourage* to set up a shrine in his honour, so as to attract pilgrims, and create a legend; and it can be shown that this was actually done in the above cases. It can be shown also that the same thing has been done for many another saint of local celebrity in India, and such practices and such legends (*mahâtmya*) are very common among Hindus. The importance of the saints specially considered above for the present purpose is that they have all been identified with Khizr and have thus familiarised the people with his fame, till every

little child in North India—Muhammadan, Hindu and Outcaste—is thoroughly conversant with the idea of the great mysterious Khwāja Khizr—Khwāja, pronounced Khāja, which connotes a man of consideration, being a common Persian addition to the titles and names of holy men. His position in the peasant mind is fixed by his title—again through the Persian—of Khizar Khān, rightly rendered in places in the Hindī form of Rāja Kidār.

To the Indian child, and indeed to the peasant, the illiterate and to a certain extent the literate also, Khizr is the ubiquitous bogey, who is also a true friend and helper in trouble of every kind. By the European scholar he has been identified chiefly with the sea, the great rivers and the broad still waters which abound in the East; but he is really ubiquitous and is found in fact everywhere, on the hill-tops and in the hill cave, in the village well and in the scholar's chamber, in the cultivated field and in the wildest desert. He is in fact to the villager the chief representative of that Mystery, of which we shall hear much more presently, and this peculiar character, given to him *in excelsis*, is extended to all popular saints. They all tend to have the same characteristics in the eyes of their devotees especially and vaguely to the public as well; so that they, too, are representatives of the Mystery. This quality of mysterious ubiquity we shall find, as we proceed, is not by any means confined to the popular saints and holy personages of India, but is to be observed all over the world, both ancient and modern. And as to the forms that this characteristic takes, we shall find that they are on certain definite lines, till an observation of Dr. Gaster—'I do not believe in the fecundity of the human imagination'—forces itself as an axiom on the mind of the investigator of the lore of the folk, as it is to be observed everywhere.

It has been said above that the idea of al-Khidr, as it came into India, is Muslim, and that it is traceable to the days of Muhammad. Here we have another world-wide phenomenon to observe. Like Elijah in the Bible, al-Khidr springs into observation all at once. There is no apparent ancestry, no genealogy in a land where genealogy is rated highly, no history. Suddenly we have a long story in the Koran, in which a holy personage, without name, is associated with Moses, who to the Muslim is as much a hagiological character as he is to Jew or Christian. This holy personage appears as the Servant of God, and then we find that the Arab commentators at once and without hesitation identify him with al-Khidr, as if every one must know who al-Khidr is without explanation. This shows that both the name and the personage must have been then, the seventh century, a household possession—a point that has to be borne in mind.

Al-Khidr has a meaning in Arabic and connotes 'The Green Thing' or 'The Green Being,' and on the well-known principle that one word or epithet is enough to start a whole library of conjecture among the folk, this title has created a world of folk-story and literature. In obedience to the dictates of sympathetic magic, being green he makes everything he touches green, and also being green he is the spirit of the sea and the waters; and from these ideas, combined with his mysteriousness and his assumed connection with the Koranic story, he has taken on in the Near East almost exactly the character which we have found him possessing in India. There is this difference however. In India he is mixed up with a hagiology, which, though ostensibly Muslim, is in reality more largely Hindu; that is to say it is Indian. But in the West the hagiology with which he is identified is of another complexion. It is Arabic and Muslim; i.e., it is fundamentally Jewish, with, as will be seen, a large admixture of the Greek, and to a lesser degree of the Assyrian, Babylonian, Phœnician, Egyptian and other local cults, such as are found all jumbled up together in the Near East, when one dives into the beliefs of the people. So it is fair to assume that though al-Khidr under that name springs up all of a sudden fully grown, he has really a long history behind him somewhere. This history your lecturer has sought for many years. It is naturally obscure, as

it involves a research into the beliefs of the inarticulate quite as much as into the statements of set enquirers and writers, and it covers all historical time.

The key to the true story lies in the folk-tales about the popular holy personages with whom al-Khidr has become identified, and fortunately for the modern enquirer they are very numerous. But in making a search here it is well to bear always in mind the date of al-Khidr's fully-fledged appearance—the seventh century. Obviously only a small section of the tales of the holy personages connected with him can be examined to-day. The first of them, and one of the most important is Elijah or Elias—Ilyâs as the Muslims and most Orientals call him.

Exactly as does al-Khidr, Elijah springs suddenly into view fully-fledged. He has no home, no genealogy, no tribe; for his surname the Tishbite refers him to no known locality or tribe. He simply exists, performs prominent acts and disappears mysteriously. Like many another holy personage of his sort he never dies. He is thus immortal, and so is al-Khidr, who drank the Water of Immortality, and here we find fastened on to this last as the ubiquitous Mystery, a folk-idea, the investigation of which would carry us over the world far indeed and right down into the ages of the long past—into the deepest depths of Babylonian and Indian antiquity. Moreover, this view of al-Khidr is as alive to-day as ever it was, and it makes him a Zinda Pîr, an ever-living and therefore an undying saint. This is a Persian expression as familiar to every Indian child as is the idea it conveys to other children as far afield from India as Morocco. Practically every prominent Muslim saint is a Zinda Pîr, and many of them have acquired their exemption from death from the Water of Immortality, the fountain of which is attached as well to tales of purely secular heroes who have caught the popular imagination, such as Alexander the Great and many another.

Now, Ilyâs and al-Khidr have become so thoroughly mixed up in Oriental legend—often in connection with Alexander—as to be looked on as the same personage, with of course the same order of tales told about both. Whatever the one has been held to be the other has become also, and this is an important point in the general investigation. Here may I remind my hearers with a purely Western Christian education that this Address is concerned with the beliefs of Oriental peasantry mostly illiterate—many of them Christians also—as much as it is concerned with those of the educated.

So far we have been considering Jewish and Muslim heroes of legend, for although Elijah is also a Christian hero, he is only such in the sense that Christianity has absorbed early Judaism. It must also be said here that he is as well known in India as he is further West, since both Nestorian Christianity and Judaism are very old religions in India—the St. Thomas Christians, as they are called, dating back in the South in large numbers for a period as long as the existence of Christians in most parts of Europe. But let us now turn to early Christianity in Syria and Palestine. There we come across a great Christian hero of the late third century in St. George of Cappadocia, the hero of the well-known Dragon story, on to whom have been fastened two quite distinct legends of the highest antiquity—the one relating to his martyrdom and the other to his saving Princess Cleodolinda from the Dragon, to which she was exposed as a human sacrifice. This legend is a memory of a custom once common, by which important personages, generally maidens of high birth, were sacrificed annually to the wild beasts that surrounded ancient cities in very early days. The forms of death attributed to St. George have often been described and can be studied in scenes depicted on a remarkable mediæval Spanish altar-piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington—exhibiting a clear *réchauffé* of the various forms of death attributed to Tammuz in the early Babylonian literature; while the story fastened on to St. George about the Maid and the Dragon is as clearly a *réchauffé* of the ancient Greek tale of Perseus and Andromeda.

This last was no doubt attached to St. George from the nearness of the legendary sites of the two stories on the Syrio-Palestine coast, but the former requires some research to secure recognition. It can, however, be recognised, and the research for the purpose in fact forms an integral part of the present enquiry.

Tammuz appears in legends ascribed to the fifth millennium, B.C., as a rebel against the powers of his day and habitat, and as a consequence he was, by relation, put to death in seven different ways of varying cruelty, retaining his life however after each occasion except the last. The high antiquity of the legend served to create many phases in the personality of Tammuz, but the main features of the legend remained alive and it became a custom to mourn for Tammuz at stated times in the year. The mourning is mentioned in *Ezekiel* some three thousand years later on in a wonderfully dramatic story: "There sat women weeping for Tammuz"—and it is otherwise heard of through the cult of Adonis of the Greeks and Romans, of Melkarth of the Phœnicians in Tyre, of Horus the ancient Egyptian god and so on, right up to the days of St. George, till the story of the death of Tammuz became, in some shape or other, that of the sufferings of the Christian Martyr, and what Dr. Gaster has called "a world saga." It was thus a general Eastern folk-tale deriving from early Babylonia.

The other tale of St. George is equally interesting and important to folklorists, for the Perseus legend, though Greek as we have it, is not necessarily of Greek origin. Like Elijah, al-Khidr and many other Oriental heroes, he too was a man from nowhere, for he was credited with a miraculous semi-divine birth, and had no domicile in any Greek land by clear birth-right. It is quite arguable that he was a foreigner—Eastern for choice—who made a stir among the Greek population, for it may be mentioned here that it is a commonplace of Indian folk-story to give a useful foreign hero a miraculous birth—usually he is river-borne or water-borne—either to connect him honourably with the tribe he benefited or to raise the social status of the tribe he ruled. On this line of argument we find a strong connection between St. George and ancient Oriental heroes of the highest renown and strongest popular memory.

But the great point for the present purpose is that St. George of the late third and early fourth century and al-Khidr of the seventh century become in later, though still mediæval, times inextricably mixed up. So much so that the whole al-Khidr legend has been in places fastened on to St. George and *vice versa*; and more than that, Elijah or Ilyâs has become as inextricably mixed up with both al-Khidr and St. George. So much so, indeed, that all three have been looked on as one mysterious personage. From Morocco to Syria and perhaps further East boys born on 23rd April, i.e., on St. George's day, have been named Khidrelles and Khidriyâs for several centuries past. Such confused nomenclature is not unique, for boys born on 26th October, the saint's day of St. Demetrius, as a Greek and therefore Christian saint, are given the distinctive Muslim name of Kâsim, for some reason not yet apparently fathomed.

The spread of Assyrian and Babylonian folklore and folk-religion westwards is beyond all doubt. The constant warfare of Assyria and ancient Persia with Greek and Egypt kept armies, both Greek and Oriental, constantly on the move, and always forming connections with local women, in all the lands between Mesopotamia and Europe, including of course Syria and Palestine, till that astonishing cataclysm occurred in the late fourth century B.C., when Alexander overran Southern Asia as far as India. Putting aside the other mighty subversions caused by Alexander's enterprise, we find that it had one result all important to this enquiry. The Hellenism in the East, which followed it, made Oriental writers look into their own legends, to pit them against the assumption of superiority affected by the Greek civilisation; and thus these legends became not only preserved, but widely popular all through the Oriental lands West of India by the time that Christianity began to make itself felt. In this way alone the legend of St. George's martyrdom can fairly be accounted

for, and there is still another view in regard to the spread of Babylonian and Assyrian legends westwards, which has apparently not been generally considered—*viz.*, the action of the Kurdish race. The Kurds are a collection of ancient tribes more or less combined politically and having an origin in the very land of ancient Assyria. They still exist in pockets everywhere between Persia and the Ægean Sea, have always been a fighting race and have occupied all kinds of political positions from rulers of kingdoms to wild primitive peasants of the mountains, adhering to their ancient beliefs behind a profession of Islam. In such circumstances it is hardly believable that they have not been carriers of the old Babylonian cults, and this allusion to them is now made in the hope that they will be studied with the object of showing how far this is the case. After Alexander, came the Romans to disturb the East, and there was a like interchange between Eastern and Western religious ideas.

But reverting to Alexander's date, we find that the first Ptolemy, nearly connected with him, took possession of Egypt with his largely Asiatic army, and it may be fairly assumed that Oriental religious ideas—though by no means for the first time—were introduced into Egypt, and what is more important for the present purpose into the Ægean Sea of the Greeks—into the sea that washes the coasts of Greece itself, the Greek Archipelago, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, largely, in fact the whole coast line where prevails the modern cult of al-Khidr, the Green Man. In this region we find also the cult—as ancient as any other like belief—of Glaukos, the Greek god of the shallow seas and the seashore, whose very name shows him to have been conceived as a Green Man—even if we had no statuary and no description to show that he was so conceived. Assuming then that al-Khidr, although he only appears in the seventh century, is really a memory of an Oriental god, whose name is lost, his cult would be readily transferred to the peoples of the Ægean Sea, who already had their Green Hero in Glaukos, with a varying legendary history, one form of which makes him a deified fisherman. At any rate in Glaukos of the Ægean we find an early legendary form of al-Khidr as a sea-god, and the point of real interest here is that along the Syrian and Palestine coasts the performances of Mediterranean sailors, when passing shrines of al-Khidr, Ilyās and other saints, are exactly those of the sailors in the Bay of Bengal, when passing shrines of saints identified with al-Khidr.

These considerations tend to induce us to see one possible origin for al-Khidr in Glaukos, and this is confirmed by Dr. Lionel Barnett, who in a recent paper has shown a remarkable connection of Vedic and Avestic—*i.e.*, of the most ancient Indian and very early Persian legends—with those of Glaukos. If then such a connection of Glaukos and al-Khidr is correct, the conception of the Green Man as a deified hero of the people is thrown back far indeed. The method by which al-Khidr achieved his immortality, *i.e.*, his godhead, by drinking the Water of Immortality, takes us into a subject as old and as wide as that we have been discussing, and far beyond the limits of the time at our disposal now. It must therefore be left untouched, and we must pass at once to what may be called the most important, though not the longest, portion of this discourse—the scientific nature of folklore enquiry.

The general scientific questions that arise out of the above discussion are: How came the idea of al-Khidr to arise? How for that matter came all the ideas above described as to Elijah, St. George and the rest to be accepted? The theory on these important questions to be put forward for your consideration commences with an investigation into the idea of al-Khidr as the object of a general cult. Why is it that he has no form, no history, no locality, no tribe? Why can he assume any form? And be the patron of any kind of worshipper? Of men of the desert and town alike; of the clerk, the field labourer and the mariner? Why is he ubiquitous? Why is he identified with such totally different personages as Elijah, St. George and Glaukos, and indeed with practically every popular saint—Christian, Muslim, or even Hindu? And shall we say Zoroastrian as well? Why is he immortal? These are all fair questions for us to ask ourselves.

The answer appears to be that al-Khidr especially, and besides him Ilyās, St. George, and any other hero worshipped as a mysterious patron, represents the *Mystery* to the popular mind, whether illiterate or being literate is illogical. The *Mystery* is a term that you will, at once, quite properly say requires definition, and in this connection explanation. An attempt will now be made to give both. From all time and all the world over, mankind in every phase of culture from the savage to the most highly civilised—and we must remember that the savage without culture has not yet been found—has observed the phenomena about him and has been puzzled by them. He observes occurrences and thinks over them to find an explanation of them. It matters nothing who he is or what his mental equipment may be: sooner or later he has always found himself out of his depth. He reaches a point where the most elaborate empirical argument ceases to explain and he is forced to conjecture—he is obliged to assume a condition he cannot prove to himself or to others.

Philosophy starts by arguing on facts within human experience and runs on till it reaches a point which is beyond experience and becomes transcendental, *i.e.*, it passes beyond understanding. Once the point between the experienced and the transcendental is assumed to have been crossed over, by an accepted explanation of some nature or other, the argument can be continued on a new assumed basis. But the point for the present purpose is that there is left here a gap, which is bridged over, not by argument, but by a form of assumption familiar to us all as revelation—the magic of the unlettered and the illogical: light has been thrown on the subject by supernatural means. This assumption, however—revelation, magic, or whatever it may be called—if accepted, solves the difficulty, and to the popular human mind it is revealed truth, though beyond intelligence. It has solved the mystery through a super-human agency which is the *Mystery* itself—a personification which thinkers of all time have endeavoured to understand and explain. The mind of the ordinary human being of the kind that creates folklore accepts that form of the *Mystery*, which the leaders he follows tell him is right, and we must realise that the people we are considering are not philosophers, not highly trained dialecticians, but the everyday peasant or city worker—the man in the street—the human being apt to follow leaders and teachers.

Once the *Mystery* is sensed as a personage it becomes the master. It is believed to be and do everything, and is the general bogey, or object of terror, and at the same time the general helper of mankind in any manner or direction required. This accounts for the incompatible views we find to exist as to al-Khidr's nature and capacities, and for that incompatibility of beliefs relating to any popular saint or holy personage that can be mentioned, whether Eastern or Western, and also for the family likeness of the tales told about the whole general saintly body all the world over. They are all embodied representatives of the *Mystery*. This family likeness in beliefs and tales is due to that limitation of the human mind, which is well expressed in Dr. Gaster's dictum already quoted: "I do not believe in the fecundity of the human imagination."

As mankind in the lump is willing to follow leaders and teachers, such have never anywhere been wanting, and they have not by any means been always charlatans: rather have they been firm believers in themselves and in the special theory of the *Mystery*, which each has more than assiduously taught. In this way have arisen all the infinite varieties of religions and sects or schools of belief, which indeed seem to have come to life in consequence of what may be called an instinctive, though inarticulate, obedience to an apparently natural law of the human mind—the desire to lean on some one else as *the* authority, to follow blindly a leader who does the thinking for the public.

But be this as it may, the real question for us just now is the investigation of the process by which the results of the teaching of the various leaders have been achieved, and it may

be remarked here that there seems to have been a double process following on the expression of the teachers' thoughts. Firstly, in order that they might be spread—distributed as one form of popular science puts it—there must have been contact of one set of people with another, and the result of that contact must have been such absorption of the ideas imbibed in consequence, as to create a mental atmosphere—an impression pervading the minds of those that absorbed the teaching. The preliminary necessity of proving contact is so obvious that it is not proposed now to point it out further to the investigator, and the coming remarks will concentrate rather on the necessity for ascertaining the mental atmosphere of a people, who have absorbed any particular form of belief, at the time of the absorption. An endeavour will be made to show that this is the all important matter to achieve, if we would really explain the reasons for the existence of any definite form of folk-belief.

It has been remarked above that even among savages thinkers have believed that they have perceived the existence of the Mystery personified, have perceived the power that produces results by processes beyond the thinkers' understanding. Let our investigation, therefore, begin at what appears to us to be the beginning, and must therefore now be assumed to be such for the purposes of argument. It can only be an assumption, however, for even the least cultured savages that we are able to observe, ancient or modern, have a long unknown history of culture behind them. Here again resort will be had to an illuminating statement. Andrew Lang has somewhere remarked: "What the human mind once absorbs it never lets go"—and this is an observation sufficiently true to enable us to base an argument thereon, for it involves the suggestion that the human mind is made up of layers of atmosphere, caused by the various ideas with which it has come in contact and absorbed at various times. Each absorption stays for good and fresh cognate ideas merely serve to modify it. They do not serve to destroy it. In other words, all minds—our own included be it observed—retain all the atmospheres that have been created in them, however strongly the latest ideas with which they have been in contact may seem to the observer to be uppermost.

Let me here a moment illustrate my meaning by a brief allusion to an idea analogous to, but not identical with, that of Khidr. Fate is the common English name for a power that is everywhere felt to control the incidents of life, the power that has predetermined events from all eternity. This and the corresponding term Destiny, the power that preordains, we have from the Latin, while the names for the results of its action, variously Lot and Luck are respectively English and Teutonic terms, and again the ordinary Oriental equivalent, Kismet, is an expression traced to Turki, a Central Asian language. These terms are thus quoted to show that the idea of Fate, like that of al-Khidr, is world wide, but the difference between Kismet and al-Khidr is that the former is the principal, the Mystery itself, while al-Khidr is a mere agent, the representative of the Mystery. The public mind does not grasp Fate. It merely accepts it as a mysterious entity: it exists and it acts. But like al-Khidr and some other saintly personages, Kismet to the public is just a name, a power that is felt, without genealogy and without a tribe or a home. Here we have an idea absorbed very long ago and subjected to every sort of contact conceivable, till it has in some minds been greatly modified, but it has never been let go. It is still alive everywhere, whatever the general religious cast of the mind of the individual.

It follows from what has been above said that the gradations of the atmosphere may—and indeed, anywhere that we can observe them must—be numerous; but for the present argument it is only proposed to divide them into three main portions—the inmost, the inner and the outer. Of the inmost we can only be conscious by careful thought and investigation, and of the inner we can easily become conscious, while the outer is that which is obvious to all. But they are nevertheless all three always there, and their existence accounts for what we call religion—though we generally denote by that term some sectarian or specialised form

of religion. It accounts also for superstition, meaning by 'religion' a system of belief, and by 'superstition' something beyond religion or outside it and yet believed in. In terms of mental atmospheres, religion is the Outer Atmosphere, but generally in a sectarian variety; superstition is the Inner, and the earliest form of belief the Inmost.

And yet, in any given form of religion, as a faith or belief to be found in a people however lofty, all the atmospheres can be observed. Let us begin with the lowliest observable. Savage and semi-savage theories of the Mystery personified are found to commence with fear of the deceased members of the tribe or community—the Fathers—and the first means observable for overcoming this fear is Magic, or occult, *i.e.*, hidden, mysterious control of the actions attributed to the deceased. These remarks are not put forward as relating the actual beginnings, but merely as exhibiting the first form we can now observe; it being borne in mind that the most entirely savage people, ancient or modern, that we can observe are not by any means in their primitive condition. This is the Inmost Atmosphere, and it need not be elaborated; nor need it be proved to this audience that it has really been absorbed and still strongly exists everywhere. Whatever our several religions may be, it may be presumed that all of us present here look upon ourselves as among the most highly civilised of the world's inhabitants, and yet which of us was not taught in our infancy about the evil that the deceased of our respective races are supposed to be able to do? Do we not all know about ghosts and goblins and such mysterious supernatural creatures? Have we not still in our minds a shy undercurrent of belief in processes of magic, which we find it difficult to eradicate? In other words, we are conscious of the Inmost Atmosphere. We have all absorbed it and never really let it go from us. We have absorbed it and hold on to it from our remotest savage ancestors.

The lowliest atmosphere then is a belief in ghosts and spirits of deceased tribesmen, and there are people living who have not got beyond this point. For instance, your lecturer once knew one of them for ten years—the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal. These people are neither primitive nor savage—in many respects they are more advanced even than semi-savages—but their religion is quite primitive, for it has not got so far as a belief in spirits that were not, when living, human or other beings within their experience. They have no indigenous spirits that are gods or godlings, and no indigenous idea of a controlling spirit over the ghosts, or guiding human affairs. They have had many Christian missionaries among them, but until quite lately they successfully resisted, and to a certain extent still resist, absorbing the ideas that these preached or are preaching. In the same neighbourhood dwelt the Andamanese, whom your lecturer knew even better, and here comes one of the difficulties—that of uneven development—which constantly faces us in research such as that we are engaged in. These tribes are really savages and they have always been isolated until recent years. Yet they have developed a religion which goes beyond the Inmost Atmosphere and belongs to that of the Inner; for though they are very fearful of ghosts of deceased mankind, they have developed, from some contact unknown, ideas not only as to spirits that were not once beings within their ken, but also of a controlling Spirit or God, who has a family and messengers to convey his wishes to mankind, *i.e.*, angels. Such peeping over the border can be observed in another savage people, long isolated—the Rossel Islanders in the Papuan Archipelago. These fear ghosts chiefly, but some of them are not human and seem to be real gods or godlings, though without a controlling spirit over them.

We must not, however, pursue this point further now, and let us turn to the creation of the Inner Atmosphere which comes about by the contact of savages, or peoples of a very low culture, with tribes or nations of a culture high enough to create a philosophy, meaning by that term in this connection, a system of theories on the nature of things. Such contact

modifies the aboriginal fear of ghosts in varying degrees and it always seems to produce a result, which may be called the characteristic of the Inner Atmosphere. It induces a feeling that anything the intellectual superiors surrounding the tribe regard as holy must be so. Thus has been brought about an indiscriminating hagiolatry. This statement is put forward from personal observation, which it has been the good fortune of your lecturer to have been able to make over a lengthened period of years. There exists all over India a necessarily large class of outcastes who are domestic and also public scavengers, known to Europeans as sweepers and to Indians generally by various honorific names—in obedience to a natural law of society of great interest in itself to folklorists. The Indian scavengers are largely Hindus by professed religion, but as a matter of fact they are so much thrust upon their own religious resources by being regarded by the rest of the population as untouchable, that they have kept up as it were a religion of their own, and have their own leaders, ceremonies and so on. They have even a kind of epic of their own and special 'holy books.' But it should be remembered that despite their isolation they have for ages been completely surrounded by all sorts of religious faith of highly civilised kinds—Hindu, Christian and Islamic. The result is that under the common description of Lālbégis or followers of a mysterious prophet Lāl Bég—a hybrid title meaning, if anything, Our Beauteous Lord—they revere everything that they see is held to be holy by the Hindus, Christians or Muslims around them, in addition to some vague holy personages of their own, perhaps aboriginal. Their religion is thus hagiolatry *in excelsis* and yet undefined.

In Southern India there is also on the Malabar Coast a class of Dravidian aboriginals known as the Tuluvas which your lecturer has also deeply investigated. These, too, are chiefly Hindus, as are the people surrounding them, but they are much better known as Devil-worshippers. It may be explained that in disoussing the religion of such people 'devil' and 'devil-worshipper' are complete misnomers. The earliest Christian missionaries that followed the Portuguese into India in the sixteenth century called all deities that were not Jewish, Christian or Muslim by the deliberately opprobrious name of the Devil and all those who believed in them, Devil-worshippers; and these names have stuck in certain instances, where a tribe has followed a religion which is heterodox to all about them. Among the Tuluvas, however, there has not been that indiscriminate hagiolatry which the Lālbégis have evolved; rather has Hindu theory and practice largely modified the belief in their indigenous godlings. That is to say, the Inner Atmosphere has superseded but by no means destroyed the Inmost.

Taking again a third people of a totally different kind that has come under your lecturer's close scrutiny, the Yezidis, a tribe of Kurds in the mountains near Mosul in Irāk about the ruins of Nineveh. This people had the misfortune to call themselves followers of the early Caliph or Khalifa, Yezid, whose name is anathema to the Shi'a Muslims that surround them. They have accordingly been shunned and persecuted for centuries, and so have become isolated and thrown on their own religious resources. Long continuous persecution has also made them stick to what remains in their memory of their ancient religion, till they, too, have become Devil-worshippers, but on lines altogether different from those adopted by the Tuluvas; and there is some foundation for the title. They believe in God, as do the Muslims, and also in a number of minor gods of various origin—just as do Jews, Christians and Muslims in saints, patriarchs and prophets, and Hindus in heroes—and the Yezidis also believe in Shaitân, or Satan, the Muslim Devil. The Devil is to them in their hazy belief the supernatural power most dreaded: so much so, indeed, that his name is tabu and another supernatural being, Malik Tâ'ûs, My Lord Peacock, has been substituted for him. The principle of his cult is common to them and many other peoples—God is remote and the Devil always present, therefore it is commonsense to stand well with the Devil. In the

details of their belief the Yezidis are found to be truly in the Inner Atmosphere, for they consist of scraps of every faith that has come their way through the ages, Zoroastrian, Christian, Jewish, Muslim. Their religion is largely a pure hagiolatry.

The same characteristics of the Inner Atmosphere as those above indicated are observable in Burma, where your lecturer once resided for several years. The modern Burmese is a professed Buddhist of an ancient and pure type. The professed religion of his leading classes is of a highly refined morality, but deep down in this lofty Outer Atmosphere is a very strong current of both the Inner and Inmost Atmosphere, beyond which the peasantry have not progressed, for the whole nation are firm believers in spirits, or *nats*, as they call them. Everywhere there is an open cult of these spirits, some derived from the ghosts of human beings, who are acknowledged to have lived historically and many of them not long ago, and some from beings, who are really deifications of almost all known natural and even imaginary objects. The religion of the Burmese folk then is in reality hagiolatry tempered by a definite philosophy acquired from teachers of Indian—not Burmese—nationality. There is besides a deep current of an ancient Inmost Atmosphere, derived from the earliest days when the Burman was still connected mentally only with the mentality of his forbears of a Chinese race.

One more brief notice, and this important aspect of the subject must be left. In volume IV of the *Folklore Record*, 1886, pp. 213 ff., J. S. Stuart-Glennie, writing on *Folklore as the Complement of Culture in the Study of History*, commences his discussion by quoting from my own book, *The Legends of the Panjab*, 1883, as follows:—"The average villager one meets in the Panjab and Northern India is, at heart, neither a Muhammadan, nor a Hindu, nor a Sikh, nor of any other religion as understood by its orthodox—or to speak more correctly, its authorised—exponents; but his religion is a confused unthinking worship of things held to be holy, whether men or places; in fact, hagiolatry." On this Stuart-Glennie remarks: "A similar conclusion was the chief result of my study of Greek Folksongs. These Folksongs show that, notwithstanding the reign of Christianity for nearly two thousand years, Christian ideas and sentiments have not only not substituted themselves for, but have had hardly any effect even in modifying, Pagan ideas and sentiments among the Greek folk. Similar conclusions have been forced on Folklore students even in Scotland, the people which, of all others perhaps, may be imagined to have been most profoundly affected by Christianity. Referring to a conversation we had last autumn [1885], Mr. MacBain, the Rector of Raining's School, Inverness, and a first-rate Gaelic scholar, thus writes: 'Proofs are accumulating in my hands to the effect that up to about 1780 the Highlands were Pagan, with a Pagan Christianity, or rather superstition,' and I [Stuart-Glennie] might give many curious illustrations of the Paganism that still [1886] exists, or till very recently existed, in Scotland."

The view of Burmese religion given above serves to introduce us to the last, the Outer Atmosphere, charged to the full with highly civilised philosophy, of which a clear instance from Europe is to be found in Charles Singer's *From Magic to Science*, recently published, where he gives an illuminating account of the belief of Hildegard of Bingen in the mid-twelfth century. It is not proposed to enlarge on this Atmosphere, since we can observe it without difficulty. It is in fact that in which we all of us here have our being, and we cannot but be aware that within our minds we have, besides the outer philosophy—however greatly it may overwhelm everything—an Inmost Atmosphere of ghosts and goblins, with their attendant customs and ceremonies of magic, and an Inner Atmosphere of superstition also attended by customs and ceremonies which are still magical in their tendency.

Now, in these remarks only the fringe of the subject has been touched upon, but if they have fired any of those who have heard them to take up and examine the main thesis, it will be found that there is more than plenty of work to be done. I have shrunk from appearing

before you as a leader or teacher, let alone as a prophet, and have avoided, as far as possible, the personal note ; but with your permission I will now for a very brief space assume personality and venture to disclose some thoughts that have been with me for many years, for I feel that I have a message. It is not the province, as you know, of the enquirer into folklore to criticise the religious merit or morality of the beliefs, customs and ceremonies of any given folk. All that he has to do is to make himself as sure as he can that he has observed aright, and if possible to ascertain how the beliefs and customs have arisen. If, therefore, we folklorists can assume that the object of all belief, and so of all custom and ceremony based on belief, is to find the Mystery that the whole world feels to be an existing entity, and that each belief and custom has arisen out of efforts to utilise the Mystery for the benefit of the finder and his community, then we can all work usefully in a definite direction. The suggestion put forward in this Address, then, is that beliefs and customs have arisen out of the imagination (or shall we say the philosophy ?) of a few forgotten leaders, and have been conveyed with innumerable modifications from tribe to tribe by contacts spread over an infinity of time from the most ancient to the most modern ; and what is of equal importance, have been absorbed by each community until they have become part of its mental atmosphere. It follows that in observing a belief or custom, and in attempting to account for it, the main point is to ascertain as far as possible the mental atmosphere of the people who are entertaining or have entertained either the belief or the custom at the time it has been observed to exist. If then we folklorists do this, we cannot but raise our study to the rank of a science ; for we shall thereby cease to conjecture, since we shall know. We shall moreover become more than mere purveyors of a science, the effects of which are far-reaching indeed ; for if it be true that familiarity breeds contempt, it is equally true that understanding breeds respect. This last expression is also far beyond being just a catch phrase, as it involves the proposition that a real understanding of each other's beliefs, customs and ceremonies will tend to make the nations of the earth grasp each other's thoughts and feelings and so arrive at mutual respect. Obviously then the humblest folklorist can thus by his science help to create a peace which will pass all present understanding. Surely this is an ultimate object well worth placing before us in the years that follow this our Jubilee.

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