

# THE POSITIVE BACKGROUND OF HINDU SOCIOLOGY

BOOK I.—NON-POLITICAL.

BY

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&c., &c.

WITH APPENDICES

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TO THE MEMORY OF  
THE LATE ANTIQUARIAN AND ART-CRITIC,  
**DR. RAJENDRALALA MITRA,**  
THE FIRST INDIAN SCHOLAR, AND THE FATHER OF THE NATIONAL SCHOOL  
OF INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

AND  
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AND MEDICO-BOTANICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE HINDUS

AND  
TO THE DISTINGUISHED SAVANT,  
**DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL,**  
A LIVING ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF MODERN SCIENCES AND ORIENTAL *Vidyas*,  
THE APOSTLE OF HINDU CULTURE, AND INSPIRER OF  
YOUNG INDIA IN PHILOSOPHICO-COMPARATIVE  
STUDIES

THIS SMALL TRIBUTE OF SINCERE APPRECIATION AND  
GENUINE REGARD  
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY  
DEDICATED  
BY THEIR HUMBLE ADMIRER,  
THE AUTHOR.

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## FOREWORD.

The present volume is a part of '*The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*' which is meant to be the Introduction to my English translation of the Sanskrit work on Sociology entitled *Sukraniti*, published as Volume XIII of the 'Sacred-Books of the Hindus' Series. "The Positive Background" will be divided into two books: (1) Non-Political and (2) Political.

Besides the six chapters presented in this volume, Book I (Non-Political) will comprise:—

Chapter VII.—The Data of ancient Indian Art (Architecture, Sculpture and Painting).

Chapter VIII.—The Data of ancient Indian morals and manners (including socio-religious rites and institutions).

Chapter IX.—The Data of ancient Indian Pedagogy (including *vidyās*, *kalās*, and literature).

Chapter X.—The Data of ancient Indian Economics (including Statistics of Prices, Wages, &c.).

Book II (Political) will comprise the following:—

Chapter I.—The Data of ancient Indian Polity or Constitution, *i.e.*, form of Government (including the Theory of the *Rāṣṭra* or State).

Chapter II.—The Data of ancient Indian Public Finance.

Chapter III.—The Data of ancient Indian Jurisprudence.

Chapter IV.—The Data of ancient Indian International Law (the Doctrine of *mandala* as influencing the conceptions regarding 'spheres of influence' and 'spheres of interest').

The work is based mainly on an analytical study of Sukrachāryya's code, so that the Data of Hindu Sociology collected here reflect strictly those phases of Indian national evolution which have influenced the authors of the *Sukra* cycle. This 'Positive Background,' therefore, is more or less a *static* picture, and represents only such landmarks in the culture-history of the Hindus as are embodied in the single document *Sukraniti*. It must not be regarded as the result of any attempt to delineate the *dynamical* processes of the historic growth of Hindu civilisation or represent the several stages in the making of modern Indian life and thought. Recent works of this class are Principal Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India in the Age of Mantras*, and Mr. Narendranath Law's *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* (based on the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya).

There are, however, a few historical sections and sub-sections in the 'Positive Background.' These should not, on the one hand, be looked upon as



recording the characteristics of the various cultural landmarks of Indian history; nor, on the other, be regarded as wholly superfluous digressions uncalled for in the *Introduction to Sukraniti*.

These historical sections have been necessary for two reasons. In the first place, the Code of Sukrachāryya as well as the Data of Hindu life portrayed in it could not be presented in their proper perspective and their date as well as *locale* could not be ascertained unless Indian literature were studied chronologically as well as comparatively. In this respect the author feels that he has not been able to rise to the height of the occasion; for, as has been often stated with regret in the body of the book, he has had to ignore not only the Tamil, Prakrit, and vernacular evidences, but he has not even been able to utilise the more important documents of Sanskrit literature, not to speak of the unpublished manuscripts, telegraphic descriptions of which are to be found in Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

In the second place, for a proper appreciation of the Hindu achievements in science, abstract or applied, it is indispensable to have always before one's mind's eye the landmarks in the history of western science. Much of the prevalent notions regarding the alleged inferiority of the Hindu genius in grappling with the problems of this mundane sphere and the extra-proneness of the Indian mind to metaphysical and unpractical speculations can vanish and be proved to be the results of mal-observation and non-observation leading "to half-truths which are really whole errors,"—only if we apply the Historico-Comparative method in studying Indian facts and phenomena. For all Indologists should remember that the wonderful achievements of the western nations are strictly speaking only a century old. So that if, while instituting a comparison between Hindu and Occidental cultures on the score of physical 'sciences' properly so-called and applied arts and industries, care were taken to eliminate from one's consideration the triumphs and discoveries of the last few generations, the Hindu scientific intellect would be found to have been in no way lagging behind. The sole corrective of false notions about Hindu civilisation is this "sense" of historic perspective," which for the present generation of Indian scholars should be tantamount to a thorough familiarity with the history of European thought.

This brings me to an explanation of the title of the work. The *Introduction to Sukraniti* has been called 'The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology,' because Sukraniti as a *Nītisāstra*, *Arthasāstra*, *Dharmasāstra*, or *Dharma-sutra* deals mainly with the topics implied by such Hindu categories as *Dharma* (morals), *Artha* (interests,) and *Kāma* (desires and passions) as opposed to *Mokṣa* or Salvation; and hence a study in Sukraniti should properly be a study in the non-*mokṣa* or non-transcendental and non-spiritual, i.e., the secular, worldly and 'positive' elements of Hindu social economy.

The transcendental and other-worldly aspects of Hindu life and thought have been made too much of. It has been supposed, proved and believed during the last century that Hindu civilisation is essentially non-industrial, and

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non-political, if not pre-industrial and pre-political, and that its sole feature is ultra-asceticism and over-religiosity which delight in condemning the 'World, the Flesh and the Devil'!

Nothing can be farther from the truth. The Hindu has no doubt always placed the transcendental in the foreground of his life's scheme, but the Positive Background he has never forgotten or ignored. Rather it is in and through the positive, the secular, and the material that the transcendental, the spiritual and the metaphysical have been allowed to display themselves in Indian culture-history. The *Upaniṣads*, the *Vedānta*, and the *Gītā* were not the works of imbeciles and weaklings brought up in an asylum of incapables and a hospital of incurables.

The Hindu has never been a 'scorner of the ground' but always 'true to the kindred points of heaven and home,' has been solicitous to enjoy the good things of this earthly earth and beautify this 'orb of green.' The literature, fine arts, religious consciousness, industrial life, political organisation, educational system, social economy, etc., of the Hindus—all have sought to realise this synthesis and harmony between the eternal antitheses and polarities of the universe: the worldly and other-worldly, the positive and transcendental, the many and the one, the Form and Spirit, Culture and Faith, Science and Religion, Caste disunions and Vedantic Oneness, Image-worship and the realisation of the Infinite (*Brahma*).

In the newly-published *Sādhana*<sup>1</sup> of Rabindranath Tagore we have a collection of prose-lyrics, half-poetic and half-philosophic, dealing with this synthesis of world's eternal opposites or dualities. The papers on the *Problem of Evil*, *Realisation in Love*, *Realisation in Action*, *Realisation of Beauty*, in this volume of metaphysical essays in 'poet's prose' bring out the Hindu ideal of harmony between the Finite and the Infinite, Bondage and Freedom, Necessity or Law and Joy. "The Immortal being manifests himself in joy-form" (ब्रह्म ह्यनन्यतः प्रसन्नमिति). "The joy which is without form, must create, must translate itself into forms." (P. 104.) It is this ideal, again, that is at once the inspiration and message of most of Tagore's Poetry, which thus carries forward the transcendentalised positivism of the makers of Hindu civilisation through the ages "along fresh fields and pastures new" or modern Bengali thought. The philosophy of reconciliation between the so-called Evil and Good, the Form and Spirit, Caste and Vedanta, Image and the Infinite has thus uttered itself in mystical Bengali verse :

भाव पेते चाव रूपे माकारे धन,  
रूप पेते चाव आवे माकारे दादा ।  
असीम से आवे सीमार विविध रंग -  
सीमा हवे चाव असीमिरे आवे द्वारा ॥"

Thus ideal of realising the Infinite in the Finite, the transcendental in the positive, manifested itself also in the educational system of Hindu India.

The following is reproduced from my Bengali essay read at a Bengal Literary Conference about two years and a half ago translated subsequently for the 'Collegian' as *Pedagogy of the Hindus* :

"Was that system essentially monastic and ascetic, and did it kill all secular and social instincts of the learners? Did the *Brahmachāris* come out from the preceptors' homes merely as monks, missionaries and *sanyāsīs*? Could they not satisfy the diverse material wants of man? Did they not know how to provide for the necessities, comforts and decencies of life? Was the education absolutely non-political? Did not the students learn how to help in the administration of the state? Were not social and political sciences, plant-life and dissection of animals, physical phenomena and chemical manipulations among the courses of instruction? \* \* \*

"How else can we account for the remarkable progress of the nation in architecture, sculpture, medicine, dyeing, weaving, shipping, navigation, military tactics and implements and all such aspects of socio-economic and economic-political life as have to depend on the help of physical and natural sciences? \* \* \* The graduates trained up under the "Domestic System" were competent enough to found and administer states, undertake industrial and commercial enterprises; they were builders of empires and organisers of business concerns. It was because of this all-round and manly culture that the people of India could organise vast schemes of colonisation and conquest, and not content with being simply confined within the limits of mother India, could build up a Greater India beyond the seas, and spread culture, religion and humanity among the subject races. \* \* \*

"It was under the influence of this system of education, again, that the ideal Hindu king "protected himself, but not through fear; followed the dictates of religion, but not through remorse; realised revenues, but not through greed, and enjoyed happiness, but not through attachment \* \* \*. That system certainly cannot be dismissed as *inexpansive*, inert and unfit to survive that could produce Rīṣis from Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra to Rām Prasāda and Rāmkriṣṇa Paramhamsa, scholars from Charaka, Pāṇini and Chāṇakya to Chandra Kānta Tarkālakāra—a race of eminent women from Maitreyi to Ahalyā Bai and Rāṇi Bhavāni, monarchs from Chandragupta Maurya to Sivāji, and has continuously kept up the genial stream of national culture and civilisation through diverse forms and agencies by giving rise to hosts of thinkers and actors capable of solving different problems in different ages."

It is because the secular achievements of Hindu civilisation have not been accorded by scholars the attention they deserve, and a proper estimate of the Positive Background of Hindu socio-economic and socio-political life has not been framed, that the distorted picture of a race of metaphysicians, airy philosophers, and transcendental speculators has been drawn regarding Indian people to excite the pity of the go-ahead pushing occident and pander to the foolish, unthinking vanity of the present day fallen orient. The *Upaniṣads*, the *Vedānta*,

the *Bhakti Śāstras*, the *Darsanas*, the *Gītā*, and the whole body of Hindu transcendental literature in which people may find the 'solace of their life' as well as the 'solace of their death,' cannot, however, be fully appreciated and interpreted in the true light until and unless we bring to bear upon them the results of investigations regarding the social, economic, political, international and other human institutions and ideals, in the midst of which this literature has flourished and that have actually governed the life and activity of the Hindus. This mass of metaphysical lore requires, in fact, to be regarded as the "criticism," as Matthew Arnold would say, of Indian "life" and its problems and achievements. The transcendental speculation has to be understood and explained with reference to the *milieu* and environment according to the philosophico-comparative methods followed in the Schools of Literary Studies founded by such critics as Taine, Edmond Scherer, Sainte Beuve and Dowden. This should really be looked upon not as the sole but only as *one* of the various features in the organic growth and historic evolution of Indian literature, institutions, civics, arts and industries.

The principal correctives of the one-sided, partial and erroneous view about Hindu life and ideals, in addition to what we have already stated, are thus two :—(1) a more searching and detailed inquiry into the economic, political and art history of India, and (2) a study, according to the canons of scientific literary criticism, of the whole literature of Hindusthan, Sanskrit, and Dravidian, Prakrit and vernacular, in both its metaphysical and secular branches.

So far as the secular branches of Sanskrit literature are concerned, it would not be too much to remark that the adequate parallax for modifying and correcting the false notions about Hindu genius can be supplied if the *Kāvya*s, *Nāṭya*s, *Kathā*s, *Purāṇa*s, *Tantra*s, *Īhāṣa*s, *Vastuvidyā*s, *Silpaśāstra*s, *Arthaśāstra*s, *Niṭiśāstra*s, *Dharma-sūtra*s and *Smṛiti*s were critically investigated as documents of Indian historico-sociological development. These alone cannot fail to impress upon the inquirer to what great extent the eternal verities of the universe and the highest problems of life enunciated and discussed in the *Darsanas*, *Upaniṣads*, *Gītā*, &c, have influenced and governed the ordinary pursuits of human life in India, and embodied in its thousand and one rites, usages, institutions and festivals; to what enormous proportions the transcendental culture-lore of the Hindus has been humanised, secularised, and popularised by being translated and adapted into the common-place folk-lore—to what depth the Hindu ideal of realising the one in the many, the Infinite in the Finite, the Ideal in the Real, the Transcendental in the Positive, has been done into the actual life and work of the people. It will be evident to every close student of this literature that the synthesis of world's permanent polarities has been concretely demonstrated and manifested in the ever-moving gradations of the social polity known as *Varṇāśrama*, the Hymeneal rites and marriage rules, the Joint Family, the Cottage Industry, the autonomous system of co-operative village commonwealths, the *Āchāryakula*s, the *Parīkṣit*s, the clastic theological apparatus and religious paraphernalia, the institution of

kingship, and the doctrine of *mandala* or sphere of international activity that constitute the complex web of Indian life.

To take only one instance—the *Raghuvamśam* of Kālidāsa, the immortal epic of Hindu India. It is impossible to study it from cover to cover without noticing how powerfully the greatest poet of Hindusthan has sought to depict this Hindu ideal of synthesis and harmony between the positive and the transcendental, the *भोग* (Enjoyment) and the *त्याग* (Renunciation). *Raghuvamśam* is the embodiment of Hindu India in the same sense that *Paradise Lost* is the embodiment of Puritan England. The grand ambitions of the Vikramādityan era, its colossal energies, its thorough mastery over the things of this world, its all-round economic prosperity and brilliant political position, its Alexandrian sweep, its proud and stately outlook, its vigorous and robust taste are all graphically painted in this national epic, together with the “devotion to something afar from the sphere of our sorrow,” “the light that never was on sea or land,” the *sanyāsa*, *vairāgya*, *ahimsā*, *yoga*, preparation for the other world, the idea of nothingness of this world and the desire for *mukti* or perpetual freedom from bondage.

This antithesis, polarity or duality has not, however, been revealed to us as a hotchpotch of hurly-burly and pell-mell conflicts and struggles, but presented in a serene, sober and well-adjusted system of harmony and synthesis which gives the “World, the Flesh and the Devil” their due, which recognises the importance and dignity of the secular, the worldly and the positive, and which establishes the transcendental, *not to the exclusion of*, but only above as well as in and through the civic, social, and economic achievements.

The greatest example of the Hindu ideal of synthesis, and hence of world's highest ideal, is to be found in the picture where Kālidāsa béggers his hero, the Indian Napoleon, the conqueror of the four quarters, at the end of his proud *digvijaya* and ‘triumph’ by making him perform the *viśwajit* sacrifice, which necessitates the giving away of the whole of his earthly belongings ( *कृतपात्रं देवैः पश्येत् क्षिप्रं* ) Truly, the greatest artist of Hindusthan has sung of the Synthetic Ideal of the One in the Many, the Infinite in the Finite, the Transcendental in the Positive ( *ज्ञाने भौतं तथा यत्नी त्वानि स्वरूपविरहः* ) as the sole motto of the House of Raghu

“सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानामाफलोदयकर्मणाम् ।

आसमुद्रचितीशानामाकरयवर्त्मनाम् ॥

यथाविधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनाम् ।

यथापरावदण्डानां यथाकाशप्रबोचिन्तम् ॥

त्यागतय सम्भृतार्थानां सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् ।

यथासे विजिगीषूणां प्रज्जयै गृहमेधिनाम् ॥

शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।

वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगोनाम्ने तनुत्यजाम् ॥

इत्यात्मन्वयं वषणे...”



The same Vikramādityān grasp of this mundane sphere, the same vigour in attacking the problems of secular life, the same human, practical and positive outlook, the same solicitude for the discharge of the 'lowliest duties' that characterise the heroes of Kalidāsa whose natural ambition was no meaner than that of swaying not only the lithosphere from sea to sea, but also the atmosphere and the skies ( *आसुहृद्वितीयानानाक रचयन्नां* ), confront us at every step throughout the *Smṛiti*, *Niti*, *Artha*, *Śilpa* and *Vastu* Literature. The Lectures of Professor Sukra, the Doctor of Social Philosophy and Legislation, to his disciples, the *Asuras* and *Daityas*, constitute one of the most important documents of this literature; and, as such, socio-economically and economico-politically illustrate the Kalidāsīc ideal of harmony between the positive and the transcendental or realisation of the transcendental in and through the positive.

Strictly speaking, the position of *Sukranīti* in this literature is unique and unparalleled. It is, in the first place, a manual of guidance to kings and statesmen, as well as the Bible of the demos—at once the work of a Machiavelli and a Rousseau. In the second place, it is a handbook of economics, politics, ethics, and what not.

*Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* will ever command reverence as a text-book of Jurisprudence, *Manu Saṃhitā*, because of the sanctity and age associated with the name of Manu, the first law-giver. So also the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, the Finance Minister of Chandragupta Maurya, the first Empire-builder in Hindusthan, must ever be looked up to by the historian as a contemporary Statute-Book or Imperial Gazetteer of India in one of the first epochs of her political consciousness, and as the handiwork of one of the world's most powerful statesmen of historic authenticity. But all these venerable documents of Hindu Positive literature cannot compare in comprehensiveness and encyclopædic character with the *Nitiśāstra* of the Professors of the Śukra cycle in the form in which we have it to-day. And comparatively modern though *Sukranīti* is, it is inevitable that *Kāmandakī Nīti*, the abridgment of Kauṭilya's masterpiece, should pale into insignificance before it. For the whole culture of Hindu India, its methodology and its achievements have been really compressed into *Sukranīti* and have contributed to its making. For the moderners it is of inestimable value as "lifting the brain-cap" of mediæval India and letting them "see the thoughts" that were moving in her educated mind. As a text-book of Sociology, the *Nitiśāstra* of Sukrāchāryya is thus the Spencerian "Synthetic philosophy" of Sanskrit literature.

The study of *Sukranīti* is for all these reasons really a study of Hindu Positivism, the human, secular and worldly elements in Hindu national life and culture, the place of earthly things, *Samsāra*, *Vāsanā*, *Bhoga*, desires, passions and attachments in the Hindu scheme of human existence—in short, a study of the positive background and foundations of Hindu Sociology, as opposed to its transcendental foreground and superstructure.

This work is humbly dedicated to three great masters of modern India who may be looked upon as pioneers in the study of the secular achievements of

Hindu culture. The celebrated archæologist and historian, Dr. Rajendralâl Mitra, is undoubtedly the first Indian 'scholar.' And yet the comprehensive grasp, erudition and industry which mark the researches embodied in his *Indo-Aryans*, *Antiquities of Orissa* and other writings in Journals, remain probably unsurpassed even now. It is to Dr. Mitra, the father of the National School of Indology and Indian historical scholarship, that every student of the positive branches of Hindu civilisation must begin by paying homage.

The scholar who, likewise, first brought to light the contributions of the Hindus in physical science is Dr. Udaychand Dutt. It is his researches in Hindu medicine, chemistry, and botany, that have paved the way for subsequent workers in the same field. And the monographs of Dr. Brajendranâth Seal (by securing whose services as King George V. Professor of Philosophy the Calcutta University has only honoured itself) on the *Physical, Chemical, and Mechanical Theories of the Hindus* as well as their "*Scientific Methodology*" (published along with Dr. Roy's *History of Hindu Chemistry*), have done more than any other work to establish philosophically the claims of Hindus as having contributed to world's scientific concepts, categories, and discoveries. It has been the special mission of Dr. Seal to demonstrate by the historico-comparative method that the Hindu explorers of the physical universe were not mere empirics who, by stretches of brilliant imagination or sage-like intuition, unconsciously hit upon some of the mysteries of Nature. Nor were they merely craftsmen, alchemists, industrialists, &c., engaged in practical agriculture and manufacture without any knowledge of the general principles and theories, but real scientists, researchers and investigators, who knew how to manipulate the machinery and logic of 'exact' science and patiently awaited the results of their observation and experiment.

Thus, as Dr. Seal remarks :—"Let us not superciliously dismiss these studies as 'learned lumber.' The astronomy and mathematics were not less advanced than those of Tycho Brahe, Cardan, and Fermat, the anatomy was equal to that of Vesalius, the Hindu logic and methodology were more advanced than that of Ramus and equal on the whole to Bacon's; the physico-chemical theories as to combustion, heat, chemical affinity, clearer, more rational and more original than those of Van Helmont or Stahl, and the Grammar, whether of Sanskrit or Prakrit, the most scientific and comprehensive in the world before Bopp, Risk and Grimm." (Quoted by Dr. P. C. Roy in the Preface to the Second Edition of *Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I).

There are many scholars from whose writings or discussions with whom I have derived direct or indirect help and suggestions. I should specially mention Mr. Haridâsa Palit, Research Scholar, District Council of National Education, Malda, Prof. Radhakamal Mookerji, M. A., Krishnath College, Berhampore (Bengal), Kumâr Narendra Nâth Law, M.A., B.L., Research Scholar and author, Calcutta, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Dâs, C.I.E., Tibetan traveller and Chinese scholar (Darjeeling), Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired), versatile scholar and linguist and learned editor of the 'Sacred Books of the Hindus Series,' Mr.



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I have to acknowledge also my deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Seal for his kindly allowing me to incorporate with this work a few chapters of his learned monographs on the physical sciences and scientific notions of the Hindus. It is superfluous to add that his papers on Hindu ideas about plants and plant-life, Hindu classification of animals, Hindu ideas about Nervous System, Heredity, Vital Force, &c., Hindu Mechanics and Hindu Acoustics, which are being first published through the medium of this work, have considerably added to its value and importance. The humble author begs to add that this has been the only means of rescuing precious treasures from the ravages of time and moths, which, thanks to the habits of the learned Doctor, have been often allowed to work havoc upon what would have been epoch-making studies in ancient Hindu culture that have thus been lost to the world for good.

Books quoted from or summarised for this work have been mentioned in the footnotes, as well as tabulated in the Bibliography. It may not, however, be out of place to state that several vernacular works and periodicals have been largely drawn upon, and that the following works have been of constant service: Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Dr. Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, Dr. Ray's *Hindu Chemistry*, Ram Raz's *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, Vincent Smith's *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Sir Bhandarkar's *Peep into the Early History of India*, the Sanskrit Ms. *Yuktikalpataru*, Iyer's *Brihat Samhita*, Mookerji's *Indian Shipping* and Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, of which the chapter devoted to Chola history and administration must be of more than ordinary interest to students of early mediæval Indian life.

The libraries to which I am indebted are the National Council of Education Library at Calcutta, the Public Library at Allahabad and the Library of the Panini Office which is specially rich in works on Indian antiquities, Sanskrit literature and modern science.

Finally, it remains to add that portions of this work were published as Magazine articles in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), *Indian Review* (Madras), *Collegian* (Calcutta), *Hindusthan Review* (Allahabad), *Dacca Review* (Dacca), *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) and *Leader* (Allahabad).

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BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

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N.B.—The Text of *Sukranīti* translated and used for this work is that edited by Dr. Gustav Oppert for Madras Government in 1882. And the references are always to lines, not to slokas. Thus Sukra. IV, ii, 181, indicates l. 181 of section ii of chapter iv.



## THE POSITIVE BACK-GROUND OF HINDU SOCIOLOGY.

### BOOK I.—NON-POLITICAL.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### RELATIVITY OF THE NĪTISĀSTRAS.

##### SECTION I.

##### *Hindu Culture and Sociology in Sūkranīti.*

The Greek philosopher Plato was for some time tutor to a king of Syracuse in Sicily. Machiavelli, the Florentine diplomat, who has bequeathed his name to a school of politicians, was the author of a work that proved to be the Bible of kings and princes in mediæval Italy and Europe. The '*School-master*' of Roger Ascham was written for the princesses of an English royal family. The sage Sukrāchāryya, or at any rate, his *nom de plume*, belongs to the same gallery of world's *Rājgurus* or royal tutors. And his *Nītisāstra* or 'Treatise on Morals' is dogmatically asserted to be the sole authoritative<sup>1</sup> text-book on Political Science that should be used by Hindu kings and statesmen. This opinion of Sukrāchāryya about the position of *Nītisāstra* has been referred to by Kāmandaka also (II, 5): "According to the school of Usānas (Sukra) there is only one division of learning, namely *Dandānīti*, and the origin of all kinds of learning lies in this one." It would, therefore, be interesting to find out for which Hindu Court or Courts this manual was intended, or which supplied data for the rules and generalisations embodied in it.

The scope of a *Nītisāstra* is more or less like that of a *Dharma-sūtra* or *Dharma-sāstra*, one of the three divisions of *Kalpa-sūtra*, which is one of the Six *Vedāngas* or auxiliaries to Vedas. The province and relative position of *Dharma-sūtra* in Sanskrit literature are thus described by Oldenberg:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chapter IV, Section vii, 851-6.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to the *Grīhyasūtras* of Gobhila, Hiranyakesin etc, in the *Sacred Books of the East* Series xxxiii—iv,



"The frame within which the exposition of the Dharma-sutras is enclosed is an essentially broader one than in the case of the Grihya Sutras.\* \* The same phenomenon may also be observed in Buddhist Vinaya literature, where the exposition of the life of the community was at first given only in connection with the explanation of the list of sins (Pātimokkha).\* \* It was not till later that a more comprehensive exposition, touching all the sides of the life of the community was attempted.\* \* The Grihyasutras begin to treat of the events of the daily life of the household,\* \* confine themselves principally to the ritual or sacrificial side of household life, as is natural owing to their connexion with the older ritualistic literature (Srauta Sutra). Then the Dharma-sutras take an important step further; their purpose is to describe the whole of the rites and customs which prevail in private, civil and public life. They naturally among other things touch upon the ceremonies treated in the Grihyasutras, but they generally merely mention them and discuss the question of law and custom which are connected with them, without undertaking to go into the technical ordinances as to the way in which these ceremonies are to be performed."

It may be doubted at the outset if the class of writings called Dharma-sāstras, Arthasāstras, and Nitisāstras to which *Sukraniti* belongs were (1) the work of a single individual or school, and (2) were ever the Gazetteers designed to embody the actual state of things, or Statute-Books meant for the guidance of the people and rulers of any particular epoch or region. It may be presumed that like Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, Moore's *Utopia*, and Harrington's *Oceana*, *Sukraniti* is the product of the same inspiration that has lain at the bottom of all efforts to portray the ideal constitution of 'nowhere', describing things 'that never were on sea or land' in the history of world's speculative literature. Thus about *Manu Samhitā*, Elphinstone remarks: "We must remember that a code is never the work of a single age, some of the earliest and rudest laws being preserved and incorporated with the improvements of the most enlightened times.\* \* Even if the whole code referred to one period it would not show the real state of manners. Its injunctions are drawn from the model to which it is wished to raise the community, and its prohibitions from the worst state of crime which it was possible to apprehend.\* \* \* Though early adopted as an unquestionable authority for the law, I should scarcely venture to regard it as a code drawn up for the regulation of a particular state under the sanction of a government. It seems rather to be the work of a learned man, designed to set forth his idea of a perfect commonwealth under Hindu institutions."<sup>1</sup>

According to this view it may be inappropriate to trace the production of *Sukraniti* to the patronage or influence of any of the numerous polities and royal courts in Hindu India. But even the most idealistic literature is not absolutely independent of age and clime. The Time-Spirit and Place-Spirit are too powerful to be totally ignored by human genius even if it consciously

<sup>1</sup> *History of India*, p. 12 (1889).

attempt it. The social environment and physical surroundings—both the aspects of the great envelope of man—cannot but leave their marks upon his intellectual consciousness and literary activities of any considerable magnitude. Leaving aside for the present, therefore, the most vexed of all questions in Indian history, the determination of the personality, identity and individuality of our author, we propose to investigate all the social and physical influences that are likely to have contributed to the making of *Sukraniti*, as available from a study of the data furnished by it. This investigation is really a study of the education received by our author himself, and of the literature drawn upon by him in the preparation of his work, in one word, a presentation of the whole culture embodied in, and pre-supposed by, *Sukraniti*. A study of this culture, and the "relativity" of *Sukraniti* to this envelope of physical and social forces and influences, would, however, incidentally furnish some of the evidences pointing to the age and locale of the work.

The relativity of *Sukraniti* to the social influences may be easily presumed like that of *Manu Samhitā*, as has been done by Elphinstone: "It is evident that it incorporates the existing laws, and any alterations it may have introduced with a view to bring them up to its pre-conceived standard of perfection, must still have been drawn from the opinions which prevailed when it was written." So also the influence of physical and geographical factors on the work, and consequently its "relativity" to a particular region of the earth's surface cannot be missed.

## SECTION 2.

### *Land-marks in the History of Hindu Political Development.*

Even superficial students of *Sukraniti* do not fail to perceive that the Executive system, Judiciary, Military administration as well as other incidents of social, economic and political life described in it indicate a high degree of development, and are adapted not to simple village-republics and tribal commonwealths or city-states that we meet with in certain periods of Indian and European history, but are the outcome of the complex requirements of 'country'-states or Imperial organisations.

Now Ancient and Mediæval History of India furnishes the following more important types of political life that have evolved in connexion with the magnificent kingdoms or empires of the Hindus:—

1. The Maurya Empire of Chandragupta and Asoka (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.) embracing modern Afghanistan, the whole of Upper India, and Southern India, excluding the extreme south (Chola, Pandyas, Kerala, Satyaputra and Ceylon).
2. The Gupta Empire (4th century A. D.) which was brought to an end by the incursions of the Huns.
3. The Empire of Harsavardhana (7th century A.D.) in Upper India during the latter part of whose reign Houen Thsang, the great master of Law from China, travelled in India.

4. The Empire of the Chálukyas and Ráshtrakutas in the Deccan<sup>1</sup> (fifth to fourteenth century A. D.)

5. The Empire of the Cholas in Southern India beyond the Deccan (ninth to fourteenth century A.D.).

Says Mr. Vincent Smith in his Introduction to Mr. Aiyangar's '*Ancient India*:'

"The Chola dynasty was singularly prolific in kings of more than ordinary capacity, from the middle of the ninth century to the end of the reign of Kolutunga in A. D. 1118. It is clear from the details on record that the administration of the kingdom was 'highly systematised' from an early date. For instance, there is abundant evidence that the lands under cultivation were carefully surveyed and holdings registered at least a century before the famous Domesday record of William the Conqueror. The re-survey of 1086 was exactly contemporaneous with the English record.

The Cholas were great builders; builders not only of cities and temples but also of irrigation works."

According to Mr. Aiyangar in *Ancient India*, "this is the period of high water-mark of Hindu progress all round. Modern Hinduism assumes the shape in which we find it to-day. The indigenous literature as well as classical Sanskrit receive considerable patronage. Religion has been re-adjusted to the requirements of the masses, and administration had come to be highly organised upon surprisingly modern lines. Revivalism in religion and re-invigoration were the order of the day." The story of one of the greatest monarchs of this period, Rájendra Chola (1013—1042), the son of Rájarája the great, who, according to the inscriptions, carried his arms successfully across Kalingam, subdued Dakkana Latam, Vangaladesam, and the territory of Dharmapála, fought battles on the Ganges and in Burma, and earned the proud surname of Gangáikonda Chola, has been preserved in the Kanarese work, *Rája Sekhara Vilásam*. At the commencement of the 13th century the great Chola Empire was dismembered between the Yádavas of Deogiri, Kákátiyas of Orangal, Hoysálas of Dwarsamudra and other petty chieftains.

6. The Empire of the Pálas and their successors at Gauda in Bengal (8th to 12th centuries A. D.)<sup>2</sup> synchronous with the ascendancy of the Chálukyas in the Deccan and the Cholas in the South.

"The period embraced by the long reigns of Dharmapála and of his son Devapála covers nearly a century, including the period spent in consolidating the district of Bengal by Gopála after his election by the people." This was a period of the greatest activity of the Bengali people in various departments, as will appear from the monumental relics discovered and collected by the Varendra Research Society. This period has another importance, as we know from the book of Lama Táránátha, that during these long reigns of Dharmapála

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Pallava, Chola, Chálukya, Ráshtrakuta and other kingdoms in South India, see Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, pp. 81-88, 158—181.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the hegemony of the Pálas in Northern India as successors of Harshavardhana to Imperial titles and pretensions see the Bengali publications of the Varendra Research Society of Rájsháhi, and—Mr. R. D. Banerji's *Memoirs of the Pálas* (Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

and of his son Devapāla, "an eastern school of sculpture and painting was established by Dhimāna born in Varendra, and by his son Vitapāla. \* \* \* The reputed minister enabled his master Dharmapāla originally a lord only of the Eastern quarter, to extend his dominions to all the quarters, \* \* \* over all the territories between the Himālayas on the north and Vindhya mountains on the south between the two seas \* \* \* The Lord of Gauḍa (probably Devapāla<sup>1</sup>) suppressed the Utkalas, humbled the Hunas, and crushed the pride of the Lords of Drāvīda\* and Gurjara."

It may be observed, in passing, that these recent researches of Indian scholars in the mediæval history of Eastern and Southern India from archæological, linguistic, commercial and other standpoints have unearthed important facts of Bengali and Tamil antiquities which prominently demand recognition in the standard works on Indian culture-history. The Palas and Cholas of mediæval India can no longer be treated as subordinate or petty princes ruling over the "Smaller kingdoms" in one of the so-called periods of disintegration which Indian history is said to repeat after every epoch of consolidation; but must be ranked as by no means inferior, in prestige, titles, pretensions, influences, and achievements, to the famous Vardhanas of the 7th cent. A.D., the Guptas of the 4th-5th cent. A.D. and the Mauryas of the 4th-3rd cent. B.C. Dharmapāla (c 800 A.D.) the Buddhist Emperor of Eastern India, with his immediate predecessors and successors, as well as Rajendra Chola, the great Śaiva monarch of the South, with his predecessors and successors, constitute two remarkable contemporary Imperial families which must have a place by the side of such renowned Indian Napoleons, Empire-builders, and statesmen as Chandragupta Maurya, Asoka, the benevolent "Cæsaro-papist," Chandragupta the Gupta, Samudragupta the Vikramāditya, and Harsavardhana, who preceded them in solving the same problems of administration, commerce, religion and culture on the stage of Hindusthan. The Drama of Indian History should, therefore, have its first Act closed not at the end of the 7th century with the passing away of the Vardhanas from Kanauj and Upper India, but really at the end of the 12th century (1193) with the overthrow of the successors of Palas in Eastern India by a lieutenant of Muhammad Ghori, and at the beginning of the 14th century (1310) with the overthrow of the successors of Cholas by a lieutenant of Alaaddin Khilji.

The Hindu Period of Indian history does not end with Harsavardhana (7th cent.) and the subjugation by Mussalmans of certain Rajput States in

<sup>1</sup> See the reading of the Garuḍa stambha inscription interpreted by Maitra in 'The Stones of Varendra' in the Modern Review for August, 1912.

\* An important historical puzzle that awaits final solution is the relation between the Cholas and Palas in the 10th century. South Indian tradition points to the overthrow of the Bengal by the Tamil Napoleon, East Indian tradition points quite otherwise. The Varendra School evidently accepts the overthrow of the Dravidians by the Palas, as here and also in Chanda's work, *Gauḍa Rājamāla*; South Indian scholars, however, accept the overthrow of the Palas and Vangalas as a historical fact (cf. Aiyangar's *Ancient India*). Prof. Mookerji records the Tamil View on pp. 174—177 of his *Indian Shipping*. See also R. B. Banerji's *Memoirs of the Palas of Bengal*, G. No. 1 (Asiatic Society of Bengal).

Western India in the 10th and 11th centuries.<sup>1</sup> For the social expansion, religious assimilation, commercial progress, and Imperial achievements which we are wont to associate with the brightest eras of Hindu national history were going on in Eastern and Southern Hindusthan, unhampered as of yore, along the natural lines of progressive evolution up till the 13th and 14th centuries, while the buffer-princes of Lahore, Delhi, Ajmere, Kanauj, Malwa and Gujrat were performing their duties as by position the gate-keepers of India against the inroads of aggressive Islam.

The period of the mighty Pâlas and Cholas and their successors has witnessed the solution of problems which are of paramount importance in Indian history, literature, fine arts, philosophy, and religion. For it was during this age that the ocean of Tantraism finally swallowed up in a common philosophy the divergent channels of Mahâyâna Buddhism and latter-day Brahmanism; that Vaisnavism and Śaivism—the corner-stones of modern Hindu life—received the official stamp; the parents of present-day vernaculars were encouraged and 'protected'; noble religious edifices were built, huge sealike tanks were excavated; magnificent images were sculptured in bronze and stones; the navigation of the sea was pushed forward, commercial and cultural intercourse between the Southerners and Easterners was promoted; and India became really the School of Asia by supplying faith, literature, fine arts and material necessities to China, Nepal, Tibet, Japan, Java, Burma and other lands beyond the seas. This period does, in fact, carry forward and develop the impulses, aspirations and tendencies of Hindu national life testified to by the Chinese Master of Law in Harśavardhana's time.

The Palas and Cholas are really the spiritual successors of the great Empire-builder and statesman of the 7th century. The epoch of their hegemony in Indian history is a brilliant sequel to the splendid epoch of Imperialism, religious toleration, maritime activity, and social amalgamation which it had been the policy of the great Harsa to pioneer and direct. Their services to the making of Indian national culture deserve the same meed of homage, therefore, from future historians as those of Sri Harsa.

And now that excavations, explorations, reading and interpretation of old vernacular manuscripts, copper-plate inscriptions, architectural monuments, numismatics, study of folklore, folk-songs, folk-arts and village traditions, Sanskrit literature, old sculptures and paintings, call up before us a picture of political and religious life, commercial and social intercourse, art-development, and literary progress no less definite and clear than what we have for any other period of Indian history, the necessity, of looking upon the Pala-Chola period<sup>2</sup> as the really last phase of Hindu India cannot be too strongly advocated.

7. The Kingdoms of the Rajputs which beginning in the 9th or 10th centuries have continued their existence even now.

<sup>1</sup> See Vincent Smith's *Early History* (second edition, pp. 330-381).

<sup>2</sup> Another oft-neglected period of Indian history—one of the so-called epochs of dissolution and decentralisation is the Andhra-Kushan age of Hindu national life.

8. The Kingdom of Kashmir which was ruled by Hindu kings till about the middle of the fourteenth century.

9. The Kingdom of Vijayanagara, called the 'Forgotten Empire' of the South in Mussalman times, the only important seat of Hindu culture in Mediæval India (14th—16th century A.D.).

10. The Empire of Mahārāstra under the Peshwas (18th century A.D.) whose administrative system has been elaborately described by the late Mr. Justice Ranade in his *Rise of the Maratha Power*.

These larger and more celebrated kingdoms and empires of the Hindus have flourished through over two thousand years of recorded history and in conditions of physical environment as varied as possible in a country like India, the 'epitome of the world.' The types of political organisation, therefore, that Indian history presents must be more or less diversified in character to meet the requirements of peoples living under diverse geographical and topographical influences. And one naturally expects a diversity of political codes or *Nitisāstras* or manuals of governmental rules. In spite of the oneness and basic uniformity of Hindu life throughout India, the text-book of political life evolved in the extreme north, say Kashmir, is not likely to be that exactly adjusted to the needs of the Dravidians of the extreme south. Or again the rules and regulations which the Marathas framed for themselves in the west of India towards the close of the Mussalman period could not be copied *in toto* from a chapter of the *Nitisāstra* that was taught, say, to the Pala Kings of Bengal in pre-Mussalman times. Politics like everything else of human life are the results of adaptation to the circumstances of time and place; and the history of a people has ever been powerfully influenced by the geography and topography of its habitat.

An analysis of the geographical facts and phenomena occurring in the Hindu *Nitisāstras* or treatises on morals (social, economic and political) is therefore likely to be an important factor in assigning each to the proper sets of physical and social conditions under which it was composed.

### SECTION 3

#### *Mile-stones in the History of Hindu Political Speculation.*

##### (a) *Arthasāstra.*

There is no difficulty about the *Arthasāstra* of Chanakya or Kautilya, the Minister of Chandragupta Maurya who for the first<sup>1</sup> time in Indian history conceived and executed the plan of a vast Empire, the limits of which it has not been possible for any monarch to reach or exceed.

Like Abul Fazl's *Ayeeen Akbari*, the *Arthasāstra* may be looked upon as the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* in one of the most remarkable periods of

<sup>1</sup> In the *Fundamental Unity of India* (Longmans Green & Co.) Prof. Mookerji traces the Hindu conception of Imperialism and paramount Sovereignty from Vedic times (*vide* Chapters XIX—XXIX).



**Indian culture-history.** The chapters of this monumental document are devoted exclusively to a description of the multifarious incidents of political life under Chandragupta's government, *e.g.* the working of the mines, the opening of irrigation works, the establishment of factories; the maintenance of preserves and grazing grounds, of high ways of commerce, waterways, land-routes, and other facilities for communication; the establishment of markets and stores; the construction of embankments, dams and bridges; the planting of fruit and flower trees, of medicinal plants and herbs (*i.e.* the establishment of Ayurvedic and pharmaceutical gardens); protection of the disabled, the helpless and the infirm, and also of beasts &c., famines, census, central and municipal government, livestock and many other social, juristic and economic institutions.

In the Introduction to Mr. Law's *Hindu Polity*<sup>1</sup> Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji of the National Council of Education, Bengal, has summarised the "arguments which may be advanced in support of the traditional and widely current view that the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya is the work of Chanakya the minister of Chandragupta and therefore belongs to the 4th century B.C." The writer has proved from both external and internal evidences—

(1) That the political connexion of Kautilya with Chandragupta as his Finance Minister is a fact and not a myth.

(2) That the *Arthasāstra* attributed to Kautilya is a genuine work of antiquity and not a traditionally handed down fable.

(3) That the work is the production of an individual author and not of a school, as is frequently the case with Indian treatises.

(b) *Kāmandaki Niti.*

The work of Kāmandaka<sup>2</sup> is undoubtedly an abridged edition of *Artha Śāstra*, and the author himself is supposed to have been the disciple of Kautilya. A flood of light is thrown on the age and personality of the author of *Kāmandaki Niti* from a report submitted by Dr. Frederick to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences on the Sanskrit literature of Bali. "It appears that the most popular work on Polity in that Island is entitled *Kāmandakya Niti Sāra*." The researches of Sir Stamford Raffles and Crawford shew that the predominance of Buddhism in the Island of Java obliged the Hindu inhabitants of that place to retire in the fourth century of the Christian era with their household gods and their sacred scriptures to the island of Bali. \* \* \* It has also been shewn by the same authorities that since the period of their exile, they had not any religious intercourse with India. It would therefore follow that the Sanskrit works now available in Bali, including the *Kāmandakiya Niti* are of a date anterior to the 4th century A.D."

As a document of sociological information, this work is less valuable than *Sūtrāniti*. Its importance has, however, to be noticed because of the Chanakyan

<sup>1</sup> *Law's Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* (1914 Longmans Green and Co., London)

<sup>2</sup> *Kāmandakiya Niti Sāra* published by Manmatha Nath Datta (Calcutta, 1892).

Doctrine of *Mandala* or "sphere of political activity and influences," which is not to be found in Sukra's work.

(c) *Other works.*

The difficulties with regard to the other extant (or published) treatises are immense, especially because we do not know of any other political fabric that has left its own Statute-Book. *Yuktikalpataru* and *Sukraniti* are the two exclusively socio-economic and socio-political treatises that we have come across up till now. Accounts of economic and political theories as well as practices are also to be met with in almost every branch of Sanskrit literature. Some of the *Purāṇas*, all the *Smritisāstras*, *Manusamhitā*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Panchatantra*, *Raghuvansā*, *Kirātārjunīyam*, *Hitopadeśa*, *Dāśakumāracharita*, together with treatises devoted to *Dhanur Veda* or Warfare and International Laws, notices of which are found in the celebrated *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Prof. Aufrecht, are especially rich in the subject-matter of *Nitisāstras*.

Several such works are the following :—

Nitiprakāśika, Harivaṇśa, Utpalaparimalā, Charaṇavyuha, Kṛṣṇavidyābhyāsa prakaraṇa, Sankalpasuryyodaya, Prasangaratnāvali by Mādhavarāma, Kāmasūtra (Vātsāyana), Vidura-nīti, Vaisampāyana Nīti, and Brihatsamhitā.

There is, besides, a *Nitisāstra* attributed to one Ghatakarpara mentioned by Stein in Kashmir Catalogue (p. 93). In the statement of sources for his series of learned papers on Hindu Polity contributed to the *Modern Review* (1913), Mr. K. P. Jayaswal mentions *Niti-Vākyāmṛita*<sup>1</sup> and the Marathi work *Dāsa-bodha*<sup>2</sup>, the Bible of Sivaji, and refers to several Buddhist and Jaina texts. Some allusions to ancient civics are to be found in the Jaina works, *Nandi Sutra*, and *Rīṣi mandala Prakaraṇavṛitti* quoted by Prof. R. K. Mookerji in the Introduction to *Law's Hindu Polity*.

(d) *Smṛiti Sāstras.*

The names of *Smṛiti Sāstras* are given from Vasu's *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, Book I, Chapter I, Introduction 4-5 in the "Sacred Books of the Hindus Series."

"Manu, Atri, Viṣṇu, Hārita, Yājñavalkya, Uśanas, Āṅgiras, Yama, Āpastamba, Samvarta, Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati.

Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śaṅkhā, Likhita, Dakṣa, Gautama, Śātaṭapa, and Vasiṣṭha are the promulgators of Dharma Śāstras."

The *Mitākṣara* Commentary on the above is as follows :—

"This Dharma Śāstra propounded by Yājñavalkya should also be studied, such is the implied meaning of the above passage.

<sup>1</sup> Of. Samadeva 1. Edited in the Kasyamata series.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Jayaswal gives the English title of this work as "Address to the Enslaved." Really, it should be "The Awakening (or Enlightenment) of Rāga Dāsa."



"This is not an exhaustive enumeration (*parisankhyā*), but it is merely illustrative. Therefore, the Dharma Śāstras of Baudhāyana and others are not excluded.

"As each of these Smṛitis possesses authority, so the points not mentioned by one, may be supplied from the others.

"But if one set of Institutes contradicts the other, then there is an option (to follow any one of them)."

Bālabhāṭṭa's Gloss on the above furnishes much interesting information on the subject.

Devala gives the following list of the Dharma-Śāstras:—1. Manu, 2. Yama, 3. Vasistha, 4. Atri, 5. Dakṣa, 6. Viṣṇu, 7. Aṅgīrā, 8. Uśanā, 9. Vākpati, 10. Vyāsa; 11. Āpastamba, 12. Gautama, 13. Kātyāyana, 14. Nārada, 15. Yājñavalkya, 16. Parāśara, 17. Samvarta, 18. Śaṅkha, 19. Hārīta, 20. Likhita.

In this list Nārada is an addition, while in the Yājñavalkya's list we have Śātātapa instead.

The Śaṅkha gives the following list:—1. Atri, 2. Brihaspati, 3. Uśanas, 4. Āpastamba, 5. Vasistha, 6. Kātyāyana, 7. Parāśara, 8. Vyāsa, 9. Śaṅkha, 10. Likhita, 11. Samvarta, 12. Gautama, 13. Śātātapa, 14. Hārīta, 15. Yājñavalkya, 16. Prachetas and the rest. By the phrase "and the rest" is meant 17. Budha, 18. Devala, 19. Sumantu, 20. Jamadagni, 21. Viśvāmitra, 22. Prajāpati, 23. Paiṭhīnasi, 24. Pitāmaha, 25. Baudhāyana, 26. Chhāgaleya, 27. Jābāla, 28. Chyavana, 29. Marichi, 30. Kaśyapa.

In the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa we find the following addressed by Īśvara to Guha:—"Having pondered over the texts of the eighteen Purāṇas, O child, and over the texts of the Smṛitis, beginning with Manu and which are thirty-six in number, I now tell thee."

[This shows that the Smṛitis are 36 in number.] The Smṛitis like the 1. Vṛiddha-Śātātapa, 2. Yogi—Yājñavalkya, 3. Vṛiddha-Vasistha, 4. Vṛiddha-Manu, 5. Laghu-Hārīta, &c., should be included in the well-known thirty-six under their original authors. [Thus Manu includes the ordinary and the Vṛiddha Manu, and so on.] Thus Yājñavalkya says (III. 110) "I have declared the science of Yoga."

Ratnākara says: "we find in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa itself the enumeration of other Smṛitis like Gobhila, Riṣya Śringa, &c., which are over and above the thirty-six; so we conclude that thirty-six does not exhaust the number of Smṛitis, but is only an enumeration made by the Śiṣṭas." Those which are found as Grihya Śūtras and their Parisiṣṭas, &c., they belong to a different Category: like the Purāṇas. As in the Bhaviṣya:—"The Maitrāyaṇīya, the Chhandogya, the Katha, the Āpastamba, the Bhavrichas, their Parisiṣṭas and those called Khilas (are also Smṛitis)."

The Viṣṇu-Dharma, the Śiva-Dharma, the Mahābhārata, and the Rāmāyaṇa and the rest are also to be included among Smṛitis. As says the Bhaviṣya:—"The eighteen Purāṇas, the history of Rāma (Rāmāyaṇa), the Viṣṇu-Dharma-Śāstra, &c., the Śiva-Dharma; the fifth Veda called the Mahābhārata composed by Kṛiṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, the Sauradharmā, the Manavokta Dharma, are also taken as such by the wise," (adhyāya 4, v. 87-88).

<sup>1</sup> See Manu, II, 14, for conflict of Śruti, &c.

"But when two sacred texts (Śruti) are conflicting both are held to be law; for both are pronounced by the wise to be valid law."

The words "as such" in the above mean that they are also followed by the great men, and are authoritative, because they are not decried or dispraised by any and followed by great men, so they are to be taken also as Smṛitis. The opinion that the Smṛitis are thirty-six only in number, or twenty-four only in number, is held only by some and is contradicted by others, and is not authoritative.

That the Smṛitis are Dharma-Śāstras (Institutes of Sacred Law) we learn from Manu II. 10, where it is said "The Vedas should be known as Śruti; and the Dharma-Śāstras as Smṛiti."

In Āṅgīras we find:—"The wise say that the following are Upa-Smṛitis:—Jābali, Nāchiketa, Ohhandas, Laugākṣi, Kaśyapa, Vyāsa, Sanat Kumāra, Śatadru, Janaka, Vyāghra, Kātyāyana, Jātukarnya, Kapiśjala, Baudhāyana, Kaṇāda, and Viśvāmītra."

In Hemādri Dāna Khaṇḍa the following more are enumerated: "Vatsa, Pāraskara, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Riṣyaśṛṅga, Ātreya, Babhru, Vyāghra, Satyavrata; Bharadvāja, Gārgya, Kārṣṇājini, Laugākṣi, and Brahma-Sambhava."

The Smṛitis of Prajāpati, Yama, Budha, and Doṇa which are enumerated in Kalpataru are quoted by Hemādri as authority in the course of other authorities.

The Kalpataru holds that the four sciences mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (III. 6. 26) as they relate to positive physical sciences should be taken as authority and Dharma in matters worldly. Those sciences are "the Āyurveda (Medicine), the Dhanurveda (Archery), the Gāndhārvaveda (Music), and the Artha Śāstra (the science of wealth)—thus the sciences are altogether eighteen" (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, III. 2. 26).

So also in the Śaiva Purāṇa, the Vāyaviya Saṁhita, chapter one, it is said: "O Romaharṣaṇa! O all-knowing! thou hast obtained through good luck a complete knowledge of all the Purāṇas from Vyāsa. The four Vedas, the six Aṅgas, the Mīmāṃsā, the Nyāya, the Purāṇa and the Dharma Śāstra are fourteen Vidyās. The Āyurveda (medicine), the Dhanurveda (Archery), the Gāndhārvaveda (Music) and the Artha Śāstra (the science of wealth) are the additional four, making the Vidyās eighteen. Of all these eighteen Vidyās, treating of different topics, the original author and direct prophet is the Trident-handed Śiva: such is the saying." (Śiva Purāṇa, I. 23).

Though all these are sources of law, yet all of them do not deal with all matters; and sometimes they contradict each other. Therefore, the commentator says that, though each of them is an authority, yet the lacunae of one should be supplied from the other, where one is incomplete; and where they differ there is option. Manu has also taught this option in II. 14: "But when two sacred texts (Śrutis) are conflicting, both are held to be law; for both are pronounced by the wise to be valid law."

#### (e) *Traditional Abridgment of Niti Śāstras.*

The Smṛiti Śāstras have for their subject-matter a greater amount of socio-religious topics than are usually dealt with in Niti Śāstras. Their authorship is, besides, attributed to Rishis, as we have seen in the previous enumeration. The Rishi upon whom our work has been fathered is mentioned in the above list as Uśanas. It is believed that Uśanas or Sukra-charyya was the last of the Rishis who meddled in Polity; and that since his time the whole science of morals (social, economic and political) called Niti Śāstras has been designated after him.

Sukrāchāryya himself records the history of the abridgment of *Nīti Śāstras* towards the commencement of our work: "For the good of men Brahmā had spoken that treatise on morals which contained 100 lakhs *i.e.*, 10 million slokas. By a process of selection the essence of that *Nīti Śāstra*, which was an extensive argumentative thesis, has been compiled in an abridged form by Vasiṣṭha and others like myself for the increase of prosperity of rulers of the earth and of others whose life is of short span."

The same tradition<sup>1</sup> is otherwise stated thus: "Formerly for the protection of creatures Brahmā wrote the science of Polity in ten million chapters. Siva obtained this from Brahmā and epitomised it in ten thousand chapters. His work is called Vaisālākṣya from his name (Visālākṣa or large-eyed). Indra made an abridgment of it in five thousand chapters, and Sukra into one thousand. Thus it was gradually abridged by the various sages having in view the shortened life of the people around them."

(f) *Yukti-Kalpataru*.

The association of gods and Rishis with the works on *Nīti* and allied topics, and the tradition about their vast size and large number, as well as the custom of attributing works to one's *gurus* make the problem of a systematic treatment of Hindu political science all the more difficult. Equally puzzling is the association of works with historical characters, men of real flesh and blood, round whom, however, legends like those of Alexander and Charlemagne have grown up mystifying their age, locale as well as personality. One such work is the *Yukti Kalpataru*, giving "an account of all requirements in a royal court," as Professor Aufrecht observes. The work is still in manuscript, but was first noticed by Dr. Rājendra-lāl Mitra, and since his time, has been drawn upon by Indologists in their treatment of things Indian, specially secular matters. The work is attributed to King Bhoja (Vikramāditya?) of Dhāra in Malwa and has been described by the author as compiled from *nivandhas* or treatises of various *munis* or masters on the subjects. The following account of the work is being given from the manuscript (108 leaves), written in Bengali character, belonging to Mahāmahopādhyāya Adityarāma Bhattachāryya, now in the possession of the Panini Office."

The botanical name of the work has been explained at the beginning just after the salutation to Kṛishṇa, "the Parameswara, who by undoing the happiness of Kansa did really promote his happiness, who is worshipped by the gods and is really unadorable," and to the "makers of *Sāstras* whose words purify good men, even for the hearing." Just as a *Kalpa-vrikṣa* or the wishing-tree (like the wishing-cow) celebrated in Hindu religious lore yields the satisfaction of all desires, so "wise men by resorting to this *Kalpataru* (the treatise so called) can achieve the most longed-for objects." "The root of this tree is *Danda nīti* (the science of

<sup>1</sup> Dutt's *Kāmandakiya Nīti Śāstra*. (Calcutta, 1896.)

<sup>2</sup> The work is being edited by the present author.

punishment), the stem is *Jyotisha* (implying Astronomy, Astrology, Horoscopy and Mathematics according to the conception of the Hindus), the branches and flowers are the diverse *vidyās* which deal with the facts observed (or the phenomenal world), the fruits are unknown and the *rasa* or sap is the nectar of the 'good, i.e., promotes their welfare.' "That *Kalpataru* should be respected by Kings and ministers, who should study their interests and deliberate on them according to its dictates as well as those of other *sāstras*," "This is most conducive to the welfare of Kings and promotes also the weal of others," (i.e., people).

Thus the very definition of the term *Yukti Kalpataru* as the title of a book introduces the topics of a *Niti Sāstra*; and, as a matter of fact, all the subjects dealt with in the work are the proper themes of works like *Sukraniti*. The following table of contents in the *Yukti Kalpataru* would indicate that the work is, like the *Artha Sāstra*, *Kāmandaki Niti*, *Sukraniti*, and *Ghalakarpārāniti*, really a socio-economic and socio-political treatise, and is an additional document of Hindu secular literature in the department of Dharmasūtras, Arthasāstras or Niti Sāstras:

1. Niti Sāstra. 2. Guru (Preceptor) and Purohita (Priest). 3. Amātya (Land Revenue officer), Mantri (Foreign minister) and Duta (ambassador). 4. Lekhaka (scribe) and Jyotirjña (astronomer). 5. Purādhyakṣa (Mayor or Superintendent of the city), Vanadhyakṣa (Superintendent of Parks and Forests) 6. Koshavardhana (Development of Financial resources). 7. Rājādayada (sharers of the royal income). 8. Kṛṣi Karma (agriculture). 9. Rathin (charioteer), Sādi (Horsemen or Cavalry). 10. Gajāroha (the art of elephant mounting, driving, etc.). 11. Yāna (Land and Water conveyances). 12. Yātrā (Expeditions). 13. Vighraha (warfare). 14. Chara (spy). 15. Dūtalakṣhaṇa (Characteristics of ambassadors and spies). 16. Sandhi (Truce and Peace). 17. Āsana (Siege). 18. Dwaiddha (Duplicity—a military technical term in Siege-craft). 19. Āśraya (seeking refuge or protection). 20. Dāṇḍa (Punishment). 21. Mantra (Policy or statecraft) 22-3. Dvandwa (Rivalry and Hostilities undertaken under two sets of circumstances, e.g., i. *Akṛitrima*, i.e. conditions of natural fortifications, and ii. *Kṛitrima*, i.e., conditions of artificial barriers and barricades, etc.) described with quotations from *Niti Sāstra*, Garga, and one Bhoja.

14. Pura-nirmāṇa (Building of cities). 25. Kāla (the auspicious time). 26. The *vasati* (an arrangement of various wards or quarters) described by quotations from Bhoja and Parāśara. 27. Doṣaguṇa (good and bad effects, according to Astrology). 28. Vāstu (Houses). 29. Dingnirṇaya (Directions). 30. Lakṣaṇa (style or characteristics of Buildings). 31. Mana (Measurements). 32. Doṣaguṇa. (good and bad effects). 32. Kalanirṇaya (when to begin building new houses). 33. Vāstu praveśakāla (when to enter new houses). 34. Dvāranirṇaya (laying out of doors). 35. Prachitra (walls). 36-41. Vastu-dāṇḍa (various measurements of houses), Vināśa grīha, rāga, and Rājagriha (the twelve species of Buildings).

42. Āsanās (Thrones). 43. Khatikās (bedsteads). 44. Pitha (stools made of metals, stones or wood). 45. Chhatras (Umbrellas). 46. Dhvajā (Flags). 47. Chāmara. 48. Chasaka (Drinking vessels). 49. Vastra (clothes). 50. Alankāra (ornaments).

51. Diamond. 52. Padmarāga (species of Emerald). 53-4. Examination, prices etc., of Diamonds. 55. Examination of Vidruma (corals). 56. Gomeda. 57-8. Pearls—their examination and prices. 59. Vaiduryya, Indranīla (Sapphire). 60. Chhāyā (Transmitted Light). 61. Marakata (Emerald—its origin, and good and bad effects). 62. Puṣparāga (Topaz). 63. Bhiṣmamāṇi. 64. Pulaka. 65. Sphatika (Quartz). 66. Ayaskānta. 67. Sankha (Conch).

68. Astra (Missile). 69. Khadga (Dagger). 70. Dhanu (bow). 71. Bāṇa (arrow). 72-3. Yātrā (Expedition)—the proper time for it. 74. Nirājana (ceremony with horses and elephants).

75-9. Horses—Testing, their defects, how to strike them, etc. 80. Ritu-charyya (seasons—and seasonal treatment of horses). 81-2. Elephants. 83-5. The Examination, Merits and Defects of Bulls. 86. Buffaloes. 87. Deer. 88. Dogs. 89. Goats. 90-3. Carriages of various kinds.

94. Nauka Kaṣṭha (woods or timber for boats). 95. Boats of various kinds.

(g) *Hindu Rājneet in Ayeen Akbari.*

The political literature of the Hindus was known to Abul Fazl, who in the *Ayeen Akbari*,<sup>1</sup> has given a short synopsis of probably some of the *Niti Sāstras* in his possession in the chapter on the various branches of learning cultivated by the people of Hindusthan ruled by his master, the great Akbar. Besides giving an elaborate description of Hindu Laws under the heading *Beyhār* (*Sans. Vyavahāra*) and referring to "many other sensible books upon government," the compiler of this Moghul Gazetteer gives the following summary of *Rājneet*, "the art of governing a kingdom."

"It is incumbent on a monarch to divest himself of avarice and anger, by following the counsels of wisdom. \* \* \* It is his indispensable duty to fear God \* \* \* to pay particular respect to men of exalted rank and behave with kindness towards his subjects of every description. \* \* \* He should be ambitious to extend his dominions. \* \* \* No enemy is so insignificant as to be beneath his notice. \* \* \* A wise prince will banish from his court all corrupt and designing men. \* \* \*

"The king resembles a gardener, who plucks up the thorns and briars, and throws them on one side, whereby he beautifies his garden, and at the same time raises a fence which preserves his ground from the intrusion of strangers. \* \* \* The king detaches from the nobles their too numerous friends and dangerous dependents. \* \* \*

In affairs of moment it is not advisable to consult with many. \* \* \* Some ancient monarchs made it a rule to consult men of a contrary

<sup>1</sup> Gladwin's Translation, Vol. III (1786) pp. 104-218.

description and to act diametrically opposite to their advice. \* \* \* They found it the safest way to join with the prime minister a few wise and experienced men, and to require each to deliver his opinion in writing. A prince moreover requires a learned astrologer and a skilful physician. \* \* \* If any monarch is more powerful than himself he continually strives to sow dissension among his troops; and if he is not able to effect this, prudently purchases his friendship. \* \* \* The prince whose territory adjoins to his, although he may be friendly in appearance, yet ought not to be trusted; he should always be prepared to oppose any sudden attack from that quarter. With him whose country lies next beyond the one last-mentioned he should enter into alliance; but no connexion should be formed with those who are more remote. If he finds it necessary to attack his enemy, he should invade his country during the time of harvest."

Here we have from a foreign source the traditional ideas of the Hindus regarding Constitution, International Morality, etc., as preserved in the Hindu literature of the 16th century A. D.

#### SECTION 4.

##### *Unity and Diversity in Indian National Life.*

There are, no doubt, some floating ideas which are common to almost all these treatises and seem to have been the stock-in-trade of every writer on *Niti*. These verbatim reproductions or occasional modifications and adaptations of the same texts are not difficult to explain. The language of the learned world was the same throughout India. Education was imparted orally, and ideas were transmitted for generations from mouth to mouth. Besides, the incessant political changes of the times also promoted a uniformity of culture. Dynastic revolutions, territorial expansion and contraction, transfers of royal seats from place to place, emergence of new areas into political importance, constant transformations of the "old order yielding place to new"—all these tended to produce an elasticity and flexibility of the Indian mind ever ready to receive new impressions by facilitating *rapprochement* and intercourse among the people.

But beneath these unities and uniformities of culture are to be found the varieties and diversities which are the characteristic products of particular epochs and areas. A close study of the political maxims embodied in the various branches of Hindu literature is calculated to yield not only a history of the *development* of polity and political speculation in India, through the ages, but also a record of the varying geographical influences bearing upon it.

This characteristic of Indian national culture in its socio-political aspects, *vis.*, the super-imposition, upon a fundamental bed-rock of uniformity, of a diversity adjusted to the conditions of varying localities and relative to the changes in the dynamic world-forces—has been also pointed out in my papers on a socio-religious festival called *Gambhira* connected with the *Sarva-*



*cum-Satanism* of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> In fact, "the diversity that characterises the customs and festivals, hymns and rituals of the people in different parts of India in the self-same socio-religious institution is so great to-day that it is difficult to perceive the unity underlying them."

The relativity and diversity of national ideals and institutions modifying the traditional unifying agencies have been thus explained: "The kaleidoscopic political changes which shifted the vital centres of gravity from people to people, province to province, and district to district, necessarily converted the border-lands or buffer-states of one epoch into prominent seats of political and cultural life in the next, and occasionally diverted the stream of paramount ideas along new and untrodden channels. These are hardly visible to us to-day because of the paucity of historical details bearing on them. On the other hand, the translation of higher culture into the tongues of the people of the various parts from the common storehouse of Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* of educated India, through the ages, and the necessary modifications or adaptations, have imparted a local colouring and distinctive tone to the all-India Hindu traditions, sentiments and customs in the several parts of the country."

"Social and religious life of the people of India have thus been for ages governed not simply by the texts of the Śāstras in Sanskrit (which, by the bye, could not escape the natural adaptation to the conditions of time and place), but also really and to a powerful extent by the vast mass of different vernacular literatures, both secular and religious, that grew up side by side with, and eventually replaced, to a considerable extent, the original storehouse."

#### SECTION 5.

##### *Preliminary Spade-work.*

So far as the Hindu Literature on Economics, Public Finance, Constitution, Jurisprudence, and International Law is concerned, the proper analysis of the documents with the object of discriminating from the permanent and basic foundations of unifying thought and tradition the layers and sediments that point to different epochs and diverse local conditions in Indian culture-history, has yet to be undertaken.

And the problem of assigning a particular political code to a particular kingdom or empire cannot be solved before a vast amount of spade-work is done. In the first place, the political history of India has to be ransacked so as to give more or less complete pictures of the administrative machinery and economic organisation of the various kingdoms and empires of the Hindu world. Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar has given a good survey of the whole administrative system of the Cholas<sup>2</sup> (900-1300, A.D.) in his *Ancient India* by utilising inscriptions and Tamil manuscripts. Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitra has

<sup>1</sup> *A Northern Form of the Śaiva Cult in the Modern World* (Madras) for October 1918.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Polity Ancient and Medieval in Kerala*—(Modern Review, December 1918) by Venkataraya Iyer.

thrown out some suggestive hints regarding the Land Revenue Policy and agricultural tenures under the Pala Empire. The materials in the possession of the Varendra Research Society are likely to yield a more satisfactory and complete picture of the mediæval administrative system in Eastern India.

In the second place, the whole field of Indian Literature, both Sanskrit and Vernacular, has to be ransacked wide and deep to discover socio-political and socio-economic treatises, and their contents minutely analysed and elaborately indexed in the interest of comparative studies. Mr. Narendranath Law's *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* has revealed certain features of Maurya administration described in the *Arthasâstra* of Kautilya. Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal's essay on the *Introduction to Hindu Polity* published in the columns of the *Modern Review*, is a historical survey of Hindu political thought. Though premature as such, it is well calculated to suggest and open up new fields for the careful consideration of those who are interested in the theory of political progress and development of politics and in the history of political science as a special branch of world's philosophical literature.

The present work is an attempt at placing some of the data of socio-economic and socio-political life gleaned from a text-book of Hindu Sociology.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE DATA OF ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY.

#### SECTION 1.

##### *Sukranīti as a source of Geographical Information.*

The work of Sukrachāryya is not a historical *kāvya* like the *Rāj Tarangīni* or 'Annals of Kashmir' in Sanskrit by the poet-historian Kalhana, which, according to Mr. Stein,<sup>1</sup> "is not only the amplest but also the most authentic of our sources for the geography of Kashmir," and 'by far the richest source of information' for its historical geography. It is not an *Itihāsa*,<sup>2</sup> 'which narrates past events in and through the stories of the actions of the kings.' The description of courts and palaces, forts and temples, or of the circumstances attending the foundation of towns, villages, estates, shrines, mathas and other religious structures by particular kings, or the narrative of expeditions, warfares, sieges, etc., undertaken in quest of territorial expansion are quite uncalled for in the *Nītisāstra*. Here the author has no opportunities for describing the physical background of the hero's exploits by referring to the relief, mountains, rivers, character of soils, seasons, weather, climate and such other natural agencies as promote or retard the activities of man. It is not even a *Purāna*<sup>3</sup> also, which according to the orthodox definition must contain "an account of the creation, the destruction, the dynasties, the cycles or epochs and the incidents or events under each dynasty." There is thus no scope in it for popular story-telling and attractive descriptions likely to catch one's imagination or for rambling from subject to subject and charming digressions about the plants, animals, physical features, geological facts, etc., that come in the way. Nor is *Sukranīti* an ordinary *kāvya*<sup>4</sup> like, say, the *Raghuvamsam* of Kālidāsa, which must "appeal to the various *rasas*, i.e., feelings or tastes and give rise to pleasure" according to canons of Hindu literary art, and may be diversified in style by images, similes, metaphors and other forms of *alamkāra* or figures of speech, as well as enriched by historical narratives or matter-of-fact descriptions, fanciful pictures or details of men and things according to the writer's genius and sense of proportion. But *Sukranīti* is in verse only because almost every bit of Sanskrit literature is so; there is here no scope for flights of imagination or embellishments of style.

The physiography, topography, mineralogy and meteorology of a place that are more or less expected in works like these have no natural place in a *Nītisāstra*. Among the thirty-two *vidyās* or sciences mentioned by Sukrachāryya in the third section of the fourth chapter of his work, there is no

<sup>1</sup> Stein's *Rāj Tarangīni*, vol. 2, p. 866.

<sup>2</sup> Sukra IV, iii, 104-5.

<sup>3</sup> Sukra IV, iii, 102-3.

<sup>4</sup> Sukra IV, iii, 110-1.

mention of *Nitisāstra*. But the scope he has defined for his *Sāstra* at the commencement of the treatise and the manner in which he accomplishes his task lead one to believe that *Nitisāstra* is either identical with, or a species of, the more generic *vidyā*, the science of *Arthasāstra*,<sup>1</sup> which is defined to be that "which describes the actions, and administration of Kings in accordance with the dictates of *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*, as well as the means of livelihood in a proper manner," and is thus politics and economics combined. It is what in modern phraseology would be called a 'normative' science dealing with what 'should be' as opposed to what 'is' or 'has been,' since it dictates and prescribes 'duties' for kings, princes and statesmen. In such a work we cannot expect anything but the 'generalisations,' or what appear to be generalisations, regarding kingly functions deduced from the experience of many states in the past and the present; and therefore references to particular or individual men and places are few and far between, incidentally called for in the interest of illustration.

The very scope and nature of *Sukraniti*, therefore, prevent it from being a source of geographical information, and the author or authors of the work have conscientiously done their part by avoiding all unnecessary or superfluous details except such as are directly and indirectly relevant to the socio-economic and socio-political topics. In studying the geographical environment of the locality in which the work was composed or the court was situated one has, therefore, to pursue the same method as is used in the study of Shakespeare, who always hides himself and eludes the reader's grasp. It seems almost a hopeless task to catch the personality of Shakespeare or Kālidāsa, because in them there is 'Nature's plenty.' It is an interesting fact about Kālidāsa that to-day he is claimed by all the four quarters of India as belonging to each. Kashmir and Malabar, Guzarat and Bengal, the extreme north and the extreme south, the extreme west and the extreme east—all vie with each other in finding from the 'internal evidences' of the works of Kālidāsa that they are the products of a man born and bred in their surroundings.

The geographical facts and phenomena in *Sukraniti* have to be studied, therefore, not only to fix upon the locality in which it might have been written, but also for the knowledge that the poets of the Sukra cycle or authors who chose to adopt the *nom-de-plume* of Sukrachāryya have incidentally displayed regarding the plants, animals, minerals, rivers, forests, soils, seasons, &c. of India and the world outside it.

## SECTION 2.

### *General Geographical Facts.*

#### (a) *The Quarters and Divisions of India.*

The directions of the world, as indicated by the points of the compass, have been mentioned several times in the course of the work. In connection with the construction of the capital city<sup>2</sup> and the royal residence or palace

<sup>1</sup> Sukra IV, iii, 118-20.

<sup>2</sup> Sukra I, 425-515.

and officers' quarters, &c., Sukraniti is very particular about the directions, northern or southern, eastern or western, that are to be specially set apart for particular rooms or houses. Thus towards the east the king should have houses for the washing and cleaning of clothes &c. The northern rooms are set apart for chariots, arms and weapons, &c. The museum is to be situated towards the north of the palace. And so on. Or again the northern and southern sides are to be long, twice or thrice the eastern and western sides. The palace is to have sides of equal length in all directions and to be high southwards and low northwards. The rooms of the rest-houses may face the north or east. In *Vāstu-Sāstras*, or Hindu treatises on buildings, the directions must be mentioned with particular care, because each is supposed to be presided over by a deity, (e.g., Kuvera, or the god of fortune, is the lord of the north, Yama or Death is the lord of the south, and so on). Hence, each direction has a special value affixed to it over and above the ordinary secular significance which arises from the fact that human life and comfort are affected by the sun, the wind and other natural agencies. The subject has been elaborately treated in that celebrated mine of information regarding things Indian, called the *Bṛhat Samhitā* as well as the socio-economic manuscript, *Yukti Kalpataru*.

Besides this mention of directions which, according to Hindu tradition, is mainly of a social and religious character, *Sukraniti* contains references to the north, south, east, west and middle as points or regions which take the reader out of the purely local surroundings of a particular spot. The geographical horizon of the poets of the Sukra cycle can be inferred to a certain extent from one of the functions of the *Sachiva*<sup>1</sup> or Head of the War Office, among the Ten *Prakritis* or Executive Councillors of the state, which is described to be that of studying the men who are sent eastward and westward on missions. This mention of 'eastward and westward,' however, does not furnish any solid ground as to the particular regions meant, for it has been done in connexion with a general statement. But the references to the 'north and west' as the land of the Yavanas<sup>2</sup> who "recognise authority other than that of the Vedas," to the 'southern' countries where Brahmanas<sup>3</sup> are not condemned, if they marry maternal uncles' daughters, to 'Madhyadesa,' where artisans<sup>4</sup> are beef-eaters, and deviation from the normal customs is not regarded as a sin, and to the 'north'<sup>5</sup> where the women are touchable when they are menstruated, are not only the facts of pure and simple geography, but create in the minds of the reader the shrewd suspicion that the author of these lines does not belong to the particular regions mentioned, and that these must lie beyond the pale of "normal" rules and regulations of social life. In fixing upon the author's home, therefore, one would be naturally tempted to exclude these regions from one's considerations.

It is difficult to make out which regions are specified in these references. The description of India as a country of the *Navakhandas*<sup>6</sup> or Nine Divisions

<sup>1</sup> Sukra II, 181-190.

<sup>2</sup> Sukra IV, iv, 74-75.

<sup>3</sup> Sukra IV, v, 94.

<sup>4</sup> Sukra IV, v, 25-26.

<sup>5</sup> Sukra IV, 5, 97.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), pp. 5-8.

was first used by the astronomers Parāsara and Varāhamihira, and was afterwards adopted by the authors of several of the Purānas. "The names of the Nine Divisions given in the Mahābhārata and the Purānas differ entirely from those of Varāhamihira; but they agree with those of the famous astronomer, Bhāskarāchāryya." But "the division of India into five great provinces would appear to have been the most popular one during the early centuries of the Christian era, as it was adopted by the Chinese pilgrims, and from them by all Chinese writers. According to Vishnu Purāna the *centre* was occupied by the Kurus and Panchālas; in the *East* was Kamarupa or Assam; in the *South* were the Pundras, Kalingas, and Magadhas; in the *West* were the Saurāstras, Suras, Ābhiras, Arbudas, Karushas, Mālavas, Sauvīras, and Saindhavas; and in the *North* the Hunas, Salvās, Sakalas, Ramas, Ambashtas and Pārasikas." This account of India in the Vishnu Purāna does not include what are comprised by the modern Deccan and Southern India. But "the same division of five great provinces was adopted by the Chinese pilgrim Houen Tsang in the seventh century, who names them in the same manner, as north, south, east, west and central according to their relative positions." The extent and area of each of the five great provinces which according to the tourist's report contained altogether eighty kingdoms are not the same as those in the Vishnu Purāna; and Houen Tsang's India is larger than that of the Purāna. From Cunningham we quote the following lines which give the territories included within the five great provinces of India in the seventh century A.D.

"I. *Northern India* comprised the Punjab Proper, including Kashmir and adjoining hill states with the whole of Eastern Afghanistan beyond the Indus, and the present cis-Sutlej states to the west of the Saraswati river.

II. *Western India* comprised Sindh and Western Rajputana with Kutch and Gujarat, and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narbada river.

III. *Central India* comprised the whole of the Gangetic Provinces from Thaneshwar to the head of the Delta and from the Himalaya mountains to the banks of the Narbada.

IV. *Eastern India* comprised Assam and Bengal Proper including the whole of the Delta of the Ganges together with Sambalpur, Orissa and Ganjam.

V. *Southern India* comprised the whole of the Peninsula from Nasika on the west and Ganjam on the east, to cape Kumari (Comorin) on the south, including the Modern Districts of Berar and Telingana, Mahārāshtra and the Konkan, with the separate states of Haidarabad, Mysore and Travancore or very nearly the whole of the Peninsula to the south of the Narbada and Mahānadi rivers."

Mr. Cunningham believes that the tradition of the five Great Provinces was very popular in ancient India, at any rate among the educated classes. And if the authors of the Sukra cycle followed that tradition in referring to the land of Yavanas and the other regions of customs that would be regarded as immoral and heinous according to the normal standard of life and manners obtaining in the country for which their work was being written, the treatise excludes practically the whole of India from its purview and would have to be referred to some spot in *Eastern India*. But is it probable that the authors have used the *pratyaguttara*, (north and west or north-west?), the *madhyadeśa*, the *dhakṣiṇāṭya* and the *uttara* in the technical sense of the terms as given in either Vishnu Purāna or the Chinese pilgrim's accounts? The

question involves larger issues and cannot be decided before the following problems are solved :—

- (1) The Ethnology of the Yavanas and their Philosophy.
- (2) The regions and races which allowed beef-eating to artisans and artists and fish-eating to men.
- (3) The regions and races which allowed the marriage of maternal uncles' daughters by Brahmanas.
- (4) The regions and races which did not consider female menstruation as a pollution.
- (5) The regions and races which did not object to the drinking of wines by women.
- (6) The regions and races in which unchastity was not regarded as a sin.

#### YAVANAS.

If we are to determine the geography of the Yavanas after solving the question of their race and religion, the problem will not be solved at all. The *Yavanamata* or the philosophy of the Yavanas has been described in *Sukraniti* as the thirty-first *Vidyā* "which recognises God as the invisible creator of this Universe and recognises virtues and vices without reference to *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*, and which believes that *Sruti* contains a separate religious system." This description of Yavanism as a non-vedic, monotheistic religion is 'too wide', and as Mr. Oppert discusses in his short Preface to the Text of *Sukranīti Sāra*, published by the Madras Government in 1882, may be made to apply (1) to the Mosaic religion, (2) to Mahometanism, (3) to Christianity, (4) to the religion of the ancient Persians; and even (5) to the religion of the Hindus "who contend that they only revere the god-head in one particular manifestation, but that they do not admit of a plurality of gods." But Mr. Oppert's contention that *Yavanamata* may refer even to Hinduism is certainly erroneous, since no form of Hinduism ignores *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* and believes that *Sruti* contains a separate religious system—conditions essential to Yavana philosophy. In any case, to argue definitely from the tenets and doctrines of this creed as to the race and nationality of the people professing it is impossible.

As for the abode or habitat of this race it is mentioned that the people are 'pratyaguttaravāsinah.' This word may be interpreted in two ways according as the compound is taken to be of the *Karmadhāraya* type or of the *Dvandva* type. In the first case, the Yavanas are a people who live in the north-west. In the second case, they live *both* in the north and in the west (*pratyak*). Mr. Oppert takes it in the first sense. I take it in the second. But either way we are not left any the wiser regarding the religion or the people indicated by the term. For in different ages different peoples professing different faiths, Jewish, Hellenic, Christian, and Mahometan, have been inhabitants of the regions

<sup>1</sup> Sukra IV, ii, 124-126.

<sup>2</sup> Sukra IV, v, 74-75.

implied by the north, west, and north-west. The pre-condition for fixing the precise ethnology of Yavanas, therefore, is the exact date of *Sukraniti*, which for a long time yet, is sure to be 'begging the question.'

Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in his second volume of *Indo-Aryans* after a protracted disquisition, arrives at the following conclusions regarding the Yavanas:

"That originally the term Yavana was the name of a country and of its people to the west of Kandahar,—which may have been Arabia, or Persia or Medea, or Assyria—probably the last."

(2) That subsequently it became the name of all those places.

(3) That at a later date it indicated all the casteless races to the west of the Indus including the Arabs and the Asiatic Greeks and the Egyptians.

(4) That the Indo-Greek Kings of Afghanistan were also probably indicated by the same name.

(5) That there is not a tittle of evidence to show that it was at any one time the exclusive name of the Greeks.

(6) That it is impossible now to infer from the use of the term Yavana the exact nationality indicated in Sanskrit works."

#### BEEF AND FISH.

If the above discussion does not leave us on any solid ground as to the geographical facts and phenomena of India, the precise delimitation of areas within which certain abnormal social and religious customs are allowed is none the more easy. Take, for instance, beef-eating, which has been described as the peculiar custom of the artists and artisans of the *madhyadeśa*, or fish-eating, which is described as the special characteristic of the people generally of the same tract. Both in Vedic and subsequent Indian literature the slaughter of animals for food has been repeatedly mentioned. Principal P. T. Srinivas Iyengar writes in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*:

"Horses (A.V. vi. 71.1), bulls (R.V. i. 104. 43), buffaloes (R.V. 29. 7), rams (R.V. X. 27, 17) and goats (R.V. i. 162, 3) were killed on slaughter-benches (R.V. x 86.18), cooked in caldrons (R.V. iii. 53.22) and eaten. The eating of fishes and birds must have also prevailed."

Dr. R. Mitra also is strongly of opinion that beef-eating was universally allowed in ancient India and proves it by referring to *Uttarāma-charita*, *Smṛitis*, *Manusamhitā*, *Asoka's edicts*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Charaka*, *Suśruta*, *Kalpa* and *Grihya Sūtras*.

"Āśvalāyana emphatically ordains that no *madhuparka* should be celebrated without flesh(?)." The author of the *Nīrasinhiya Prayoga-pārijāta* has copied verbatim Āśvalāyana's rule about the necessity of eating beef at the *Madhuparka* ceremony, but qualified it by a quotation from *Ādityapurāna* which says that in the present *kali* age the *madhuparka* should be celebrated without slaughtering a cow. The quotation has been given at length by Parāśara, Hemādri and other compilers." "The *Bṛhannārāḍīya Purāna* follows the above very closely."

Both the *Upa-purānas* are, according to Dr. Mitra, not above eleven or twelve hundred years old. The author of the *Nirṇayasindhu* argues:

"The slaughter of large bulls and large sheep for Brahmans versed in the Vedas, though duly ordained, should not be done, being detested by the public."



Dr. Mitra's explanation<sup>1</sup> of the prohibition of beef-eating lies in the fact "that when the Brahmans had to contend against Buddhism, which emphatically and so successfully denounced all sacrifices, they found the doctrine of respect for animal life too strong and popular to be overcome, and therefore gradually and imperceptibly adopted it in such a manner as to make it appear a part of their *Sāstra*."

The lines in Sukranṭi, therefore, referring to the custom of beef-eating as confined within a certain class of people in certain tracts of India called *madhyadeśa* must have been written by a person, if Dr. Mitra's theory is to be accepted, who lived in an environment that had long been disciplined in the sentiments and traditions brought on by the ascendancy of Buddhism. Madhyadeśa, therefore, should mean the land that forsook these humanitarian ideals long before other parts had become callous to them. Eastern India<sup>2</sup> as described in connexion with Hiouen Tsang's travels was the land that received Buddhistic influence earlier and more powerfully than other parts of India, and it may be surmised that the author of the lines referred to was writing from his home in Eastern India about the *Central India* as described in the Chinese itinerary, when he was thinking of beef and fish as food.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstri, in his Introduction to Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu's *Modern Buddhism*, thus bears testimony to the strength of Buddhism in Eastern India :

"Yuan Chuang tells us that there were ten thousand Sanghārāmas with a hundred thousand Bhikshus in Bengal. To support this vast mendicant population at least ten millions of lay families were required, and they would be all Buddhists. \*\* More than three-fourths of the population of Bengal were Buddhists. Full one hundred years after Yuan Chuang, the original five progenitors of the present Rādhiya and Vārendra Brāhmins in Bengal came from Kanoj. Their religion was not a proselytising one. In the middle of the twelfth century Ballāla Sen took a census of the descendants of these five Brahmins and he found only eight hundred families in all. They lived mostly on grants of land made to them by the Rājās. \*\*\* But they rarely interfered with other people's religion. \*\*\* The masses were almost entirely left in the hands of the Buddhists, both married and unmarried. \*\*\* The monasteries of Nālanda, Vikramaśilā, Jagaddala and other places were the best seminaries for the diffusion of Buddhistic learning and Buddhistic religion. It was from these monasteries that Tibet, Burma, Ceylon and Mongolia received their Buddhist preachers and Buddhist authors and translators. \*\*\* In the twelfth century there were the following forms of religion in Bengal and in Eastern India :—

1. Brahminism. It was followed by 800 families of Rādhiya and Vārendra Brahmins and about a hundred families of other Brahmins, the descendants of many Kāyasthas who came from the west and those of lower classes who served the families.

<sup>1</sup> Indo-Aryans, Vol. II, pp. 854-88.

<sup>2</sup> See the contributions of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstri to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No 1. 1895, and Proceedings of the Society for December, 1896. Pandit Sāstri has explained "how the religion which existed in Eastern India in such splendour from 600 B. C. to 1200 A. D." has under the influence of new conditions continued to exist there in new names under various guises even to the present day. This latter aspect of the question has been discussed by Mr. Nagendranath Vasu also in his *Modern Buddhism*.

2. *Hinayāna*. This was followed on the West of the Ganges and especially in Tamiluk.

3. *Mahāyāna*. It was a religion of the higher class Buddhist monks and higher class Buddhist laity.

4. *Vajrāyana*. This was the religion of the middle class man and the married Buddhist clergy.

5. *Nāthism*, which was professed by the Yogis who had numerous followers amongst the Buddhists and a few among the Brahminists.

6. The *Sahajiyā* cult. It had numerous followers below the middle-class Buddhists and some among the lower class Brahminists.

7. *Tāntrism*. It had its followers among all classes, but among the higher classes it was a subsidiary form of worship, among the lower it was the chief form.

8. The *Kālachakrāyana*. It was purely Buddhist and more a religion of fear than of love and was followed by the lowest classes."

Mr. Dineschandra Sen, also, in his celebrated *History of Bengali Literature* (both in Bengali and English) has adduced fresh facts in support of the Sastri's theory about the survival of Buddhism among the lower orders in Eastern India. He has referred to Bengali works of the period from 13th century, the age of the so-called annihilation of Buddhists by the Musalmans, to the 17th century. Nagendranath Vasu's *Modern Buddhism* is an account of still extant forms of that cult in the hill-tracts of Orissa. In Mr. Sen's monumental work we have been supplied with some of the more important features of Buddhistic faith that may be detected from an analysis of (1) the *Sunyapurāṇa* of Rāmāi Pandit published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta, (2) the Bengali passages occurring in the Sanskrit works of 10th-11th cent., (3) the *Charyā charyavinischaya* of Kānu Bhatta, discovered by the Sastri in Nepal, (4) the Lay of Mānikchānd published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (belonging according to Grierson, to the 14th, but according to Sen, to 11th-12th cent.), (5) the folk-songs about Govinda Chandra compiled by a rustic poet, (6) the agricultural maxims of Khana, and (7) astrological lore of Dāka, both of which must be considerably anterior to Mānikchānd.

Another scholarly and highly original Bengali publication of recent times which throws a flood of light on Mediæval Buddhism and the processes of transformation by which it merged into, and was replaced or considerably eclipsed by, Hinduism is the history of *Gambhīrā*,<sup>1</sup> a Śaiva festival of the people in North Bengal, by Mr. Haridāsa Pālit of the District Council of National Education, Malda. This work may be looked upon more or less as a connected history of socio-religious life of Eastern India. The researches embodied in it go further than supplying new data corroborating the hypothesis of the Sastri; for it proves

<sup>1</sup> The materials supplied by Mr. Pālit in this learned work from a first-hand study of innumerable Bengali and Sanskrit MSS., traditions and folksongs as prevailing in North and West Bengal (called *Varendra* and *Rādika*) as well as Orissa have been utilised by the present author for his forthcoming work, "Studies in Hindu Literature—Literary and Sociological." A few chapters from this have been published in *The Vedic Magazine* (Haridwar), *The Modern World* (Madras), and *The Collegian* (Calcutta).



that the worship of Śiva by the orthodox Hindus of to-day with such peculiar constitutional, doctrinal and devotional features as are associated with the *Gambhīra*, *Gajana* and other ceremonies, is nothing different from, but really a descendant or another form of, the worship of Dharma, the mediæval Buddha, popularised by Rāmāi Pāndit, and that the whole laboratory of Buddhology and paraphernalia of Buddhistic ceremonialism have been utilised by and transformed into the modern socio-religious institutions of the Hindus. Modern Śaiva-cum-Śāktaism is thus traced by the author through the Yoga-Tantric phase of Mahāyāna-cum-Brahmanism back to the Vedic period of the simple worship of Rudra, Rudra-agnis, &c.

That Buddhism was decaying in Central and Southern India, while it flourished vigorously in Bihār and Bengal, would be evident from the following extracts from Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* :

"The Brahmanical reaction against Buddhism had begun at a time considerably earlier than that of Fāhien's<sup>1</sup> travels (405—11 A. D.); and Indian Buddhism was already upon the downward path."

"Buddhism was visibly waning in the days of Harsha and Houen Tsang. \* \* \* It had certainly lost its dominant position in the Gangetic plain which it had once held. \* \* \* The sacrificial form of the Hindu religion received special attention. \* \* \* Buddhism as a popular religion in Bihar, its last abode in Upper India, south of the Himalayas, was destroyed once and for all by the sword of a single Mussalman adventurer (1198 A. D.)."

According to Dr. Mitra, therefore, the prohibition of beef and meat as food and the consideration of people taking to them as following an abnormal practice must be ascribed to the influence of Buddhistic environment in Eastern India as I have suggested above.

#### MATERNAL UNCLE'S DAUGHTER.

The marriage and other social customs mentioned above do not raise many difficulties. Among Marathas and Madrasis, even to-day, Brahmans may marry maternal uncle's daughters—an abnormal custom according to Sukra. The tradition is preserved in a familiar Sanskrit sloka 'dakṣiṇe mātulī-kanya, uttare mānsabhojanam,' which describes the southern custom regarding marriage together with the northern regarding meat as food. The term Dākṣiṇātya, therefore, used in the *Sukranīti*, for the abode of such Brahmans as follow this abnormal custom, refers both to what is now called the Deccan plateau as well as Southern India, as it did according to the division of India into five great provinces in Houen Tsang's time. There is no doubt that by this term the Northerner (or East Indian?) Sukra refers to the Deccani (Chalukya, Rāṣtrakuta), Andhra (Telugu) and Chola (Tamil) Brahmans of his age.

#### WINES.

As for what Sukrāchāryya considers to be the abnormal practice of the drinking of wines by females, definite information on the point is not easily available. Dr. Mitra has proved the practice to be universal by references to the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Buddhist works, the works of Kalidāsa and Māgha,

<sup>1</sup> Second Edition, pp. 288, 287, 218, 370. See also Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, p. 362.

Purāṇas and Tantras. But the fact that it should be regarded as exclusively the practice of the female sex of a particular country cannot be satisfactorily explained in the present state of our knowledge regarding the social life of ancient and mediæval India. Sukra may, therefore, be taken at his word when he mentions the north as the locality of the custom. And there is no objection to referring this north to the northern division of Hiouen Tsang.

The same arguments apply to the non-observance of menstruation as ceremonially unclean, and yield the same conclusions about its locality.

#### UNCHASTITY.

The unchastity of women<sup>1</sup> has been referred to several times in Vedic and other Hindu literature. But it is not easy to locate it somewhere as the area in which it is particularly connived at. Sukra's statement that it is the characteristic of the women of Madhyadeśa may, therefore, be taken for what it is worth. And in the absence of positive evidences for or against, this madhyadeśa may be taken to be the *Central India* of the Chinese pilgrim.

#### EAST INDIAN LOCALE OF SUKRANITI.

The study of the directions and divisions of India mentioned in the Sukraniti leads to a tentative hypothesis as to the home of the authors of the Sukra cycle. We have to fix upon a region, *with reference to which* the writer may simultaneously mention the north, west, central and south, as the quarters or divisions where certain customs and practices obtain which "deserve penance" and punishment" in the normal region that sets the standard.

No Southerner would regard a southern practice as out of the way and beyond the 'norm.' The same consideration applies to the westerner, northerner, &c. The only region or quarter that has *not* been mentioned must therefore be the land of Sukra's 'normal' social life, and this is the Eastern.

The argument from the 'abnormal' practices leaves no doubt as to the normal region in which the treatise was composed. As to the spot also with reference to which the quarters of India and the positions of the regions are mentioned, there can be no difficulty. We may place it in Eastern India, if we suppose that north, west, centre and south were being mentioned in the technical sense of the terms as used by Hiouen Tsang. The Easterner versed in technical terminology would mean by north not the Tibetan Himalayas, but the Punjab and Kashmir, Himalayas, &c., by the west not the modern U. P. but Sindh, Rajputana, &c., by the central the regions marked out by Hiouen Tsang comprising U. P., Behar, C. P. of modern times, and by the south the whole of South India beyond the Narbada. The *Madhya* (centre) would thus always be the centre of India, the North always the North of India, the *Dākṣiṇātya* or South the whole of Southern India.

But one might argue that, if the technical meaning of the terms be taken, there can be no objection to the author of the lines referred to being a southerner also, say a Chola or an Andhra, belonging to any part of India, for he is

<sup>1</sup> Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>2</sup> Sukra IV, v, 99.

at liberty to use the terms in the same sense from all places. The objection is refuted by the other consideration about the normal and abnormal customs just discussed. Thus though the Southerner may call the man of the Punjab and Kashmir, &c., northerners in the special sense, and the other parts of India excluding Rajputana, &c. on the west and Bengal, &c. on the east by the special name of Central India, and describe himself as a southerner in the technical sense given with reference to the whole of India (which is not likely), it is not at all probable that he would look upon the southerners, or his own countrymen as illustrating a social practice that is beyond the 'norm.' The same consideration goes against the author being a 'north'-man or a 'Madhyadesa'-man.

This process of reasoning is adopted by George Buhler<sup>1</sup> to prove that Āpastamba is a southerner. Thus, "Āpastamba says (Dh. II, 7, 17, 17) that the custom of pouring water in the hands of Brahmanas invited to a Śraddha prevails among the northerners, and he indicates thereby that he himself does not belong to the north of India. If this statement is taken together with the above stated facts which tend to show that the Āpastambiyas were and are restricted to the south of India, the most probable interpretation which should be put on it is that Āpastamba declares himself to be a southerner."

(b) *Other Lands.*

Whatever be the value of the hypothesis as to the author of *Sukranīti* being an Easterner, as understood by the Chinese pilgrims, and also by the Indians of the early Christian era, one thing is clear. The geographical knowledge displayed by Sukrāchāryya is not confined to a particular area. The poets of the Sukra cycle are not home-bred men, their intellectual horizon covers the whole of India. They can think at once of the four quarters of the motherland, even though conventionally. This has been apparent from the discussion in the preceding sub-section.

That they were cognisant of 'new men, strange faces, other minds' and did not think exclusively of the local area that was the scene of their activities would be indicated by several passages in the *Sukranīti*, which mention, though indefinitely, regions, religions and languages other than their own. Thus among the qualifications of the clerk or scribe<sup>2</sup> is mentioned that of "knowing of the differences in countries and languages." The statement that the system of measurements<sup>3</sup> varies with countries points to the same experience of the writer beyond his own 'country.' The practice of undertaking distant tours is suggested by the advice that "in foreign lands the following six are useful to men—wife without child, good conveyance, the bearer, the guard or guide, the knowledge that can be of use in relieving others' miseries, and an active servant."<sup>4</sup> This practice of travel and life abroad is also indicated by the idea that "the man<sup>5</sup> who is not in a strange

<sup>1</sup> Pp. xxviii-iv. Introduction to *Āpastamba and Gautama in the Sacred Books of the East Series.*

<sup>2</sup> Sukra II, 347-348; IV, 81-82.

<sup>3</sup> Sukra II, 777-778.

<sup>4</sup> Sukra III, 595-597.

<sup>5</sup> Sukra III, 647.