SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

(PROFESSOR JYOTIS CHANDRA BANERJEA, M. A.)

A-ll high endowments needful for success had he,
S-erene as skyey dome his mind, his genius rare:
U-nmatched his vast and varied lore, as all agree,—
T-hat wisdom true he owned the Gods in Heaven are known to share.
O-f men a Prince unquestioned virtues made him out,
S-carce equall'd he or in the East or in the West:
H-is myriad-mindedness, without a shade of doubt,
M-ade him of India's modern sons the worthiest and the best.
O-f his fair fame his countrymen would always sing,
O-f him e'er speak with love and admiration true:
K-nown widely he:—the diff'rent points of compass ring,
E-'en now, as e'er they will, with his great name the wide world through,
R-eceive our homage true, great soul, from lands of bliss,
J-oin us in fervent prayers for this our ancient land:
E-'er let us strive thy cherish'd goal ne'er once to miss,
E-'er bless us from above—thou comrade of th'angelic band!

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE: HIS LIFE AND WORK

(PROFESSOR JAY GOPAL BANERJEE, M. A.)

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D., etc., was the greatest Bengali of his age and one of the most talented sons of India. He was the admiration of all who ever came in contact with him, be it casually. He won the love and esteem of Indians and Europeans alike. A man of wide culture and liberal sympathies, he was always an inspiring and stimulating example unto others—especially to the noble youth of Bengal whose imagination and heart he particularly touched by the magic charm of his sympathetic heart and helping hand. He was remarkable for his astounding versatility, wonderful intellectual capacity, scholastic attainments, passionate love of freedom, great force of character, political sagacity and selfless devotion to learning. His death has removed from the academic life of Bengal the most prominent figure and inflicted on the Calcutta University an irreparable loss.

EARLY LIFE AND ACADEMIC DISTINCTIONS

He was born on the 29th June, 1864, in Calcutta in a respectable middle-class Brahmin family not in very affluent circumstances. His father, Doctor Gangaprosad Mookherjee, M.B., came from his ancestral home in a village in the district of Hooghly and settled at Bhawanipur, then a comparatively less important suburb of Calcutta, and set up a lucrative practice as a very successful physician and soon became an eminent citizen of Calcutta.

The boy Asutosh finished his early education (1869-1872) at the Bengali School at Chakraberia and was noted from his very boyhood as a promising child with an insatiable desire for learning and a great capacity for reading. Having finished his preliminary vernacular course he entered in 1875 the Kalighat School subsequently known as the (Bhawanipur) South Suburban School. While at this school the youth was marked as a prominent figure on account of being decidedly far in advance of his class-fellows in his studies and in his attainments, particularly in Mathematics. This

was largely due to the regular training he received at home under the wise personal supervision of his worthy father. The far-sighted wisdom of Doctor Gangaprosad, whose intelligent watchfulness over the career of his promising son bore such magnificent fruit, led him to provide the boy with a valuable library at home and the guidance and help of distinguished tutors.

He was admitted into the Presidency College, Calcutta, after having passed his Entrance Examination in 1879 at which he stood second in order of merit. Research work, which is recognised to-day as an outstanding feature of all Indian Universities and to which Sir Asutosh Mockerjee attached so much importance in the Calcutta University which may claim to have taken the initiative in this important aspect of University activities, found in him an early advocate, who while yet a mere Matriculate gave clear evidence of his appreciation of its value by a new demonstration of a proposition in Euclid which appeared in 1881 in the *Messenger of Mathematics* of Cambridge. This remarkable tendency of a mere boy received encouragement from the fostering care of the brilliant mathematician Dr. W. Booth, then a Professor at the Presidency College, who intensely loved this favourite pupil of his for his wonderful mathematical abilities. Recognition of his extraordinary merit duly followed and the young Asutosh gained the singular distinction of a membership of the London Mathematical Association. His original contributions soon attracted the attention of the mathematical world and became known as "Mookerjee's Theorems" and such a great seat of Mathematical learning as the University of Cambridge did him the honour of embodying them in her curriculum. He now began to tackle successfully the hardest Cambridge Senate House problems and make original contributions of outstanding merit to mathematical journals. In the eighties of the last century no young man attracted greater attention for his talents than Asutosh whose brilliant achievements even while yet in his teens were admired with genuine love and pride by the entire body of ambitious students aspiring to academic distinction. He acquired a working knowledge of French and German with a view to becoming acquainted in the original with masterly works in his favourite subject and making his knowledge up-to-date by reading the proceedings of great Mathematical Societies published in learned journals.

After passing in 1881, the First Examination in Arts at which he secured the third place, Asutosh, strangely enough, preferred the Arts to the Science course for his B. A. Examination and offered besides his favourite subject Mathematics, Sanskrit and Philosophy, in addition, of course, to English Literature which was compulsory. A simple explanation of this, probably, is that the wonderful versatility of the young Asutosh made him as ardent a devotee of Sanskrit and Philosophy, and later on of History and Law, as of Mathematics and the Physical Sciences. He was as distinguished a figure in his College Debating Club as in his class and gave there an unmistakable and early proof of his superior debating power and skill which stood him in such good stead later in life at the Calcutta Bar, in the Senate meetings of the Calcutta University and in the Legislative Councils. His extraordinary ability as an organiser too was manifested in his undergraduate days when on the death of his revered teacher in Mathematics, Dr. MacCann, in June 1883 the young Asutosh took on himself the responsibility of starting the MacCann Memorial Committee with himself as its Secretary to perpetuate his Professor's memory, and raised by subscription funds for a marble tablet in the Library Hall of the Presidency College. He topped the list of successful candidates at the B.A. examination of 1884 and was the Harish Chandra Prize-winner for Mathematics and obtained within six months the M.A. degree in Mathematics (in 1885) being first in the first class. He took again his M A. in Physical Science in 1886 and won at the same time the Premchand Roychand studentship and the Mouat Medal. He was at once admitted as a Fellow of the Edinburgh Royal Society on the recommendation of Professor Arthur Cayley of the Cambridge University and subsequently enjoyed the distinction of being elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy and of the Mathematical Societies of London, Paris, Palermo and New York.

For three successive years from 1884 he was the Tagore Law Gold medalist and took his B. L. degree from the City College in 1888.

DISTINGUISHED PROFESSIONAL CAREER

Having completed his period of articleship under the eminently renowned lawyer Babu (afterwards Sir) Rashbehari Ghosh, he became

built up a lucrative practice till in a short time his legal learning and forensic skill brought him to the front rank of his profession. The next year he became a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The Doctorate of Law was conferred on him in 1894 and in 1898 he was appointed as Tagore Law Professor and his lectures on the Law of Perpetuities in British India were considered to be a valuable contribution to legal knowledge. In June, 1904, he was elevated to the High Court Bench and for 20 years he filled that exalted office with conspicuous ability till his retirement on the 31st of December, 1923, having in the meantime officiated as its Chief Justice.

PUBLIC LIFE

The Calcutta University elected him as its representative to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1899 where he at once made his mark by his able and vigorous criticism of the new Municipal Bill. He was re-elected in 1902 and in 1903 he took his seat in the Provincial Council as the representative of the Calcutta Corporation to which he had been nominated by the Government as soon as the new Municipal Act came into operation and he continued to serve the Corporation till his elevation to a judgeship of the High Court. That very year (1903) he was sent to the Imperial Legislative Council as the representative of the Provincial Council and early in January, 1904, he took his seat there as an Additional Member of Council with Rai Bahadur B. K. Bose, C.I.E. Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya's remarkable powers of debate became now directed chiefly against two contentious measures, viz., the Indian Official Secrets (Amendment) Bill and the Indian Universities Bill both of which by their controversial and reactionary character evoked in the whole country a furious storm of hostile criticism. In the fierce controversy over these two Bills of Lord Curzon's Government, Dr. Asutosh became with Mr. Gokhale the mouthpiece of the people of India and champion of the popular cause.

SIR ASUTOSH AND THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

In 1906 he was appointed as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University as successor to Sir Gooroodas Banerjee Kt, M.A. D.L., the first Indian to enjoy this unique distinction since the creation of the Calcutta University. From 1906 to 1914, Sir Asutosh continued to guide the affairs of the University as its Vice-Chancellor, being

elected to that high office four times in succession. In 1907 he was elected President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of which he remained a distinguished member for thirty years and became President four times. In 1909 he was appointed as President of the Trustees of the Indian Museum and also President of the Board of Sanskrit Examinations in Bengal. He had to be relieved of his duties in the High Court in 1908 as his services were absolutely necessary in the reorganisation of the Calcutta University undertaken by Lord Minto. The Calcutta University conferred on him (*Honoris Causa*) the degree of Doctor of Science in 1908 and he instituted that very year the now well-known Calcutta Mathematical Society of which the activities were ably guided by him till his death.

In 1909 followed the reorganisation of the teaching of Law as a science and he laid the foundation of the University Law College as a first step towards the reform and expansion of legal education and training which were then a crying need. He served as the Dean of the Faculty of Law in 1906 and again in 1914 and as the President and Dean of the Faculty of Arts from 1908 to 1924. He was elected President of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts as well as Science from year to year from 1917 to 1924 and was Chairman of nearly all the Boards of Higher Studies of the Post-graduate department. From 1917 to 1919 he served as a member of the Calcutta University Commission, popularly known as the Sadler Commission. In 1921 he was appointed a member of the Pope Commission of enquiry into the working of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. He held for the fifth and last time the Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University from 1921 to 1923 at the special invitation of Lord Chelmsford, the then Chancellor and Lord Ronaldshay, the Rector. On the fateful 25th of May, 1924, while he was engaged in the famous Dumraon Raj case at the Patna High Court, the cruel hand of death suddenly removed this gifted son of Bengal from the field of his manifold activities.

HIS GENIUS AND VARIED ACTIVITIES

Such, in bare outline, is the story of a remarkably brilliant academic and professional career which unhappily came to an abrupt close at the comparatively early age of nearly sixty. Sir Asutosh was gifted with a towering intellect and possessed admirable

powers of a debator who though formidable was seldom unfar or ungenerous to opponents. The number of subjects he had mastered would take one's breath away. His learning was great and his scholarship broad and sound. Ample testimony is borne by his Presidential speeches in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, his famous addresses at Mysore, Lahore, Benares, Lucknow, his address to the Second Oriential Conference of 1922 at Calcutta and to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at Patna in 1924, besides some of his illuminating Convocation speeches of the Calcutta University from 1907 to 1914, addresses to the Indian Science Congress of 1914 and the Sanskrit Convocation in 1913, 1914 and 1915. He was noted for his passion for culture and his enthusiasm for extending the bounds of knowledge. His own library is one of the best private collections of books representing all branches of learning, rich in standard works, rare publications and select editions showing how he combined a book-lover's romantic passion with a zealous reader's patient industry. His patronage of scholars and active sympathy for all engaged in the noble pursuit of knowledge heightened his fame. He had a keen eye for merit in others and with real catholicity of spirit brought together eminent scholars and efficient teachers from all parts of India to serve in the reconstructed Calcutta University. This breadth of mind made him as great a patron of Islamic as of Sanskrit studies, of Eastern literature and philosophy as of Western science. He observed in his Convocation speech of 1923 : "During the last sixteen years, we have uniformly recognised the principle that the most fruitful results in the domain of higher studies could be achieved only by the assimilation of what is best in the West with what is best in the East, for the revivification of all that is most vital in our national ideals."

AS AN EDUCATIONIST AND A PATRIOT

He had a burning enthusiasm for the cultural regeneration of India and he concentrated on this one problem his wonderful intellectual powers, superhuman energy and immense industry. Never a man of mere routine or mechanical efficiency he illuminated his vision of a new India with a broad outlook. The sphere of his many-sided activities was very extensive, but his chief claim to the nation's lasting homage will surely rest on his magnificent achievements in the field of higher education. No sacrifice was considered

by him as too great for the attainment of this noble aim. He sincerely believed in education as a potent instrument of national emancipation and progress, as the sole means of elevating his own people, and as the chief source of the highest welfare of mankind. He rightly looked upon the Calcutta University which was his first love as well as his last in the light of an agency in the fashioning of modern Bengal and his genuine and lofty patriotism was determined to give a national stamp to education by a scheme suited to the special needs of Bengal and the Bengali race and that is why he so strenuously fought against odds for the principle of self-determination applied to University ideals and the unhampered freedom of education and educational institutions. This brought him into fierce conflict with the official world but with his dying breath he resisted all undue attempts at interference.

This recalls to our mind the historic controversy over University reform in the days of Lord Curzon to which we must make a brief reference. Ever since Lord Curzon's famous Convocation speech at Calcutta in 1899 the problem of University reform and reconstruction has been up to even the present day a bone of contention. Curzon's preliminary survey of the whole field of University education in British India made in 1899 to 1901 led, first, to the Simla Conference of September 1901 which agreed upon removal of defects in the University system and reconstitution of the Senate, and then, to a Commission of enquiry into the condition and prospects of the Indian Universities which reported upon proposals of improving their constitution and working and recommended measures to elevate the standard of teaching. In the language of Sir Goorooda's Banerjee, whose sobriety nobody can question, in his note of dissent to the Commission's Report the recommendations "were received by a portion of the Press with a sustained chorus of disapproval." The Senates of the three older Indian Universities were strongly opposed to the proposed changes as extremely reactionary and retrograde. The Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh, the member in charge of the Bill to amend the law relating to Indian Universities, made the mistake of expressing the Government's grave concern caused by "the discontented B. A." and "the great army of failed candidates." And here was an exceptional opportunity for Dr. Asutosh, who with Mr. Gokhale represented the Indian side of the case in the Select Committee in

1903, to offer the most vigorous and able opposition to what was considered all over the country as a sinister political move to restrict the scope of higher education, to dissociate the Indian element from the control and government of the Universities, to give to European Professors overwhelming administrative supremacy by means of drastic changes in the constitution of the Senates and Syndicates, to place Indians in a hopeless minority and give a setback to indigenous enterprise and efforts and finally to officialise the Universities and reduce them to a mere department of the State. Dr. Asutosh always knew how to utilise his opportunities and the Universities Act of 1904 in its final shape is largely the result of his constructive genius. Section 25 of the Act required the framing of the Regulations within a year which, however, the Government failed to accomplish. It was reserved for the new Vice-Chancellor as the President of the Committee appointed for the purpose to prepare a new body of Regulations which Sir Asutosh did in three months' time.

From that day commenced a new era of the progressive development of real University education leading by successive steps to the creation of the Post-graduate department and its organisation as the realisation of Sir Asutosh's noble ideal of a teaching and research University. His genius converted a measure calculated to arrest the expansion of higher education into a machinery for its diffusion and transformed a stereotyped examining body into a vitalising centre of culture making fruitful the highest aspirations of the Bengali race. The Calcutta University, after its reconstitution in 1906-7 by the Government of Lord Minto and arrangements made in 1914 on a generous scale for better teaching and original investigation, and after the adoption in 1916 of Sir Asutosh's scheme of Post-graduate studies by Lord Chelmsford on the recommendation of the then Rector, Lord Carmichael, stands to-day as " the pioneer and the leader in an all-India movement, and judged by the extent and variety of the subjects comprehended in the scope of its activities and the worth and excellence of the work accomplished by many of its teachers, it is still the foremost Teaching and Research University in the vast continent of India." The Post-graduate scheme is the highest achievement of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as an educationist and it is entirely his own creation. In his Convocation address in March 1922 Lord Ronaldshay as the Chancellor of the University

said that " the greatest landmark in the history of the University in recent years is undoubtedly the creation of the Council of Post-graduate Studies. As Rector of the University at the time, I gave the scheme my whole-hearted support. * * * And I had visions of a modern Nalanda growing up in this the greatest and most populous city of the Indian Empire." In paying his tribute to Sir Asutosh at the special meeting of the Senate on the 15th June, 1924, Lord Lytton, as Chancellor of the University, while considering the most fitting way of marking the Senate's appreciation of his work and the most worthy manner of perpetuating his memory, said, "Let me remind you again that the greatest achievement of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's life was the transformation of the Calcutta University into a centre of advanced instruction and research. This was the work nearest his heart, the work on which he spent his energies to the very limit of his endurance and what worthier memorial to his memory can we conceive than an endowment of that Post-graduate department which he created?" It is not possible, nor necessary, to give a detailed account of the work done or undertaken by the Post-graduate departments in Arts and Science. We only mention that no fewer than twenty-five important subjects in their higher branches are represented in the teaching scheme among which, perhaps, special notice should be taken of Pali, Tibetan and Chinese, Ancient Indian History and Culture, Buddhism, Indian Vernaculars, Comparative Philology, Islamic Studies, Anthropology, Experimental Psychology and Commerce. The impetus given to research is embodied in the numerous publications of the Calcutta University which have a recognised place in the world of scholars, in the Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Commemoration volumes of Arts and Letters, Sciences and Orientalia and those forming the journal of the Department of Letters, besides contributions published in the Philosophical Magazine, the Physical Review, the Journal of the Chemical Society of London and the American Chemical Society, the American Mathematical Journal, the Transactions of the Faraday Society and the Proceedings of the Royal Society of London. Readerships for special courses of lectures to advanced students and Extension Lectures by eminent scholars to foster original investigation and research have attracted men like Professors Schuster, Foucher, Macdonell, Mackenzie, J. W. Garner (of Illinois) and Buck (of Nebraska) and Doctors Strauss, Jacobi, Oldenberg, Forsyth, Sylvain Lèvi and Paul Vinogradoff.

Research prizes and Travelling Fellowships have been instituted. The princely endowments of Palit and Ghosh to the College of Science and Technology are to-day a household word in every part of India and very well-known abroad. In 1921 a small nucleus of a laboratory for a University Mining School was established at Ikhra near Raneegunj in the heart of an important Bengal Coal district. Residential arrangements for an army of students belonging to different castes and creeds under proper supervision have also been provided to foster collegiate life and in 1920 a Students' Welfare Committee was started which has during these years done immense service. All this is the work of a single man who for close upon thirty-five years consecrated his life with unselfish devotion to the cause of education. He had a passion for culture and an abiding faith in it as the one thing needful for the salvation of India. To him the Calcutta University was a national institution of the first importance and so he concentrated on it the strenuous labours of an energetic life, his ardent enthusiasm, his matchless administrative skill, his uncommon resourcefulness and his wonderful powers of organisation. When the whole country was in the throes of the overwhelming non-co-operation movement which in its career of destruction threatened the very existence of the citadel of Western education in Bengal dubbed as the "*Golamkhana* of Calcutta," he stood with heroic courage against this terrible attack and by his commanding personality successfully met the crisis. We need not refer to the way he fought the freedom's battle for his University till he finally won.

In educational policy though always aiming at high excellence and thoroughness and efficiency he was never prepared to sacrifice the democratic needs of the many to that kind of quality which is within the means of the chosen few. He realised that in rapid expansion and diffusion of knowledge lay the only means of breaking down ignorance as the first indispensable step towards the social uplift and political progress of this vast country so miserably handicapped in the race of life. This was in essence also the Indian attitude towards Lord Curzon's new educational policy.

The Calcutta University, reformed, reconstituted and expanded as it is to-day is a monument to Sir Asutosh's constructive genius more durable than marble or brass and his sacred gift to the people of Bengal.

AS A MAN

Behind all these glorious achievements stands the man—a unique and complex personality. A born leader of men alike in thought and action he evinced a rare tenacity of will in the pursuit of every worthy object. His was a constructive genius of a high order. He combined an idealist's vision with practical efficiency, mastery of fundamental principles with a thorough grasp of details. He was sure to accomplish whatever he set his heart upon. He possessed quickness of understanding, the power of swift decision, administrative ability, robust common sense and sturdy independence. His love of freedom was intense and on occasions aggressive—but removed equally from the blind hysterics of the Celt and the cold, calculating selfishness of the Saxon. Fired with an ardent patriotism he was singularly free from Provincial narrowness and admirably above all communal jealousy and racial partiality or exclusiveness. Courage of conviction springing from the depth of his nature made him a staunch friend and a formidable opponent. All his life he was a strenuous fighter who never knew defeat.

The foundation of this many-sided character was laid deep in simplicity and piety. Simplicity was the most noticeable feature of his life. He was perfectly free from any form of ostentation or artificiality. Simple in dress and daily habits, in his genial and pleasing manners, frank and free in social intercourse he was an embodiment of the Hindu ideal. High official position, great honours and titles, prestige and power, boundless fame were his, yet nothing could affect this basic quality of his nature. Deep piety was another dominant trait. He was in essence a devout Hindu whose cultured liberalism reconciled the highest of Indian tradition with what is best in modern social ideals and social values. He courageously bore social odium in the discharge of his sacred duty as a father. His domestic tenderness was born of enlightened paternal affection and intense filial piety.

It is foolish to attempt to anticipate the verdict of posterity. Yet the opinion may be held that during the last 100 years, though Bengal has produced men each greater than Sir Asutosh in his own limited sphere, he stands out prominent and pre-eminent by the versatility of his talents, range of his activities and the sum-total of his achievements. Investigator of truth, scholar, lawyer, judge, debater,

legislator, educationist, patriot, nationalist, organiser, patron of learned societies, creator of a great teaching and research University —here was a versatile genius of a truly high order. His memory is justly cherished with pride in the loving hearts of all Indians.

Competent judges have sometimes compared him with Washington, Bismarck and Lord Haldane.

Assuredly Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a Bengali of Bengalis and has made the name of Bengal an object of regard and respect everywhere.

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SIR ASUTOSH MEMORIAL VOLUME

Part I.

CONVENER'S APOLOGY

श्रेयांसि बहुविघ्नानि। After a delay of more than two years, *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume* is out. The Arunodaya Art Press which had been very strongly recommended and which had assured me both verbally and in writing that it had a full set of diacritically marked types on the lino was entrusted with the task of its printing, as early as in January, 1926. It then transpired that the Press had no proper types. However, it went on slowly with the work. But after some ten months, it returned all on a sudden, the last batch of articles and repeated reminders failed to elicit any reply. Some months after it came out that the Press had received, what appeared to it, a more lucrative work. I had then to take legal advice and had to threaten the Press with criminal and civil negligence. Fortunately for me, the more lucrative work proved a failure and what with this and what with the threat of legal proceedings, after full six months it recommenced the work. But the mischief had been done I had to go to a second Press for the rest of the articles and hence this inordinate delay in bringing out the Volume.

The Arunodaya Art Press had thus not only delayed the publication and thrown the entire financial responsibility on my poor shoulders, but the strain, worry, and disappointment had its full effects on me, with the result that since January, 1927, I have been seriously ill. *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume* has, therefore, been produced under great difficulties and but for the willing help rendered by my son, 2nd Lieut. M. L. Samaddar B. A., of the Postgraduate Department of the Patna College who throughout this period saw the volume through the Press, it would not have seen the light.

I am grateful to the contributors for having made a ready response to my request for contributing to the Volume which is associated with the name of one who has done so much for the resuscitation of ancient Indian culture.

They have followed the poet's lines :—

"Shall we, who served him during life,
Forsake his vision, now he's gone ?
Nay ! This we vow, through storm or strife,
Unfurl his flag, and carry on."

"PATALIPUTRA", PATNA.
Śri Pañchami
(*January*, 26), *1928*.

J. N. S.

*The dedication has been kindly suggested by Prof. S. N. Majumdar Sastri.

ओँ

एमाशुमाशवे भर यज्ञश्रियं नृ-मादनं पतयन्मन्द्यत्सखम् ।

Unto [Sir] Asu[tosh] offer this swift
man-cheering grace of worship
That to the friends gives wings of joy.

(RGVEDA 1-4-7)

SIR ASUTOSH MEMORIAL VOLUME

PUBLISHED BY

J. N. SAMADDAR

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SIR ASUTOSH MEMORIAL VOLUME

ANCIENT LEGACIES AND NEW HERITAGE.

(MRS. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A., D.LITT.)

Where man's will is working, it is a wording will. It is so even when he is expressing himself in music or plastic form ; the wording is not a spoken medium ; it is another form of wording.

He may be working where he has already worded, in fields that are familiar. Here he lacks no names, either for things or ways or concepts. He may be working in new fields, where he has not yet such a wealth of names. Here as he comes to know, he seeks, he finds, he makes wording. He makes, it may be, provisional words, and these are as the stakes set up round his new claim, even as gold-seekers stake the area where they seek treasure.

Where his will is not wholly in his work, where he is not keenly interested in it, he will be no word-maker. He will fall back on old wording, even where new words are needed. Where he lives by routine, by catchwords, according to tradition, he will need few words, little more than animals need them living by instinct. Animals are not interested in three fields which stimulate wording ; these are the looking at things in the whole, the looking at things in their origin and their end, the looking at things as becoming, as new. In these three fields we go out to meet the new, the not yet understood. Where in these three respects we live as intelligent beasts only, we take life as it comes, we watch and cope with the pageant of things, the changes in things, when they come and recur. We do not go out to foresee, to meet, to find them, to explain them, to change them, or change our life by better knowledge, by a better way.

Man found words for things as they came to him again and again. We read of Adam doing it. Man was slower to find terms for the hidden things, the beginnings, the new becomings, the things he did not understand. He found words for the seen, the understood, the things he was sure of.

But he was man, never merely animal. He worded also the unseen, the not-understood, in a less lively though deeply interested way. He was no less sure that the unseen, the not-understood, was also surely actual, real. He was sure also that in the unseen, the not-understood was a Warding of him, a warding that was both of his seen life and of his not yet seen life. Many things had he to fear, and his own warding against them was often weak and of little avail or none. Mightier warding lay in the unseen could he but get the will of that warding Willer or Willers on to his side.

But in that he did not understand, he was wordless to will the unseen Allies. He left the calling for them mainly to the few who had thrown their will into the work of enlisting that warding Will. These few, willing the work, had come to find wording. He called them his priests, his 'medicine-men', his celebrants, sacrificers, prophets, seers. They were his intermediaries linking him with the Warders unseen but surely there. They having worded their working and its object had found fixed forms for their calling, ritual of word and act to hand on as man succeeded man. They officiated, they chanted, they passed from earth, but the fixed forms remained from generation to generation. Around the way of the rite and the ritual men lived and changed and grew as grow man must, his wording changing, his thought changing. So at length the unchanging ritual grew hoary, the wording became as a dying thing.

And the chanters of the ritual, once the very worders to men of the things unseen, became the wordless ones, for man had got round and beyond, and his will was at work on that which had since come to be, and which he now saw as a deepened or as a new vision. Still he looked to the unseen, but he sought in it a Well and a Wording and a Way toward which he had been growing, past which he would one day grow. Here or there were men whose will had been working in those three fields of the coming-to-know, and not leaving the quest to the medicine-men.

They felt that these were come to be mere imitators, repeaters, men of ritual and routine, unable to guide the growing will, which was finding new wording or new depth in old wording.

Let us take such a crisis in the life of India. The day arose in Northern India when the family-order of intermediaries called brahmans had fallen away from being the 'live wires' they once had been. To be seekers and worders of the unseen in the now and the hereafter was still felt to be work of high worth. But no longer was a man judged to be such a seeker and worder only because he happened to be by birth and office a brahmana. A new standard of values was arising. He who in his life, his conduct, his deeds is this and not that, '*him* I call brahmana'! It was not the descent, the caste, the dress, the rite that any more impressed the men of earnest will to the good ; it was the life of the man.

And with the new will the wording of man's life had changed ; the old wording ceased to have weight. Man's welfare, his happiness, his escape from sorrow was to be won by the worthiness of his life, not by the rite, not by the sacrifice. *Sīla*—moral habit—was worded with an emphasis it had never had. *Karman*—act, *phala*, *Vipāka*—result—took on a more pregnant meaning. *Mārga*—way—was not merely a link between village and town. It was the way of the worlds to worlds' end. No longer was life a mere routine of birth and dying ; it was *Māgga*—a way, a means of advance, egress, access. It was a great tramping forth-faring host of living things, of many realms, many worlds, no matter what their birth, breed, station, all bent, if they willed, on progress in the Way to the Way's End. So Way, Path became a world-word of deepest meaning. *Nirvāna*—way's end—came into man's wording. That which was life, yet not life in the worlds, could only be worded by a 'not-word' like this, yet it came to stake the claim of the earnest willers to an unseen treasure richer than the joys of the *svarga* which must come to an end. All other living save this was *bhava*—becoming—for all men were changing, passing on. And vaguely, yet massively it was felt that only by *bhāvanā*—making-to-become—could *bhava* be brought to an end.

The more living will thus working in India prevailed for awhile till, and then because a sagacious ruler used its teaching to stabilize his new empire. Asoka was a notable opportunist, and

thus the hereditary intermediaries were for a while pushed aside from royal and public favour.

But that living will of the new spirit had not been all wise. It had called to its aid a way deemed at its birth the only wise, yet which barred its world-progress. This way was that of finding the unseen Warding more surely, more quickly by leaving, by coming forth from, the things seen. It was to leave fellowship in life and work with fellow-men, who had not come forth, while profiting by the life and work of those fellowmen to sustain life. It was, in warding of the earth-life, to become a parasite no less than king and courtier, courtezan, warrior and beggar, were parasites. Counter-service, it was claimed, was rendered by the monk no less than by these other parasites. But chiefly it was claiming for the goers-forth that they had cast off hindrances. They had not had to shoulder the extra burden of aiding many thousands to go unhindered. These could work free from care as their own intermediaries with the things unseen, needing no priest.

The mistake lay in holding that the prize of the Way's End was for those who had run ahead of their spiritually weaker fellow-men. The knowledge and wording of the newer will came to suffer thereby, as all onward moving has suffered when one section of the community and sought to raise itself with its veto on the rest, be the rest the people, or the slave, the laity or the woman. So the new will, now in its turn become wordless, melted away from India, and where it now survives, maintaining its old, uncompromising cleavage of church and laity, either nature there makes living easy, or, in the further north, the world of folk-fed monks has become, not merely the buttress of a folk-fed monarchy, but the very monarchy itself.

Yet the wording of what had once been a creative will lived on in India, as we may see in the later scriptures of the *renascent* world of brahman intermediaries.

To-day we are earnestly looking back on our shoulders at these old-world, and other much older-world leavings. This has its uses. But always it is levying a heavy toll on our will's creative energy in seeking and in wording the new. Because of its absorbing just those wills who are not attracted by research in the world of matter, but who are attracted by research into the world of the

man himself, his becoming and his accomplishment, the residue of will-force left to look at this latter world not over the shoulder but straight ahead is sadly to seek.

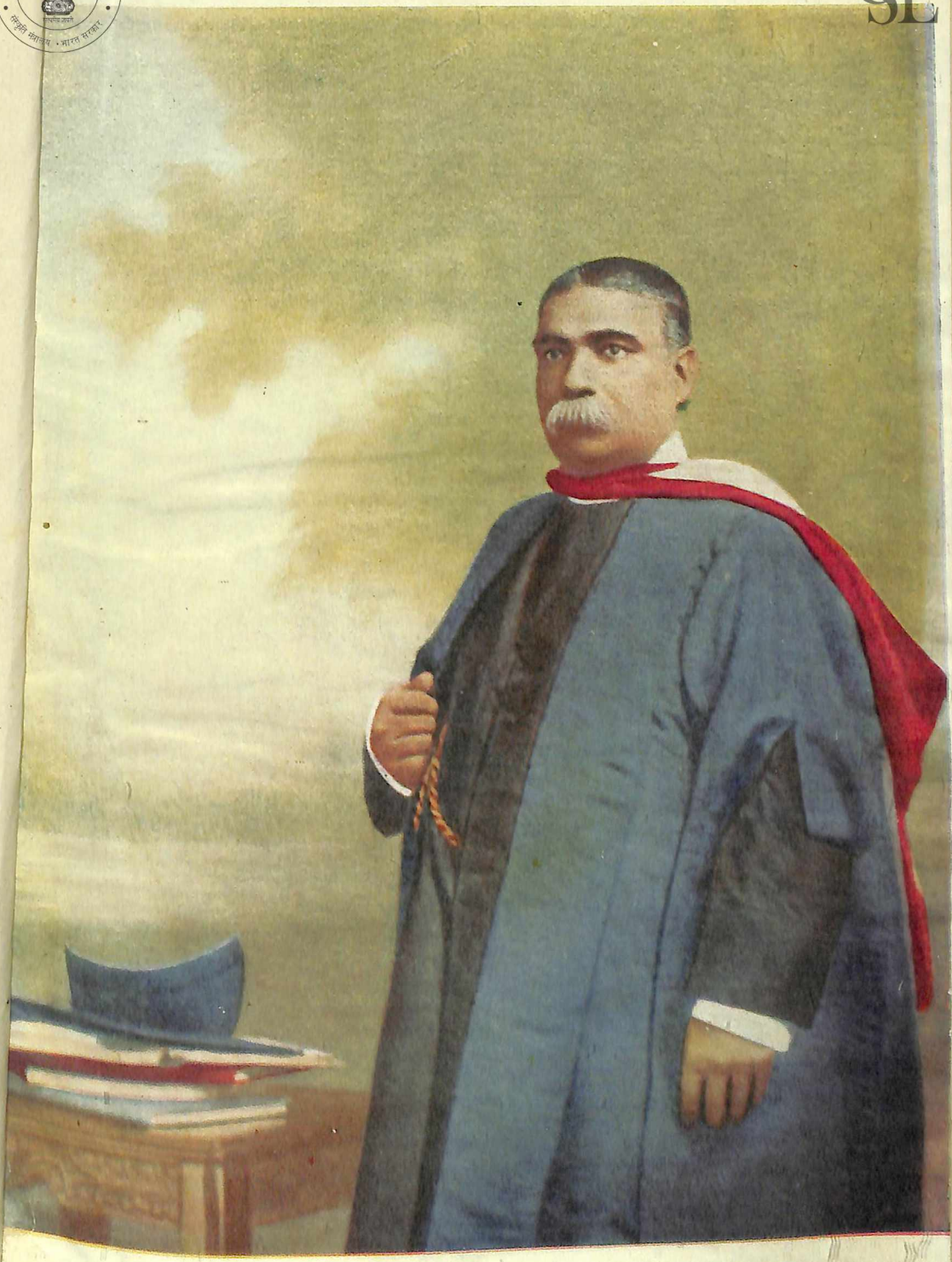
And because there is so little will-work being done, not in what man has been but in what he is and is coming to-be, we have no new or quickened wording on it. In those old-world leavings we shall win no new treasures in the claims we stake. At the worst we only come upon wardrobes of cast-off clothes ; at the best we come upon some old world-wording that once was new. We learn old things we did not know, and that is well so far as it goes. But by this very poring over the old our life and outlook are moulded in the limitations of the old. We live and think in a world where is enthroned the king, conqueror and little god, victim at his feet, offering held out to him, in a world with its underworld of prisoner and slave, courtier and woman ; in a world where welfare is of the body or of the dominant class, where growth, success, progress is of material things, not of character, not of world-amity ; where earth is mainly a world unknown and the foreigner a barbarian, in a world where worth is rated by power, by ruthlessness, by success in war, by pleasure of sense, not by insight into life as a whole, its source, its end, its coming to be. And all, save some immortal world-words we have or should have taken up into our own lives, all else is dead, dead. The living men, the living women whose were these husks, so long ago, what of them? We are deaf, as we dig, to that old worldword that survives for evermore : Why seek ye the living among the dead?—the living men among the dead things. We say they're all just 'the dead.' Of a few : 'their *name* liveth for evermore' :—so we echo the word of a dead book, wording in a dead old way because we pore over dead old things.

We who would work in and word the man, the soul, we are as heirs for whom a kingdom waits, while we search the roots of the tree to make good, as it were, a claim to what is already ours. Let us enter upon our kingdom. The men of old did no less. They did not seek to recreate their past. They worded their present. They worded truly, for their present :—that was *they*. But their present, that is not *we*. We are changed. Not only is our *world* new; the man, the woman, the soul that we *are* is not persistently old. Hence is the wording we have to give no more the same. We can be

the vivid, the true worders only of that which we are. We can word what the past did not know, did not want to know, was not ready to know. Even the child of Asia, even the Indian words new ideals, words his worldwords as he never did in the past. Into the bottles of ancient wisdom we pour our new wording of our new outlook, the while we say. Let that ancient teaching be our guide. Nay, all the guidance it can give us, as old wisdom, is that we can by it measure how far we have come. Herein it gives us a wording we should else be slower to come by. We can come to know the word we need by the measure of words the old world had not and was not ware that it needed.

Our chief creative energy to-day is willing work in the world of matter. There, working to come to know, we find new wording. Names of elemental substances not known before ; names of elemental force not dreamt of before :—ion, proton, electron ; names of new ways of man rushing to meet man, to word afar and conquer space. Here has creative energy been at work finding and naming like a very Adam. But we do not see corresponding energy at work among that world of willers who seek to know the new, the unknown, the possibly knowable, about not matter but man, about not men's bodies but the man who uses body, about not mind so much as the wielder of mind. Such wills are either burying themselves in the past, seeking the living among the dead, or they are following too servilely the way of research in matter, seeking man in his animal body his 'herd'-mind, or explaining him by repressed and stunted growth of will.

Nor are such wills preparing our sons to be more fruitful workers in the field of 'the man', and the world way of him and what he may become. Eight to twelve precious years of training we too often fill with what we frankly call 'dead languages.' This means first, that their young outlook is narrowed (we deem complacently it is broadened) by the leavings and the wording of an outgrown past ; secondly, that they go forth among their fellowmen, no more equipped as once were cultured men with a common tongue, but crippled and dumb for want of means of access. For when they travel they are self-islanded, self-frontiered by the one and only tongue they can speak. They are as deaf-mutes. They cannot feel the pulse that throbs in the native tongue of other fellowmen ; they cannot discuss together the common good, the world



BORN JUNE, 29, 1864. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE DIED MAY, 25, 1924.

ook, they cannot be training the international will in world-peace.

So do we hinder ourselves, where we might be moving on together. So do we make a little world, where we might be in a greater one. So do we harness our vision to a corner, in time and space, of one world, when ours, as 'man', is the way of all the worlds, of earth and the rest. We are brave workers, but we tie our arms. We are swift to find words where will works but we gag ourselves. When we can name, our will, as from a springboard, bounds forward to find the new name, the 'more-word.' Now are we wordy, not worded. Our books are very cud-chewers. We do not know what more-wording may not come, once our wills are set to find new pasture, once we fare forth to word the new, and not only, and not so much, the old.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ARTHAÇÀSTRA

(DR. A. B. KEITH, M.A., D.C.L.)

Since in a short article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1916 (pp. 130 ff.) I expressed, as against Professor H. Jacobi, the view that the *Arthaçāstra* could not properly be regarded as the work of the minister of Candragupta, the question of authorship has formed the subject of prolonged debate. Of the three editors of the text, to all of whom its study owes much, Mr. R. Shama Sāstrī* and Dr. T. Ganapati Sāstrī† have no doubts as to the author, while Professor J. Jolly‡ is equally convinced that, if there was a minister Cāṇakya of Candragupta at all, he was not the author of the *Arthaçāstra* nor does it express his views, but is rather a product of the 4th century A.D. Professor Winternitz§ similarly rejects Cāṇakya's authorship, and leans to the third century A.D. as the date, while Dr. Narendranath Law¶ among others has maintained firmly the authenticity of the work. Moreover the *Arthaçāstra* has been freely drawn upon by many writers as an authority for the period 300 B.C., and the question of the validity of that view is of much more than mere antiquarian interest.

In some measure, indeed, the importance of the text has been exaggerated ; it is only from the narrow standpoint of interest in the details of Indian administration that it can be ranked as "the most precious work in the whole range of Sanskrit literature". The author has indeed been compared with Machiavelli, but, save in respect of their disregard in politics for moral considerations, there is but a distant resemblance between the two. Of political philosophy the *Arthaçāstra* has little conception ; its object is to give practical advice in the government of a kingdom and the means to secure the safety of the monarch from internal dissension and external attack ; it expresses no new theory of the purpose of the state and

* 2nd. ed. (1919).

† *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, Nos 79, 80, and 82.

‡ *Punjab Sanskrit Series*, No. 4 (1923).

§ *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*. iii. 509 ff. ; *Calcutta Review*, xi. 14 ff.

¶ *Calcutta Review*, xii. 512 ff. xiii. 228 ff. 466 ff. Also *The Glories of Magadha*, pp. 44 ff.

has no ideals. Machiavelli recommends immoral means merely as a step to the accomplishment of the ideal of a national king ruling over a centralised realm in lieu of a chaos of contending states ; he stands for the ideal of the Renaissance, which has passed down to the present day, in the search for such a state organisation as shall secure universal peace, a conception wholly alien to the *Arthaçāstra*. The method of the two writers is also wholly diverse ; when the *Arthaçāstra* seeks to deal with the relations of states, it gives us a pure formalism unillumined by the slightest reference to historic events, whereas Machiavelli's views are brought into vital connection with his experience and with the historical knowledge of his time. The intellectual power of Machiavelli is wholly lacking in the author of the *Arthaçāstra*. Machiavelli again was a man with practical experience of affairs, a fact which it is impossible to forget in studying his work ; the author of the *Arthaçāstra*, on the other hand, impresses us with the fullness of his knowledge of all kinds of *çāstras*, of which he seems to have been extremely proud, but, if he really was a great statesman, he has failed most signally to leave any impress of his character on his work.*

If then it was really Cāṇakya who wrote the *Arthaçāstra*, we must revise our conceptions of what a statesman should be, or assume that his reputation has been unfairly magnified at the expense of Candragupta, a view perfectly legitimate having regard to the fact that Megasthenes appears to have been silent regarding the minister, who, in the eyes of the India of the *Purāṇas* and the *Mudrārākṣasa*, dwarfed entirely his master by reason of his capacity and energy. But the question arises whether, even as it stands, the text really claims that Cāṇakya was the author of the book. The citation of views under the form *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* is *prima facie* wholly against this view, and no effective reply has been adduced to meet this obvious objection. We have a considerable amount of literature of the pre-Christian era in India, but it is impossible to find an author who expresses his views in this form. The *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, for example, cites Kauṣītaki's views in

* Contrast Ghosal, *Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 155 f.

this way, but no one imagines that Kausītaki composed that text. To cite recent instances is of no value, for these can be explained naturally and simply as cases of deliberate imitation arising at a time when this form of expression was believed to come from the author himself. It is obviously a very artificial mode of procedure, and we certainly cannot accept it as valid unless there is very strong external evidence to make us do so. In the case of the *Arthaçāstra* all we have in this regard is the fact that at the end of i. 1; ii. 10; and xv. 1 we have statements which ascribe the *çāstra* to Kauṭilya, specified in terms which make him clearly the minister of Candragupta. To ask us to accept these passages as conclusive is unreasonable, when the obvious explanation is possible that they were written in order to capture favour for the treatise by asserting its production by the famous minister. No one, we may believe, really now doubts that the *Mānava Dharmaçāstra* is the definite production of one or more jurists, and that they gave it currency as Manu's work to make it popular ; the same thing applies to the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* and to other *Smṛti* texts, and it is idle to seek to make distinctions between the cases by asserting that, while it was quite possible for a jurist to ascribe his work to an ancient sage like *Yājñavalkya*, he could not do so in the case of a minister of Candragupta. On the contrary, if, as was doubtless the case, the *Arthaçāstra*, as a distinct science evolved later than the *Dharmaçāstra*, it was a perfectly natural thing to ascribe a work to a famous minister, as a far better authority in such matters than a mere sage. We must disabuse our minds of any idea of forgery in the modern sense of the word ; the authors of the *Smṛtis* who fathered them on the wise men or the gods of old cannot be treated in the same way as those ingenious persons who in the time of the Renaissance and later deliberately forged works of the great writers of the past. Moreover, the work itself bears perfectly unequivocal proof that the real author was not Kauṭilya himself. In chapter 6 of Book V we find the view of Kauṭilya criticised by Bhāradvāja and then a further doctrine of Kauṭilya is set off against this opinion of Bhāradvāja. The efforts of Professor Jacobi and of T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī to defend this as a literary or logical device on the part of Kauṭilya himself appear to strain probabilities beyond all reasons. Finally we have in Book XV a very remarkable definition in the course of setting out the Tantra-yuktis ; Apadeça is given as one of these and is illustrated by a quotation in which are given the views of the schools of Manu,

Bṛhaspati, and Uçanas, and of Kauṭilya regarding the number of memers of the council of ministers ; the sense of the term according to Mr. Shama Sastri is "quotation", which would dispose of the authorship of Kauṭilya, though this fact has escaped Mr. Shama Sastri's notice. Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī has realised it, for he renders the term as indicating the adduction of another view in order to refute it. The former sense appears the more justifiable, though certainty cannot be obtained. The internal evidence, therefore, is certainly not favourable to the view that the work is that of Kauṭilya himself. A verse appended after the last colophon, and therefore not even claiming to be part of the work, asserts that Viṣṇugupta composed himself the Sūtra and Bhāṣya. The work itself never mentions the name Viṣṇugupta or Cāṇakya, and we cannot even assert that the hand which added this verse meant to assign the treatise to the minister of Candragupta. It must be remembered that Varāhamihira in his Bṛhatsamhitā and his Bṛhajjātaka cites a Viṣṇugupta, and the Bhaṭṭotpala* knows both a Cāṇakya whose other name was Viṣṇugupta and an independent Cāṇakya. But, whatever the verse was intended to mean, it is clear that, as of unknown authorship and not in any event part of the treatise, it has no authority whatever.

The text itself, therefore, does not clearly assert Kauṭilya's authorship ; it is perfectly consistent with the citation of Kauṭilya's views by a follower of his doctrine, or, it must be added, with the invention of his views or, more accurately, the ascription to him of views held by some students of the science. The question then arises whether the contents support Kauṭilya's authorship. There immediately presents itself the problem why the minister of Candragupta should have confined his energies to the composition of a treatise which deals with the relations of moderate territories and ignores the essential question, from Candragupta's point of view and his own, of the acquisition and government of a great empire. Similarly we must ask why he never alludes, save in the final verse, to the empire of Candragupta, and why he preserves complete silence regarding Pāṭaliputra, the capital of that empire. Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī holds that it would have been improper for the author to deal

* On *Bṛhajjātaka*, xxi. 3 ; vii. 7. cf. Shama Sastri, ed., p. xvi.

with the imperial question, since that would have appeared to be self-praise, and that it was right that he should deal with the principles affecting the kings of old, but this contention is unsupported by analogy or probability and really condemns Kautilya as deficient in common sense. The last verse is so lacking in modesty that we cannot possibly ascribe this quality to the author of the *Arthāçastra*. Nor can any tolerable explanation be offered for the omission to mention Candragupta directly in a work suppcsed to be written by a minister of that sovereign. Efforts to see in this signs of a refined psychology are wholly unconvincing. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji,* much more plausibly, seeks to show that there are in the text cryptic references to the empire of Candragupta, but it is quite impossible to take the passages adduced as serious evidence : by such evidence anything could be proved, including far more plausibly a reference to the Gupta dynasty as the restorers of the Brahmanical system of which the author is the exponent. The only logical means of evading the difficulty is that of Mr. Monahan,† who feels that he cannot ask us to suppose that Cāṇakya wrote this work after the creation of the empire of Candragupta, and who, therefore, assigns it to a period before that episode. The difficulties in the way of this theory are too obvious to need exposition, and none of the other supporters of the authorship of Candragupta's minister attempt to follow this method of evading the crux.

Further evidence against the authorship of Cāṇakya is afforded by comparison between the statements of Megasthenes and those of the *Arthaçāstra*.‡ This question of comparison, of course, is one which must be dealt with carefully, and those discrepancies must be discounted which can be explained in any legitimate manner. We must dismiss cases of the silence of Megasthenes, because we have not the whole of his work. We must also recognise that he may have been, and apparently was, animated by the affection of foreigners for idealising countries not their own. To this tendency, of which the *Germania* of Tacitus presents a classical example, we may legitimately ascribe his denial of slavery among the Indians and

* See Narendranath Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. xxxiii.
† *Early History of Bengal*, p. 31.
‡ O Stein, *Megasthenes und Kautilya*.

his assertion that the agriculturists played no part as warriors and enjoyed the boon of exemption from attack or plundering by hostile armies. Similarly we may disregard his eulogy of Indian sobriety, his insistence on Indian veracity, his assertion that Indians have no suits over pledges or deposits, need no seals or witnesses, and are ignorant of usury and interest, and his insistence on Indian honesty. Again there are many matters on which Megasthenes was probably unable to obtain reliable views ; his seven classes of the population need not be attributed to Egyptian influence, but may quite well represent an attempt to understand a complex system which was extremely difficult of comprehension by any person not a member of it. It is more difficult to be certain of such a discrepancy as that regarding landownership, for Megasthenes is of opinion that the land is owned by the king, while the *Arthaçāstra* (ii. 24) shows that only a certain portion thereof was so owned ; but we may fairly refrain from arguing from such a case, since misunderstanding by Megasthenes is at least a perfectly possible explanation.

There remain, however, cases in which the discrepancies between the records of Megasthenes and the *Arthaçāstra* are glaring, and where it is impossible to ascribe error to Megasthenes. Those matters in which we are entitled to trust that author concern things with which he must daily have come into contact, and to know which must have been an essential part of his duties, matters concerning the capital, the conduct of its government, and the treatment accorded to foreigners in it, as well as matters regarding the armed forces of the state, details of which Seleukos must have always been anxious to have. Now Megasthenes definitely records the existence of a navy under a commander of the fleet, and this is the sort of matter which a Greek would naturally record. The *Arthaçāstra* has also a Nāvadhyakṣa, but the account of his duties (ii. 28) is decisive against his being a parallel to the Nauarchos of Megasthenes. His duties are fiscal and commercial, not naval. Dr. Narendranath Law,* indeed, claims that the duty of destroying pirate ships, those bound for an enemy's country, and those that have violated port regulations imports naval activity. This, however, is clearly not the case ; these

* *Calcutta Review*, xiii. 235 ; his version 'ships of an enemy's country illegally crossing its limits' is hardly correct.

are the duties of a port officer, and, as the text makes clear, the duty applies to the Nāvadhyakṣa in respect only of ships which touch at ports while en route. Not less fundamental is the discrepancy regarding military matters, for Megasthenes asserts the existence of six boards of five members each, charged with the care of the navy, bullock trains for transport, the foot, the horse, war chariots, and elephants. Dr. Narendranath Law, indeed, claims that there is here a striking parallel to the *Arthaçāstra,* but this is rather a *tour de force.* The facts are that the *Arthaçāstra* has only a Nāvadhyakṣa of the type described, not an admiral ; that he does not give his Go'dhyakṣa as a military officer at all, so that Dr. Law is reduced to arguing that the bulls used were taken from the Go'dhyakṣa's department ; and that there is parallelism only as regards the last four items. This parallelism in any case would be practically inevitable ; the four elements making up the *caturaṅgabala* would normally be under distinct controls. But Dr. Law ignores the vital element of distinction even in these cases, the fact that Megasthenes records boards of five. Curiously enough Dr. Jolly* here doubts the accuracy of Megasthenes, on the ground that five commanders would be an unwise arrangement, and that the *Arthaçāstra* never refers to a plurality of commanders. But this is clearly a misunderstanding ; we have to deal with boards comparable with the Athenian Strategoi, or the British Admiralty or War Office, charged with functions of administration as well as merely of command in war, and the *Arthaçāstra* in one passage (ii. 4) expressly lays down the rule that the four elements of the army should have many chiefs, in order to secure their fidelity. The real ground for the discrepancy is doubtless that Megasthenes is describing the arrangements of an empire, the *Arthaçāstra* those of a moderate-sized kingdom in which single superintendents were in fact employed.

The same discrepancy appears as regards the civil administration. Megasthenes definitely tells us of the existence of six boards, each of five members, who co-operate for certain purposes, while the *Arthaçāstra* knows only of a single Nāgaraka, subject to whom are other officers of state, independent each in his own department, a

* ed., p. 41.

distinction again natural between the management of an imperial city and that of a mere ordinary capital. Moreover it is impossible to find parallels in the *Arthaçāstra* for certain vital details. Megasthenes expressly states that one board dealt with the care of foreigners, whose modes of life were watched, and that they saw to their escort out of the country and to the sending of their property to their relatives in the event of their death. These are matters with which Megasthenes must officially have constantly dealt, and the provision regarding the treatment of the effects of deceased foreigners reflects a more advanced state of international intercourse than the normal Indian plan of the confiscation of such property by the king. The silence of the *Arthaçāstra* here again is explicable only if it deals with a different condition of things. The third board again of Megasthenes is engaged in the registration of births and deaths ; the *Arthaçāstra* knows nothing of anything so elaborate ; though its Sthānikas and Gopas are concerned with population in its fiscal aspect, they are not required either to register births or deaths, and Megasthenes is explicit that the aim of the government in this regard was to secure knowledge of these happenings among high and low alike. The function of the fifth board, the sale of new and manufactured articles, contrasts with the highly developed rules both of private and public commerce in the *Arthaçāstra*. The sixth board, with its duty of collecting one-tenth of the price of articles sold, must have had a simpler task than the officials who had to obtain payment of the complex imposts, tolls and fares, import and export duties, of the *Arthaçāstra, ;* with this too accords the fact that Megasthenes mentions few taxes in comparison with those of the *Arthaçāstra,* reflecting perhaps a time when expedients for filling the exchequer were not so highly developed. It is significant also that the attempt to find a point of contact in detail between Megasthenes and the *Arthaçāstra,* (Vincent Smith's comparison of *abhijñānamudrā* with the duty of the fourth board to see that products are sold according to gauged weights (otherwise rendered "by public notice"), has been disproved, the Sanskrit term referring not to weights, but official marks on merchandise.

Other discrepancies are not unimportant. The king appears in Megasthenes clearly invested with judicial functions, while the *Arthaçāstra* seems neither to assign to him duties as a judge of first instance nor to make him even a judge of appeal, but to contemplate

a separate establishment of judges,* and we can evade recognising discrepancy only by reading into the chapter on royal duties more than is said. Then we have the remarkable fact that Megasthenes records the existence of mile-stones, a fact which he must have seen with his own eyes, and which was both natural and appropriate in an empire like Candragupta's so that the silence of the *Arthaçāstra* is inexplicable ; Dr. Jolly's suggestion that Megasthenes may have transferred to India a Persian custom obviously has no plausibility, though it is quite likely that India borrowed the usage from Persia. Still more significant is the fact that Megasthenes records the existence at Palibothra of a wooden wall round the town and that traces of this structure seem even now to exist. The *Arthaçāstra*, on the other hand, in its elaborate rules for fortification, mentions a wall of brick, but is silent regarding wood, surely an incredible fact if it was written under Candragupta. Yet other discrepancies might be adduced, but those mentioned are far too glaring and too important to leave any real doubt that Megasthenes and the *Arthaçāstra* are dealing with different things.

The same impression is given when we turn to examine the extent of knowledge revealed in the *Arthaçāstra*. The geographical outlook† is wide ; it is very dubious if the term Cīna could have been used before the advent to power of the T'sin dynasty and Vānāyu, probably enough Arabia, as a source of horses as well as references to Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇakuḍya are unlikely in a work of the time of Candragupta. Nor it is reasonable to deny that the *Arthaçāstra* presumes the existence of a very considerable technical literature on such topics as agriculture, mining, mineralogy, Çulbadhātuçāstra, architecture, chemistry, veterinary science, the treatment of trees etc ; the case of alchemy is particularly interesting. We are told of the conversion of base metals into gold and we find used the term *rasa*, mercury, which has so far not been traced further back than the Bower Manuscript of the 4th century A.D. and in the works of Caraka and Suçruta, the text of which is far from authentic. The

* Cf. Stein, *op. cit.* pp. 79 f. ; Monahan, *op. cit.* p. 181. Contrast Narendranath Law, *Studies* p. 121.

† Cf. Kālidās Nāg, *Théories diplomatiques*, pp. 118, 133 f., who, however, is wrong as to Kambodia.

impression of a late date thus given is confirmed by the fact that alchemy seems clearly to be an importation into India, and not of independent origin there. Accepting a Greeco-Syriac source, we can hardly place derivation before the early centuries of the Christian era, and with this accords well the use of the term *surañga* or *suruñga* in the *Arthaçāstra* in the sense of "mine," for its probable source is the Hellenistic Greek *syrinx*. Anvīkṣākī is defined to include Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata ; this reflects a period when Sāṁkhya and Yoga were definitely developed as distinct schools, and when Lokāyata had established a place for itself, despite priestly objections to a creed which denied the rewards of action and the efficacy of sacrifice. The chapter on Tantrayuktis denotes a long refinement in methods of exposition and argument. The use of technical grammatical terms in II. 10 suggests knowledge of *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The author knew *Arthaçāstras* and *Dharmacāstras*, as well as treatises on Vārtā, economics, and Daṇḍanīti ; his acquaintance with writing is abundantly attested by his rules regarding registration, the wording of documents including royal edicts and letters, and the use of written contracts, a point in which he differs strongly from Megasthenes. Astrology and divination are recognised ; Jupiter and Venus among the planets are known (ii. 24). It is expressly recorded (iii. 7) that the Sūta and Māgadha of the *Purāṇas* are not to be confused with the ordinary Sūta and Māgadha, the product of mixed marriages, and this is preciously the *Purāṇa* doctrine. The main story of the *Mahābhārata* is known, the stories of Rāvaṇa and Daṇḍakya can be traced to the *Rāmāyaṇa ;* most of the authorities on *Arthaçāstra* cited are recorded also in the great epic, where Kaṇika appears as counsellor, of Dhṛtarāstra and is credited with sayings for which parallels may be found in the *Arthaçāstra*.

Of decisive importance, however, is the evidence of the *Dharmaçāstras*. The Rājadharma of the great epic and the *Dharmasūtras* is much less developed than in the *Arthaçāstra* but in works like *Yājñavalkya* and *Nārada* we find passages which stand in close relation to the *Arthaçāstra*. Now the conclusion cannot be evaded that the original of these passages is not the *Arthaçāstra*, for that text presents, when there is divergence, the more refined views.* Thus

* Cf. T. Ganapati Sāstri ed., pt. i. pp. 7. ff. ; Jolly, ed.. pp., 12 ff.

Yājñavalkya asserts that operations on boils are punishable ; the *Arthaçāstra* restricts the offence to operations on boils other than dangerous boils, when death ensures. The matter, however, requires no argument, for Dr. T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī has decisively established the priority of *Yājñavalkya,* refuting the suggestion of Mr. Shama Sastri to the contrary. The same thing probably applies to Nārada. Dr. T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī indeed holds that the conclusion should be that *Yājñavalkya's* date is before Candragupta, and he accepts identity with the Vedic sage, but this runs counter to the whole trend of the literature and the borrowing justifies us in holding that the *Arthaçāstra* belongs to a comparatively late date, probably not before 200 A. D. at the earliest.

This conclusion is supported by the evidence of the *Kāmaçāstra.* The *Arthaçāstra* does not quote any text of that name, but it enumerates one topic included in it among the Arts, and it cites two authorities, Ghoṭa(ka)mukha and Cārāyaṇa who are also given in the Kāmaçāstra. That Vātasyāyana knew the *Arthaçāstra* is perfectly certain ; more than that he must have taken its form as a model for that of his own work, which like the *Arthaçāstra* consists of prose discussions, with occasional verses, each chapter terminating with one or more çlokas. In both the definitions and discussions are relieved by reference to ancient tales and by the introduction of quasi-debates between ancient sages. It has indeed even been suggested by Dr. Radhakumud Mookherji* that the author of the *Kāmaçāstra* may have been the same as that of the *Arthaçāstra* and even the *Nyāyabhāṣya,* but this is a view wholly without probability. On the other hand, there is no ground to accept Professor Jacobi's efforts† to prove that the *Kāmaçāstra* is much younger than the *Arthaçāstra.* Dr. Jolly has pointed out that his arguments in this regard are untenable ; if the *Kāmaçāstra* knows Greek astrology, the *Arthaçāstra* mentions (ii. 24) two of the planets and disapproves (ix. 4) of the belief in the stars as influencing human destiny ; if the *Kāmaçāstra* knows the Vaiçeṣika philosophy, that is irrelevant in view of that fact that the *Arthaçāstra*

* In *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity,* p. xiii. Mr. Shama Sastri's ascription of this view to me is a mistake.

† *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* 1911. pp. 961 f. ; 1912. pp. 841 f.

has no occasion to mention it, if it did not think it valuable as a study ; nor does the *Arthaçāstra* (i. 3) provide Ahiṃsā as the obligation of Parivrājakas alone as suggested by Jacobi. Vātsyāyana's date is uncertain, but it is most improbable that he flourished before 200 A. D. at the soonest, and he may well have written considerably later.*

Further we must note that in Bhāsa are found two verses cited by the *Arthaçāstra* (x 3), and that the probability is that they are borrowed from Bhāsa, which would accord well with a date not before 300 A. D. for the *Arthaçāstra*. This result can be supported from another point of view, the absence of any recognition of Cāṇakya as a writer by early texts. The *Mahābhārata*, despite its elaboration of kingly duty, is silent regarding him ; the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, which knows well Candragupta and the Mauryas, says nothing of him. On the other hand, from about 400 A. D. onwards there is a series of evidences of the existence of the *Arthaçāstra ;* it was probably known to Kālidāsa, certainly to Daṇḍin and to Bāṇa, and to the *Nyayabhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana, and also to many later writes such as *Medhātithi*, and Soma deva Sūri. Moreover the *Tantrākhyāyika* (perhaps c. 400 A. D.) clearly made use of it.

Against this conclusion has been adduced the alleged antiquity of the language. In this matter we must distinguish two quite different things, the presence in the text of a large number of unusual words and meanings, and the existence of forms which are really archaic. The former condition of things is obvious and undeniable, but it has nothing whatever to do with antiquity ; every technical treatise must yield material of this kind, if it is practically unique. The existence of archaic forms is quite distinct and most dubious. Dr. T. Gaṇapati Sastrī gives the following list† :—irregular

* Cf. Jolly, ed., p. 28.

† Mr. Shama Sastri (trans. p. xxiii) gives other irregular compounds, ignoring the plain use of Pāṇini in ii. 10 which disproves ignorance of his work, *amitram* is not really in point; *dāpayati* with two accusatives appears in the epic (i. 75, 28) etc : *apavyayate* is in *Manu* viii. 332; *Pratipatsyāmi* has parallels, and *paçcābna* is analogical. All the others can be matched with other forms found in post-Pāninian literature, and not one is specifically Vedic; *ādeyāt* is probably a false reading like *pārañcika*.

genders, *rajjunā, arūlā, amritam, sarpanirmokam;* irregular formation, *khādirābhih, anyatamasmin; pārañcikam, mārgāyuka;* irregular compounds, *jaradgus* (for *jaradgavī*) *daçatirakṣā, ubhayatorātra, varṣārātra, paçcāhna;* irregularity of mood, *ādeyāt, ākaṅkṣeta, ṛdhyatām;* of form, *apakrāntavyam, anuvasitam, prasvāpayitvā, nistārayitvā;* of use, *pratipatsyāmi, apavyayate ;* and of syntax *dāpayet* with two accusatives. Now, without investigating either the correctness of reading in certain of these cases on the possibility of finding defences for some of the uses, it is sufficient to remark that the terms *ārṣa* applied to these irregularities is inappropriate, if it is understood to connote antiquity. The irregularities belong all to the type of careless Sanskrit, such as we find in the epic and the *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis,* and they give no ground whatever for asserting an early date.

On the other hand must be placed the argument from metre. It is of a double character. In the first place the çloka is handled with great care in order to conform to the developed rules of that metre, and is decidedly more regular than the epic çloka of the *Mahābhārata,* or that of the *Bṛhaddevatā* suggesting a later date than Candragupta's time. In the second place we meet with seven Triṣṭubh stanzas which are either Indravajrā or Upajāti. This is extremely significant, for, whether they are original or mere quotations, they establish the existence of this form of metre at the time when the work came into being. Now it must be clearly understood that the practice of assimilating the four verses of a Triṣṭubh stanza is a decidedly late one. Vedic texts and the early epic show that this usage had not come into force, and, when we find it, we must recognise that artistic canons had come to affect metre. This accords well with the elaborate rules given (ii. 10) regarding the preparation of edicts etc., which betray acquaintance with the principles of the *Alaṁkāra-çāstra.* Finally it should be noted that we find an example (ii. 12) of the Aupachandasaka metre, certainly not an early form, but found in the later epic.

Jacobi* has adduced, as a support of a conclusion formed on other grounds, confirmation from the connection of the text with

* *Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee beiden Indern,* p. 41, n. 1; ZDMG. lxxiv. 254. Cf. Shama Sastri's ed., pp. xvii. ff.

Jainism, laying stress on these parallels, and on the fact that the *Nandisūtra* and the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* of the Jain canon mention the *Kauṭiliya*. This accords in his view with the fact that the redaction of the Jain canon and of the *Arthaçāstra* fall together. Jainism fell into decline after the period of the Nandas, so that the canon must be dated in or about their time. This seems, however, quite unconvincing. The language of the Jain canon is far later than the time of the Nandas, and, if the language could be changed, then the content also was far from secure ; indeed Jain tradition reveals its early losses, and we have no right to hold that the present canon in substance or detail goes back to the 4th century B. C. Jacobi's further contention that there existed only three systems of philosophy at the time of the *Arthaçāstra* is quite unfounded ; all we have is a definition of Anvīkṣakī, without any assertion that it constituted the whole of philosophy. He is wrong also in denying that Jayanta is a Brahmanical god, as he is found in the *Sūtras*, and there is not the slightest evidence for the theory that in the 3rd century A. D. the worship of the Açvins was antiquated.

The only conclusion, therefore, which seems compatible with the facts is that the *Arthaçāstra* is not the work of Kauṭilya, minister of Candragupta. It must remain an open question whether in the treatise are preserved any authentic remains of his views, if we accept tradition and believe that he actually existed as an important political factor. The evidence in favour of an affirmative reply in this matter are unfortunately far from strong ; what does appear to be the fact is that probably especially under the Gupta dynasty with the revival of Hinduism the fame of the minister of the ancient Candragupta evoked the production of maxims ascribed to him. But at any rate the *Arthaçāstra* should no longer be used as a *prima facie* authority for the period 300 B. C.

It may be added that the doubt which attaches to the *Kauṭilīya* applies equally at least to the *Arthaçāstras* which are imputed to such authorities as Bṛhaspati and Viçālākṣa. The citations ascribed to them in Viçvarūpa's commentary on *Yājñavalkya* certainly

* T. Ganapati Sastri, ed., pt. i, p. 6.

suggest no antiquity either in matter or language (e.g., the use of *sātmya*).

Finally the proposal* to read the author's name as *Kauṭalya* seems unnecessary. It rests on too recent MS. evidence to claim respect on that score, and the lexicographical authority is late. It is most natural to suppose that, at some time or other, it was thought unsuitable to allow the derivation of Kauṭilya from *kuṭila*, and the form Kauṭalya was devised in lieu with an appropriate Kuṭala as its source. The evidence of early references to the Kauṭilīya, including those in the Jain texts is clearly decisive in favour of the spelling with *i*.

* T. Ganapati Sastri., pt. i, p. 4; pt. iii, p. 4.

BĀHYAKAS

(Dr. Louis De La Vallee Poussin).

The Bāhyakas are the doctors and the ascetics "from outside" i.e., "non-buddhists"—"Strangers."

One point is certain, and this is that the "Strangers" cannot obtain salvation, cannot obtain Nirvāṇa. But they can be great saints, be reborn in the purified heavens of Brahmā and above, prepare themselves to acquire the buddhist truths.

1. There are two ways of knowing, jñāna or *prajñā*: the mundane knowledge (*laukika*) and the supramundane knowledge (*lokottara*). The first one is impure (sāsrava) the second one is pure (anasrava): by the second one alone can an ascetic uproot the *kleśas*, errors and passions, which are an obstacle to *Nirvāṇa* and prolong the transmigration. The Buddhas and the Pratyekabuddhas obtain the supramundane knowledge by their own forces; the Srāvakas, or Disciples, through the teaching of the Buddhas. But every man can obtain the mundane knowledge. That knowledge is not only the knowledge of common things; it includes also the knowledge of the general character of things; in one word, it is a view of the buddhist truths, but imperfect, impure with traces of ignorance and doubt; not only the "impermanency and sorrow" but also the "quality of the non-ego" (nairātmya = selflessness). Through the mundane knowledge, without the teaching of the Buddha, an ascetic can free himself, for a time and partially, of the belief in the "ego," in "mine" in the heterodox doctrines.

That ascetic can be reborn in the highest sphere of existence, in the *bhavāgra* "sphere in which there is neither idea nor absence of idea" (naivasaṃjñāna saṃjñāyatana), in which he will remain during eighty thousand Kalpas. But the mundane knowledge does not enable him to free himself of the errors and the passions infinitely reduced, which are proper to that sphere: after this quasi-eternity of half-unconsciousness he will fall back.

2. The usual doctrine is that a "Stranger" without knowing the buddhistic truths through the mundane knowledge, can free himself of the passions proper to the world here below, the kāma-

dhātu i.e., "sphere of sensual desires" and be reborn in the world of Brahmā. For that it is enough that the stranger should become disgusted with the gross objects of pleasure (enjoyment); such as all the Rishis, named Vitarāgas.

3. The "Stranger" cannot possess the discipline of *Pratimokṣa;* he cannot be a Bhikṣu, for the Bhikṣu takes the vows in view of the Nirvāna, and the "Stranger," by definition, does not pursue the Nirvāṇa but only a certain re-existence. But he is a quasi-Bhikṣu when he takes up "morality by engagement" when he renounces murder, theft etc. By this he acquires much merit.

4. The Buddhist schools are not agreed as to whether or not the "Strangers" can possess the five first Abhijñā, or "superhuman sciences": the ṛddhi (or magical power of displacement through space and the creation of magical beings), the divine eye, the divine ear, the knowledge of other people's thoughts, the remembrance of former existences.

No doubt every one admits that by the *māyā,* or magic, by the use of the formulæ (*vidyū mantra*) any man can work miracles. An ascetic by examining the skull guessed in what destiny the deceased had been reborn. There is a *īkṣaṇikā vidyā* which enables one to read the thought. But the Sūtras condemn to the worst torments these wonderworkers (men and women) who are vulgar sorcerers.

The Abhijñā is very different from these technicalities which are to be condemned. It is a science which belongs only to men who have obtained the dhyāna i.e., who have freed themselves entirely from the passions of this earth.

5. To my mind it is very remarkable that several buddhist schools should have attributed to strangers the possession of the abhijñās.

We remember that one of the Abhijñās, the remembrance of past existence, is one of the three sciences (knowledge) which the Buddha obtained on the night he became Buddha. In certain brahmanic sources, the *jātismaratā* is inseparable from the *apavarga.*

We see with pleasure that the Buddhists though persuaded that they alone have the integral truth admit that the "Strangers" are not excluded from a large share in the truth.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA AND ARTHAŚĀSTRA

(PROFESSOR DR. M. WINTERNITZ.)

Much has been written during the last few years about the history of political science in India.* The Dharmaśāstras and the Rājadharmānusāsanaparvan of the Mahābhārata have been freely quoted in connection with the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, in order to reconstruct this history. The authors who have written on the subject have generally taken for granted that the Kauṭilīya is a work of the fourth century B. C., and that the authorities quoted by Kauṭilīya represent the earliest stage in the development of the Arthaśāstra, going back to about 650 B.C. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has assigned to the same early period the Arthaśāstra material contained in the Dharmaśāstras and the Mahābhārata. Prof. U. Ghoshal treats the political, theories of the Dharmasūtras as contemporary with the early stage of the Arthśāstra, but sees in the material of the Rājadharmānuśāsanaparvan a synthesis of Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra thought.

Professor J. Jolly† has given a detailed synopsis of the legal matter contained in Books III (Dharmasthīya) and IV (Kaṇṭakaśodhana) with the extant Dharmaśāstra texts. This synopsis has shown clearly that the Kauṭiliya in its legal matter agrees far more with the

* See *R. Shamasastry*, Evolution of Indian Polity, Calcutta 1920, and Introductions to Text and Translation of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra; *K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar*, Ancient Indian Polity, Madras 1916; *D. R. Bhandarkar*, The Carmichael Lectures, 1918, on the Ancient History of India, Calcutta 1919, p. 87 ff.; *Narendra Nath Law*, Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, Oxford 1921; *U. Ghoshal*. A History of Hindu Political Theories, Oxford 1923; *Kâlidas Nāg*, Les théories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l' Arthaçāstra, Paris 1923; *K. P. Jayaswal*, Hindu Polity, Calcutta 1924; MM. *Ganapati Śāstri* in the Introductions to his excellent commentary on the Arthaśāstra (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series Nos. 79. 80, 82). Cf. also *J. N. Samaddar*, Lectures on the Economic Condition of Ancient India, Calcutta 1922; *Benoy Kumar Sarkar*, the Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus, Leipzig 1922; *A. Hillebrandt*, Altindische Politik, Jena 1923: *Chuni Lal Anand*, An introduction to the History of Government in India, Part I, Lahore 1924.

† Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Ges. 67, 1913, p. 49 ff.; see also 68, 1914, 354 f. and Introduction to the new edition of the Arthaśāstra in the Punjab Sanskrit Series 1923, pp. 3 ff., 12ff.

Yājñavalkya and Nārada Smṛtis than with the earlier Dharmaśāstras. Professor Jolly has concluded from this fact that the Kauṭilīya has borrowed from the later Smṛtis, while Indian scholars are inclined to believe that Yājñavalkya and Nārada have made use of the Kauṭilīya. It seems to me that there are other possibilities to which hitherto too little attention has been paid. Is it not possible that where Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra agree both may go back to one and the same common source? And is it not possible that there may have been mutual influencing between the two Śāstras?

I do not wish to answer this question here. For in my opinion, a great deal of *preliminary work*, involving a *minute and detailed investigation* both of the Arthaśāstra sections in the Mahābhārata and of the references to Arthaśāstra matter in the Dharmaśāstras is necessary, before a real history of Inidan political science can be written. In fact, a complete synopsis of all Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra texts where they go over the same ground is required, before such a history can even be thought of. The differences between the two sets of texts are no less important than the points of agreement. It will also be necessary, in this comparative study of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, to distinguish between the prose parts of the Kauṭilīya and the verses. Many of these verses certainly belong to the floating mass of political and ethical maxims which has also been one of the sources of the Dharmaśāstra, and which is also largely represented in the didactic portions of the Mahābhārata.

The following is intended to be only a small contribution to this preliminary work, a kind of supplement to Prof. Jolly's synopsis*.

1. *Education of Princes.*

1. The K. Arthaśāstra begins with a chapter on the education of princes. It devotes four chapters (I, 1-4) to a discussion in the disciplines in which a prince is to be instructed. According to K. there are *four branches of knowledge, viz., Ānvīkṣiki, Trayī, Vārtā,*

* The following abbreviations will be used: K. = Kauṭilya, Kauṭilīya; G = Gautama-Dharmasūtra; Āp. = Āpastambiya-Dharmasūtra; Baudh. = Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra; Vās. = Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra; Vi. = Viṣnu-Smṛti; M. = Manu-Smṛti; Yā = Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra; N. = Nārada-Smṛti; Kām = Kāmandaka-Nītisāra; A. = Arthaśāstra; Dh. = Dharmaśāstra.

and Daṇḍanīti, while other teachers quoted by K. acknowledge only three (Trayī, Vārtā, Daṇḍanīti), or two (Vārtā, Daṇḍanīti), or even one only (Daṇḍanīti) as necessary for the king.

G. XI, 3 only says that the king should be instructed in Trayī and Ānvīkṣikī, thus differing both from K and his predecessors. The other Dharmasūtras have nothing about it.* Yā. I, 311 mentions, among the accomplishments required of a king, that he must be instructed in Ānvikṣikī, Daṇḍanīti, Vārtā and Trayī.

K. I, 5 says that the prince should learn the Trayī and Ānvīkṣikī, from the Sistas, the Vārtā from the Adhyakṣas, Daṇḍanīti from theorists and practical politicians. M. VII, 43, however, teaches that he should learn only Vārtā from practical people or professionals (lokayātaḥ), while the other sciences are to be learnt from Veda-knowing Brahmans only. He says:

त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दण्डनीतिं च शाश्वतीम्।
आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्मविद्यां वार्त्तारम्भांश्च लोकतः॥

Prof. G. Bühler† translated: "From those versed in the three Vedas let him learn the threefold (sacred science), the primeval science of government, the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the (supreme) soul; from the people (the theory of) the (various) trades and professions." But the commentators differ with regard to the explanation of ātmavidyām. Medhātithi already gives two different explanations: *ātmavidyā* (he says) is either to be taken in the sense of adhyātmavidyā, or the two words ānvīkṣikim ātmavidyām stand in the relation of viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya, i.e. ātmāvidyām is to be taken as an attribute to ānvīkṣikīm. This seems to me to be the real meaning of M. who wants to say that only orthodox philosophy should be taught as Ānvīkṣikī not that of Bauddhas and other heretics. Cf. Medhātithi:

आत्मने या हितान्वीक्षिकी तर्काश्रया तां शिक्षेत सा ह्युपयुज्यते व्यसनाभ्युदयोपरमचित्तसंक्लोभोपशमाय। या तु बौद्धचार्वाकादितर्कविद्या सा नातीव कृत्वा क्वचिदुपयुज्यते प्रत्यास्तिक्यमुपहन्ति यो

* This does not seem to me to be a sufficient reason for considering the sūtra G. XI. 3 a later addition, as Prof. *Jacobi* (Sitzungsberichte Berliner Akademie 1911, p. 740) is inclined to do.

† Sacred Books of the East, vol. 25, p. 222.

नातिनिपुणमतिः। यदा तु स्वतन्त्रामान्वीक्षिकीं वेद तदा तस्य दूतसंवादादिषु वाक्यवैशद्यानामुपयोगो नोपहास्यो भवति ॥

Manu stands here nearer to Kām.* than to K. Kām. II, 7. also says that Ānvīkṣikī teaches ātmavijñām, and II, 11:

आन्वीक्षिक्यात्मविद्या स्यादीक्षणात्सुखदुःखयोः।
इक्षमाणस्तया तत्त्वं हर्षशोकौ व्यपोहति ॥

And this is the general teaching of later times, so also of Vātsyāyana in the Nyāyabhāṣya.†

2. The aim of Daṇḍanīti is according to K. 1, 4, p. 9, *to acquire what has not been acquired, to protect that which has been acquired, to increase that which has been protected, and to bestow that which has been increased on worthy persons*:

अलब्धलाभार्था लब्धपरिरक्षणी रक्षितविवर्धनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनी च।

This is called "the fourfold pursuit with regard to human wealth" (चतुर्विधं पुरुषार्थ प्रयोजनम्) by M. VII, 100, and M. VII, 99 teaches among the duties of the king:

अलब्धं चैव लिप्सेत लब्धं रक्षेत्प्रयत्नतः।
रक्षितं वर्धयेच्चैव वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥

This is repeated, in slightly different words, in M. VII, 101. Yā. I. 317. also says:

अलब्धमीहेद्धर्म्येण लब्धं यत्नेन पालयेत्।
पालितं वर्धयेन्नीत्या वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥

* Cf. also Kām II, 2: daṇḍanītis ca śāśvatī with M. VII, 43.

† See *Jacobi*, l. c. p. 734 ff. But I cannot agree with Prof. *Jacobi* (l. c. p. 972 note) in assuming that K., too, has *orthodox* philosophy in view when he says (I, 5, p. 10) that the prince should learn the Ānvīkṣikī from the Śiṣṭas. For I cannot believe that the Lokāyata which he includes in the term Ānvīkṣikī ever was orthodox. The Śiṣṭas are learned and educated Brahmans, versed in *Logic and Dialectics* as methods of investigating. And this, not any metaphysical teaching like the Ādhyātmavidyā, was meant by the term Ānvīkṣikī. Cf. Ghoshal, l. c., p. 127 ff.

3. K. I, 5, p. 10, in giving rules about the daily lessons of the prince, says that he should spend the first part of the day in receiving instruction in the *military arts* (hastyaśvarathapraharaṇavidyāsu). G. X, 15 mentions, among the duties of the king, that he should learn the management of chariot and bow (caryā ca rathadhanurbhyām).

4. K. I, 5 has a whole chapter entitled *vṛddhasaṃyogaḥ*, in which the prince is told always to keep company with those "who have grown in knowledge" (vidyāvṛddha). K. I., 7, 12, says that the king should acquire wisdom by intercourse with the aged. Again, K. VIII, 3, śloka 2 (p. 330) we have: vṛddhasevī jitendriyaḥ.

So we have Vi. III, 77: vṛddhasevī bhavet; Yā. I, 309: vṛddhasevakaḥ; and M. VII, 38:

वृद्धांश्च नित्यं सेवेत विप्रान्वेदविदः शुचीन्।
वृद्धसेवी हि सततं रक्षोभिरपि पूज्यते॥

5. Great importance is attached, in the education of princes, to the conquest of the senses, the *indriyavijaya*, to which the two chapters of K., I, 6 and 7, are devoted. This "conquest" can be made only by getting rid of the "six enemies," viz lust (kāma), anger (krodha), greed (lobha), haughtiness (māna), mad passion (mada), and wantonness (harṣa). Cf. also K. VIII, 3 ślokas.

G. XI, 4 wants the king to be śucir jitendriyaḥ. And M. VII, 44 says:

इन्द्रियाणां जये योगं समातिष्ठेद्दिवानिशम्।
जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे स्थापयितुं प्रजाः॥

II. Duties of King, the Ideal King, Position of King.

1. One of the official spies who are to be sent out to espy public opinion regarding the king, is made to say, by K. I, 13: "Oppressed by the 'rule of the fish' (मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः) i.e. by anarchy, where the small fish are swallowed by the large fish) people made Manu Vaivasvata their King. They fixed one-sixth of the grain and one-tenth of merchandise and some gold as his share. Living on this (as their revenue), kings promote the welfare of the subjects, and take their sins upon themselves, when they do not punish

(the evildoers) and thus do not promote the welfare of the subjects.* Therefore even hermits offer to the king one-sixth of their gleanings, saying 'This is the share of him who protects us.' This is why the kings being anger and grace personified, are the representatives of Indra and Yama ; divine punishment also reaches those who despise the kings; they must never be despised."

The whole of this passage† certainly does not read, as if K. were propounding here a new theory of kingship, but rather as if he were referring to well-known ideas about the origin and divinity of kingship. The "rule of the fish" is alluded to by M. VII, 20 ‡. The interrelation between the paying of taxes, "one-sixth of grains," and the king's duty of protecting is pithily expressed by Baudh. I, 18, 1 : षड्भागभूतो राजा रक्षेत् प्रजाम् and it is also referred to by G. X, 24-28; Vās. 1, 42 ; 44 ; Vi. III, 28 ; M. VIII, 304 f. ; 307 f. ; IX, 254 ; XI, 23 ; Yā. I, 335 ; N. XVIII, 48.")§ The divine origin and nature of kings is emphasized by M. VII, 3-13; IX, 303-313 ; N. XVIII, 25-32 ; 52-55.¶ Indra and Yama, who according to K. are represented by the king, are two of seven (M), respectively five deties (N.) whose divinity is shared by the king, according to M and N.

2. The king's *duty of protecting his subjects* is incidentally mentioned in the passage K. I, 13 just quoted. Another incidental reference to this duty is found in K. III, 1, sloka 4 :

राज्ञः स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाय प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षितुः ।

"If a king protects his people according to law, the fulfilment of his own duty leads him to heaven."

All Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras agree in declaring it as the paramount duty of the king to protect the people, especially from thieves (Āp. II, 25, 15.) "Protecting the creatures" or "all creatures" (rakṣaṇaṃ sarvabhūtānām, pālanam bhūtānām, prajāpā-

* I read with *Jolly's* Lahore edition :

किल्बिषमदण्डकरा हरन्त्ययोगक्षेमवहाश्च प्रजानाम् ।

† Cf. *Ghoshal*, l. c., p. 132 ff.; *Jayaswal*, II, p. 54 ff.

‡ Cf. *D. R. Bhandarkar*, l. c., p. 114 ff.; *Ghoshal*, l. c., pp. 42, 90 f., 132 ff. See Mahābhārata XII, 67, 12-17, and Rāmāyaṇa II, 67, 31 (*Bhandarkar* l. c.).

§ Cf. *Jayaswal*, l. c. II, 162 ff.

¶ Cf. *Ghoshal*, l. c., pl. , 42 92 ff., 172 ff.; *N. N. Law* l. c., p, 146 ff,

lanam) is the *svadharma* of the warrior caste and particularly of the king ; see G. X. 7 ; Vās II, 17 ; XIX, 1 ; Baudh. I, 18, 1 ; Vi. III, 2 ; V, 196 ; M. VII, 2 ; 142-144 ; 302-313 ; Yā I, 335 f. Already in the Rgveda (III, 43,5) the king is called "guardian of the people" (gopā janasya). More especially it is the duty of the king to protect the weak. Āp. II, 25, 11 : "No one should despair in his realm suffering from hunger, sickness, cold or heat." The king must take charge of the property of minors and unprotected females. see G. X, 48 ; Vās. XVI, 7 f. ; Vi. III, 65 ; M. VIII, 27-29.

K. II, 1, p. 47 f., also teaches that the king must support infants, the aged, the sick, the afflicted, the helpless, and unprotected women. The village elders must take charge of the property of infants.

3. For protecting the people, the king must make use of punishment. Both Dh. and A. insist on the king's *duty of meting out just punishment*. K. devotes a whole chapter (I, 4) to *daṇḍa* 'punishment,' which should be neither too severe nor too mild, but is absolutely necessary for maintaining social order : for if it is not awarded properly, the 'rule of the fish' will prevail, and the stronger will swallow the weak. Again K. III, 1, śloka 5, it is said :

दण्डो हि केवलो लोकं परं चेमं च रक्षति ।

"For punishment alone protects both the other world and this world."

M. VII, 14-31 has the well-known glorification of Daṇḍa, which is praised as the true ruler and protector of men, for without punishment "the stronger would roast the weak like fish on the spit." Compare :

K. I, 4 :

अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्याय-
मुद्भावयति । बलीयानबलं
हि ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे ॥...
चतुर्वर्णाश्रमो लोको राज्ञा
दण्डे न पालितः ।

K. III, 1, śl. 5.

दण्डो हि केवलो लोकं
परं चेमं चरक्षति ।

M. VII, 20 :

यदि न प्रणयेद्राजा दण्डं
दण्ड्येष्वतन्द्रितः । शूले
मत्स्यानिवापक्ष्यन्दुर्ब-
लान्बलवत्तराः ॥

M. VII, 18

दण्डः शास्ति प्रजाः सर्वा
दण्ड एवाभिरक्षति ।

G. X, 8 mentions the duty of due punishment (nyāyyadaṇḍatvam) immediately after the first duty of protecting. Āp. II, 10, 6 includes daṇḍa and yuddha (punishment and war) in the regular duties of the warrior. But punishment must be just: G. XII, 51; Vās. XIX, 9; Vi. III, 91; 95 f; Yā. I, 353-360; 367.

4. It is the king's duty to watch over the *varṇāśramadharma*, i.e., the social order in the sense of Brahmanism, according to which each of the four castes and the four order (āśrama) has its own peculiar duties (svadharma). Hence K. I, 3 and 4 teaches the *svadharma* of the castes and orders in perfect agreement with the Dharmaśāstras; and the study of the Trayī, the three Vedas, is recommended to the king, because from it is to be known the *varṇāśramadharma*. "On account of his watching over the manners and conduct of the people consisting of four castes and four orders," the king is the administrator of justice (K. III, 1, śloka 1) Cf. M. VII, 35 f.

5. The special duty of the warrior and of the king is to *fight in battle*, to protect the people by his weapons, and to live on his weapons. As. Vās. II, 17 says: (शस्त्रेण च प्रजापालनं स्वधर्म स्तेन जीवेत्,) so K. I, 3 has: (क्षत्रियस्य...शस्त्राजीवो भुतरक्षणं च।) All the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras emphasize the the king's duty of fighting bravely, not to turn back, and to gain victory by his prowess. See G. X, 13-16; Āp. II, 10. 6; Baudh. I, 18, 9; Vi. III. 68 f. They also promise heavenly worlds to the king and the warriors who die in battle, especially in defending the property of a Brahman. Thus Āp. II, 26, 2; Vi. III, 43-46; M. Vii, 87-89; Yā. I, 324. K. X. 3 teaches that at the beginning of a battle the minister and the Purohita should encourage the soldiers by referring to the Vedic sayings in which heaven is promised to the brave warrior who dies on the battlefield. In the list of the accomplishments required of the king (svāmisampat), K. VI, 1 mentions valour (sattva) and energy (utsāha, śauryam), but in the War Book (X) K., according to the character of the A., lays far more stress on diplomacy than on the personal bravery of the king.

6. Both A. and Dh. insist on the king's performing also his *religious duties* according to the Brahmanical system. Study of the Vedas, sacrificing and bestowing gifts on the Brahmans (adhyayanam, yajanam, dānam) are kṣatriya duties in the whole Dh. literature,

as in K. I, 3. According to K. I, 5 the Saṃskāras (caula, upanayana, brahmacharya) are as a matter of course performed for the prince. The Saṃskāras, performed before and after the birth of a prince, are considered by K. I, 17 (p. 33) to be the best means to prevent a prince from becoming a danger to the king. The time-table of the king's daily routine, K. I, 19 (p. 37 f), includes svādhyāya, sandhayā, svastyayana, reception of the astrologer, and circumambulation of a cow with calf and bull before entering the audience hall.* Here (p. 39) it is also said that the king must personally attend to all urgent affairs, the most urgent being the affairs of deities, hermitages, hereticts, śrotriyas, cattle, and sacred places. Ascetics and śrotriyas are received in the room of the sacred fires (agnyagāra). Before the king tastes his food, he makes offerings (bali) to the fire and the birds (K. I, 21, p. 43). When settling in a country, land (brahmadeya) is to be given free of taxes to the sacrificial priest, the teacher, the domestic chaplain and the learned Brahmans (ṛtvigācāryapurohitaśrotriyebhyaḥ), according to K. II, 1, p. 46. Privileged land should also be given to Brahmans as sacred forests for prayer and soma (brahmasemāranyāni) and to ascetics (tapovanāni), K. II, 2, p. 49. According to K. śrotriyas are allowed to take salt for their food without toll (II, 12, p. 84), to take fruits, rice, and barley for sacrifice, from the fields, without fine (II, 24, p. 118), and to cross rivers without paying fare (II, 28, p. 127).

It seems clear that in all this the A. is based on the Dh. See G. XI, 15-18 ; Vi. III 78 ; M. VII, 79 ; Yā. I, 314 about the king's duty of performing religious rites and sacrifices. The duty of honouring learned Brahmans by gifts of land and money is enjoined upon the king in all the Dh. over and over again. Āp. II, 26, I promises endless worlds to the king who bestows wealth and land on worthy Brahmans. Śrotriyas and ascetics are exempt from taxes, see Āp. II, 26, 10 ; 14 ; Vās. XIX, 23 ; Vi. III, 26-28 ; M. VII. 133. Ascetics, hermits, and learned Brahmans pay no fare at a ferry, according to M. VIII, 407 ; Vi., v, 132 ; N. XVIII, 38.

From very early Vedic times the *Purohita* was always considered as "a minister of public worship and confidential adviser of the

* This rite is not mentioned in the Dh.

king''* who was absolutely necessary both for the material and the spiritual welfare of the king. This is the accepted view in the Dh. as well as in the A.† Compare

K. I, 9 ; and Yā. 313 f.

पुरोहितमुदितोदित कुलशीलं षड़ङ्गे वेदेदैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां चाभिविनीतमापदां दैवमानुषीणामथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत। तमाचार्यं शिष्यः पितरं पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत* । ब्राह्मणेनैधितं क्षत्रं... जयति* ...

Vās. XIX, 3-6 : गार्हस्थ्यनैयमिकेषु पुरोहितं दध्यात्* । विज्ञायते ब्रह्मपुरोहितं राष्ट्रमृध्नोति* ।

Baudh. I, 18, 7 f. सर्वतोधुरं पुरोहितं वृणुयात् । तस्य शासने वर्तेत* ।

Vi. III, 70 : वेदेतिहासधर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलं कुलीनमव्यङ्गं तपस्विनं पुरोहितं च वरयेत् ।

पुरोहितं प्रकुर्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदितम् । दण्डनीत्यां च कुशलमथर्वाङ्गिरसे तथा ॥ श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियाहेतोर्वृणुयादेव चर्त्विजः ।

G. XI, 12-14 :

ब्राह्मणं च पुरो दधीत विद्याभिजनवापवयःशीलसंपन्नं न्यायवृत्तं तपस्विनम् । तत्प्रसूतः कर्माणि कुर्वीत* । ब्रह्मप्रसूतं हि क्षत्रमृध्यते न व्यथत* इति विज्ञायते ॥

See also M. VII, 78 and Āp. II 10, 14.

(राजा पुरोहितं धर्मार्थकुशलम्) ।

* *J. Eggeling*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XII, p. 12 ff. Cf. *Macdonell* and *Keith*, Vedic Index, II, p. 5 ff.

† Cf. *O Stein*, Megasthenes und Kauṭilya, Wren 1922, p. 286 ff. *Ghoshal*, l. c., p. 88 f., concludes from the fact that the Purohita is not found in the list of Prakṛti's, that the A. "did a distinct service to the cause of political theory by ruling out the "purohita" from the list of proximate factors of government". *V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar* (Report of the third Oriental Conference, Madras, p 615 ff.) is probably right in assuming that the Purohita is included in the term 'amātya' among the Prakṛtis.

7. The *ideal King* is described by K., in the śloka quoted at the end of I, 5, as one who is trained in the sciences, rejoices in the propriety of conduct of his subjects, and finds his pleasure in the well-being of all creatures (sarvabhūtahite rataḥ). Again in a śloka quoted I, 19:

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम्।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम्॥

This is much like Vi. III, 98:

प्रजासुखे सुखी राजा तदुःखे यश्च दुःखितः।
स कीर्तियुक्तो लोकेऽस्मिन्प्रेत्य स्वर्गं महीयते॥

As to the accomplishments of a king (svāmisampat) compare:

K. VI. 1:	and	Yā. I, 309—311.
महाकुलीनो दैववुद्धिः सत्त्व-		महोत्साहः स्थूललक्षः कृतज्ञो
संपन्नो वृद्धदर्शी धार्मिकः		वृद्धसेवकः। विनीतः सत्त्व-
सत्यवागविसंवादकः कृतज्ञः		संपन्नः कुलीनः सत्यवाक् शुचिः॥
स्थूललक्षो महोत्साहोऽदीर्घ-		अदीर्घसूत्रः स्मृतिमानक्षुद्रो
सूत्रः शक्यसामन्तो दृढ़वद्भिर-		ऽपरुषस्तथा। धार्मिको
क्षुद्रपरिषत्को विनयकामः...		ऽव्यसनश्चैव प्राज्ञः शूरो रहस्यवित्॥

K. II, 2, p. 47, when speaking of the remission of taxes, says that the king should show kindness "*like a father*" (pitevānugṛhṇīyāt) to those who have no more claim to remission of taxes. Again IV, 3, p. 210. where speaking of the national calamities (fire, floods, etc.), he says: "Like a father he shall show kindness to the afflicted in all calamities" (sarvatra copahatān pitevānugṛhṇiyāt). M. VII, 80 also, when speaking of taxes, warns the king that he should not allow the people to be oppressed, but should behave towards them "like a father" (varteta pitṛvannṛṣu). Yā. I, 334 requires in general from the ideal king that he should be "like a father towards his servants and subjects" (syād rājā bhṛtyavargeṣu prajāsu ca yathā pitā).

8. K. VIII, 3 devotes a whole chapter to a long discussion about the vices of a king, distinguishing four *kāmajavyasanāni*, "vices

sprung from sensual desire," viz. hunting (mṛgayā), gambling (dyūtam), women (striyaḥ) and drinking (pānam), and three *krodhajavyasanāni*, 'vices sprung from anger', viz., violence in language (vākpāruṣya), unjust seizure of property (arthadūṣaṇam), and violence in deed (daṇḍapāruṣyam). The same classification is implied in Vi. III, 50-52: मृगयाद्यस्त्रीपानाभिरतिं परिहरेत्। वाक्पारुष्यदण्ड पारुष्ये च। नार्थदूषणं कुर्यात्। But M. VII, 45-48 gives a list of *ten kāmaja* and *eight krodhaja* vyasanāni, which is very probably an expansion of the shorter list. Varāhamihira (Yogayātrā II, 2 f.) agrees with M.

9. K. I, 19 gives a time-table for the *king's daily routine of life*, dividing the day and the night into eight parts each by means by nālikās, Yā, I, 327-333, without mentioning the division of time by nālikās, describes the king's daily routine in very close, and partly verbal agreement with K. But M. VII, 216 and 221-226 has a similiar, but by no means identical time-table.* The other Dh. have nothing about it.

10. K. attaches great importance to the *king's duty of looking after his own safety*. In I, 17 the problem how a king should protect himself against his own sons ("for princes, like crabs, are inclined to eat up their begetters" is fully discussed. And K. I, 20 f. describes in great detail the precautions a king should take, when going to his meals and to the harem, against being poisoned or assassinated in some other way. Some such rules, but without any verbal agreements, are found in M. VII, 217-220. Vi. III, 85; 87 f. only says:—

सर्वतस्त्रात्मानं गोपायेत्।...विषघ्नागदमन्त्रधारी च। नापरीक्षित-मुपयुञ्जीत। The other Dh. have nothing on this subject.

III, Villages, Towns, Forts and Palaces.

1. K. II, 1, p. 45 says that the king should settle in a village that is "chiefly inhabited by śūdras and husbandmen" (*śūdrakarṣaka-prāyam*). Vi. III, 5 says that the king should settle in a country that is "chiefly inhabited by vaiśyas and śūdras" (*vaiśyasūdra-prāyam*). When M. VII, 69 recommends the king to dwell in a

* For details see *N. N. Law*, l. c., p. 78 ff. Cf. also *O. Stein*, l. c., p, 78 ff,

country that is "chiefly inhabited by Āryas" (*āryaprayām*), this looks like an intentional rejection of the rule of K. and Vi.

K. VI, 1, p. 258, gives a very long list of the *good qualities required of a country* (janapadasampat). Vi. III, 4, M. VII, 69, and Yā I, 321 describe the country fit for the king only with a few epithets. It shall be lovely (ramya. M. Yā., Cf. Kānta, K.) rich in cattle (paśavya, Vi., Yā., Cf. Paśumān, K.) affording a good livelihood (svājīvya, M, ājivya, Yā., svājiva, K.) and it should have subdued neighbours (ānatasāmanta, M. Cf. śakyasāmanta, 'having neighbours that can easily be subdued', K.). There are no other points of agreement with K., and Vi., M. and Yā. agree more with one another than with K.

2. K. II, 3 describes four kinds of natural *forts, viz.*, a water-fort (audakam), a mountain-fort (pārvatam), a desert-fort (dhānvanam), and a forest-fort (vanadurgam), there being two sub divisions of each.* The river and mountain-forts, says K., offer the best opportunity for protecting the country, while the desert and forest-forts are fit for forest inhabitants (who are appointed as frontier-guards) or can be used as a refuge in time of danger. M. VII, 70-75 gives details about six kinds of forts, *viz.*, desert-fort (dhanvadurgam), earth-fort (mahī-durgam), water-fort (ab-durgam), tree-fort (vṛkṣa-durgam), men-fort (nṛdurgam), and mountain fort (giri-durgam). But M. emphatically declares that of all these mountain-fort has most advantages. Vi. III, 6 knows the same six kinds of forts as M., without going into detail. Yā. I, 321 only says that a king should make forts for the protection of the people of the treasury and of himself. He gives no details at all.

K. II, 4 gives a list of things and persons that should always be present in a fortress. M. VII, 75 also says that the fort must be supplied with weapons (āyudha, cf. praharaṇāvaraṇa in K.), money, grain (dhānya, also in K.), vehicles (vāhanaiḥ, cf. hasty-aśvaratha in K.), Brahmans, artisans, engines, fodder (yavasa, also in K.) and water. K. has many more things.

3. Only one of the old Dharmasūtras, Āp. II, 25, includes among the duties of the king also that of building a town and a palace. Here we find the rules, that the gates of town and palace

* See *Binode Behari Dutt*, Town Planning in Ancient India, Calcutta, 1925, p. 72 ff

must look towards the south, that the palace shall be in the centre of the town, with a hall (āvasatha), called "invitation-hall" (āmantraṇam) in front of the palace, where learned Brāhmans should be received as guests. To the south of the town there shall be a gambling hall (sabhā) with doors to the south and the north. In all the three buildings sacred fires must be kept and sacrifices offered. In the middle of the Sabhā a play-table (adhidevana) is to be raised, dice are to be supplied, and honest and truthful Āryas are allowed to play there.

All this has nothing in common with K. II, 4, where the construction of the town and royal buildings is described, nor with K. III, 20, where gambling and the duties of the superintendent of dice (dyūtādhyakṣa) are dealt with.

IV. Prakritis, Mandalas, Foreign Policy.

1. The theory of the *seven Prakṛtis* or elements of the State (sovereign, ministers, country, fort, treasury, army and ally), and the relative importance of each of them, are discussed in detail by K. VI, 1 and VIII, 1. The list in K. is the same as in Yā. I, 353; while M. IX, 294 has a slightly different order and terminology. Compare :

K. Vi. 1 स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः ॥

Yā. I, 353 स्वाम्यमात्या जनो दुर्गं कोशो दण्डस्तथैव च ।
मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयो राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते ॥

M. IX, 294 स्वाम्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं कोशदण्डौ सुहृत्तथा ।
सप्त प्रकृतयो ह्येताः समस्तं राज्यमुच्यते ॥

As to the relative importance of the seven Prakṛtis, respectively the seriousness of calamities (Vyasana) befalling them, K. defends the view of those teachers who say that each former one in the list is the more important. This is also the view of M. IX, 295, though M. places the fort (puram) before the country (rāṣṭram). Compare :

K. VIII, 1 स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्रव्यसनानां
पूर्वं पूर्वं गरीय इत्याचार्याः ॥

M. IX, 295. सप्तानां प्रकृतीनां तु राज्यस्यास्य यथाक्रमम् ।
पूर्वं पूर्वं गुरूतरं जानीयाद्व्यसनं महत् ॥

In the śloka at the end of VIII, 1 K. says: 'When *one* calamity threatens to destroy the rest of the Prakṛtis, then *this* calamity is more serious than the chief or any one of the other (calamities, that are considered most serious according to the general rule'." This is not indentical with but similar to the teaching of M. IX, 296 f., where it is said that, as each of the Prakṛtis is of importance for the others, and each one serves its particular purpose, none is superior to the others. Yā says nothing about this question of superiority.

2. K. devotes the whole of Book VII to the *ṣāḍguṇya*, the six political methods, viz. peace (sandhi), war (vigraha), encamping (āsana), marching (yāna), seeking refuge (saṃśraya), and double policy (dvaidhībhāva). Yā. I, 347 and Vi. III, 39 give the same six methods, teaching that they should be employed "properly" (yathāvat, Yā.) or "at the proper time" (yathākālam, Vi).

M. VII, 160-180, distinguishes two kinds of each of the six methods, and gives detailed rules about the occasions, when each of these methods should be employed. But there is nothing in the whole of this long passage that would indicate any acquaintance with K.

3. According to the theory of the *Maṇḍalas*, as explained by K. VI, 2, there are twelve kings (the vijigīṣu or 'he who is out for conquest', the enemy, the friend, the enemy's friend, the friend's friend, the friend of the enemy's friend, the pārṣṇigrāha or 'rear-enemy,' the ākranda or 'rear-friend', the pārṣṇigrāhāsāra or "the rear-enemy's friend, the ākrandāsāra or 'rear-friend's friend,' the madhyama or 'neighbouring neutral king', who is a neighbour of both the Vijigīṣu and the enemy and stronger than each of them, and the udāsīna or 'distant neutral king' who is stronger than both of them combined), who stand to each other in the relation of either friends, or enemies, or neutrals, and thus form the personal 'elements' (prakṛti) of inter-state relations.* Four of these, the Vijigīṣu, the enemy, the Madhyama and the Udāsīna, form each the centre of a "circle" (maṇḍala) consisting of three kings. Each of the twelve kings is provided with the five Prakṛtis: minister, country, fort, treasury, and army; this makes 60 Prakṛtis. Thus there are together with the 12 personal Prakṛtis in all 72

* Cf. *Narendra Nath Law*, Inter-State Relations in Ancient India, Calcutta Oriental Series, 1920

"elements of inter-state relations to which a king has to pay attention.

M. VII, 154-158, also teaches that the king should carefully reflect on the actions of the Maṇḍala, that of the Madhyama, the Vijigiṣu, the Udāsīna, and the enemy. These four Prakṛtis are said to be the foundation (mūlam) of the Maṇḍala, "and eight others are enumerated", making a total of 72 "elements." By the words "eight others are enumerated", M. refers to some in A. from which the reader is to know the "eight others."

Vi. III, 38 alludes to the Maṇḍala theory quite briefly by saying that the king should apply the four expedients of policy towards the enemy, the friend and the two kinds of neutrals (satrumitrodāsī namadhyameṣu). Yā. I, 345 has the same rule, mentioning "the enemy, the friend, the distant neutral (udāsīna), the immediate neighbour,* and each following one" as forming the Maṇḍala.

4. In the passages just quoted (Vi. III, 38, Yā. I, 345) and also in M. VII, 159, it is said that the king should employ "the *four expedients*, conciliation etc." (sāmādibhir upakramaiḥ) in dealing with the kings of the Maṇḍala ; Vi. III, 38 mentions them : sāma-bhedadānadaṇḍān yathārham yathākalam prayañjita. Yā. I. 346 says :

उपायाः साम दानं च भेदो दण्डस्तथैव च ।
सम्यक्प्रयुक्ताः सिध्येयुर्दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः ॥

"The expedients are : conciliation, bribery, creating disunion, and force ; when properly employed, they lead to success, but force should be only the last resource, when there is no other left."

This doctrine of the four expedients or means of polity, well-known from later texts,† is found in K. II, 10 in quite a different connection, namely in the chapter on royal edicts (śāsana), where we read : उपायाः सामोपप्रदानभेददण्डाः ॥ And again K. VII, 16, it is said that one who wishes to make conquests, shall subdue the weak by conciliation and bribery, the strong by creating disunion and by force : सामदानाभ्यां दुर्बलानुपनयेत् । भेददण्डाभ्यां बलवतः ॥

* The word anantaraḥ seems to be used here as a synonym of madhyamaḥ. The words tatparaḥparaḥ, "each following one," seem to refer to the other eight kings, who are supposed to be known from some A, as in M. VII, 156.

† See Kām. 18, 3 ff. ; Tantrākhyāyika (ed. *J. Hertel*), I, 139 and p. 125 l. 11 ; Varāhamihira's Yogayātrā I, 11.

K. IX, 5, also sāmadāne are recommended as means to be employed in dealing with conspirators.

5. K. VI, 2, states that both providence and human action rule the world, but in politics only the latter can be anticipated. Compare :

K. दैवमानुषं हि कर्म लोकं यापयति * । अदृष्टकारितं दैवम् । ...दृष्टकारितम् मानुषम् ।···तच्चिन्त्यम् । अचिन्त्यं दैवमिति ।

M, VII, 205. सर्वं कर्मेदमायत्तं विधाने दैवमानुषे ।
तयोर्दैवमचिन्त्यं तु मानुषे विद्यते क्रिया ।।

Yā, I, 349 : दैवे पुरुषकारे च कर्मसिद्धिर्व्यवस्थिता ।

V. Warefare.

M. VII, 181-204 has many details about war, but there are only very few points of agreement with what is found in K. IX, X, and XIII.

1. K. IX, 1, gives only practical reasons for choosing the time (month or season) of marching against the enemy. Though he first mentions the advantages of marching in *Mārgasīrṣa* or *Caitra*, he also mentions the advantages of marching at other times, according to circumstances, Vi III, 40 f., says that the king shall march against the enemy in Caitra or *Mārgasīrṣa*, or whenever the enemy is in distress. M. VII, 181-183 also gives preference to "the fine month of *Mārgasīrṣa*," but allows also Phālguna or Caitra, according to the strength of the king's army, or any other time, when he is sure of victory or when the enemy is in distress.

2. M. VII, 187 f., mentions seven kinds of *arrays* (*vyūha*) of *an army*, viz., daṇḍa, śakaṭa, varāha, makara, sūci, garuḍa and padma. K. X, 2 ; 3 ; 6, also has the makara, śakaṭa, sūci, and daṇḍa, but many others besides, and a great number of subdivisions. In this long list the varāha, garuḍa, and padma arrays of M. are not to be found.

* This is the correct reading, given in the editions of *J. Jolly* and *Ganapati Sastri* : The latter explains :

लोकं यापयति लोकयात्रां वर्तयति ।

3. K. X, 5, teaches that the king should array his troops on that side where the enemy's army is weaker, or *whence danger threatens.* The latter is also mentioned by M. Compare.

K. X, 5, p. 374: and M. VII, 188:

यतः परस्यापचयस्ततो ऽभ्याशे व्युहेत यतो वा भयं स्यात् ।

यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत् ततो विस्तारयेद्बलम् ॥

4. M. VII, 192 says that "one should fight with chariots and horses on even ground, with boats and elephants in water-bound places, with bows on ground that is covered with trees and shrubs, on a raised ground with sword, shield, and similar weapons." K. X, 4 gives many details about the favourable positions of chariots, horses, elephants, and infantry on even and uneven ground, but all this is quite different from M.

5. K. X, 3, describes in a very drastic manner how the king, assisted by priests and astrologers, should encourage the soldiers before the beginning of a battle. M. VII, 194 only says: प्रहर्षयेद्बलम् 'Let him encourage the troops.'

6. K. XIII, 4 says: विषमस्थस्य मुष्टिं शस्यं वा हन्याद्विवधप्रसारं च "When the enemy is in an inaccessible position, one should destroy their stores of seed, crops and their provisions of grain, hay etc." M. VII, 195 may be compared: दूषयेच्चास्य सततं यवसान्नोदकेन्धनम्

7. K. VII, 16, p. 313, says that a conqueror "shall instal the son of a king who has died in doing his duty, in the kingdom of his father" कर्मणि मृतस्य पुत्रं राज्ये स्थापयेत् । M. VII, 202 (स्थापयेत्तत्र तद्वंश्यम्) and Vi. III, 47. (राजा परपुरावासी तु तत्र (तत्कुलीनमभिषिञ्चेत्) have the same rule. Vi. III, 48f., however, adds: "Let him not extirpate the royal family, except a royal family of ignoble descent."

K. XIII, 5, devotes a whole long chapter to the rules about the pacification of a conquered country. Here the king is, amongst other things, told to do everything that is agreeable and salutary to the subjects, by distributing gifts and honours, and granting

remission of taxes, especially to distinguished people. M., VII, 201, 203, also recommends remission of taxes, amnesty, and honouring the conquered king, as well as distinguished persons, by great gifts. Vi. III, 42, M. VII, 203, and Yā, I, 343 teach that the king should maintain the laws of the conquered country. K. goes much farther, recommending the king, that he should adopt himself the manners and customs, dress and language of the conquered people, and show devotion to their deities and religious institutions.

8. No less important than the points of agreement between Dh. and A. are those points in which they disagree. All Dh. agree in inculcating certain humane laws of war, forbidding the use of certain cruel weapons, and mentioning the people to whom pardon must be given in battle. G. X, 17 f., says: "No sin (is committed) by injuring or slaying (foes) in battle; excepting those who have lost their horses, charioteers, or arms, those who join their hands (in supplication), those who flee with flying hair, those who sit down with averted faces, those who have climbed (in flight) on eminences or trees, messengers, and those who declare themselves to be cows or Brāhmaṇas." Āp. II, 10, 11: "The Āryas forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who (beg for mercy) with flying hair or joined hands, and of fugitives." Baudh. 1. 18, 10-12: "Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane or out of their minds, (nor with those) who have lost their armour, (nor with) women, infants, aged men, and Brāhmaṇas, excepting assassins."* Similar rules are given by Yā. I, 326, and still more humane rules by M. VII, 90-93, who also forbids fighting with treacherous weapons (Kūtair āudhaiḥ or such as are barbed, poisoned, or having points blazing with fire.† Yā 1,324 even says that only those warriors go to heaven who are killed when fighting with honest weapons (akūṭair āyudhaiḥ).

Nothing of all that is to be found in K. It would be, too, in contradiction to the principle followed in the A, according to which

* Translated by *G. Bühler*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II, pp. 229, 124; vol. XIV, p. 200.

† Agnijvalitatejanaiḥ. The agnisamyoga, mentioned in K. II, 3 (end) among other weapons, may be some such weapons. *Dr. Shamasastry* translates it by "explosives", *J. J. Meyer* by "Feuervorrichtungen" (fire-engines).

all possible means, fair or foul, should be used to conquer the enemy.

9. There is nothing in K. that is similar to what G. X, 20-23 and M. VII, 96 f. say about the distribution of booty between the king and the soldiers.

Summary and Preliminary Conclusions.

I. The subject of the *Education of Princes* probably belongs to the domain of the A.

(1) The classification of sciences also, as found in M. and Yā., probably had its place originally in some A. But G., who only distinguishes "theology" (trayī) and "(secular)" philosophical investigation" (ānvīkṣikī) may go back to some older source than K. On the other hand, M. who gives to Ānivīkṣikī a theological turn represents a later stage than K. It is possible that Yā and M are derived from K., but it is just as possible that they go back to some other A.

(2) The rule about gaining, keeping, increasing, and bestowing wealth in M. and Yā. seems to belong to the Dh. canon of the duties of the king, and may be derived from the store of older ethical maxims (gnomic poetry). K. made use of it for his definiton of Daṇḍanīti.

(3) The rules about instruction in military arts in G. and K. are probably not connected at all.

(4. 5.) The rules about intercourse with the aged (K., Vi., M., Yā.) and about the conquest of the senses (K., G., M.) are probably derived from gnomic peotry.

II. The subject of the *Duties of the King* belongs so much to the domain of the Dh., that not only jurisdiction, but also such things as town planning, warfare, and politics which clearly belong to the domain of the A., find their place in the Dh. under the head of "duties of the king".

(1) The theories about the origin of kingship, the *Mātsyanyāya* (K., M.), the interrelation between taxation and protection (K., G., Baudh, Vās.. Vi., M., Yā, N.), and the divine nature of kingship (K., M., N), are probably older than Dh. and A. They may have their origin in ancient gnomic poetry that may go back to Vedic times.

(2) The king's duty of protecting (K., G., Ā., Baudh., Vās., Vi., M., Yā.), was first taught in the Dh.

(3) The same applies to the king's duty of punishing justly (K. G., Āp., Vās., Vi., M. Yā,). K, and M, are probably derived from the same source, not one from the other.

(4) The varṇāśramadharma is, of course, a *locus communis* of all Dh., and K. only follows the Dh. in inculcating the duty of maintaining it, on the king.

(5) The king's duty of fighting belongs to the Dh. canon of the king's duties, and the promise of heaven held out to those who die in the battle (K., G., Āp., Baudh., Vi., M., Yā,) is as old as the Veda.

(6) Dh. and Veda are also the source for the rules about the king's duties of performing religious rites and sacrifices bestowing honours and privileges on priests etc.; (K., G., Āp., Vās., Vi., M, Yā., N.). The position of the Purohita by the side of the king (K., G., Āp., Baudh., Vās., Vi., M., Yā.,) goes back to the earliest vedic times. There are some verbal agreements between K. and Yā. with regard to the qualities required of the Purohita, but they are not close enough to justify the derivation of one from the other. A common source is more probable.

(7) The sloka about the ideal king (K., Vi) belongs no doubt to gnomic poetry. The phrase that the king should behave "like a father" (K., M., Yā.) probably has the same source. The agreement between K. and Yā, as regards the accomplishments of the king is so close, that it is quite possible that one may be the source of the other.

(8) The classification of vices may belong to the domain of the A. as well as to that of the Dh. K. agrees with Vi., but not with M.

(9) The time-table for the king's daily life belongs to the A. K. and Yā. are in close agreement, while M. differs in details.

(10) The rules about the king's having to be on his guard against being poisoned etc., certainly belong to the domain of the A. But the agreements between K., Vi., M. are not close enough to derive Vi., M. from K. Some other A. may as well be the source.

III. The subject of *planning and building villages, towns, forts and palaces* belongs to the domain of the A.

(1) As to the qualities of a country fit for settling down (K., Vi., M., Yā.), K. and Vi. agree more closely, while M. differs in one important item. Probably not K., but some other A., is the source of Vi., M., and Yā.

(2) With regard to forts (K., Vi., M., Yā.,) also Vi. and M, evidently go back to some other A., and not to K. Nothing can be said about Yā.

(3) The subject of building a town and a palace may be introduced in the Āp. on account of the rules about the reception of learned Brāhmans as guests, and about the keeping of sacred fires. Certainly there is no connection at all between Āp. and K.

IV. *Foreign policy* is, of course, the actual domain of the A., and it is significant that the old Dh. texts contain nothing about it. Only Vi., M., and Yā. offer parallels.

(1) The list of the seven Prakṛtis is the same in Yā., and almost the same in M., as in K. On the question of the relative importance of the Prakṛtis, there are slight differences between K. and M. As K. VIII, 1, by quoting the opinions of other teachers, shows that the theory of Prakṛtis was not invented by K., it is probable that M. goes back to some other A. Yā. may be dependent on K. or on some other A.

(2) As regards the six methods of foreign policy, M. differs from K. and probably goes back to some other A. As Vi. and Yā. give no details, their list may be derived either from K. or from some other A.

(3) The Maṇḍala theory is alluded to by Vi., Yā., and, more in agreement with K., by M. It is not certain that Vi. knew the circle of twelve kings, as he only mentions four kings besides the Vijigīṣu. Yā.'s wording which is not quite clear, may imply the circle of twelve kings. K. or some other A. may be the source of Vi., Yā., and M.

(4) The doctrine of the 'four expedients' is referred to by Vi., M., and Yā. in connection with the Maṇḍala kings, by K. in other connections. My impression is, that the "four expedients" are older than K., and older than the "six methods". They may be derived from old political wisdom, contained in gnomic poetry.

(5) Reflexions on providence and human effort are a favourite

subject of gnomic poetry. This is probably the source both of K. and of M. and Yā.

V. *War* may have been the subject of a special śāstra (Dhanurveda, art of war), before it came to be included in the A.

(1) As regards the time for marching, there is nothing to show that Vi. or M. depend on K.

(2) M. has certainly used some other source than K. for his descriptions of the arrays of troops.

(3) K. and M. seem to go back to the same source in the rule about arraying the army on that side whence danger threatens.

(4) As to the grounds fit for different troops M. has used other source, not K.

(5. 6.) These are only slight and quite general agreements between K. and M., from which nothing can be concluded.

(7) With regard to the rule that the son of the conquered king should be installed in the conquered kingdom, there is full agreement between K., Vi. and M. But with regard to the other rules about the pacification of a conquered country, there is only a superficial similarity between K., Vi., M., and Yā. Some older A. may be the source.

(8) The absence in the A. of the humane laws of war, found in the Dh., is very significant.

(9) The rules about the king's share in the booty, found in G. and M., seem to refer to more primitive conditions than those presupposed by K., who does not mention the subject.

From the fore-going summary the following preliminary conclusions may be drawn. Where the subject belongs to the domain of the Dh., we find parallel passages to K. both in the oldest Dharmasūtras and in the more modern Dh. In these cases K. has used some Dh. source, though it is not possible to point to one of our texts as his source. Often we shall have to look to the *floating mass of ancient gnomic poetry* as the source of both A. and Dh. Where the subject belongs to the domain of the A., we find parallels only in the more modern Dh. of Vi., M., and Yā. Generally Vi., and Yā. are nearer related to K., than M. Especially Yā. shows sometimes a very close agreement with K. But only in a few cases the agreement is close that it is possible to derive one

from the other. In most cases of parallelism it is more probable that Vi., M., and Yā. go back to some other A., and not to that of K.

These conclusions can only be *preliminary*, as they are based only on a part of the available evidence. To arrive at more definite conclusions, it will be necessary not only to continue and complete this comparative study of Dh. and A., but also to extend it to the whole of the A. and Dh. materials contained in the Mahābhārata.

CITRA-LAKṢANA

(Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy)

Introduction

The editor of Śrī Kumār's *Śilparatna*, Pt. I (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series LXXV, 1922), of which the greater part of the sixty-fourth chapter, on Painting, is translated below, remarks in his Preface:

"The Silparatna was compiled from ancient Silpa and Agama works by Srīkumāra of Kerala...The king Devanārāyaṇa referred to...is said to have ruled over a territory with his capitals at Ambalappuza now within the State of Travancore. He was a great patron of learning.....and is known to have flourished in the latter part of the 16th century A.D. It is therefore certain that the author of the Silparatna, a protegee of his, also lived in the same period".

A summary of the contents of the chapter translated below has been published by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, IX., I, 1923: but as he himself admits, the treatment is inadequate. It may be useful to note the chief points requiring corr ction in his account:

P., 34.—The *kitta-lekhani* was not a brush, but a dry and comparatively hard pencil. *Lost* and *kitta*, which I have tentatively translated as 'slag' are the materials of which it was made. There is no reason to suppose that the *kitta*—outline was yellow.

P. 35.—The word 'dye' should not be used with reference to pigments.

P. 36.—The black outline is to be used in the case of each of the other four pigments; the instruction is general, and not connected with darkness and lightness.

P. 37.—*Vajra-lepa* should be translated 'adamantine medium.' v. 143 is misunderstood; see my translation and note.

P. 38.—v. 147: the text reads *harmyādibhittyādi*, i.e. 'on walls and other surfaces in palaces and other places.' We certainly cannot conclude from this that the author means to contradict

the reference to *vimānas* and *gopurams* in v. I, or the distinction drawn between paintings suitable respectively for sacred and profane buildings in v. 8-10. The Ajantā 'caves' are certainly not palaces. We possess abundant other evidence for painting in Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu temples (e.g. Elūrā, Madanpur, Polonnāruva). The practise was universal.

A somewhat similar, but older and longer text has been translated by Stella Kramrisch. (*The Viṣṇudharmottaram*, Part III, Calcutta, 1924), with an Introduction, referring, amongst other topics, to our text. Here too, there are verbal errors that may lead to misunderstanding ; for example, *vajra-lepa* is not a plaster, but a medium with which pigments are mixed when applied to a plastered surface; *darvi* is not a spoon, but a trowel; the phrase 'as is reflected in a mirror' (*Silparatna* v. 145) does not mean 'realistic', but refers to the circular frame of the picture, as the phrase *nālamākāram* in the next line proves. In the translation of *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, too, many phrases are incomprehensible ; what for example, is a 'fluid made of iron leaves', and what a 'mica defile placed in iron' (p. 45)?

I cannot agree with Miss Kramrisch's translation of the first three of the four terms denoting different kinds of painting (p. 45). Without going into great detail, I suggest: *satyam*—'pure', i.e. representing *mantra-mūrti* and other subjects appropriate to temple walls; *vaiṇikā*—'lyrical', equivalent to the *rasa-citram* of the *Silparatna ;* and *nāgaram*—'*secular,*' such as the '*nāgarika*' of the *Kāma Sūtra* (Bk. I. Ch. IV.) might draw upon the painting —panel which is mentioned as a proper part of the furnishing of a gentleman's chamber. Thus understood, the classification becomes perfectly intelligible, and indeed, obvious.

In my version I have endeavoured to translate every technical term literally, at the same time always quoting the original. I have tried, too, to preserve any ambiguity which the original may seem to present: thus I have rendered *śyāmatā and ujjvalatā* literally as 'darkness' and 'lightness,' avoiding the words 'shade,' and 'light', since it is not by any means clear that anything like chiaroscuro is meant.

It is very important to observe that some words are in general and in various specific senses, and must be translated accordingly

with reference to the context. This is particularly the case with the word *citra* itself ; and in this connection the following table will be found useful :

Citra = 'Art' { *Citra* = 'Sculpture' ; *Ardhacitra* = 'Reliefs' ; *Citrābhāsa* = 'Painting' } { 1. Ordinary *citrābhāsa* on walls. ; 2. *Dhūli-citra*. ; 3. *Rasa-citra*. }

4. *Citra* = easel-pictures (in circular frame).

It is of special interest to note the mention of *rasa*, *bhāva* and *kriyā* in connection with painting. The author of the *Visnudharmottaram* treats of the matter at much greater length, distinguishing the *rasas* appropriate for paintings in temples, palaces, and private houses. Taking into consideration also the references to painting in the *Kāma Sūtra* and those in the various classic Sanskrit dramas* it becomes quite evident that painting was regarded, not only as a *sādhanā* in worship, but also as a secular and fine art, like poetry and drama ; and that the theory of beauty developed by the Sanskrit rhetoricians in connection with literature and the theatre, not only might well have been, but was actually applied to painting.

Aside from these matters of importance to the special student of the history of Indian culture, the technical receipts here given, like those of the *Visnudharmottaram*, will be of interest to all students of the technique of painting and the composition of pigments, mediums and grounds.

The following is a summary of the contents of the *Silparatna*, Ch. 64 :

Vv., 1-13. Definitions of painting ; suitable themes.
14-24. Preparation and application of plaster.
26-27. Names of primary colours.
25, 28-34. Priming for application to plastered surfaces.
35-40. The dry pencil and first outline.
41-52. Preparation of yellow and black pigment.
53-58. The brushes.
59-60. Second outline in red.

* Saunders, V., *Portrait painting as a dramatic device in Sanskrit plays*. *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. xxxix, pt. 5, 1919.

60-110. The stances.
111-114. Various effects.
115-116. Final outline, and corrections.
117-122. Shades of red.
123-130. Gilding.
131-133. Adamantine medium.
134-142. Mixed colours.
143-146. Three sorts of painting not done on walls.
147-148. Colophon.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PAINTING.

1. Shrines (*vimānam*) and gateways (*gopuram*) should be adorned with all manner of pleasing art (*citram*).

2. The representation (*karaṇam*) of whatsoever there may be in the Three Worlds, animate or inanimate, in accordance with its individual nature, is called art (*citram*).

3. This art is of three sorts, distinguished below: that is said to be Sculpture (*citram*) in which all the parts of the body are made visible (*dṛsya-karaṇam*);

4. It is called Relief (*ardha-citram*) when the half (*of the body*) is attached to the wall or other (surface);

5. And it is called Painting (*citrabhāsa*) by the expert masters (*silpavisāradaih*) of old, when it is drawn (*vilekhana*). Sculpture or Reliefs may be executed in clay or stucco,

6. or in wood, stone, or metal, in these materials, according to what has been seen or reported.

7. Walls, etc., made smooth with plaster, should be painted in suitable colours, and adorned with different colours as may be fitting and beautiful (*sobha*).

8. Painting, moreover, should be practised only in one way, viz. that there should be represented everywhere, inside and out,

9. auspicious stories and sacred images, and even battle, death and pain when connected with stories of gods and demons;

10. but the doings of nude ascetics should not be represented in the houses of men—there the walls, etc., are to be painted with more attractive pictures,

11. such as edifying stories told in the eternal Vedas and Purāṇas, beautiful (*ramya*) in many colours, without lack or excess.

12. In either case (*tatratatra*) the required form is to be combined with Flavour, Mood, and Action (*rasa, bhāva, kriyā*). A master should always make pictures that will yield a pleasing result,

13. but one desirous of happiness in this world and the next should not draw inauspicious pictures, having contrary results.

14. There I expound the technique for the sake of the dull of wit: and first of all, how to prepare the aforesaid plaster (*sudhā*).

15. The wall must be plastered before the picture is painted; Lime (*sudhā*) is conch (*śaṅkha*) roasted over a wood fire:

16. the lime is to be ground with a fourth part of extract of *mung** (Phaseolus mungo), mixed with molasses, and sand added;†

17. and the prescribed portion of sand is a fourth part of the lime, and to this must be added banana paste cooked over a slow fire

18. and of that paste, as it has been taught in the eternal Vedas, the proportion is a fourth part of the lime. (Then let it dry in an earthen vessel,) and after the expiry of three months, break the pot,

19. crush (the dry product) and grind it in a handmill, mix it with molasses, and grind it until it reaches the consistency of fresh butter:

20. Then, having thoroughly cleaned the walls or other (surfaces) with a very fine whisk of well-separated cocoanut fibre,

21. apply water of molasses for a few days, and then apply the plaster paste with a trowel

* Thus, according to the reading in G. If we retain the *lavaiḥ* of the text, we must translate 'with *mung* chaff'.

† Bennett, *Ceylon and its capabilities*, p. 338, describes the white stucco used in Ceylon and Southern India as made of fine sand, shell lime, green cocoanut water, and coarse sugar, and adds that when laid on by experienced plasterers it displays the polish and appearance of marble. Other receipts are given in the *Bṛhad Samhitā*, Pt. II, Ch. X. See also my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 118, 119., and Smither, J. C., *Architectural Remains, Anuradhapura*, London, 1894, pp. 27, 31. The application of plaster and colour to walls and sculptures has been an almost universal rule in ancient Indian temple architecture: cf. for example Foucher, A., *L'Art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, I, p. 198 and Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd. ed., 1873, p. 214.

22. a broad trowel or the like, as prescribed in detail; and let it be of iron or wood, with a smooth back.

23. Distributing and smoothing it down with the back part of the trowel, apply the plaster paste slowly and regularly step by step.

24. Apply pure water with the cocoanut brush whenever it gets dry, and proceed to make the pigment (*varṇa-lepam*) for the painting.

25. But if you want to apply colour to a panel smoothed by a carpenter, do not use plaster.

26. Now I explain briefly the application of all the colours, and in particular their mixing and combination :

27. White (*sita*), yellow (*pīta*), red (*rakta*), lamp-black (*kajjala*), these, together with blue (*śyāma*) are called the pure colours.

28. To plastered wall and other (such surfaces) you should apply a white priming (*dhavalam varṇam*) ; grind conch, oyster-shell, etc., or white clay ;

29. and the man of intelligence will mix it with the juice of wood-apple and *nīm* (Feronia elephantum and Azadiracta indica) and then spread it gently on the wall or panel, etc., as he may wish,

30. polish it well (*susnigdhatām āvṛttyā*) with *śākhoṭa* bark (Trophis aspera), *ketakī* (Pandanus odoratissimus) or by hand, and apply the priming.

31. Or the man of wisdom may rub down dry plaster powder in the hollow of a grinding stone, grinding it thoroughly and repeatedly with the pestle,

32. wet it with juice of the Malabar *bāla* fruit, thoroughly mix the paste with warm water, and strain it,

33. and then apply it to the plaster as aforesaid ; but this preparation cannot be used on panels (*phalaka*) etc., though it may be applied to (figures of) clay, etc.*

* The 'etc.' may refer to stucco, cf. v. 5. For figures of painted unbaked modelled earth see Spooner, *Excavation at Shah-ji-ki-Dehri*, Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep. 1908-09.

34. Having thus primed (*dhavalita*) the walls, panels, canvas (*paṭā*) or other (surface) so that it is just like a mirror* proceed to the drawing of the picture.

35. To draw on canvas, panels and other (surfaces) as above described, mix dry powdered cowdung with old powdered slag (*loṣṭa*)†,

36. work it up under a grinding stone until it becomes pasty, and then quickly make the dry slap pencil (*kitta-lekhani*),‡

37. shaping it like the wick of a lamp, of two, three, or four inches as you may desire.

37½-39. Then, having made up your mind according to what you have heard, or seen, or imagined (*manasā*), comfortably seated, with your mind at rest, ever recollected, at an auspicious time, and under a fortune star, proceed to draw with the slag-pencil the (forms of gods, men, deer, elephants (*nāgān*), and birds, creepers, trees, snakes (*nāgān*) and waters.

40. But where the outline (*lekhā*) has digressed (*gatā*), there erasing it (*sammārjya*) place instead a lovely form (*vāmam ākāram*) with renewed purpose.

41. Now procure yellow from trees (Gambodge), (or that) produced in rivers or in mountains, etc., and grind it in pure water :

42. Then having ground it rather carefully to a soft paste, mix it with pure water in a large dish and let it stand awhile.

43. Put the upper part of the extract, which has thrown down the dirt, in a dish and treat it in this (same) way (again),

* Cf. *Rajput Painting* p. 51, quoting a Hindi verse inscribed on a picture representing a painter at work, the patroness says to the painter, "I gave you clean paper, fresh and shining like glass".

† The exact significance of *loṣṭa* and *kitta* is uncertain : the general meaning of the words is 'earth', 'dirt', 'secretion', 'iron rust', etc. By analogy with the receipt for a priming preparation used in Ceylon (*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, p. 64, note), I have suggested that old iron slag is what is meant. But this is subject to correction.

‡ On the use of a *lekhani* see also Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, 1924, p. 186. But our text says nothing about *gairika* in this connection.

44. Repeating the process until purity is attained, then gently smear the extract into a new preserve-pot (i.e. a glazed jar) and let it dry.

45. Once again the wise man who desires a pure product, should mix it with clean water and let it dry in the summer sun, as prescribed,

46. and then when purity has been attained, pour it into a copper vessel and let it dry by degrees.

47. Then take an earthen pot, oil it, raise the wick of the lamp, place it over it and light the lamp;

48. clean the belly of the pot with dried cowdung, and again hold it over the lamp and in front of it;

49. Remove the lamp-black (*kajjala*) which is produced at the top of the flame, inside the pot, and spread it thinly in another earthen vessel,

50. work up the resulting collyrium with your own hand, mix it with pure water and again dry it thoroughly;

51. Having done this thrice, and efficiently, mix it with *nīm* juice, dry it, and afterwards grind a separate,

52. piece of the black substance as large as a barley-corn, mix it once more, with wood-apple juice, and let it dry.

53. Three kinds of brushes are known, thick, medium, and thin ; and the proper measure of the handle or support should be six barley-corns, as it has been taught (*smṛiam*).

54. Behind the point, it should be eight-sided and eight-cornered (i.e. octagonal), or round ; and having prepared the end of it, affix the point (*saṅku*) projecting half an inch by Sauḍa measure.

55. (To make) a thick one, tie on the stiff (hairs) from the top of a calf's ear or from the belly of a goat, to the thickness of a barley-corn.

56. For a fine-pointed one (*tṛṇāgrikam*) use the soft hairs of a muskrat's (*cikkoḍa*) tail, fastening them to the end of the handle with thread or wax

57. Thus tie your burshes, thrice three for each colour, of the three sorts, thick, medium and fine ;

58. thus there will be nine for each colour ; but use the thick brush for yellow.

59. Now erase (*mārjayet*) with pieces of cloth what was indistinctly drawn with the slag-pencil, and again draw slag-outlines clearly*,

60. then go over it all very carefully with red paint.

Now I proceed to describe the particulars (*lakṣaṇa*) of drawing the frontal (*ṛju*) and other stances (*sthāna*) :

61. the front view is *ṛju, the next ardha-ṛju* ('half-frontal') the third *sācika* (askance), and the fourth is known as *ardhākṣi* ('half-eye')

62. the fifth as *bhittika* ('of the wall'), or *pārsvagata* ('side-long', or profile). These are the five chief stances named by the learned,

63. the front view, and the four kinds of turning. But painters also describe nine stances.†

64. I now describe their particulars (*lakṣana*), with reference to the *brahma-sūtra ;* first the full view (forward part, *purva-bhāga*) then the rest (*para-bhāga*).

65. Draw the median clearly through the tip of the nose and the navel; this thread that falls from the crown (*makuṭa*) is called the *brahma-sūtra*.

(In Vv. 66-110 the author defines each stance by stating the positions occupied by various parts of the body with reference to the *brahma-sūtra* and other vertical axes, representing the actual plumb-lines which are suspended vertically in the case of full-round sculpture.‡ In v. 109 he mentions that there are many 'mixed position' stances in which mixed style (*saṅkara paddhati*), for example, the face may be frontal, the part below the neck otherwise, and the part below the waist again otherwise. Then he continues :)

* V. 59 amounts to this. 'Touch up the original sketch.'

† One set of nine and another of thirteen stances are enumerated in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*.

‡ For the use of *sutras in* sculpture, see my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, Appendix to Ch. viii ; and the late T. A. G. Rao's *Tālamana*, Mem. A. S. I., No. 3, 1920.

110. The man of intelligence, having duly considered the stance,

111. should depict the mood and actions (*bhāva* and *vyāpāra*) which enter into the picture, applying the colours, first in one place, then in another, one by one

112. working slowly, without mistakes, using the thick brush, and proceeding as described in detail below.

113. As for the distinctions of dark and light (*śyāmojjvalatva-bhedau*) rough and smooth, (*pārusyamārdvāṁ*) and the various ways of disposing ornaments, these should be done so as to be generally pleasing.

114. In the application of any (*tattat*) colour, drakness (*syāmatā*) is obtained by thickness (of the paint) and lightness (*ujjvalatā*) by thinness, and this in the case of any colour whatsoever, as it has been taught (*smṛtam*).

115. Where there is white (*ujjavala*), yellow (*pīta*), blue (*śyāma*) or red (*lohita*), there the wise man draw a lamp-black outline with the thin brush.

116. With the sharp edge of a razor reduce the excess that may appear in the work, and proceed with the painting.

117. Now the combination of colours is further explained: for light red use red lead (*sindūr*), and for medium red use red chalk (*gairika*).

118. For a strong red colour the wise man will use lac juice ; and as others have said of old, for yellow use realgar (*manaśsilā*).

119. Pound the red chalk on a stone for a day, mix it with pure water, and grind it with a hammer or something like that.

120. Pound the red lead for half a day, and then grind it with pure water. Then the realgar is to be pounded

121. for five days, then mixing it with water, grind it carefully for a day, and keep it in a dish.

122. Mix these severally and thoroughly with extract of *nīm*, proceed with the business of painting with a medium (*lepa*)

123. But to grind gold, make it into l aves as thin as possible, then break up the leaves into the tiniest possible pieces ;

124. the wise man should mix it with a very little sand, in pure water, and grind it in a very smooth mortar with dust of mica (?)

125. and when the mixture becomes quite pasty, agitate it with water in a glass dish until the mud and sand have all gone over the top

126. leaving behind the resulting very bright golden dust. Then the man of intelligence will mix it with as much adamantine medium (*vajra-lepa*) as may be required,

127. and apply it with the proper brushes described, and when it is dry, rub it gently with a boar's tusk

128 until it shines brightly. Or the area to be gilded may first be covered with adamantine medium (*vajra-lepa*)

129. and then as quickly as possible securely apply there very thin gold leaves, and then

130. rub it with a tuft of cotton to make it bright. In this way the wise men of old describe the two ways of gilding (*svarṇa-lepa-vidhi*)

131. Boil fresh buffalo skin in water, stirring it until it becomes like fresh butter;

132. make round balls of it, and dry it in great heat ; that is the admantine medium so useful to painters;

133. these balls should be broken up and dissolved in warm water, and mixed with the various colours, and extract of wood-apple and *nīm*.

134. The different colours produced by various mixtures are now described: white mixed with red gives the fair complexion (*gaura-cchavi*) ;

135. white, black and yellow mixed in equal proportions give the *śāra* complexion (*sāra-cchavi*) of which painters are so fond ;

136. white and black mixed in equal proportions give the elephant-colour ; red and yellow mixed in equal proportions that of the *bakul-fruit* (*Mimusops elengi*).

137. and this excellent fiery colour is said to be that of flame ; two parts of red with one of yellow gives strong red ;

138. two of yellow with one of white is called saffron, (*piṅgala*) two parts of black with one of yellow is like mango ;

139. black and yellow in equal proportions give the colour of men, and mixed with blue, that of a pigeon or parrot ;

140. asafoetida mixed with lac-juice gives a strong red ; and black with lac-juice gives the colour of rose-apple fruit (Eugenia jambolana) ;

141. lac-juice mixed with white is like nutmeg (*jātī*), an excellent colour—or the mixture may be made with asafoetida ;

142. black mixed with blue gives the colour of hair ; preparing these mixed colours, use them in painting.

143. But the expert painter should not put on plastered walls (the following) three kinds (of painting), viz. 'sentiment-painting' (*rasa-citram*), 'powder-painting' (*dhūli citram*) and 'pictures' (*citram*).

144. (For powder-painting) grind the colours separately, and spread the powders on a fine horizontal surface for a short time :

145. and this is called 'powder-painting' by the painters, of old.* That in which the likeness appears as though reflected in a mirror,

146. (because) it is of the size and shape of a gong (*nāla*), is called a 'picture' (*citram*). (Sentiment-painting) is where the amorous and other sentiments (*śṛṅgārādiraso*) are illustrated (*darśanādeva gamyate*).†

* The art of powder painting still survives. It is done by sifting dry coloured powders through stencils (*sāñcā*) upon a smooth prepared surface, and such 'paintings', as Srī Kumāra remarks, are not intended to be permanently preserved. Examples of modern (paper) stencils are illustrated in my *Rajput Painting*.

† I understand this to mean 'specifically illustrated', as for example in Rajput *Rāgmāla* and *Nāyaka-nāyakā-bheda* pictures and book illustrations. That Srī Kumāra remarks that these are not suitable for wall-painting indicates that smaller pictures of this kind existed in, and probably before, his time. The special mention of *rasa-citram* here is evidently not meant to contradict the general instruction of v. 12 that *rasa, bhāva* and *kriyā* should appear in all paintings.

147. This art of painting (*lekhaniam citram*) on the walls of palaces etc., (*harmyādibhittyādi*) if all required particulars (*laksanam*) are represented (and then only), will be pleasing in the eyes of all men.

148. This first part of the *Silparatna* issued by Srī Deva Nārāyana is for the benefit of all who are dull of wit. It contains the particulars of all kinds of villages (i.e. town-planning), temples and houses. May all enlightened men be pleased by it!

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YAJNOPAVITA

(By Mahamahopadhaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha).

(A). What is the Yajñopavīta?

The earliest reference that we find is in the Taittiriyāraṇyka (2. 1.); where it is described as consisting of the skin or the cloth worn in a certain manner. Coming to the time of Manu, however, it seems to have become a mere thread, twisted in a particular manner (Manu 2-44). This thread is to consist of three yarns twisted into a cord. The exact number of such cords to be worn seems to have been a matter of option: Medhātithi says, either one, or three or five or seven are to be worn, according to the view taken of the sacrifices at which it is to be worn; and according to him it is called 'Yajñopavīta' because it is connected with sacrificial performances.

The thread primarily is to be of cotton; but there are other substitutes; such as silk, kusha, jute, tree-bark or even a piece of cloth, according to Ṛṣvashṛṅga. In fact Ṛṣvashṛṅga and other authorities seem to support the view expressed in the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka that it is a piece of cloth that should form the Upavīta, and the various kinds of threads are only substitutes to be employed in the absence of cloth. As regards the exact number of yarns to be twisted there is some difference of opinion.

The number of Upavītas to be worn depends upon the stage of life; for instance, according to Bhṛigu there should be *one upavīta* for the 'student,' two for the 'householder' and 'recluse', and for the 'renunciate' only one.

(B). When is it to be worn?

We have seen that Medhātithi seems to connect the wearing of the Yajñopavīta with sacrificial sessions. The Gṛhya-sutras also do not seem to speak of habitual wearing. In fact Āpastamba has declared that it should be worn while saluting teachers, old men and guests, as also during *Homa*, Japa, meals, ācḥamana, and recitation of the Veda. A quotation is however made from Kātyāyana's Chhandoga-parishiṣṭa in support of constant wearing—

सदोपवीतिना भाव्यं सदावद्धशिखेन च

but when we read it along with the next line—

विशिखो व्युपवीतश्च यत् करोति न तत् कृतम्—

we find that the constant wearing mentioned in the first line is meant to apply to the time during which certain religious acts are being performed. This interpretation of this text is supported by the Viramitrodaya. Like all older writers, Medhātithi appears to be wavering: on Manu 2-44, he has spoken of the thread as to be worn during sacrificial performances; but while under 2.63 he speaks of it as to be worn at all time, later on under 2.64, he says that the thread along with the staff and other things, should continue to be taken up throughout the 'student age', and that the wearing of the thread forms part of the *Vratas* of the 'religious student' (*Translation* page 317). Devala says:—

यज्ञोपवीते द्वे धार्ये श्रौते स्मार्ते च कर्मणि;

which also implies that it is to be worn only during religious performances. Bodhāyana (1-5-15) declares that one should not be 'without the Yajñopavīta during the ācamanas'; so also Gautama (1.38.);—both which point to the same conclusion.

The Vīramitrodaya (Saṃskāra, page 422) says that the wearing of the Upavīta is '*karmaṅga*' i. e. a part of the ritualistic performance. It however goes on to quote Bhrigu to the effect that when once the Upavīta has been worn, it should never be removed; unless, of course, it breaks or becomes defiled, in which case a fresh one is to be worn.

Jaimini in his Mimāmsā-sūtra (3, 4, 1 to 9) describes the various methods of wearing the Upavīta. A Vedic text is quoted, describing three methods:—(1) Nivīta, where the thread hangs on the neck, both sides of it hanging over the chest up to [illegible]el, (2) Prāchīnāvīta, where the thread hangs on the righ[illegible]assing under the left arm, and (3) Upavīta, where it rest[illegible]ass-ing under the right arm. The third meth[illegible]ado performances in honour of the Gods, [illegible]on[illegible] those in honour of the Pitṛs, and the first dur[illegible]nour of human beings (guests etc.), or during one [illegible]l act (according

to the Parishiṣṭa quoted in Vīramitrodaya). According to the Mimāmsabhāṣya and other commentators the text that describes the three methods does not contain any *injunction* of wearing the thread at anytime except during the performance of a particular sacrifice. Even so, they describe it as mere *arthavāda*. From this also it would appear that the only vedic text that lends any colour to the view that the thread should be worn supports the practice of *occasional*, not *habitual*, wearing.

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PRAKRITIC AND NON-ARYAN STRATA IN THE VOCABULARY OF SANSKRIT

(PRINCIPAL A. C. WOOLNER, M.A., C.I.E.)

1. Sanskrit is of course an Indo-European language belonging to the Indo-Iranian sub-family. Every tyro in comparative Philology is familiar with numerous examples, which illustrate the relationship of Sanskrit words to corresponding words in Greek, Latin, English and other languages. These examples generally belong to the most essential parts of the vocabulary e.g. names of numbers, parts of the body, members of the family, domestic animals etc. Moreover the establishment of these correspondences in the vocabularies of so many languages, with their phonetic variations, is not the most important part of this comparative study. It is rather the similarity of the structure of these languages which proves their relationship. We are concerned not so much with external resemblances as with the texture of the inner fibre, with the way in which the words are formed and their relations to each other. These are the strands which demonstrate the closely knit relationship of the Indo-European languages. From this point of view Sanskrit is beyond all doubt essentially Indo-European. Its relationship to Greek, for example, is not established merely by a large vocabulary in common, but by the identity of so much of the intimate structure of the two languages.

A comparison of the oldest recorded form of Indian language in the Rgveda, with the most ancient remnants of Iranian, in the Avestan *gāthās*, reveals not only a large vocabulary in common, but also such a closely similar structure in noun and verb, that attempts have been made to prove that the separation of Iranian from Indian tribes and dialects could not have taken place many centuries before Zoroaster.

2. If however we take any Sanskrit word at random and look for an equivalent, or at least a related word in any other Indo-European language, we shall very likely fail to find one. Many Sanskrit words have no obvious Indo-European relations. The number of Sanskrit words used as illustrations of Indo-European

equations is limited. Even if we include all the Sanskrit words that reputable philologists have claimed as relations of European words, the number is not so large as one might expect.

Look at the Indices of Sanskrit words quoted in Brugmann's *Magnum Opus*, in Walde's Etymological Dictionary of Latin, in Meillet's Le Slave commun, in the Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie by Geiger and Kuhn. etc.

One finds the same examples recurring over and over again and the total number is obviously much less than the whole wealth of the Sanskrit *koṣas*.

3. Looking through these Indices we are inevitably struck by two other facts. A large proportion of these examples are of old Indian types which Prākrit has to modify. Various conjunct consonants abound. On the other hand we note the absence of a host of words of Prākritic types, *tatsamas*, that are the same in Sanskrit and Prākrit. These types have no conjunct consonants except with nasals, but abundant cerebrals and, more frequently than the obviously old Indian types, nasals preceding stops.

4. Cerebrals occur in words that are undoubtedly Aryan as also in the earliest Vedic language. They are not recorded in the Iranian languages and in Aryan words are clearly secondary in origin e.g. *kṛṣṇa* 'black' cf. Lith. *kirsna* O. Prussian *kirsnan*, Russian *cernyj*. (Meillet. Le Slave commun). *kṛṇoti* etc. (vide Wackernagel. Altindische Grammatik 143-150. Macdonell. Vedic Grammar§§ 42-43). Words with initial cerebrals do not occur in the Veda and there are many words with medial cerebrals for which no Aryan derivation has been found either obvious or far-fetched. *e.g. āṇḍá* 'egg', *maṇḍūka* 'frog', *cāṇḍāla* 'outcaste'. Many Sanskrit words have no obvious Indo-European relations: *markaṭa* 'ape', *vàḍabā* 'mare'. (Wack. Altind. Gr.§ 151. Macd, Ved. Gr.§ 43. c.)

5. The Vedic examples *āṇḍà*, *maṇḍūka* suggest a long series in the later Sanskrit whose Aryan relationship is, to say the least, very doubtful.

How many of the following are Aryan not to say Indo-European? *aṇḍa, caṇḍa, caṇḍāla, kaṇḍana, kaṇḍoṣa, gaṇḍa, gaṇḍaka, gāṇḍī, ghaṇḍa,* (cf. *ghuṇḍa*), *jhaṇḍū, taṇḍaka, taṇḍula, tāṇḍava, daṇḍa* (Greek déndron), *paṇḍa, phaṇḍa, baṇḍa* (*vaṇḍa*), *bhāṇḍa, maṇḍ,*

maṇḍūka, maṇḍapa, raṇḍa, laṇḍa, vaṇḍ (cf. *vaṇṭ*), *śaṇḍa, sāṇḍa, haṇḍa, haṇḍā.*

If one or two are Aryan, have they not been modified according to a prevailing non-Aryan type? If some of these words are late or only found in dictionaries, the question remains as to whence they came, for the authors of the *kośas* cannot be supposed to have invented them.

With other vowels we have similar puzzles in *piṇḍa, kuṇḍa, muṇḍa etc.*

A phonetic derivative of *ṇḍa* was *lla* which also appears for *dra. galla-gaṇḍa ; khulla—kṣudra.* What are we to make of the following? *allā, kalla, khalla, jhalla, talla, palla, ulla, culla, billa, Bhilla, cilla, jhillī, ṭillā, pilla.*

If *ḍhola* is non-Aryan, what about *ghola, cola, dolā, lola?*

And then *cela, pela, velā, nīla ; nāla, bāla?**

Then there are the longer words such as *Alāṇḍu, Uruṇḍa, kamaṇḍalu,* (cf. *maṇḍala*) *karaṇḍa, Cāmuṇḍa, ciciṇḍa, chamaṇḍa, taraṇḍa, Nitūṇḍa, picaṇḍa, piciṇḍa* (cf. *picila*) *pāṣaṇḍa, Puraṇḍa, poganḍa, pharuṇḍa, bhuśuṇḍi, bhuruṇḍa* (*bheruṇḍa, bhāruṇḍa*) *makaraṇḍa, Maruṇḍa, māruṇḍa,* (*māra-aṇḍa*), *mukhaṇḍi* (*mukhuṇḍi*), *muraṇḍa* (*muruṇḍa*), *Vataṇḍa, varaṇḍa, saraṇḍa, śikhaṇḍa* (*śikhā*).

Other examples of this type with a nasal and stop in this position are :—*Mukuṇṭha, musuṇṭhi* (= *bhuśuṇḍī*), *kuruṇṭa, kuruṇṭha ;*

Pulinda, alinda, Ulanda, Ulinda, Kuninda, Kalinda, kupinda (*kuvinda*), *Kurundi, chucchunda*(*ra*) (*cf. chucchu*), *Maganda, Magundi, milinda, mukunda* (cf. *kunda*), *muculinda, mucukunda ; kabandha, kavandhu, Kukundha, Marundha ; kuṭumba,* (cf. *kuṭa, kuṭi*), *kadamba, kadamba, karamba, karambha, kalamba, kurumba, Kuśāmba, Kausāmbi, kusumbha* (cf. *kusuma*), *nikuramba, vidamba,* (cf. *vida*?) *Hidimba, ulumbā* (cf. *jumbī*) *nitamva, culumpa, Nitambhū ;*

Kaliṅga, kuṭuṅgaka, kuraṅga (*kulaṅga*), *Kuruṅga, tamaṅga, taraṅga* (*taraṃ-ga*), *mataṅga* ('going wilfully'!), *muraṅgī, muruṅgī,*

* Note *tala* Lat. talea; *phāla*(?) Lat. spolium, Slav. pēla; *phulla* Gk. phullon.

vidaṇga, lavaṇga (*lav-lu* 'cut'?), *Sálaṇga, sanaṇgu* (? 'formerly cow'!!), *suraṇgā* (*suruṇga*—Gk. syrinx); *kalaṇka, karaṇka, kuraṇkura, viṭaṇka, kalaviṇka*; *kalañja, nikuñja* (cf. *kuñja*), *Pharañja, Huriñja*; *kiliñca, ghulañca.*

In this type may be noticed the relative frequency of *k* and *m*, while *y* and *r* are altogether absent.

Is *manī* really related to Latin monile 'bracelet' and *gaṇa* to Latin grex 'herd'? What are the relations of *kaṇa, and caṇa*? Or of *guṇa, kuṇa*; *kuṇapa* and *kuṇālu*?

5. Of course it is not the fault of the post, as Yāska says, if the blind man cannot see it. There is always the possibility that the Prākritic form has obscured the derivation. Also we may grant the possibility of words surviving in the Indian sub-family and disappearing from all the rest of the Indo-European languages. When however a long series of similar words resists analysis one may well suspect the presence of some other material.

Vikaṭa (R. V.) 'horrible, hideous, huge' may be explained as Prākrit for *vikṛta* 'changed, distorted' cf. *utkaṭa, prakaṭa, Katu* 'bitter' may be related to Lith. *kartu. Kaṭa* 'straw-mat, hip' has been derived from **karta* i.e. from *krt* 'to cut.' But for most of the words which rime with *kaṭa, kaṭi* no such derivation is forthcoming.*

So with other types. One or two words have more or less doubtful derivations, while the rest are unexplained. *Daṇḍa* 'club, punishment' is said to be related to Greek déndron 'tree'. Presumably an Indo-Iranian **dandram* left no trace in any Iranian language or in the Veda but has appeared in Sanskrit in a Prākritic form. We have *Indra, candra*; why not **dandram*?

For so common a word as *aṇḍa, āṇḍa* 'egg' there is not even that amount of support for its Indo-European origin. We have only a traditional derivation from *am—saṃyoge*!

There remains then a suspicion that there may be a considerable number of non-Aryan words absorbed into the vocabulary of Sanskrit.

* *Naṭa* for *nṛta. bhaṭa* for *bhṛta*: but what are *aṭa, khaṭa, caṭu, chaṭa, jaṭa, Jhaṭi, ghaṭa, paṭa, phaṭa, laṭa, vaṭa, śaṭa, sata*?

6. It would be nothing extraordinary if Sanskrit should turn out to have borrowed non-Aryan words. There are only a limited number of Indo-European words that occur in all the sub-families. Each sub-family has words peculiar to itself. Such words *may* be Indo-European, although there are no parallel forms to prove it. But some of them are strongly suspected of having come from other languages now extinct. In the Mediterranean basin, as Professor Meillet has shown, the words for 'wine' and 'olive' do not appear to be derived from an Indo-European source, but have probably survived from ancient Mediterranean dialects which Greek and Latin superseded.*

In the Germanic area words like 'house, sea, stone, wife' have been shrewdly suspected to be remnants of some ancient language of the North.†

Armenian shows evident signs of having been enormously influenced by some language of the Caucasus type.

The Iranian languages have borrowed Semitic and later on Turkish vocables. Turkish has borrowed more largely from Persian. The modern Indo-Aryan languages have obviously borrowed largely from the languages with which they have come into contract, and certain phonetic types of words consist entirely of borrowed material.

There is no obvious reason why the old Indian dialects should not have begun the same process even in Vedic times.

A 'prākritic' word that can only be explained, if at all, as a popular form that has come into Sanskrit, so to speak, by the back-door, may be challenged with regard to its pedigree. It may be a true son of the soil, but not Aryan.

7. If a considerable number of these words we are considering are not Aryan, what can they be? Some of them may be Dravidian.

It is remarkable however that Dravidian scholars have claimed so little, though the question was opened by Dr. Caldwell so long

* A. Meillet. Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Générale pp. 297-303.

† E. Sapir. Language. p. 226.

ago as 1856.* Dr. Jules Bloch has recently examined the hypothesis of a Dravidian substratum in Sanskrit.† Apart from the vocabulary his conclusion is negative. Even for the few words discussed the author shows how difficult it is to determine whether Aryan borrowed from Dravidian, or vice versa or whether both have borrowed from a third source such as *Munḍa*.‡

8. Professor J. Przyluski has made out a good case for the Austric origin of a number of words e.g. *paṭa, tāmbūlam, bāṇa, ḳambala, ḳadali, śarḳarā*, 'sugar', *maḳuta, mukuta, laguḍa, laḳuta, laṅgulam, laṅgalam, liṅga, langāla, lāṅgūla, mayūra, mayūḳa, marūḳa, murala, mataṅga*.§

It is important to notice that the comparisons on which these conclusions are based are not merely concerned with the external resemblances of a particular Sanskrit word to some form found in Malay or Khmer, but rather on the analysis of words according to the laws of formation prevalent in the Austric languages ; e.g. the use of formative prefixes like *ma—, mu—, ka—, kar—, ta—, tam—*, and the use of internal nasals. So that although the Sanskrit word be the oldest recorded, as of course it generally is, the fact that it can be analysed on Austric lines rather than on Aryan lines goes to prove that the Austric forms are not merely borrowed from an Aryan Sanskrit word. On the other hand the Austric Sanskrit word serves as a more archaic form to explain the series of various forms in Malay, Mon, Khmer and so on.

Following the analogy of some of Przyluski's equations Professor Sylvain Lévi has suggested an Austric origin for several proper names such as *Kosala—Tosala, Aṅga—Vaṅga, Kaliṅga—Triliṅga, Bhuliṅga, Puṇḍa—Puṇḍra, Ud(r)a—Uṇḍa, Muṇḍa, Pulinda—Kulinda—Kuṇinda*.¶. The learned writer points out that similar features recur : oscillation in the spelling, apparent variation of the

* Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.

† J. Bloch. Sanskrit et Dravidian. Bulletin de la Société Linguistique. Paris. Vol. XXV. pp. 1-21.

‡ The following are discussed *ghoṭa, gardabha, maṭasi, godhumaḥ, phala, mukha, tuṇḍa*.

§ Bulletin de la Société Linguistique. xxii. xxv. xxvi.

¶ Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidian dans l'Inde. Journal Asiatique, Sep. 1923.

initial (due in Austric languages to the formative prefix) and the nasal before a stop. It will be noted that most of these words belong to one or other of the phonetic types given above as suspect. To *Aṅga, Vaṅga* we may add the following words which do not seem to have a convincing derivation on the Aryan side :—*Gaṅgā, caṅga, jaṅga, jaṅgala, ṭaṅga, draṅga, maṅga.* These suggest other nasal types like *mañca, mañju* etc. Is *Jambu* an Aryan word?

Traces of the Austric family (including Munda) have survived as far north as Lahul.* Doubtless languages of this type were once spoken over a large area in India.

There remains the possibility of contact with other non-Aryan languages whether related to those now found on the frontiers such as Tibetan, Lepcha or Burushaski or related to the language as yet unknown of the Indo-Sumerian culture.

9. From all this it seems clear that the history of a large part of the vocabulary of Sanskrit has not yet been unravelled.

If a word is not Aryan it is not necessarily Dravidian. There are other possibilities. If a word should happen to be Austric its analysis has to be approached from quite a different angle to what is needed for an Aryan word.† All the doubtful material requires to be rigorously examined from both points of view.

Until this has been done it is premature to form any conclusions, but it is probably fair to say that there is a growing suspicion that the non-Aryan stratum in Sanskrit is considerable in extent and that this may indicate contact with an ancient Indian people, who were by no means such primitive savages as it has been fashionable to suppose.

* Francke. History of Western Tibet.

† On Austric lines one can put together *kunda* Olibanum, Vishnu and *mukunda.*

CAN WE FIX THE DATE OF KALIDASA MORE ACCURATELY?

(PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph. D. [Hony.])

The historical data furnished by the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa have not yet been properly considered. I do not mean that entirely new data yet remain to be found out. What is, however, still possible is that the same old data may be looked at from a new point of view. It is this new angle of vision that I want to place before the scholars for their discussion. It suggested itself to me as early as 1912 when a very interesting article of Prof. K. B. Pathak entitled, "Kālidāsa and the Hunas of the Oxus Valley" was published in the *Indian Antiquary* of the same year.

There are at present two different views held in regard to the date of Kālidāsa. The one is that which accepts the tradition that he was a protège of Vikramāditya and identifies him with one or the other Gupta emperor who assumed this title. Thus Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar,* who first propounded this view, held that this Vikramāditya was Chandragupta II., and was followed by a good many scholars such as V. A. Smith and others. Prof. Pathak,† however, is of opinion that this Vikramāditya was no other than Skandagupta, who sometimes bears this title on his coins though generally Kramāditya is coupled with his name. According to this view, Kālidāsa cannot be placed later than 450 A.D. The other view, however, brings down the poet almost a century later, and makes him a contemporary of Yaśodharman. This view was first made known by the late Dr. Hoernle,‡ but does not appear to have been countenanced by many scholars of repute. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri, however, appears to hold precisely the same view. In his article published in the *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Res. Society* in 1916, he has advanced arguments which resemble so closely those brought forward by Hoernle that an impartial and unbiassed scholar like Mr. B. C. Mazumdar¶

* *Jour., Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X, p. 399.
† *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, pp. 266-7.
‡ JRAS., 1909, p. 108 & ff.
¶ *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1916, p. 388.

is surprised how the Mahamahopadhyaya has not referred to the paper of Hoernle.

It is well-known that in two places in the Raghuvaṃśa Kālidāsa refers to the political condition of his time. The first of these is Canto IV. where Raghu's expedition of world conquest (*dig-vijaya*) is described. The mention of the countries of Vaṅga, *Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya* and so forth which he subjugated is of such a general character that it can scarcely be taken to denote the political condition of any period. The reference to the *Pārasīkas* and the Hūṇas, however, is of a different kind. But even here we are not on *terra firma*. M. M. Sastri, no doubt, emphatically says: "But Raghu did not find the Hunas to the north of Persia. He found them on the Indus, the river Sindhu. After subduing Persians and Yavanas he proceeded towards the north ; there he let loose his horses on the Indus and there he found the Hunas. So the Huna settlement was then on the bank of the Indus ; i.e., after their expulsion from Central India."* But anybody who has critically studied the passage bearing on this point will note that there are two variants here about the name of the river where the Hūṇas were settled. One reading has *Sindhu*, and the other *Vaṃkū* or *Vaṃkshu*. Prof. Pathak is aware of both these readings but accepts the latter, because Vallabha, the earliest commentator of the Raghuvaṃśa, gives it and because Kshīrasvāmi, a commentator of the Amarakośa says, that Raghu encountered the Hūṇas in the Vāhlīka-deśa (=Bacteria). Vallabha flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, and of perhaps the same period is the Nāgpur inscription where the Paramāra ruler, Lakshmadeva, is like Raghu represented as conquering the earth in all directions. Here, corresponding to the Hūṇas of the Raghuvaṃśa we have the Turushkas, who are located similarly on the river Vaṅkshū.† It therefore seems that Vaṃkū or Vaṃkshū is the correct reading. But this argument is by no means of a very convincing nature, because Kālidāsa was still separated from Vallabha by upwards of five centuries and any text or commentary on his work or any

* *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1916, p. 391.

† *E. I.*, II. p. 188, v. 54 and p. 194.

inscription of the 12th century or even earlier may at any time turn up with *Sindhu* and not *Vaṁkū* as its reading. As we cannot thus be positively sure of the reading, we do not know where exactly the Hūṇas were settled when Kālidāsa wrote the passage, that is, whether they were settled on the Oxus or on the Indus. We do not thus know whether the reference is to the Hūṇas before they poured into India or to them when, after the establishment of their power over Northern India, they were forced to retire before the successful resistance offered by the Indian Princes and confine themselves to Kashmir.

The case, however, seems to be different in regard to the historical data* furnished by Canto VI. of the Raghuvaṁśa. Here we have a description of the *svayaṁvara* of Indumatī and consequently of the princes of India who had assembled as suitors for her hand. In this connection we are supplied with a brief account of each one of these princes with special reference to his country, capital and race. This information supplied by Kālidāsa in regard to the political condition of his time has no doubt been utilised by some scholars for the purpose of settling his date, but it has not been, I am afraid, as critically and fully exploited as it ought to be. Two questions arise in this connection. The first of these is: whether there was at this time any supreme power either in North or South India. If anybody carefully reads this Canto, he will find that neither North nor South India was under any paramount sovereign. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri, however, holds a different opinion. He thinks that some sort of overlordship was exercised by the 'Emperor of Magadha'. This is proved according to him not only by the place of honour accorded to the king of Magadha, but, above all, by the following stanza:

Kāmaṃ nipāḥ santu sahasraśo-nye
rājanvatīm-āhur-anena bhūmim!
nakshatra-tārā-graha-saṁkulā-pi
jyotiṣmatī candramas-aiva rātriḥ!!

* There can be no doubt that they portray the political condition of Kālidāsa's time. The line of kings ruling at Māhiṣmati in Anūpa is undoubtedly the Kalachuri dynasty, as has been shown below. In Vs. 45-6 of Canto VI. is mentioned the Nīpa family ruling at Mathurā in the Sūrasena country. That there was a Nīpa family is clearly mentioned by the Purāṇas (F. E. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 3 & 65).

The above stanza is translated by him as follows: "Let there be thousand other kings, but the Earth is possessed of a king because of him; just as there may be thousands of stars, but the night would be called luminous only when the moon is there."

"This clearly gives the king of Magadha", says M. M. Sastri "a precedence over the rest of the kings of India". Does it? The most important word here is *rājanvatī*, which has been rendered by him as "possessed of a king." Nothing, however, can be more erroneous. If he had but consulted the commentary of Mallinātha, he would have seen the word explained by *śobhana-rājavatī*. Immediately after this, the commentator quotes the following from the Amarakośa in support of his position: *su-rajñi deśe rājanvān syāt-tato-nyatra rājavān*. "(The word) *rājanvān* should be (used) to denote 'a country possessed of a good king'; but elsewhere (the word) *rājavān* (should be used)". If Kālidāsa had used the word *rājavatī*, we should have been justified in translating the verse with M. M. Sastri by "the Earth was possessed of a king because of him" and futher in inferring that the Magadha king wielded some sort of supreme rule. As it is, the word actually used by the poet is *rājanvatī*, and a real Sanskritist must render the verse only by "the Earth has, in him alone, a virtuous king." What Kālidāsa means is that no other prince was so good a ruler as the king of Magadha. There is thus nothing here indicated of his overlordship or suzerainty. And if we carefully pore over the whole of Canto VI., we shall perceive that there was no single king who was a paramount sovereign but that North India at any rate was then split up into a number of tiny independent states, such as Magadha, Aṅga, Avantī and so forth. This clearly indicates, in my opinion, that Kālidāsa did not live during the reign of either Chandragupta II. or Skandagupta, as almost the whole of India then owned the Gupta supremacy and was not divided into smaller independent states. He must therefore have flourished soon after the break-up of the imperial Gupta rule.

There are yet some other stanzas in Canto VI. which require to be considered in this connection. They relate to the king of Anūpa called Pratīpa or Pradīpa, who, it is expressly stated, belonged to the Kārtavīrya lineage and had his capital at Māhiṣmatī girded by the Narmadā. This is a clear reference in my opinion

to the Kalachuri dynasty which, as I have elsewhere pointed out,* was ruling at Māhiṣmatī. And it is a matter of great delight that M. M. Sastri also holds the same opinion. He did not, however, pursue the point further as he should have done. Three copper-plate grants of this family have been discovered, revealing the names of Kṛṣṇa Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja. It seems that Kṛṣṇa was the founder. Now, the charter† of his son Śaṅkaragaṇa is dated K. E. 347=A.D. 595, and it does not seem likely that Kṛṣṇa could have seized power prior to A.D. 550. It thus appears that Kālidāsa also could not have composed Canto VI. before this date. But it may be asked what then becomes of Pratīpa? It is too well-known a thing to require any substantiation that kings of ancient India were in the habit of adopting many titles and epithets. And it is quite possible that Pratīpa may have been a title borne by Kṛṣṇa or Śaṅkaragaṇa.

It will be seen that a consideration of these stanzas from Canto VI. leads to the conclusion that Kālidāsa flourished about the middle or rather in the second and third quarters of the sixth century. This is exactly the view of the late Dr. Hoernle, though he based it upon a different line of argument. He further held that the poet was a protége of Yaśodharman for whom we have the date VE. 589=A.D. 532 furnished by one of his inscriptions found at Mandasaur. This is not at all impossible. It is true that from both his records he appears to have raised himself to the position of an overlord, and we have already seen that there was no overlord in North India when Kālidāsa wrote his poem. But there is nothing to preclude us from supposing that Kālidāsa survived Yaśodharman and that after the death of the latter, Ujjain ceased to be an imperial city and became the capital town of a tiny state similar to Magadha, Aṅga and such other kingdoms as are mentioned in Canto VI. Some of his works Kālidāsa may have written during the reign of his patron, but the Raghuvaṃśa, at least Canto VI. of it, seems to have been composed after the death of Yaśodharman.

* *Ind. Ant.*, 1911. p. 20; *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, An. Rep. 1913-4, p, 214.
† *E. I.* IX. 298.

THE LAND OF THE KHMERS: VESTIGES OF A FORGOTTEN EMPIRE

(PROF. GAURANGA NATH BANERJEE M.A., P.R.S., PH.D.)

In the epochs that are uncertain, Angkor, buried now for many centuries, was one of the glories of the world. Just as the old Nile by virtue merely of its slime, had reared in its valley a marvellous civilisation, so here the Mekong, spreading each year its waters, had deposited a richness and prepared the way for the proud Empire of the Khmers. It was probably in the time of Alexander the Macedonian, that a people emigrated from India, came and settled on the banks of this great river, after subjugating the timid natives—the worshippers of the Nāgas or Serpents. The conquerors brought with them the gods of Brahmanism and the beautiful legends of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata; and as their opulence increased on this fertile soil, they built everywhere gigantic temples, carved with a thousand figures and a myriad figurines. Some centuries later—one cannot well say how many—the powerful sovereigns of Angkor saw, arriving from the East, missionaries in yellow robes, bearers of the new gospel of Ahiṃsā and Nirvāna at which the Asiatic world was wondering. Buddha had achieved the enlightenment of India and his emissaries were spreading over the east of Asia to preach there the same gospel of piety and love which the disciples of Christ had brought to Europe later on. Then the gorgeous temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva were transformed into unadorned Chaityas and Vihāras ; the statues of the altars changed their attitudes and lowered their eyes with gentler smiles.

It would seem that under Buddhism the town of Angkor knew the apogée of its glory. But the history of its swift and mysterious decline has never been written and the invading forests well guards its secret. The little Cambodia of to-day, the repository and preserver of complicatd rites of which the significance is no longer known, is the last remnant of the vast empire of the Khmers, which for more than 500 years now has been buried under the silence of trees and weeds.

Angkor is the Sanskrit word Nagara or capital which in the Cambodian language has been transformed into a sonorous epithet.

This word is but a symbol. An extraordinary germination of Indian religion had effectually produced from the 9th to 12th centuries after Christ, the pantheon of the Khmers and the magnificent temples which adorned the site of the old capital. Angkor, as it presents to our view to-day, has an impenetrable mystery, brilliant and gorgeous though its past history may have been. Few facts are certain about this forgotten people, different temperaments interpret at their will what they see: cruel minds see blood everywhere; poetic souls dream of languishing music and strange religious rites; lovers of luxury see pearls, diamonds, gold and silver shining in transparent shadows, decking the gowns of princes and high priests; scholars and archæologists think of the customs and laws of the Khmers; but everyone feels mystery and gropes his way among problems recurring a hundred times, his intelligence always wide awake, never thinking of the flowing hours, a continual interest urging him to see more.

Angkor Thom——the Great Angkor, was once the capital of a mighty empire. "The outer wall," says Mouhot, "is composed of blocks of ferruginous stone, and extends right and left from the entrance. It is about twenty-four miles square (sic), three metres eighty centimetres thick, and seven metres high, and serves as a support to a glacis which rises almost from the top." An ancient road, in which though it is partly obliterated, the ruts ploughed by the heavy traffic of a bygone age are still discernible, leads to the main entrance across a wide ditch full of the debris of broken columns, portions of carved lions and elephants and fallen blocks of stone. The portal is an arch some sixty feet in height surmounted by four immense heads, described by Mouhot as being "in the Egyptian style"; these and the whole building are constructed of sandstone. At each of the four corners of the great rectangular city towers a Gate; there is a fifth one on the east side. The Great city thus possessed five main Gates; the roads passing through four of them converged towards the exact centre of the town occupied by the Chief Temple, the Bayon. We shall speak of this Bayon here after. The eastern side only had an extra Gate that faced the Imperial Palace of the Khmers. The Gates are all in a good state of preservation, but the northern alone gives the best idea of their ancient beauty and splendour. Each gate had

its distinctive appellation. The southern is called the "Gate of Lake"; the eastern are those of the "Victory" and of the "Dead"; the western, the "Gate of the Spirit Kao"; the northern, the "Gate of the Spirit Nok." Within the vast enclosure formed by the walls the forest riots wantonly—an inextricable tangle of grey-black trunks and spreading branches, of striving saplings, dense underwood, twining creepers and hanging curtains of parasitic growths, such as only the warm moist earth can produce in these prolific tropical lands. Hidden under this splendid pall of verdure, reverently concealed beneath God's green coverlet, lies the city of the dead. Here were magnificent temples—now the lairs of forest creatures, in which men of a forgotten generation put up their prayer of plaint, houses in which they were born, in which they lived and planned and loved and laboured and quarrelled and suffered and died, the great store-treasuries which held the wealth of an empire, the gorgeous palaces within which dwelt kings and potentates. Truly it echoes the quatrains of the immortal poet:

"They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep:
And Bahram, that great Hunter—the Wild Ass
Stamps o'er his Head, but cannot break his Sleep."

The romance, the wonder of the lost story of this once great city,—of the lives of the men and women who dwelt in it,—or the hopes and the ambitions, the passions and desires, of the joys and the sorrows, of the thousand trivial happenings which made up their myriad individual lives, even more than the thought of the great catastrophe which must have brought destruction upon them, grips you here "at the quiet limits of the world," as you look upon the traces they have left behind them—the silent stones, mouldering under the calm dome of the slumbering forest. With eager curiosity you grope amid the lumber of the centuries, seeking some hint that shall have the power to breathe the spark of life into this buried skeleton of majesty; but when you have learned all that is at present known the enigma remains unsolved, and the conclusions indicated are of a character little calculated to satisfy the judgment of even those who wish to know only at second-hand. Angkor Thom found in the ninth century A.D. covered an area

of some five square miles. It can be compared with no city of Europe at that time: the kingdom of Wessex had just become the kingdom of England under the half-legendary kings, Egbert, Æthelwulf, Alfred; the Franks were governed by Charlemagne; but Angkor Thom was already a mighty town of more than a million souls. In antiquity the Athens of Pericles, the Rome of Cæsar were not as big!

"The earliest known record of Angkor is found in the work of an anonymous Chinese diplomat, who in 1295 was ordered by the Emperor of China to proceed to the kingdom of Chin-La, the name by which Kambodia was then known. His book has been translated by M. Abel Rémusat, in whose *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques* it occupied a prominent place. The author tells us that he was entrusted with the duty of promulgating certain orders of his Emperor (Kublai Khan) in Kambodia over which State, China exercised something in the nature of suzerainty; that he left Ming-Cheu in the second month of the year following the reception by him of the imperial instructions—that is to say in 1296——travelled thence to the port of Wen-Chu, whence he put out to sea on the 20th day of the same month. On the 15th day of the third moon—namely twenty-five days later—he arrived off the coast of Cochin-China, but he relates that he then encountered such adverse winds that he did not succeed in reaching his destination until the seventh moon. He returned to China, once more travelling by sea, in 1297. It is worthy of notice, in view of the hopes so persistently entertained by the French administration of Indo-China of tapping the trade of the Celestial Empire by means of the Mekong, the Red River, or some other inland route, that even when Kambodia was a flourishing and highly civilised kingdom, communication between it and China was maintained by sea, and not via the Provinces of Yun-nan or Kwang-si.

"The Chinese ambassador next gives us a detailed account of the capital of Kambodia, in which mention is made of the rectangular shape of the town, the high wall by which it is encompassed, the two gates on the eastern face, and the great Causeway of Giants which leads to the western entrance, and which, even in ruins, is remarkable a feature of Angkor. He also mentions particularly a temple without the walls, which even then was accounted very ancient, and which according to the legend current

in his day was built by one Lu-pan in the space of a single night. This would appear to be the pagoda of Mount Bakheng. On the other hand, the Chinese author speaks of two lakes, one on the east of the town about 100 li in circumference, and another, the dimensions of which are not given, some five li to the North. Only one such lake is now in existence, and this is not easily to be identified with either of those mentioned by the ambassador from China. Angkor Wat, the immense temple which from internal evidence is proved to be the most recent of the Angkor ruins, is not spoken of, and we are therefore driven to conclude either that it had not been built by the year 1296, or that a description of it was omitted by accident. (vide Hugh Clifford's *Further India* p. 229 et seq).

The discovery of the ruins of Angkor is stated by Christoval de Jaque, who in a book published in 1606 gives an account of travels in Indo-China undertaken by him between 1592 and 1598. "It is surrounded," he says, "by a strong wall which is four leagues in circumference, of which the battlements are carved with great care," and he gives to this place the name of Anjog, which would seem to be sufficient to identify it with Angkor even if he does not furnish recognisable descriptions of the Causeway of the Giants and other remarkable features of the ruins. He states too —a fact which deserves special attention that even in 1570 many of the inscriptions at Anjog were written in a tongue which none of the natives understood or could interpret.

In his *History of the Islands of the Archipelago,* published five years before de Jaque's work, Ribadeneyra also notices these ruins. He says, "There are in Cambodia the ruins of an ancient city, which some say was constructed by the Romans or by Alexander the Great. It is a marvellous fact that none of the natives can live in these ruins, which are the resort of wild beasts. These Gentiles have a tradition that the ruins will some day be restored by a foreign nation."

In 1672 there occurs another mention of Angkor in the work of a French missionary named Pére Chevruel. "There is an ancient and very celebrated temple," he says, "situated at a distance of eight days from the place where I live. This temple is called Onco, and it is as famous among the Gentiles as St. Peter's

at Rome ;" and he adds that in his time pilgrimages were made to it from Siam, Pegu, Laos and Tenasserim.

From these accounts of Angkor it will be seen that when the place was first discovered by Europeans in 1570 it was as ruined, as deserted, as much given over to the forest and the beasts of the jungle, as completely a monument of a prehistoric past, as it is in our own day. If then we are to accept the work of the anonymous Chinese official as an authentic account of Angkor Thom at the end of the thirteenth century, we must ask ourselves to believe that this mighty civilisation, whereof its magnificent architecture was the ripened fruit, not only declined and perished, but passed into oblivion all within a space of less than 300 years. Nay, more than this : for if the omission of any description of the temple of Angkor Vat from the account given in the Chinese manuscripts is to be taken as evidence the splendid edifice, which was of a kind little likely to escape attention, had not yet been built at the time of the ambassador's visit, we must believe that the Khmer civilisation reached its point of culmination at some period in the fourteenth century at the earliest, and nevertheless was thereafter obliterated so effectually that in less than 200 years it had left behind it hardly so much as a tradition.

If then by the end of the thirteenth century Angkor was still great, still inhabited, but none the less was tottering to its fall, all we have to suppose is that events occurred which hastened the catastrophe and accelerated the process of decay, and here we seem to find a hint in the Chinese manuscripts of what may have been the nature of the calamity which precipitated the abandonment of the royal city. The ambassador, as already stated, makes mention of lakes in the neighbourhood of Angkor which are no longer to be located in the directions indicated by him, while another lake appears to have come into being since his time. A change such as this wrought in the natural configuration of the surrounding country could only be the result of seismic convulsions, and such an explanation would also account for the battered condition of many of the buildings and the very general dilapidation of the roofs. It is noticeable, too, that no human remains are found in large numbers in the houses of Angkor Thom, as would be the case in all probability if the town had been abandoned on account of plague or pestilence, and it would seem to be more

likely that the evacuation was due to a sudden panic. When we remember the innately superstitious character of these Oriental races, it is not difficult to conceive of the conviction that might have been bred in them by a succession of slight earth tremors that it was the will of the gods that their ancient home should be deserted, and if once such a belief spread among the populace of an Asiatic city, nothing could save it from abandonment. The faith of the Oriental, which, not content with believing in the languid European fashion, has a wonderful power of realising as an actual fact the thing proposed for its belief, would in such an event prove strong enough to overcome all attachment to home, all love of things ancient and sacred, all personal and private interests, all respect for the value of property. The will of the gods, once plainly indicated, once grasped, would be obeyed no matter what the sacrifice demanded by obedience, and something of this kind, I conceive, must be held to account for the abandonment of the noble edifices of Angkor to the encroaching jungle and to the wild creatures of the forest.

The origin of the Khmers is wrapped in obscurity, but the features of the men represented in the ancient monuments, as can be seen from the statue of the Leprous King, reproduced in the work of M. Groslier, are distinctively Hindu. The type is found to this day prevalent among the Cambodians of pure descent, and it presents a very marked contrast to the broad-faced, flat-featured Mongolian races of China and Siam. Cambodia in our time, however, is not peopled by a single nation, but rather by a very heterogeneous population. The mountains are inhabited for the most part by aboriginal tribes of a very low standard of civilisation, who from time immemorial have been pillaged and enslaved by their more advanced neighbours. The trading and energetic portion of the community is composed almost exclusively of Chinese mostly natives of Fok-Kien, for Cambodia still communicates with China by sea, and the very colonists of Malaya scattered about the country, who came there no one precisely knows how, and the Cambodians themselves have in most cases intermarried with strangers and so have lost their ancient purity of blood. In Batambang and Siam-Rep, the Siamese had also established a few colonies. The province of Siam-Rep is the heart of the ancient Khmer

Empire. The monarchs and nobles there lavished their wealth on monuments and made the district one of the art-centres of the world. It is crossed by a river rising in the mountains of Kulen that furnished the sandstone of the temples. Little torrents nourished by fresh springs fall from the heights and join to form the Stung-Siam-Rep, traversing for more than half its course an arid region, poor and sandy, where rise rocky hillocks covered by scanty trees; then it arrives in a rich land, chosen by the kings as their residence, passes on the skirts of Angkor-Thom, goes through the town that gave its name to the province and which was already in ancient times a flourishing commercial entrêpot and after touching in Savannahs flooded during the rainy season. it mingles with the waters of the great lake, the Tonle-Sap. The neighbourhood of this lake is richer in archæological remains than any other found in the East and the conception of the Cambodians are as admirable as their ability to turn them into realities.

Now what is the origin of Khmer art? One finds it appearing quite abruptly in the history of the Far East ; it shows, while yet in its first manifestations a certain mastery, enabling it to attain, in a short enough space of time the highest summits of architectural art in some of its monuments.

The question is far from being decided as yet. The Hindu influence is undeniable ; it is known that before the first centuries of the Christian era emigrants coming from India had penetrated into Indo-China and that at a later age some conquerors of the same origin had again disembarked in the country which had come to be the land of Khmer.

In Cambodia, the religious, the moral codes and the literature are borrowed from India. We find sculptured upon the numerous Khmer temples the same divinities and legendary heroes as upon the temples of the Hindus. The text of ancient inscriptions is very often in Sanskrit. The towers in the form of a pyramid with the stages detached from each other in distinct divisions in accordance with the canons of Dravidian architecture of Southern India, are evidently congeners of Khmer towers; but if one takes note of the fact that the most ancient monuments in Pallava style goes up to the 7th century A.D., it is difficult to establish a direct affiliation of one architecture to the other.

On the other hand if Hindu art had a share in the architecture of Cambodia, and this is evident, since from Burmah and passing through Siam and Java, every part of the Far East is more or less under cultural vassalage of India, one can also recognise in Khmer Art the influence which do not manifest themselves so clearly in the countries mentioned above. [Some General observations on the Temples of Angkor by H. Marchal. (*Rupam*, Oct. 1922)].

That it derived its inspiration direct from India cannot be doubted—the character of the carving, the features of the statues, the practice by the Khmers of the cult of Buddha, all indicate this, while the appearance of the Cambodians of our own time seems to confirm the belief that the ancestors of these people came originally from the peninsula of Hindustan. We know that Hindu influence extended in very early times as far south as Lombok and Bāli, and it is highly probable that Cambodia may also have been peopled from India by sea.* The enormous encroachments of the land upon the ocean, caused by the immense amount of the deposits washed down by the Mekong, have added largely to the flat coast-lands of the country during historical as opposed to geological times, and a thousand years ago Angkor was certainly much less distant from the sea than it is to-day. None the less, since other seaward States in its vicinity escaped the Indian invasion, it is at least possible that the Khmers may have made their way into Indo-China by overland route, as is contended by some French writers, though the opinion is one which it is not easy to accept. M. Groslier discusses the Indian influence on the Cambodians in his *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens* thus :

"Qu'y avait-il donc au Nord-Ouest et à l' Ouest de l'ancien Cambodge et pour le voyageur parvenant de l' Inde du Nord par le Bengale, la Birmanie et la region de Dvārāvati? Un immense massif montagneux peu fait pour retenir des populations en marche et en outre trois grandes vallées, celles de Irrawadi, du Saluen et du Menam; vallees dirigées toutes du Nord au Sud et qui devaient conduire directement et fatalement toutes les vagues humaines qui les suivaient aux deux portes naturelles ouverts sur les plaines et

* See my book, *India as known to the Ancient World.*

la fecondité Kmères.....Là, un grand movement qui civilise et répond la pensèe indoue ; ici une forte pousée birmanie qui par vient du Nord de l'Inde. Elle rejette vers le Sud les populations installée le long des valees, populations egalement indouisees."

In the whole of Cambodia there are only three temples which possess an immense series of bas-reliefs ; the Bayon, Banteai China, and Angkor Vat. The first two are earlier than the third. The style of the sculpture is naturally primitive and as in all ancient arts, many conventions appear lacking scientific knowledge. Perspective also was an unknown science and the different planes are placed one above the other, usually separated by horizontal lines. Yet inspite of these naive defects, the sculptors were so scrupulous, so attentive to every detail, that they had reached an extraordinary standard of perfection. Some scenes are so life-like and so true to nature that one cannot believe that the men who used rough stools to fashion these wonders had not previously made sketches during their rambles. The carvings are most likely like "the Bible of Amiens" to be comprehended by illiterate plebeians, or even by equally ignorant nobles who desired their deeds and beliefs to be preserved from oblivion. Most of the scenes have a precious finish and one can well imagine, years ago, the Khmer sculptors, in great numbers, filling the vast cloisters with the bangs of their mallets and chisels, with the dust of scraped stones and stepping back from time to time to see the effect of their toil. Moreover, they were all, no doubt, under the supervision of a supreme architect and master who like Phidias in the Partheon, walked everywhere and added a touch of his genius to the achievements of lesser craftsmen. The entire series, which stretches over half a mile, reveals a startling evenness of merit. (vide Jeannerat de Burski, *Angkor : Ruins in Cambodia*).

The Bayon has been aptly described by a witty French writer, as 'the whole Cambodian nation turned to stone'; from the summit of the central tower to the level of the ground all the qualities and vices, all the greatness and baseness which distinguished that race are disclosed. The structure is personal and the decoration explicit. We have there the religion, the monarchy of mind, the faith in their gods and kings, the blind belief they showed in their superiors ; also their war-like spirit, their freedom and their charac-

ter, sweetened by the love for women and children. We see their admiration for nature and their history. Indeed the entire kingdom of Yacovarman and its inhabitants can be said to be contained in the area enclosed within the surrounding walls. Later they may have built more magnificent erections, but neve the ancient Khmers, nor any other nation in any epoch have condensed once again, in a single monument, the souls and manners of an age. The Bayon is unique and worthy to rank with the proudest buildings of the world for this extraordinary particularity.

The Bayon represents the earliest conception, crude and savagely immense, of a people apart, without analogue in the world, and without neighbours; the Khmer people, probably a detached branch of the great Indo-European race, which planted itself here as if by chance, and grew and developed far from the parent stem separated from the rest of the world by immense expanses of forest and marshy land. About the ninth century some four hundred years earlier than Angkor-Vat, this sanctuary ruder and more enormous, was in the plenitude of its glory. In order to try and picture to one's self what was once its most awful magnificence, it would be necessary, first of all to clear away the forests which engulf it, to suppress the inextricable entanglement of these roots and these greenish white-spotted branches, which are so to say, the tentacles of the fig-tree of ruins ; and then, no longer in this eternal green night, but in the open air, under the wide expanse of starry dome, to re-erect these quadruple-visaged towers—about fifty of them!—to replace them upright on their monstrous pedestal, which like that of Angkor-Vat was in three stages.

To ornament the walls of Bayon endless bas-reliefs and decorations of every sort have been conceived with an exuberant prodigality. Here are battles, furious conflicts, war-chariots, interminable processions of elephants and groups of Apsarās, of Devatās with pompous crowns. The workmanship is crude and more naive than at Angkor-Vat, but the inspiration revealed there is more vehement, more tumultous. There is something disconcerting in so great a profusion. In our days of pinchbeck versatility, it is difficult to realise the perseverance, the fertility, the faith, the love of grand and eternal, which inspired these vanished people. "This temple", says M. Pierre Loti in his well-known book on

'Siam', "is one of the places in the world where men have heaped together the greatest mass of stones, where they have accumulated the greatest wealth of sculptures, of ornaments, of foliage, of flowers and of faces. It is not simple as are the lines of Thebes and Baalbeck. Its complexity is as bewildering even as its enormity. Monsters guard all the flights of steps, of all the entrances ; the divine Apsarās, in indefinitely repeated groups, are revealed everywhere amongst the overhanging creepers. And, at a first view nothing stands out ; there seem only disorder and confusion in this hill of carved stones, on the summit of which the great towers have sprouted. But, on the contrary, when one examines it a little, a perfect symmetry is manifest from top to bottom. The hill of sculptured stones forms a square pyramid of three stages, the base of which measures more than a thousand yards in circumference ; and it is on the third and highest of these stages that we find that which is pre-eminently the Holy place." Within this sanctuary presides a Buddha of gigantic size, commanding and gentle, with legs crossed and downcast half-closed eyes, for so many centuries that spiders have contrived patiently to drape him with black muslins, hiding the gold with which he was adorned. But his bowed head preserved the same benevolent smile as may be found on all the representations of Him from Ceylon to Korea; the smile of the Great Peace, obtained by the Great Renunciation and the Great Piety.

Over and above the great temples which every one visits there are to be found scattered about, by the side of the rivers and swamps, a number of monuments in terra cotta of an art most singular, dating back to the fourth century and even to the earliest days of the Khmer Empire.

To sum up, all that we can really ascertain at the present time concerning the Khmer civilisation is that it flourished and came to full fruition before its subjugation by China; that the Chinese dominion ended before the conclusion of the tenth century of our era, though it had a nominal and more or less formal existence for more than three centuries later ; that Angkor and the other towns of Cambodia were occupied by the natives of the country well into the fourteenth century, although by that time the civilisation of the Khmers had decayed, their arts would appear to have declined, and the number of their subjects to have dwindled. It

further seems probable that some time in the fourteenth century the ancient buildings were deserted owing, it may be surmised, to a superstitious belief that it was no longer the will of the gods that they should be occupied—a superstition which exists to the present day, and which may have originated in, or have impressed itself upon, the public mind by reason of one or more seismic convulsions. We have, it must be confessed, only a slender base upon which to build our theories, but the evidence of the Chinese ambassador, quoted in these pages, is something tangible and concrete which cannot easily be thrust aside. The desertion of Angkor at a period subsequent to his visit is at any rate a possibility, and that the condition of the ruins at the present time, and the maze of myth and legend in which the imagination of the native population has entangled them, need excite little surprise when we remember the colossal nature of the buildings on the one side, and the appeal which they would inevitably make to a marvel-loving, superstitious, and unlettered people. When all has been said, however, the problem of the Khmer civilisation remains unsolved, for of the story of the great empire which existed before ever China effected conquests in Cambodia, we know very little. Judged by the gigantic remains which they have bequeathed to us,—the expression at once of a tremendous energy and of a passionate love of art—the Khmers must have been a wonderful people, and such a people cannot have failed to have a marvellous and inspiring history. What the story was we know not in detail, and perhaps shall never know, but we must all subscribe to Francis Garnier's tribute to the men of this vanished race :

" Jamais nelle part peut-être une masse plus imposante de pierres n's eté disposée avec plus d'art et de science. Si l'on admire les pyrammides comme une ouvre gigantesque de la force et de la patience humaines, à une force et une patience égales il faut ajouter ici le genie !".

ZOROASTRIAN CONCEPTION OF FUTURE EXISTENCE

(SHAMS-UL-ULEMA SARDAR DR. K. A. N. DASTUR, PH.D.)

The doctrine of Future Existence has been held in some form or another by every race and tribe of men. With this tenet is often coupled belief in rewards and punishments in the next world, the state of men's spirits there depending in whole or in part upon conduct during life on earth. Some religions tell of a final conflict between good and evil and the ultimate triumph of the former. Others have no teaching to give on the subject. But all alike agree in the conviction that death does not end all and that there is an after-life. The conviction on this point appears to be so strong and for the matter of that, so universal that one is almost tempted to consider it an intuition. It is found not only among the higher classes, but quite as generally among those in the lower state of civilization, or even among savages. Dr. Tylor says in his "Primitive Culture" that it is not safe to take the doctrine of the soul's future life as one of the general and principal elements. The doctrine of the surviving soul may, however, be treated as common to all known races, though its acceptance is not unanimous. As in savage so in civilized life, dull and careless natures ignore a world to come as too far off, while sceptical intellects are apt to reject its belief as wanting proof. Savages never doubt the existence of the part which in man survives death, and they attribute souls not only to animals but even to weapons and utensils. Compte describes man's primary mental condition as constantly characterised by the free and direct exercise of our primitive tendency to conceive all external bodies, natural or artificial, as animated by a life essentially analogous to our own with mere differences of intensity. We all experience this tendency in our childhood, and it is natural to suppose that in the childhood of human race it was universal. Even now, it shows itself in fetishism, while, in classical Greece, every river, fountain, or tree was regarded as the abode of nymph or some spirit. The probable explanation of this appears to be that man's instinct makes him so certain of his own personality distinct from his material body that he cannot without any effort on his part rid himself of the idea that exterior objects are

like himself in that respect. This belief in the existence of the soul seems to be an innate idea which may be accounted for as the spirits of the deceased presenting themselves to their surviving relatives' mind so clearly that they are mistaken for the relatives themselves.

Among the Aryans in Europe and in the East, the similarity of practices connected with the burial or burning of the dead makes it probable that their beliefs about the state after death did not differ widely from one another. Throughout Northern Europe, it was the custom to bury the dead in what we call barrows. The dead body was placed in a contracted posture within the stone chamber called "Dolemen". Vast mounds of earth were then piled above the tomb. In England, the custom of cremation, as history bears out well, was first introduced during Bronze Age. Herodotus has left us a description of the ceremonies connected with the internment of a Scythian king. In other parts of Europe, other customs were prevalent with some difference.

It would not be out of place, if we consider the primitive idea of European-Aryans on the subject. As far as our knowledge of cultural development of European-Aryans in the early days goes, they regarded death as no better than a simple change of life. They thought that the spirit lived under the earth. The old Roman idea was that the Umbra or the shade flew around the Sepulchre, that manes went to Orcus, and that the spirit ascended the stars. This reminds us of Egyptian belief in the ba or soul, the khu or mind, Ka or double and the Khaibit or shade. In these we find traces of different theories amalgamated. The soul was supposed to have a special connection with the tomb. Hence food was brought and wine poured out on the sepulchre to satisfy the hunger and thirst of the inhabitant. It was believed that the spiritual essence of these things would be useful to the soul of the deceased.

In order that the soul might be at rest, it was considered necessary that the body should be buried and the funeral rites duly performed. If this were not done, the unfortunate spirit could find no repose and hence, becoming a larva, it haunted and troubled the living.

The Odyssey gives us rather a sad picture of the abode of the dead and the state of its inhabitants. They dwell in murky gloom

and are spoken of as the feeble persons of the dead, inhabiting a joyless spot, grieving but telling each its own troubles and being senseless and phantoms of departed mortals. The shade of Achilles when it met Ulysses, told him that he would rather be a serf and act the hireling to another in a poor man's cottage, than reign over all dead men.

From what has been stated above, it will be seen that all nations, whether civilized or not, had a firm belief in an after-life. Yet, in spite of slight differences of opinion as to the condition of the soul in that state of existence, the general view was that such a life was far inferior to this and that it was a state more or less vague or unreal, where no progress of any kind was made, but in which the spirit existed at best in a more or less unhappy condition. The slight differences of opinion which we find entertained by different nations as to the belief in the after-life simply represent the different stages of intellectual development they attained.

We now come to the theory of the transmigration of souls as propounded by the Hindu Aryans in very early days. The theory of transmigration, be it said to the credit of its exponents, is the subtlest and the most convincing, though apparently, of the theories referred to above. This theory or rather this form of belief has been very widely spread among all classes of people of Europe and America, and Asia is no exception to this. According to this theory, the soul of a child enters the world again in the person of another child born soon after the death of the former. It is well-known how extensively Manu makes use of the theory of transmigration. It plays an important part in Buddhism and Hinduism, though it is entirely wanting in the original belief of the Aryans of both India and Persia. This idea of transmigration appears to have been left behind by the Aryans and Semites in their intellectual advance.

As we have said above, a sad picture, as drawn by Odyssey, of the abode of the dead and the state of its inhabitants, which resembles that drawn by other nations of Europe and America in very old times, does, *pari passu*, resemble the Hindu idea of transmigration. It must have been prevalent among the Aryans before their separation from each other. Manu bids the so-called Srāddha offering of rice with libations of water or milk and also

with roots and fruits to be offered by a man daily to his ancestors, in order to satisfy them. The Srāddha ceremony is not one of the Hindu funeral rites, "Antayisti", but is an act of reverential homage to the deceased relatives, especially parents or ancestors. Every day, water has to be poured on the tomb, and balls of rice (Pinda) have to be offered on special occasions. The object of the ceremony is to supply nourishment to the deceased. The funeral rites proper and the first Srāddha turn the wandering ghost of the dead man into a being provided with an ethereal body. Succeeding Srāddhas strengthen this body and enable the soul thus equipped to enter Pitra Loka. In this matter, the Hindu Preta reminds us of the Latin Larva. The abode of the spirit after the proper ceremonies have been performed, is a region, the exact position of which is the subject of difference of opinion. Some locate it in the air, while others do so in the orbit of the moon. Its ruler is Yama, son of the God Surya (the Sun). An ancient hymn in the Rig-Veda, X. 14, states clearly the early belief of the Hindus on this subject as :—

(1). "Worship thou with an oblation King Yama, the gatherer of the people, son of Vaivasvat, who has departed to the mighty mountain slopes, showing the way to many.

(2). "Yama was the first to find for us the way, and this pasturage is not to be taken away ; whither our ancient fathers have gone, thither will their offsprings go, along their own paths.

(7). "Go thou forward, go thou forward by the ancient paths, whither our ancient fathers have gone, mayest thou see both King Yama and God Varuna, rejoicing in wonted manner.

(8). "Unite thyself with the fathers, with Yama, in the highest heaven by thy merits : Having abandoned Sin, go home again, vigourous, unite thyself to a body."

In his six systems of Indian Philosophy, Max Muller says that this hymn seems to imply that earlier ideas were nobler than later ones in connection with the state of the soul after death.

Hindu View of Transmigration.

The doctrine of transmigration has found a most congenial home in Asia which owes it to India. The hymns in the Rig-Veda

which simply represent the best literary activity of the early Aryans do not show that it was then in a developed form. It is only in the Upanishad period that we find it in its complete development. The Buddha himself adopted it with such modifications in detail as his own system necessitated. This theory has been assumed by nearly half the human race to-day. In England, Germany and the United States, men and women are discussing it to-day. Unlike the ancient Aryans of Europe, what appears from the later Hindu literature to oppress the Hindu, is not sin, but existence and its attendant miseries. He explains away this theory as :—

> "We have capacity but it is foiled for want of opportunity ; we have taste, but it is over-ridden by circumstances ; we have ambition, but it is hindered by weakness. There are inequalities of life. Some are rich who seldom work, while others are poor who have to work ceaselessly. Crookedness sometimes prospers and honesty walks in rags."

These things are a constant puzzle to our intelligence. But the Hindu furnishes an arresting answer to this riddle. He shares the general conviction of mankind that death does not end all. He holds that the life that passes from our vision here is recommissioned for service or for suffering. Moreover, he holds that the life hereafter will be determined by the life that we live here. But if this life projects itself beyond, why may we not turn the process backward? If this life be the result of a previous life, then is the riddle solved and inequality explained. Pain must be retribution, pleasure reward and justice is for ever vindicated. If this is true, the successful man is rendered for ever indifferent to the envy of his neighbours, for has he not earned his prosperity?

The Hindu assumes three things for the support of this theory, *viz.*. (i) Eternity behind as well as before, (ii) eternity of souls, and (iii) unrestrictedness of the soul in its embodiments.

Let us take in their natural sequence these three assumptions and see how far the answers suggested by him satisfy our reason. The first is eternity behind and before. According to this hypothesis, the sufferings or enjoyments in this life are the result of man's actions in the past life, in other words, what he suffers or enjoys in this life is the result of what he was and did in the past

life ; but what he was then was necessitated by what he had been the birth before that, and so on indefinitely. Where to stop? If there is no stopping, it is commiting one to an eternal series of antecedents, an endless and beginningless chain of cause and effect, each link of which hangs on the preceding and so on. Such a position, as Professor Orr has said in his book, "Christian view of God and the World", is unthinkable and affords no resting place for the reason. Even Sankarācharya, in a moment of candour, ridicules the idea of cause producing and being produced by its own effect, through an eternal series, and says that it would be like an endless chain of blind men leading other blind men (Vedanta Sutras). The second assumption is that the souls are eternal in which these unbeginning causes work out their unending effects. When, therefore, a child is born, we are not to understand that a new soul is created. What has happened is that an eternal entity has just taken on a fresh embodiment. The third and the last assumption, *viz.*, the unrestrictedness of the soul in its embodiments, may seem less credible, perhaps, if we remember how fundamentally the Hindu conception of soul differs from our own. To us the soul is the essential man, a personality that knows itself, the "I" of individual experience, that reasons, wills, loves, and hates; and that finds in the human bodily organism the only instrument through which it can properly express itself. The fact that a self-conscious intelligence is capable of uniting itself harmoniously with any other than the human type of physique, is certainly incomprehensible to human intelligence. In all countries and in all ages, the difference between the lowest human and the highest animal has been so fundamental and instinct that the ultimate commingling of the two has been regarded as one of the fixed impossibilities, of the same class as the union of fire and water or light and darkness. This appears to be due to his mistaken conception of soul, which, according to him, is not Ego, which last he grades as matter. He understands the soul to be the vital principle without thought, emotion, will, self-consciousness or any other quality, except that of extension and life. (Crozier's History of Intellectual Development). Such a principle is very elastic and may take any shape required.

The Law of Karma.

He again bases this theory on the law of Karma which is believed to determine rewards and punishments in this life as well

as in the next. He brings this law into operation to interpret the universe, in fact, he interprets all the operations of nature as being the results of the good or bad deeds of the aggregate of souls performed in their various embodiments.

The Doctrine of transmigration has another attraction. It is claimed for it that it not only rehabilitates justice but also finally enthrones hope. It is held to imply the promise that the spirit must ultimately conquer matter, and all the evil that clings to it. The journey may be long or weary, the ebbs may seem as frequent as the tides, but some where, some time, the spirit will work itself free and escape its last tenement to greet its source in eternal union.

The Hindu sometimes contrasts this with the Christian teaching of eternal sin. To him this doctrine means the defeat of God. That God should crush out of His Universe those who are finally impenitent and incorrigible and then reign for ever supreme would be intelligible but not quite reasonable. A consideration like this, while it serves the Hindu in passing argument, is strongly emphasised by many in Europe and America, and also by some Zoroastrians who have been caught into the fold of Theosophy. But we ask, what is the value of salvation procured by such a process as transmigration. The Hindu says whatever the soul's relation to God, the process works itself through at last inevitably and the individualized spirit is merged into the Universal Being. If this be so, there is nothing worth while left for a man to do. He is simply the victim of a great cosmic process, and the destined end will come, whatever he does or does not, and whether he desires or protests.

There are many more subtle distinctions, besides, drawn by the Hindu in order to support the so-called doctrine of transmigration, but they are mere intellectual feats of the Hindu mind. A critical examination of these feats is therefore impossible, as the space allowed is but limited.

We now come to that part of theology which deals with the divine nature of Godhood, as viewed by Hindu Pantheism, and Zoroastrianism. According to Hindu Pantheism, God is world and the world is God. Neither of them has personality. Matter is only a fiction of the mind. It comes into existence in the form of body, when only we think of it. All the evils pertaining to the material

body, such as sickness, death etc. are simply a feat of imagination. It again tells us that everything visible or invisible is mind which cannot be two. Since it is one, it cannot but be God. All other material things, such as stars, trees, rivers etc. have no separate existence, but they are only the ideas of the mind. They are like visions appearing in dreams and having, as a consequence, no actual existence. What is called sickness is only a belief, which is unreal. Man has to destroy this belief. If this belief is destroyed, all sickness is destroyed. If this idea is stretched forward death also is destroyed, for it is only the fiction of th mind, as death has no existence, so far as spirit is concerned. If this idea is accepted, the belief in the existence of matter is destroyed, and the individual consciousness is ignored. To put it more clearly, the idea of a personal God and the belief of actual sin have no force. They are meaningless expressions used simply to express the ignorance of man about the divine nature of Godhood, as understood by the Hindu Scriptures.

This teaching is quite contrary to that of Zoroastrianism as well as to reason and science. The Zoroastrian idea of Godhood is based upon Ashā, Righteousness and a conviction of a Personal God. Ahura Mazda is essentially personal. Zorcaster gave to the world what is called Divine Personality, which suggests a deep insight on his part, and which does not conflict with reason or science. Unlike Hindu Pantheism, Zoroastrianism does not think that all men are one man, that all animals are one animal and that all organisms are one organism. Still less does it believe them to be God. It is absurd to believe that one and the same substance should be both rational and irrational at one and the same time.

Schopenhaur rightly says: "To call God merely the sum of all things is to attribute to Him a material personality; for matter must form a constituent element of the deity, when regarded in such a light. It is impossible to think of one God existing under such an innumerably divided form and under divergent and contradictory conditions."

From Pantheism we proceed to Positivitism or Agnosticism which denies the existence of God and bids us acknowledge ourselves incapable of comprehending the super-sensible. There is another system, known as materialism, which makes us believe in matter only, encouraging atheism or denial of God.

Prof. Huxley, who is the great advocate of Darwinism tries to solve the problem of the origin of the Universe by means of the theory of "Natural Selection or the Survival of the Fittest," but with no great measure of success, since his hypothesis is based not on observation or experiment but on mere speculation. Darwin himself says that though his views explain the Universe, still the more he thinks, the more he feels the hopeless immensity of his ignorance. A German Philosopher, Kant, thinks it impossible to explain the orderly processes in the living organism without postulating supernatural final causes and says, "It is quite certain that we cannot even satisfactorily understand, much less elucidate, the nature of an organism and its internal faculty on purely mechanical, natural principles,—it is so certain, indeed, that we may confidently say that it is absurd for a man ever to conceive the idea that some day a Newton will arise who can explain the origin of a single blade of grass by natural laws uncontrolled by design."

A careful reading of the Gathic passages shows in unmistakeable terms that the Divine Being reveals Himself to us through the Universe, and that a cause for it can be no other than the Infinite, only in a State of personality. He is the Cause of this grand Universe and the Creator of the sublime worlds, both spiritual and material, and also of comfort, peace and happiness.

Before we proceed to consider the qustions of Immortality and Resurrection, we propose to add a Gathic view of man as a whole. Man, as the Gathas understand him, is the combination of the spiritual and the material essence. He is not the body which is simply the outer clothing. He is the soul which is the principle of life. This principle in man is not the same as that found in other animals. It is, therefore, clear that the human soul differs from the animal soul and that it likewise differs from the body in which it dwells during its existence in the material world. In the end, the body is mingled with the dust, but not with the soul. According to Zend-Avesta, though the body ceases to exist, the soul lives unhindered. The dead are not, therefore, dead in this sense, for death is the mere transference to a superior world. God mercifully permits man to quit this earth. "May the Gathas be to us the abundant givers of rewards for our righteousness in the next world, after the separation of our consciousness from our body. (Yasna LV. 2). When the soul enters Heaven, Ahura Mazda rejoices saying, "Wel-

come ! O man, thou hast just left the decaying world and entered into the undecaying one." (Vendidad, VII.50).

Zend-Avesta understands by natural death the separation of the soul from the material body which wears, crumbles and ultimately becomes dust. There is no resurrection of the body but of the soul, which is superior to all material things, and quite independent of the body. Death is simply entering upon that unchanging lot which man has worked out for himself here below. This world, therefore, is the waiting room where man prepares for his journey to another world.

Zoroastrianism asserts that there is a moral purpose of the relations between man and the unseen, the spiritual world. The knowledge that the unseen or spiritual world is moral, must bring strength and clearness to the moral life of any human being who comprehends the truth. The doctrine of immortality is clearly stated in the Gathas, which appears to have been borrowed by the Hebrews and imported into the Old Testament. Latest researches disclose this doctrine to have been subsequently borrowed by the New Testament also from the old one inspite of the pretentions of the modern Christians to the contrary.

The Old Testament, all along, maintains silence in regard to future existence. " In death there is no remembrance of Thee : in Sheol who shall give Thee thanks". Psalm. IV. 4. There is neither comfort nor moral significance in the thought of the Hebrew Sheol, which conveys no idea to the mind except that of being a place where the departed exist, but in which the personality of the soul has been feebly left quite untouched. The Hebrew did not associate either bliss or misery, but only the thought of bare existence in the unseen world. The early Jewish writings show that the Future Life, as conceived by Zoroastrian Scriptures, was not known, or at any rate overlooked.

Like many other essential doctrines and dogmas a belief in the immortality of the soul is explicitly stated in the following passages in the Gathas. "May I take or deliver my mind and soul to Heaven, knowing the holy blessings and rewards of the good actions prescribed by Ahura Mazda." (Yasna XXVIII. 4 or 5).

"Then truly on the Lie shall come destruction of light ; but they that get them good name shall be partakers in the promised reward

in the fair abode of Good Thought of Mazada, and of Right" (Yasna XXX, 10).

"These things I ask thee, Ahura, how they shall come and issue—the requitals that in accord with the records are appointed for the righteous, and those, Mazda, that belong to the liars, how these shall be when they come to the reckoning." (Yasna XXXI. 14).

"Thereby ye defrauded mankind of happy life and of immortality, by the deed which he and the Bad spirit together with Bad Thought and Bad Word taught you, ye Daevas, and the Liers, so as to ruin (Mankind)." (Yasna XXXII. 5).

"This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. He that will not give that reward to him that earns it, even to the man who fulfilling his word gives him (what he undertook)—what penalty shall come to him for the same at this present? I know that which shall come to him at the last." (Yasna XLIV. 19).

"Him thou shouldst seek to exalt with prayers of Piety, him that is called Mazda Ahura for ever, for that he hath promised through his own Right and Good though that Welfare and Immortality shall be in the Dominion, strength and perpetuity in his house." (Yasna XLV. 10).

The passages quoted above clearly show how the doctrine of a future life is insisted on, sustaining the hope of an eternal life in Zoroastrian hearts. They have a real power of solid comfort and support to man.

The Zoroastrian religion is not a theory but a practice in Righteousness. Every kind of work requires a motive to keep the worker steadfast, and the hope of Future Life, Immortality and Resurrection offers such a motive which certainly is a stimulus to moral purity and an incentive to holy work.

The future state is a state of equitable retribution, so that those who do good, will rise to glory, honour and peace, and those who do evil, will sink into shame and punishment. To believe in immortality is to believe in the everlasting growth of virtue and to choose it as the supreme good under this conviction. According to Zoroastrianism man must set his heart only on personal immortality in a future life. He is not content with merely living on

that tribute of respect which humanity might pay to his memory. It is a personal immortality that he longs for and claims.

To attempt to adduce any demonstrative proof of immortality is to attempt an impossibility. Even the best of philosophers and scientists confess their inability to do so. Herbert Spencer says, "on the one hand there is no evidence supporting the belief in immortality and on the other hand there is no evidence to warrant the denial of it." The views of the world-renowned poet, Tennyson, are well worth remembering, which strengthen the idea of immortality, as inculcated in the Gathas and other Scriptural writings of the Parsis:

"Dear friend, far off, my lost desire,
So far, so near in woe and weal,
O loved the most, when most I feel
There is a lower and a higher,
Known and unknown ; human and divine ;
Sweet human hand and lips and eye ;
Dear heavenly friend that canst not die,
Mine, mine, for ever, ever mine,
Strange friend, past, present and to be ;
Loved deeplier, darklier understood ;
Behold, I dream a dream of good,
And mingle all the world with thee."

In Memorium.

Mathew Arnold addresses his father in death :—

"Oh strong soul by what force
Tarriest thou now. For that force,
Surely has not been left in vain !
Somewhere surely, afar,
In the sounding labour house vast,
Of being, is practised that strength,
Zealous, beneficient, firm."

Carlyle in "Sartor Resartus" says that the doctrine of a future life for man has been created by the combined force of instinctive desire, analogical observation, prescriptive authority and philosophical speculation. These are the four pillars on which the soul builds the temple of its hopes ; or the four glasses through which it looks to see its eternal heritage." Even a scientist like Prof. Huxley

supports this doctrine when he observes, "He who fights on the side of moral truth in a world like our will unquestionably feels himself the stronger for the conviction that some time or another his whole being will enter into possession of perfect peace and happiness."

Thus the doctrine of Future Life has been supported not only by men of Science and Philosophy, but by men of experience and common sense. To deny immortality is, therefore, to turn sceptic and cast off all that is best and noblest in human nature. The immediate result of the denial of this doctrine in the face of such overwhelming testimony is casting off those restraints which are inculcated through the faith in the unseen, loosening the bond between faith and morals and coarsening social and spiritual ideals.

Zoroastrianism tells us that when the soul is free from the body, it continues to possess the primary attribute or power, viz. personality or conscious individuality which man naturally desires his soul to possess as a means of enjoyment in a life to come. It is quite clear that all other enjoyments depend upon retention of conscious individuality. Any condition with no personality is mere annihilation. According to Zend-Avesta, personality on which man's happiness or welfare depends will ever subsist in a future life.

After the dissolution of the body, the soul becomes active and powerful, and all the acts done by it in the material as well as spiritual world either in this or in the next life are to be weighed before judgment is given. If the acts are good or in other words, if the life lived is good, the end is good. If it is bad, the end is bitter in this world and bitterer still in the next world. The fruit of sin is reaped in this material as well as in the next spiritual world. Man's life, if bad, becomes eternally miserable by communion with Angra-Mainyu. For it is well said in Yasna XXXIII. 1, that "According as it is with laws that belong to the present life, so shall the Judge act with most just deed towards the man of the Lie and the man of Right, and him whose false things and good things balance". With this idea and with his implicit faith in Ahura Mazda and his Righteous Kingdom, a devout Zoroastrian lives his life in this world, where he is sure to get welfare and immortality which are the coveted possessions of man. "By his holy Spirit and by Best Thought, Deed and Word, in accordance with Right, Ahura Mazda with Dominion and Piety shall give us Welfare and Immortality." (Yasna, XLVII. 1).

I, therefore, conclude in the following sonnet in the name of the Great and Wise Lord, Ahura Mazda, and in the interest of the pious believers in immortality and spiritual resurrection of man under the righteous Government of God.—

"Hail! Gracious Ormuzd, author of all Good,
Spirit of beauty, purity, and light!
Teach me like thee to hate dark deeds of night,
And battle ever with the hellish brood
Of Ahriman, dread prince of evil mood,
Father of lies, uncleanness, envious spite,
Thefts, Murders, Sensual sins that shun the light,
Unreason, ugliness, and fancies lewd
Grant me, bright Ormuzd, in thy ranks to stand,
A valiant soldier faithful to the end;
So when, I leave this life's familiar strand,
Bound for the great unknown, shall I commend,
My soul, if Soul survive, into thy hand,
Fearless of fate if thou thine aid will lend."

Amen!

ARYAN ORIGINS

(H. BRUCE HANNAH, ESQ.)

One often sees the problem mooted: Where did man originate? In Asia, Africa, or what other continent? Or was it in some archipelago? Also the question: Is man descended from one primal pair, or from a multiplicity of progenitors? These conundrums are very common in popular literature; but even so-called specialists from time to time dally with them. They seem to me to be particularly futile, especially as those who propound them are generally fettered in thought by what is called "Holy Writ", or some other literary or scientific "authority". One might just as reasonably speculate as to what and how grass originated. After all, what do we mean by "origins" in this connection? Existence—that relative phenomenal world in which we *jivātmans* live and move and have our being—is dependent on another world. It is based on Subsistence. As such, though subject to inevitable periodical change, Existence is essentially everlasting, or cyclical, in the sense that it has no beginning, except an arbitrary one, placeable anywhere on the cycle, and termed *zero*. For Subsistence is eternal, *i.e.* it is simply the Absolute, and has no reference to conditions of any sort, such as time, space, causation, etc. It is what the Germans call the *Ding an sich*—that incomprehensible reality which substands every manifest phenomenon. Even universes have no beginning. They succeed each other everlastingly, each, after its period of cosmical development, or *manvantara*, falling into *pralaya*, or abeyance, and its successor evolving gradually out of its disintegrating and dissolving elements—though when, or where, one universe ends and its successor begins, who can say? Time itself has no beginning; at least, with our present categories of thought, we are unable to conceive of any. Hence, in some state or other, the forms and functions associable with any particular world pre-existed in the nebular blastema out of which that world emanated, and even earlier. In short, so far as we can imagine, there never was a time when they did *not* exist. If, then, as we are told, man developed through countless ages of volution from the lowliest beginnings, what must have happened? As our world evolved out of its prede-

cessor, those beginnings must once have been distributed all over it. There is no reason, for instance, to suppose that, till terrestrial developments had begun, they found themselves collected together in isolation in some definite and more or less limited locality—say one of the particular land masses, or other formations, which eventually developed into Asia, Africa, America, Australia, or an archipelago. But we do not need to plunge so deeply into past time when considering the subject of man's origins. It will suffice if we begin with the Permian Era—surely a remote enough epoch! Even then we shall have to think in continents, and in terms of geological time, i.e. very indefinitely, and very much at large ; for, as regards those days, all we can hope to discover or conjecture is vague and uncertain in the extreme. Geology, then, tells us that, in times as remote as the Permian Era, there were only two main land-masses in existence—one extending transversely, though not continuously, right round the Earth, displaying, of course, different conformations in the different eras that stretched between the Permian and say the Pleistocene, and known as the Great Northern Zone ; the other being a vast atoll-like formation, with a huge central ocean, which practically filled up the Southern Hemisphere, and has been named "Gondwānaland" by eminent geologists. This was the Great Southern Zone. In the extreme south it was rooted in Antarctica ; and in the north it effected a junction with the Great Northern Zone at one point only, i.e. in the vicinity of what are now known as Spain and the western basin of the Mediterranean sea. As regards the upper half of this enormous land-ring, in the north (centrally) lay what afterwards developed into Africa, including the lower two-thirds of later Arabia, and also later India ; the western shoulder was represented by what grew into present-day South America ; and the eastern shoulder took in what is now Australia. Later, a big tract to the east of "Africa" individuated into a long bean-shaped islo-continent that geologists named Lemuria (not the Lemuria of the theosophists), and later still the southern half of this dissolved, while the northern half remained, and out of it developed not only India but much that is now north of India. Strange to say, "India" eventually evolved as an integral part of the Great Northern Zone—its fauna, flora, and the biological forms and functions which ultimately became indigenous Indian humanity, thus

transferring their aeon-long associations with Gondwānaland from the South to the North. Between these two main land-masses, or Great Zones, was a mighty world of waters, to which specialists have given the name of Tēthys. East and West, Tēthys extended from Australasia and the Pacific (as we now say) to somewhere about Sicily. Farther west, in what is now the Atlantic area, but very much less in size than the present Atlantic, was a lake-like sea, with a narrow outlet at its south west end giving into the Pacific—so separating western Gondwānaland (South America) from that western portion of the Great Northern Zone which geologists have called Eria (North America, Greenland, etc.). After countless millions of years—apparently with the advent of the Jurassic Age—Gondwānaland began to break up. Its original atoll-like formation was succeeded by a number of weirdly-shaped isolated fragments, all of which gradually underwent further transformation. At the same time (we are speaking of indefinitely long periods), the released waters of the central Gondwānaland ocean surged up northwards, so augmenting Tēthys for a time. How long these conditions lasted, nobody of course can tell ; but at last Tēthys and its associated waters—which had theretofore sepulchred all the temperate regions north of the equator—began to dry up and shrink, leaving only isolated patches of water like the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Caspian, the Sea of Aral, etc. In short, another land-zone stole into being—the Great Central Zone, midway between the Great Northern and the Great Southern Zones. Each of these three land-masses—the Great Northern, the Great Southern, and now the Great Central Zones—had its own special fauna and flora, all developed in course of volution from the lowest beginnings. Also, each had its own special stock of those biological forms and functions—similarly evolved from the lowliest beginnings—which eventually resulted in man ; i.e. Yellow man (Xanthoderms) in the Great Northern Zone, Black man (Melanoderms) in the Great Southern Zone, and Dark-White man (Melanoleukoderms) in the Great Central Zone. Having regard to the lowly organic forms out of which scientists tell us that man developed, and to the innumerable changing types by which he was represented in the course of volution ; also having regard to the many and vast metamorphoses undergone by the land and sea areas of Earth, era after era, throughout countless millions of years ; not only is

it unreasonable to expect that a record of every successive type can be discovered, but it is impossible to say when or where man, as man, first appeared on Earth. All we can do is—judging by the vestiges of undoubtedly human life which archaeologists have discovered—to say that in such and such a place, under such and such conditions, and apparently belonging to such and such an epoch, or era, man existed. Some interpret certain vestiges which have thus come to light as showing that man was on Earth, as man, as early as the Eocene. Others refuse to date his appearance earlier than the Miocene. But of this at least we are certain—that man was on Earth in the Pleistocene. Even then we cannot date him in years ; because we do not know when the Pleistocene began; nor do we know how long it lasted. We do not really know, with certainty, how many years have elapsed since that era came to an end. Now, the Pleistocene was the era in which the Northern Hemisphere was subjected to glaciations—of which there seem to have been 4 or 5, with periods of warm, even tropical, weather in between; and, judging by the available evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that man made his *début* on Earth in one of the interglacial periods—probably the last. Assuming this, and recognising that, so far as Europe and Asia are concerned, the ice-cap did not come down south farther than about the latitude of London, and, in an eastwardly direction, did not extend much beyond the 60th parallel of longitude, i.e., leaving much north of the Caspian, and most of what we now call Siberia (all, except a comparatively small area in the north, free from ice, it becomes necessary to notice that, in indefinitely remote archaean times, the Siberian area just referred to had existed as a heart-shaped continent to which geologists have given the name of Angara. Moreover, for countless millions of years, it had practically been isolated from the western portion of the Great Northern Zone by an arm of the Arctic Sea, which, stretching between the 40th and 80th parallels of longitude, E., extended southwards as far as the Caspian Sea, which, indeed, is believed to be nothing more or less than a surviving remnant of it. Now, in unimaginably early days, at the junction point near Spain, there had doubtless been a good deal of overlapping, not only of the lower fauna and flora of the Great Northern Zone and those of the Great Southern Zone, but also of those biological forms and functions which eventually deve-

loped into man in each of these Zones—all, of course, modified by the developments which subsequently stole into being with the later-formed Great Central Zone—so that it is at least difficult, if not impossible, to say through what intermediate ancestry the fauna and flora of the North, and those biological forms and functions which there eventuated in man, had evolved. That is to say, they may all have developed in volution everywhere throughout the Great Northern Zone. But it is clear that, at one period, and throughout an immense stretch of time, developments in Angara must have proceeded in isolation, quite independently of those that had been going on elsewhere in the Great Northern Zone. Hence, it is not unreasonable to assume, as regards the comparatively later developments of those biological forms and functions which eventuated in man—that their special area of characterization was Angara, and that it was there that Yellow man (the Xanthoderms) came into existence, and underwent his earlier developments as man. The stage, therefore, at which our argument has at present arrived is this.

In Pleistocene times there were 3 main land-masses or Zones, and 3 main stocks of humanity, corresponding to them, i.e.—

1. The Great Northern Zone, area of characterization (specially in Angara) of Yellow man, the Xanthoderms ;

2. The Great Central Zone, area of characterization of Dark-White (not yet Blond, much less Rosy-Blond) man, the Melanoleukoderms ;

3. The Great Southern Zone, area of characterization of Black man, the Melanoderms.

It must have been from these 3 great fountain-heads that the leading so-called historical "races" of 'Old World" man originated. How did it happen?

Professor J. L. Myres shows how, with the advent of the glaciations, communications between the different inhabited areas must have been so affected that, while it was difficult for the denizens of Central Asia (say my Dark-Whites) to intrude into Mongolia (say Angara), it was comparatively easy for the denizens

of Angara to get out of their country and wander southwards or westwards. My suggestion is that this was done (*when*, it is impossible to say); and that, eventually, the Yellows of Angara found themselves in that vast stretch of wilderness-country which extends vaguely from Zagros in the west to say Lob Nor in the east. Ensued a mighty amalgamation of stocks—probably Yellow fathers and Dark-White mothers. The outcome was what used to be called the "Wolf-Race". The Dark-Whites were infinitely less ancient than the Yellows, and were probably at a very rudimentary stage of civilization. The progeny were a mixed breed, and took after their primitive mothers. Later on, the country was named after its denizens. The Babylonians called it "Nūm-Mā"; the Hittites called it "Si-Nim". Both names meant "Wolf-Lands". But how did the Hittites originate? I submit thus. South of what at one time was known as Mitanni, and also south of the region eventually called Assyria, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, there was a country styled Aram. Possibly this name was really A-i-rām, meaning, like Elām, or E-i-lam, "Uplands". Both seem to have been akin to Airyān, or Airyām (Irān, or Irām. or Erām). The inhabitants of Arām were Dark-Whites—a division, locally representative, of the Dark-White aborigines of the Great Central Zone. The ancient Egyptians, or Romiū, had a name for all these Dark-Whites in that particular longitude. They called them Aamū, i.e. "Moonworshippers". Modern writers, obsessed with the conventional ideas of orthodox learning, insist on calling them Semites—though only the denizens of Western Arabia were genuine Semites, i.e., descendants of Shem or Khem—two forms of one word, dating from the days when there was no Red Sea, and N. E. Khem and W. Arabia were one undivided block of land. Be this as it may, near these Dark-Whites, or Aamū, of ancient Arām were the Kassi—a branch of the Wolf-Race, settled, or rather dwelling, in Kashshū, just north of Elām. I assume that, either as aggressive conquerors, or by way of what is called "peaceful penetration", waves of Kassi found their way into early Arām and stayed there. Followed a widespread amalgamation—the outcome being the birth of the Hittite race (*Khatti* in Babylonian, *Kheta* in Romic). But how did the so-called Aryan Race originate? According to Max Müller and all who follow him, there is not, and never has been, any such race—only a number of peoples whose

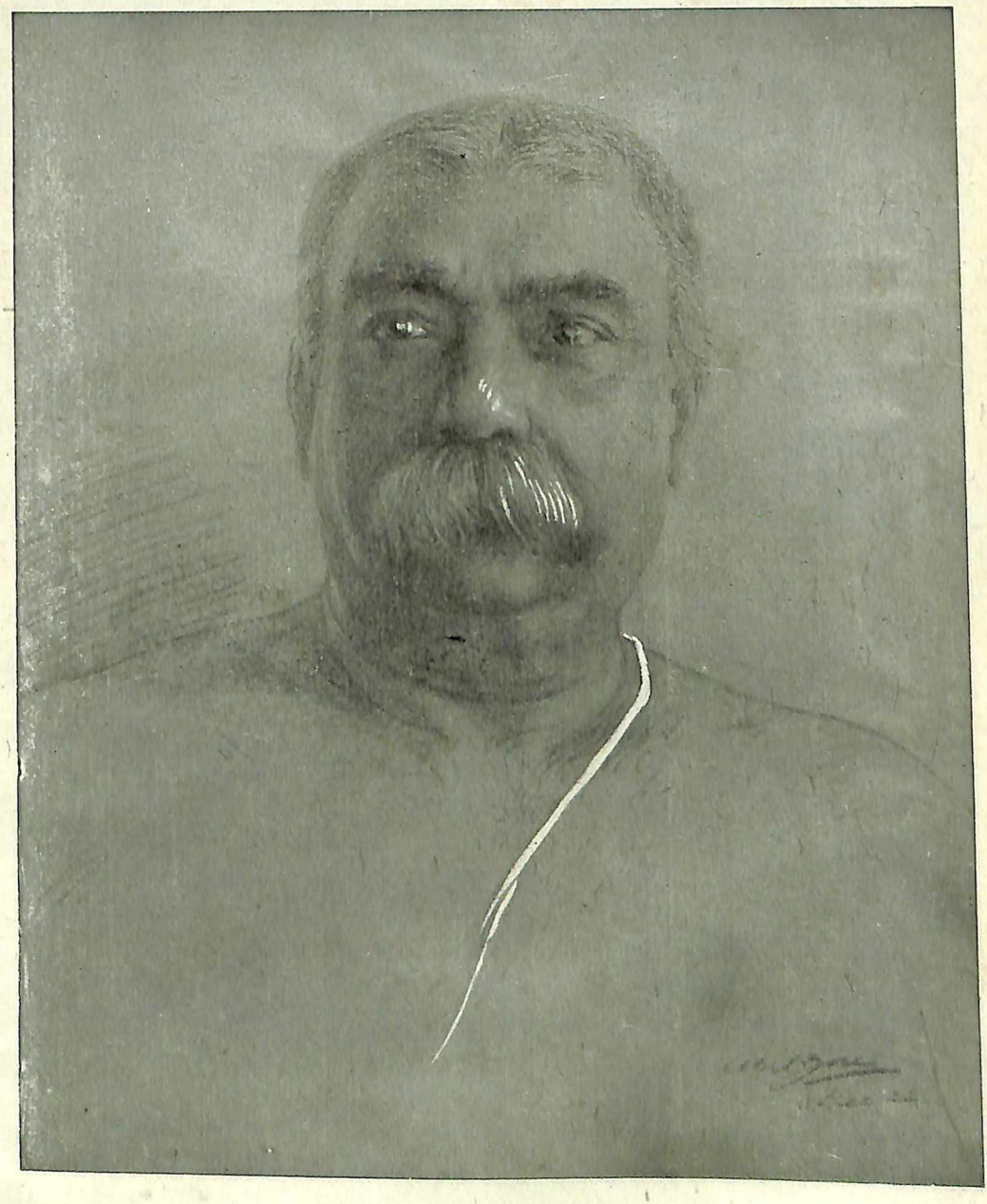
sole common characteristic is that, formally and functionally, the languages that they speak are akin to each other. But Huxley says that there certainly was a race (Rosy-Blonds, I think) who, more than any others, were associated with the speaking of the languages that we now agree to call the Aryan languages. I believe in Huxley rather than in Max Müller. My views on the subject are something like this. When the last glaciation of the Pleistocene came on, there was a great migratory drift from Palaeolithic Europe. In those days there was no Aegean Sea, possibly no Adriatic. What we now know as the mainland of Asia Minor extended westwards, at least as far as the western shores of Greece, while southwards it included Crete—perchance also Cyprus. At any rate, for the refugees from Europe, threatened by the advancing ice-sheet, there were two principal lines of retreat. One was into the unglaciated tracts north of the Caspian ; and the other was into the territories at the eastern end of Mediterranean. Doubtless the refugees availed themselves of both means of escape. Orthodoxy, however, teaches that those who trekked to the regions north of the Caspian were the original Aryan stock ; and that, later on, they separated—some finding their way into the far East, as the Indo-Āryās of Vedic times ; some moving into the regions east of Zagros, and developing into the Iranians, of whom there were two branches, the Medes and the Persians ; others becoming the Slāvs, yet others the Hellenes, and so on. All this, I submit, is baseless. It may be that the division who went to the regions north of the Caspian, were Rosy-Blonds—though how they became so is a mystery. But, if so, they probably developed into the Airyānians of Airyavc-Vaējo—a country doubtless inhabited at that time by the Dahyūs, or "hill-men", and, though of Wolf Race origin, so-called because that country was a highland country. Their successors, the Rosy-Blonds, *took on the name from them*, but in the form of "Airyānians". The expelled Wolf-Race, though dwelling thenceforth in the surrounding wilderness-country, which does not seem to have been hilly, retained their name of "hillmen", but in the form of "Dahyūs". Really, therefore, it was unsuitable for them, but it survived to testify to their past, as showing that at one time they had been the inhabitants of uplands like Airyān. This may have happened about B.C. 4000, and perhaps accounts for the first Dasyūan burst into India. Across the Indus, i.e. amongst the later Hindūs, the

equivalent of Dahyūs was Dasyūs. In fact, the Dasyūs of remotely archaic N.W. India were merely the representatives, east of the Indus, of the diffused Dahyūs, originally the Wolf-Race of Nūm-Mā, or Si-Nim, later (as regards a portion of them) the inhabitants of Airyān, and later still the Dahyūs of wilderness Airyo-Tūrān; and their off-shoots, the Tokhāri, etc. When they first spread east of the Indus, who can tell? Possibly about B.C. 4000. Possibly they poured into India at that time, threw off the so-called Brahūi communities, as also the ethnoi later known as the Dasyūs of Sapta-Sindhavāh, and, streaming down the western coastlands, ultimately arrived amongst, and amalgamated with, the Black (Melanodermic) aborigines of Southern India. I call them aborigines of Southern India, but really they were aborigines of that northern portion of islo-continental Lemuria out of which all India had evolved. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the present word Tamilakam, meaning "Homeland or Abode of the Tamils", is nothing but a corruption of the original Greek (Ptolemaic) word Lemuria. Later on, when the so-called Indo-Āryās of Northern India pushed their way into Southern India, and various ethnic and philological developments resulted, the name Drāvidians arose—it being a Sanskrit word, meaning "Southern", and so practically connoting Indo-Āryās who had become domiciled in Southern India amongst the Tamils or Lemurians. It is known that, between these peoples of Southern India and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, a certain amount of commercial and perhaps other intercourse sprang up, as also between them and the later Westerns of Roman times ; but it would not appear that this contributed to their origins, or affected them to any appreciable extent ethnically. As regards the so-called Indo-Āryās of Northern India, my views are roughly these. From Romic, i.e. ancient "Egyptian", records we learn that, about B.C. 1156, in the 8th regnal year of Pharaoh Rāmēses III, a vast body of banded ethnoi, headed by the Pūra-setiū, or Pula-setiu (i.e. Philistines), who had emerged from Keft, or Kilikia, in Asia Minor, poured into Northern Syria, with the supposed object of invading Khem. Rāmēsēs III met and defeated them by sea and land. Those of them who escaped destruction appear to have fled eastwards. To the west was the sea ; and here the Romic fleet awaited them. Northwards, by the way they had come, retreat had probably been cut off. While, to the south, lay the Romic forces. Possibly, therefore, an

eastwardly flight was their only avenue of escape. Besides the Pūra-setiū, the fugitives seem to have comprised Yadai Amorites (a tall reddish-blond folk); broken Hittites, doubtless of the type depicted on the monuments; and "People of the Pillar" from On, or Ān—possibly Phallus-worshippers, but more probably devotees of the Solar cult. Now, curiously enough, early Indian records speak of the arrival in Sapta-Sindhavāh (which originally probably included Hapta-Hendū) of certain banded ethnoi from Western Asia, frequently styled the Pāncha-Janāḥ, or "Five Communities", and actually referred to in the Rig-Veda under the eventual names of Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Ānūs, and Drūhyūs. The Pūrūs, I suggest, were simply the Pūra-setiū (People of Pūrū, or Pūra); the Yādūs were the Yadai Amorites; the Tūrvaśas (a name that means "Clothed like the Tūr") were the Hittites, a folk who must have been particularly *liés* with the Yadai Amorites, so supporting the tradition that the Yadūs and the Tūrvaśas were intimately associated with each other; while the Ānūs were, of course, the "People of the Pillar" from On. As for the Drūhyūs, my suggestion is that they were a *drūj*-folk picked up by the other communities *en route*, somewhere say in Gāndhāra-land, and admitted to their union. Crossing the Indus, they found themselves amidst, and settled amongst, the Dasyūs of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ—a powerful folk dwelling in *pūras*, or townships, and not uncivilized from a purely worldly, i.e. material and intellectual, point of view, nevertheless innnate barbarians, i.e. evil at heart, and incorrigibly deceitul, tricky, and tortuous-minded. Besides these Dasyūs, there were also several varieties of aboriginal communities, or Niṣādas, both black and yellow. The Dasyūs, as descended from a remote ancestry, partly Yellow, and partly Dark-White, were Dark-Whites of a peculiar parchmenty kind of complexion—probably very similar to the complexion of the early Alpines of Neolithic Central Europe and Anatolia. The Dasyūs were very envious, very ambitious, and very unscrupulous. At first they tried to ingratiate themselves with the Pāncha-Janāḥ—paying special court to the strongest of them, the Pūrūs. Next they tried for equality, and actually succeeded in effecting matrimonial alliances with the Pūrūs. Then they aimed at superiority, and finally, picking a quarrel with the Pāncha-Janāḥ, with a view to capturing the hegemony, declared open war against them. They never succeeded in defeating the Pāncha-Janāḥ, but,

having combined with the Niṣādas, they eventually forced the Pāncha-Janāḥ to abandon Sapta-Sindhavāh. The Pāncha-Janāḥ retreated eastwards, being pursued by the Bhāratās (originally a name applied to the Dasyūs and Dasyū-led Niṣāda confederacy, but, in later times, to Panchālas (i.e. Pāncha-Janāḥ) as well. It seems to mean "Warriors." In this retreat the Pāncha-Janāḥ got as far as Prayāg (Allāhabād) on the Jumna. There, as it were behind their Marne defences, they dug themselves in. The Dasyūs and their Niṣādan allies did likewise on the western banks of the same river. Thus there were two great encampments, facing each other. Eventually this purely military position became known traditionally as "Kūrū-Pānchāla." In "Pānchāla", of course, it is easy to detect a metamorphosis of the original name "Pāncha-Janāḥ", effected with the object of confusing actual history. But how did "Kuru" arise? In Central Asia the Dahyūs had for countless ages been a race of petty chiefs (*khāns, meleks,* and so forth), and the native name for this was *kūrū kūrū-khū,* or some such word. Now, in their great attempt to crush the Pāncha-Janāḥ by force, the Dasyūs had grievously failed. This they recognized on the Jumna ; and there and then they decided to abandon force and try some other method. They now determined to be religionists, philosophers, and culturists—to found, if possible, a brand-new ethnos, a brand-new language, a brand-new religion, and brand-new civilization, over all of which, of course, they, the Dasyus, were to be the presiding geniuses. This scheme, however, required that their identity as the Dasyūs of old should be obliterated and forgotten—all trace of it destroyed. To this end, the first step taken was to adopt a new name ; and the name they adopted was "Kūrū" ; for, though it was intimately connected with their Dahyū origin, it was so sufficiently unknown to their victims (the Pāncha-Janāḥ), and the outside world, as to serve admirably as a means of disguising themselves as a community, and of pretending to be something different from what they really were. In fact, nearly everything they did was calculated to cover up all traces of their Dahyū origin. Indeed, in that wonderful recension of jumbled tradition, legend, philosophy, and ritual, which they eventually issued under the name of the Vedas, they actually went the length of vilifying the Dasyūs of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ as barbarians and non-Aryan *mlechchas*

—the argument, of course, being: How could they themselves be these very Dasyūs, when they spoke of them thus? Well, though Force had failed, the alternative succeeded. An exoteric form of the esoteric mysteries of which the royalties and military classes amongst the Pāncha-Janāḥ had been the custodians, was extracted from the latter; Brāhmanism and Caste were inaugurated and fastened upon the land; they themselves, the Kūrūs, became the Brāhmans; the traditions and records of the country were taken in hand, and, if not altogether destroyed, were jumbled up and rendered absolutely grotesque and useless for all practical purposes; when this had been done, a new recension of legends, philosophical and religious ideas, songs and so forth, was *banao'd*; the language of their cultured Rosy-Blond neighbours, the Airyānians of Airyavo-Vaējo, was seized upon, polished up, and (certainly with great ability) metamorphosed into a brand-new language called Sanskrit; the traditions and legends of the Airyānians —nay, their very name—were appropriated; everything was so managed that, in course of time (for time itself helped to establish the colossal scheme), the Panchālas themselves, nay, the whole world, accepted the proposition that Kūrūs (i.e. Dasyūs) and Panchālas (i.e. the Pāncha-Janāḥ) were practically all one race—even most of the Niṣādas being eventually admitted to the fold; in short, the Indo-Aryan ethnos and Indo-Aryan culture were successfully inaugurated, and presented to an admiring and awe-struck world, with all the prestige that naturally attached to the name, the traditions, the language, the manners and customs of the age-old Rosy-Blonds of Airyavo-Vaējo. One thing is certain. Whatever may be the motives and intentions, and attitude generally, towards the view regarding Indo-Aryanism that is conventionally in vogue in India, and amongst Indianists at large, the mentality and outlook of what is now becoming daily better known as the real India—as distinguished from the Dreamland-India of politically-minded and other visionaries, has no affinities or solid and permanent sympathies with a culture and institutions and a policy that are essentially Dasyūan. Indians at large are not represented by the Dasyūs, any more than they are descended from them. As for the Babylonians and their neighbours, whom conventional experts persist in styling Semites, the truth appears to be this. Originally all that part of the world—say about parallels of longitude 35-40 E., usually



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referred to as Western Asia, but extensible southwards into eastern Africa and Arabia—was inhabited by the 3 main race-stocks of humanity alluded to *supra*. In the extreme north were representatives of the Yellows ; in the centre regions and as far south as parts of eastern Africa and western Arabia, were representatives of the Aamū, or Dark-White aborigines of the Great Central Zone ; and in the far south were representatives of the Blacks, or Melanoderms. This was the position up to say B.C. 9000. These dates are not given as being accurate, but merely for narrative purposes, as *some* epoch has to be mentioned. Well, about B. C. 9000, mighty changes took place in those territories at the eastern end of the Mediterranean into which, as alluded to *supra*, many of the refugees from Palaeolithic Europe had crowded during the last glaciation of the Pleistocene. Perhaps they had also crowded into the Nile-Valley region and the Euphrates-Tigris region. Nobody really knows. Since those days—perhaps in all three regions—certainly in the territories at the eastern end of the Mediterranean—they had dwelt throughout what have long been called Neolithic times, building up a civilization many vestiges of which are actually being recovered to-day. They must have been a very mixed latitude ; for though many of them were of the same type as those who possibly went to the regions north of the Caspian and were therefore probably Rosy-Blonds (if so be it was in late Pleistocene times in glaciated Europe that Blond and Rosy-Blond man originated), many were also local denizens—more or less brunet representatives of those Dark-Whites, who from extreme west to extreme east, right along the line of the northern Temperate Zone, were aborigines of the Great Central Zone. Whatever they were in this respect, in B. C. 9000 they had to abandon their Mediterranean homeland, for it was breaking up. Hence the eventual name *Aigaia*, meaning "Remnant of the land"—Where did they go to? They migrated east, settling first amongst the Yellows in northern Mesopotamia. Followed, of course, a mighty amalgamation. Outcome the semi-Yellow semi-Rosy-Blond race known to ancient times as the far-flung Mandwā. With the migrants, of course, had gone their Mediterranean culture, their religion, their philosophy, their traditions and legends, their manners and customs. Naturally, as half breeds, the Mandwā were not a very highly developed race. But, as time went on, they improved ; and eventually, as their flower

than 100 years of a *pralāya* that seems to have overtaken the Nimrodic State—the Aramaeans of the middle Euphrates, whose capital was the city of Asshur, burst into political consciousness, and even established a State in Syria, having its capital at Damascus, and became very powerful. Specialists invariably call them Semites, and speak of them as a wave of aggression that had swept up northwards from Arabian regions. They were not aggressive intruders of this kind at all, and most assuredly they were not Semites. As already explained, they were local representatives of the great Aamū, or Dark-White, stock—aborigines since times immemorial of the Great Central Zone. Eventually, late in the 8th century B. C., Damascus was taken by Tiglath-Pileser IV—a monarch with whom the ambitions and activities of the Nimrodic State revived—its inhabitants were deported to the valley of the Tort, in the northern hills (called Kir in the Bible), and, in course of time, Arām was annexed by the Nimrodic State, which also incorporated the Aramaeans into its ethnos. It is really only from then onwards that the Nimrodic State became known as Assyria—probably from the old Aramaean capital of Asshur. Also seeing that specialists look upon the Aramaeans as Semites, it was really only from then that Assyria became what is conventionally called a Semitic country. The Persians, again—invariably represented by conventional writers as Airyānians by origin, and ethnically akin to the Medes—were neither the one nor the other. The country known as Persia was practically identical with old Elām. North of Elām were the Kassi of Kashshū, and in Elām itself, particularly in a region of it known as Anshan, or Anzan, was a rough race of hillmen, said by Herodotus to have been Kephēnians, i.e. of a race akin to the people of Kashshū. Elsewhere, apparently in the lowlands, there was quite a different kind of community. These were Aamū, or Dark-Whites, i.e. a division of the aborigines of the Great Central Zone ; but whether they were pure Aamu, or some kind of modification of that stock, I do not know. Be this as it may, when Asshurbanipāl desolated Elām about B.C. 647, these Dark-White lowlanders abandoned their homes, and settled for a time at Yezd, where they became famous as Fire-worshippers. To-day they are known as the Parsis, and are settled principally in Bombay. According to Herodotus the Kephēnian portion of the population were simply nature-worshippers. But later on, when Frāvartish of Media raided

Elam—his barbaric cupidity being apparently attracted by the helpless state of the country—he is said to have brought with him a body of barbarians, akin to the Kassi of the northern Zagros, and settled them in the land. These were the Barswā, or Parswā—and it is from them that the region so-called got its later name of Persia, and the people their name of Persians. Another name by which they were commonly known in antiquity is *Dahae* (Latin) and *Daai* (Greek)—obviously Roman and Hellenic approximations to the old Airyānian Dahyū. They remained in Persia till the days of the Sacae, Sküthai, and Sogdians (i.e. Sākhs and Descendants of the Sākhs or Sāghs). But when, c. the first century B.C., or earlier, the Sogdians abandoned Central Asia, and plunged off westwards, ultimately arriving amongst, and uniting with, the Skolotoi, or Sküthai, of European Sküthia, and, together with them, becoming known as the Āsen, "People of Ashā"—a name by which they had been famous in Central Asia (Āshāvō-Danghavō)—the Dahae of Persia followed hard after them, taking with them a form of fūthork, and doubtless other kinds of culture, which they had acquired mimetically from the Sāghs.

In conclusion, we may probably take it that the early Alpines of Central Europe and their congeners of Asia Minor, or Anatolia (Professor G. Elliot Smith's "Armenoids"), were simply intruded Kassites from c. B.C. 14th century Western Asia—more especially, perhaps, round about Kardūnyan Babylonia—their advent (which was probably spread over a considerable time) being conterminous with the real beginnings of the Neolithic Age in Europe. In short, the metal-civilization that they brought with them appears to have been the civilization of that much misrepresented period—especially its latter years.

The fair Slāvs (Sarmatians) were simply migrated Northern Medes (Sār-Mādā); the darker Slāvs were Alpines, or had Alpine affinities. The Medes, like the Persians, always posed as Airyānians. That is how they came by their name of Slāvs, which means "Sons of Glory." The real "Sons of Glory", or *Dēvatās*, i.e. Slāvs, were, of course, these Airyānians of old Airyavō-Vaējo. The ethnoi we now call "Slāvs" are really not Slāvs at all.

From all which it would appear that a very great deal of what passes conventionally for Knowledge is extremely shaky, and will doubtless sooner or later find itself scrapped and consigned to oblivion.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE HINDUS

(DR. R. SHAMASASTRY B.A., PH.D.)

It is an evolutionary maxim of universal acceptance that adaptability to ever-changing environment ensures survival. Its validity is tested and found acceptable not merely in social and religious spheres, but also in the body politic. Neither social and religious institutions nor political, can survive a moment longer than they fail to adopt themselves to changes in the environments. In the body politic various forms of government were tried and found wanting. So long as the principles on which the forms of Government, despotic, republican or representative were based were acceptable to the people constituting the Government, they could endure. But the moment a doubt about the validity of the principles were to arise in the mind of the people due to some perceptible changes in the social, religious or economical spheres, a change in the form of Government would be unavoidable. Forms of Government have not like planetary systems their own fixed laws to govern their movements. They are human institutions ever liable to be affected by changes in the volitions, and cultural sentiments of the people.

The characteristics of humanity do not change with race or colour. Conditions being the same, the forms of institutions, whether social, religious or political will be alike among all races and nationalities. It is not true to say that though conditions are the same the institutions evolved among the Asiatics will be different from those among the Europeans. Nor is it true to say that such physiological, physical and psychological conditions as were once productive of certain political institutions in the east would remain the same for ever and that in the east neither conditions nor institutions would change. Strange to say that it is these hasty generalisations to which a number of European scholars were led from their superficial study of the East. Accordingly the remarks made by Hegal regarding the form of Government in ancient India are entirely unfounded and opposed to human nature which is everywhere the same. In his *Philosophy of History* (Page 161) he says,

"While we found a moral despotism in China, whatever may be called a relic of political life in India is a despotism *without a principle*, without any rule of morality and religion: for morality and religion (as far as the latter has a reference to human action) have as their indispensable condition and basis the freedom of the will. In India therefore the most arbitrary, wicked, degrading despotism has its full swing.....The Chinese possess a most minute history of their country.....and the contrary is the case in India."

Nothing can be more absurd than to speak of the existence of a despotic institution without a principle, without any rule of morality and religion. Can a people live and find satisfaction under an institution based upon no principle and opposed to rule of morality and religion, i.e., freedom of the will, as Hegel puts it? Hegel is a writer of philosophical paradoxes, such as being and non-being, positive and negative, whole and part, all combining themselves in what he calls the Absolute. However confused might be his notion of the Absolute, the one thing he was fond of, as a European, is freedom of the will. In the theological writings such as the Code of Manu, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* which he superficially studied, he could find no life-like picture of a people. The Code of Manu is merely a collection of customs partly practical and partly ideal. It is not a record of the actual life lived by a people under any form of Government in India. Nor can the Indian Epics be expected to throw vivid light on the form of Indian polity. That the Indians were moral and religious and had the freedom of the will necessary to find and propagate rational system of religion and philosophy without risking their lives like the Puritans and Protestants in Europe, is a historical fact admitted by all.

Whether the ancient Indian people were happy with freedom of will to work their own salvation under the so-called despotic form of Indian Governments is a question which can rather be answered in the light of historical facts than by a later historian basing his judgment on the study of some sectarian and mythological literary works.

The discovery of the *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, a treatise on the Indian art of Government, has dispelled the assumption that the art of Government is foreign to the Indian mind. No Society can

possibly exist without some form of Government to regulate its general will. It is the boast of a Vedic priest that while the people of the Bhārata-land had their human king, the Brāhmans had their King in Soma, the moon. It implies that the Brāhmans could regulate the conduct of their community by the decisions of their Pariṣads or learned assemblies. During the Buddhistic period the Brâhmans also had to come under the protection of a human king and had to pay taxes to the king for their protection. In the *Arthaśâstra* we find village communities endowed with the right to regulate their village affairs in harmony with a central despotic form of government under the guidance of a mantri-parisad or assembly of ministers. One of the principal functions peculiar to the government according to Kauṭilya is a fair distribution of wealth among the people. To attain this object there were two ways: one religious and the other political. The religious or spiritual means of bringing about a fair distribution of wealth among the people needed a high degree of religious or philosophical culture which, though open to all, was a nature's gift of a few. The example set by the few had an enormous influence not merely over the body politic, but also on economical sphere. This is what I venture to call the Hindu political philosophy, the subject of the present paper.

Before proceeding to deal with the subject, I find it necessary to say a word or two on the purely political means employed for a fair distribution of wealth. No form of government, whether republican or representative in the widest sense of the word, can be stable unless wealth and the means of acquiring wealth are fairly, if not equally, distributed. This is one of the most difficult problems which defies a satisfactory solution. The rise and fall of states and empires are mainly due to economic causes. The invasion of a state or nation by another state or nation is more often due to poverty of the invading horde. Internal rebellions in a state are also mainly caused by impoverishment of the majority against the aggrandisement of the few. To remedy this evil Kauṭilya makes a number of suggestions, one of them being that one-fourth of the revenue of the state should be reserved year after year to tide over the calamities of the people. A second suggestion is enhancement of taxes and levy of new taxes on the rich. A third is the confiscation of the rich of their unnecessary accumulation. A fourth is calling

for subscriptions from the rich to replenish the treasury by conferring honours on them in return. These and other expedients suggested by Kauṭilya and also practised in ancient times all over the world prove no doubt suicidal political measures in modern states and empires. Nor were ancient politicians less alive to the danger of adopting such measures to restore economic equilibrium. Hence we find ancient law-givers and politicians frequently commending spirituality and condemning materialism. It is more to cure the world of its economic evils than to secure undisturbed pleasure in the other world that Brâhmans, Jainas and Buddhists condemned materialism in one voice. That their voice was not a cry in the wilderness is clearly proved by the inscriptions of Asoka. That Asoka lived for his people and that under the influence of Bhâhmans, Sramaṇas, and Buddhist ascetics he spent the whole revenue of his vast empire for the good of his people, is well known to readers of the history of Asoka and his inscriptions.

There is no doubt that the philosophic ideas expounded in the Lokāyata, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and the Upanishads were made use of for political and economical ends. This is clear from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya :—

"Ānvîkshaki comprises" says Kauṭilya, "the philosophy of Sânkhya, Yoga, and Lokâyata. Righteous and unrighteous acts are learnt from the triple Vedas; wealth and non-wealth from *Vârtā ;* the expedient and the inexpedient as well as potency and impotency from the science of government. When seen in the light of these sciences, the science of Ānvîkshaki is most beneficial to the world, keeps the mind steady and firm in weal and woe alike and bestows excellence of foresight, speech, and action. Light to all kinds of knowledge, easy means to accomplish all kinds of acts and receptacle of all kinds of virtues, is the science of Ānvîkshaki ever held to be."

A copper plate grant attributed to the Gangâ King Mâdhava I* says that he (Mādhava) was an expert among the exponents of the theory and practice of the science of polity combined with the Upanishads (*Sopanishatkasya nîti-sâstraya vaktri prayoktrikuśalah.*")

*This grant will be published in the Mysore Archæological Report for 1924-25.

The Lokâyata system is neither a theistic religion nor a philosophy of the type of Sânkhya, the main object of which is a description of the means to attain salvation or freedom from rebirth. The inclusion of the Lokâyata view of the world along with Sânkhya and Yoga in the curricula of studies necessary for the attainment of a comprehensive knowledge of the political science both in its theoretical and practical aspects is itself an indication that the study of Sânkhya and Yoga is meant not so much for the attainment of an unmixed pleasure in a dreamy world as for bringing about an equilibrium in the play of warring passions in the human breast in this very wordl. This idea is still more clearly signified by the statement made in the copper plate grant referred to above that the Gangā King Mâdhava was an expert among the teachers of the theory and practice of the principles of Political Science along with those expounded in the Upanishads. According to Kauṭilya Ānvîkshaki is a safe guide of moral activity and source of the knowledge of virtues. An attempt is made here to ascertain the particular principles which in the hands of politicians like Kauṭilya proved a safe guide of political activity.

Little or nothing is known of the Lokâyata system of philosophy. Its teaching is attributed to Bṛhaspati of whom nothing is known, Whether he was the head of the school which is frequently referred to by Kauṭilya by the word, Bârhaspatyas or some one else, cannot be ascertained. A few passages embodying the views of Bṛhaspati quoted mainly for reputation are found in the literary works of almost all the systems of Indian philosophy. A brief account of the system under the name of Chârvakadarsana is also given in the *Sarvadarsana Sangraha*. The one important view of the Chârvakas bearing on political ethics is stated as follows :—

Paropakârah puṇyâya pâpaya parapîḍanam.

Doing good to others is for merit and doing injury to others is for sin. In other words other-regarding activities are preferable to selfish proceedings. Another maxim of life attributed to Bṛhaspati is that it is worse than stupidity to reject the ready objective pleasure of this world with the hope of attaining subjective pleasure called *Mukti* after death.

From these two principles it may be inferred that the ultimate value of life is according to the teaching of the Lokâyata system an

economical and domestic well-being consistent with altruism in a society under the protection of a king, the real god on earth.

With a view to make clear the bearing of Sânkhya, Yoga, and Upanishads on politics, it is necessary to understand the end of life as expounded in those works.

The end of beings in general and of human beings in particular is in one word 'existence.' It is manifested wherever life is perceived. Its Sanskrit equivalent is Sattâ, well-being. According to the Upanishads the idea of well-being is inseparably connected with composure and sentiency. It is termed Sachidânanda, existence, sentiency, and composure. Even the smallest creature exhibits the threefold nature of what constitutes its existence. So delicate and sharp is its sentiency that it changes its posture or position the moment it smells or comes in contact with an offensive thing. It coils its body, or flies or changes the direction of its motion. It seems to feel the arrival of something inimical to its life or existence. It is sentient as long as it exists. It (the feeling) exists as long as it is sentient. Hence sentiency is inseperable from existence and existence from sentiency. Sentient existence implies comfort or self-serenity. It follows therefore that the characteristic of life is existence, sentiency and self-serenity constituting what may be called life or self.

The same forms the characteristic of fully developed beings also. In proportion as the brain, the seat of sentiency, is developed, the desire for perpetual existence, increase of knowledge and happiness is manifested in a progressive scale. Consistent with the threefold nature of life or self, the one aim of being, whether animal or man, is to seek for what is conducive to its perpetual existence. Since existence means self-serenity, whatever is felt as inimical to existence is avoided and whatever is felt conducive to its self-serenity is assimilated or coveted. This habit of pursuit of pleasure and avoidance of pain becomes clearer and clearer with the growth of the organic body. This is what struggle for existence means. In this constant struggle for existence, some among the lower animals and almost all among human beings acquire the habit of accumulating what long experience has taught them to be either conducive to their pleasure or the means to avoid pain. It is in other words the cultivation of the habit of selection and rejection.

At first the work of selection and accumulation of objects conducive to pleasure or existence is individual. But in proportion as unclaimed objects of pleasure dwindle or become scarce, there ensues war between individuals for forcible possession of the accumulation, wherever it may be found. The frequency of war between individuals or bands of individuals for the possession of women, slaves, cattle, grains, fruits and other objects of pleasure gives rise to communities and societies and states, formed one after another with a view to repel individual attacks made for the objects. In the animal world there is no accumulation generally made. But with accumulation, as in the case of honey made by bees exciting the appetite of bears or men there also ensues war for misappropriation of the product of others' labour. Individuals or communities at war with each other settle their dispute, as is even now done by fishermen living on the opposite banks of a lake or river, by mutual verbal agreement. In the course of time these agreements about marriage, trade, pasturage, fishing and other varied social activities crystalise as customs. It is customs such as these that are said in the *Arthaśâstra* to be taken into consideration in settling the disputes between different communities coming under the protection of a single state. Legislation by a state or a king is a modern concept. Whether legislation is a correct representation of the opinion of the people for whom it is made or whether customs are a correct copy of their opinion, is a question which need not be considered here. All that I have to point out here is that ancient kings of India did not go so far as to impose their own will or the will of their Mantri-parishad as law on their people. It may not be out of place here to consider as briefly as possible whether or not ancient Indians had more liberty than their descendants now. Their disputes were about objects of pleasure direct or indirect. The settlement of those disputes was based upon their own customs which had been the result of their own general will. Now on the other hand even in European states it is Parliament that legislates for the people. Whether the representatives of the people composing the parliament represent the views of the people, as they are, is a disputed question beyond doubt. Whether the minority may not after all be right and the majority wrong is also a question on which difference of opinion is still prevalent. It is clear therefore that the so-called liberty of the European people under their so-called self-

government is not founded on such a solid foundation as it is believed or represented to be. Besides, freedom and government are such paradoxical terms that no volume of explanation can remove the hideous contradiction of terms. Now liberty is a nature's gift and restraint is artificial and external. If man is so wise as to make use of his liberty he has inherited from nature, why should there be ship-loads of restraints which go to form what is called a government or worse still, self-government? It must follow therefore that there is something wrong with man. What is that chronic disease which is eating into the vitality of his liberty so as to call for the application of a number of restraints to keep him alive? This is the fundamental question which the authors of Sânkhya, Yoga, and the Upanishads seem to have put to themselves and made an earnest attempt to answer it rightly or wrongly. Whether their answer is right or wrong, we shall proceed to see.

Their answer in a nut-shell is this:

Man's nature is to be active and to be active after external or objective pleasure. It is objective pleasure which impels him to have his mouth wide open and swallow the whole world for what he considers his pleasure. He is not in need of liberty or freedom of will, of which nature or *Prakṛti* has endowed him with more than he may need. But he has no restraints provided for against his reckless dissipations. The one restraint in the place of numberless legal restraints is *Nivṛtti* or withdrawal from all kinds of objective pursuits except those which natural and involuntary animal appetite demands from him. Those natural animal carvings are in the words of the Upanishads thirteen in number. They are (1) seeing, (2) hearing, (3) touching, (4) smelling, (5) eating, (6) walking, (7) sleeping, (8) breathing, (9) talking, (10) excrement, (11) catching and (12) & (13) winking, i. e., closing and opening the eyelids. These are all nature's own activities. More than these are sure to lead man astray unless his activity is made with no motive or desire for any result thereof.

The *Bhagavadgîta* says in accordance with the Upanishads as follows:—

"He who does actions, offering to Brahma, abandoning attachment, is not tainted by sin, as a lotus leaf by water." V. 10.

Here 'the offering to Brahma' means the offering of the results

of actions to Brahma. But Brahma does not and cannot receive them. What is meant is that the results of actions are to be for the good of society. That this is the meaning is corroborated by the custom of giving gifts with the hope of pleasing God. But the Advaitins, the Sânkhyas, and the followers of Yoga-philosophy do not believe in the existence of a personal God. Therefore offering to God must necessarily mean making a gift of the results of actions for the good of people.

Such restraint is to be applied not merely against bodily actions, but also to intellectual and sensual actions also. The *Bhagavadgîta* says :—

"By the body, by the mind, by the intellect, and by mere senses also, Yogins perform actions without attachment, for the purification of self."

Thus exclusive attachment to the fruits of bodily actions or intellectual, and sensual activities is condemned in clear terms. Is then, it may be questioned, life worth-living? Will any one engage himself in agriculture, trade or other occupations with no desire for the profits accruing from them? Why should a man marry a wife, if it were not for sensual pleasure? It must be noted in reply that action is not prohibited in its entirety. Nor is it possible, for the characteristic of nature is activity. All mental, intellectual, and sensual activities are accompanied with pleasure. But what is meant here is this: there are two kinds of pleasure, subjective and objective. Subjective pleasure is one's own nature and cannot therefore be avoided. But objective pleasure is neither permanent nor unavoidable.

In enjoying them one should not be addicted to it and to it alone. Occupations must necessarily result in good profit. But it should not be reserved for one's own selfish purpose. Whatever remains after bodily cravings are satisfied, has to be offered rather from the economical and political point of view than from spiritual standpoint. Accumulation of grains sufficient for more than three years at the most is condemned in Smṛtis. Manu says (IV. 7) as follows :—

"He may either possses enough to fill a granary, or a store filling a grain-jar ; or he may collect what suffices for three days or make no provision for the morrow."

In his commentary on this passage Kullûka says a store means what is sufficient to fill a granary which holds a supply for three years. According to Nârada it is what is sufficient for a year, six months or three months. When, however, a man happens to make a store of what is more than sufficient for three years, he has to perform, a Soma sacrifice to get rid of the collection.

According to some writers on Mîmâṃsâ who call themselves *Nimitta-vādins* or expounders of the theory of desire and its cause, the scheme of costly religious rites is devised more for the purpose of getting rid of wealth than for any heavenly good. They say that desire for enjoyment arises only when one possesses the means for enjoyment. With the disappearance of the means or the cause, the effect must necessarily vanish. One of the harmless ways of getting rid of the means for enjoyment is its expenditure in religious rites. Even a poor man is permitted to beg for money for sacrificial purposes. According to the *Arthaśâstra* even kings may go on begging for subscriptions with a view to ward off apprehended providential calamities and replenish the treasury, the main motive of this kind of begging being distribution of surplus wealth found anywhere. In his Paramatabhanga (Page 62, Bangalore Edition) Vedântadeśika quotes a verse from the *Mahâbhârata* meaning that one may distribute among the good the money confiscated from the wicked. The *Mahâbhârata* (I, 1, 301) says that motive being good, it is not a sin to pretend to be performing penance, studying the Vedas or undertaking Vedic rites or taking away money by force. These and other expedients for restoring economical equilibrium are according to the *Arthaśâstra* to be employed only in the case of the wicked who are dead to philosophical culture.

It is however far from truth that the main purpose of religious rites and customs was political or economical in its origin. However irrational and absurd might religious rites and customs be in their form, they originated to satisfy the natural spiritual cravings of the ignorant, though in the hands of politicians like Kauṭilya and his followers they proved instrumental for the attainment of political and economic ends.

But to the followers of the teaching of the Lokâyatas, the Sânkhya, the Yoga and the Upanishads, idol worship, Vedic rites and even caste distinctions are not only useless practices, but

also harmful. Leaving aside the Lokâyata school which had no faith in religion, the other three schools are unanimous in declaring that the performance of idol-worship and religious rites as well as the observance of caste distinctions lead the devotee astray and strengthen the worldly bondage.

In his *Vivekasâra,* a treatise on the Advaita Philosophy, Sankarânanda who was the teacher of Sâyana Mâdhava says consistently with the principles of Advaita and the teaching of the Upanishads as follows :—(p II)

"He who performs religious rites with a view to attain heavenly bliss, cannot be credited even with a trace of wisdom. He who looks upon images made of mud, stone or wood as gods, cannot be credited even with a trace of wisdom."

Again on page 12a he says : "The worship of gods is for no good ; nor is pilgrimage to sacred places capable of any good". On page 24 he says that "Religious rites do not deserve of performance because their results, if any, must necessarily be as perishable as the seeds of grain sown and harvested ; nor can the performance of religious rites purge the mind of its impure thoughts, in as much as the performance itself is due to impure thought such as desire for some naturally perishable good". Again on page 53a-54 he says that "appearance is false. Idols are appearances like the objective world. Hence like it the worshipped idols are no reality. The various forms of worship are all likewise appearances and cannot therefore be reality. Hence the good expected to result from worship must necessarily be other than reality. No endeavour to obtain water in mirage can succeed. Similar is the endeavour to obtain good from idol-worship. Worship is an act. But no act is a means for liberation. Those who worship idols with immense faith for attaining liberation endeavour to do the impossible act of covering the sky with a mat. A man becomes what he thinks ; hence he who worships can become the worshipped, *i.e.*, another limited being. But limitation is no emancipation".

Regarding the absurdity of all distinctions and of caste distinctions in particular, he says as follows :—

"A wise man should withdraw from the world of name and form,—thee, thou and I,—this is a Brâhmana and that a Sûdra—; for such differences are real only to a fool. But a wise man should

not behave like a fool. Unity liberates a man and duality involves him in bondage."

Sankarânanda's Advaitic Philosophy is mainly based upon the Upanishads and he makes use of the dialectic method also to prove the validity of the conclusions arrived at from the study of the Upanishads. He is an idealist like Kant and Hegel and more than they in some respects. He does not admit the thing in itself of Kant nor the individuality side by side with the Absolute of Hegel. Sankarânanda's Absolute is pure consciousness unlimited by time, place, and causality.

He says (page 141a) that the world of objects is like the appearance of silver on a conch shell and of the blue colour of the firmament. Those who assert that the objects seen are real should be asked whether the objects appear in their own form or not. If it is asserted that they appear in their own form they should be asked as to the proof thereof. Is it perception, inference, or analogy? It is not perception, for it does not represent things as they are. It is usual for people to say that the moon is a span in diametre and that the sky is blue, which they are not. Without perception of the association of two things inference of the one from the other can not proceed. Nor can analogy be resorted to in the absence of a similar thing. The revealed texts deny the existence of the real world. Nor can appearance be trusted as in dream. Nor can serviceableness of the world be a proof of its reality ; for what is even dreamt of is seen to be productive of its effect. Hence appearance is false. What underlies the varied appearances is real and absolute. It is no other than the perceiving consciousness itself. The nature of the absolute is existence, pleasure and sentiency.

Coming to the consideration of pleasure, he says that pleasure is of two kinds : subjective and objective. The former is the nature of the self and is therefore eternal. The latter is due to objective contact and is therefore momentary. It is therefore to be discarded. As to social service, it is indeed contradictory to Advaita. He who has learnt to look upon the whole world as one self with no change in itself and without a second similar or dissimilar to it can not at all consistently see another needing his service. If he sees so, he is still a dualist, and can not be in a position to realise the

serene self-pleasure. But if he is capable of being self in the Universality with the possibility of social service also, there is nothing to prevent him from undertaking it. But he should take care against the risk of such a step.

As to Sânkhya and Yoga they are both in agreement with the Advaitic philosophy of the Upanishads so far as Nivritti or withdrawal from the pursuit of objective pleasure is concerned. But with regard to the natural sociable tendency of the self, they widely differ. The Advaitin endeavours to avoid society, in as much as the conception of society different from self is fatal to Advaitic conception. But the followers of Sânkhya and Yoga are dualists. They say that the world is made of two principles, matter and spirit. Spirit or consciousness is inactive and matter is active. Mind is material, but blind, i. e., indiscreet. Just as under the guidance of a lame man with eyes wide open and borne by a blind man, the latter can take the former anywhere and everywhere, so the inactive self can be led by the blind mind anywhere and everywhere. If however the self keeps away from the mind, the mischief of the latter will be at an end, and the self can be emancipated from the miseries of the objective world. To put this theory of Sânkhya into practice, Patanjali expounded the principles of Yoga. It treats of the various means to control the mind. Desirelessness, concentration of mind on any one single subject, high thinking, or exclusive devotion to some personal god can enable a man to restrain the mind from its wild wanderings. As a rule abstinence from injury to animals and men, veracity, abstinence from theft, continence, and abstinence from avariciousness must be strictly observed. And in observing this, one should rise above the limitations of caste, locality and time. Then alone the observance of the vow will have the desired effect. This is clearly stated in II. 30, 31.

From this it is clear that the practice of Yoga does not come under mysticism. Nor are the Yogins required to abandon society and live in a forest to perform their yogic practices. It is rather under temptations and distractions that the Yogi has to learn the way of controlling the mind. For his mind is social by nature and cannot therefore avoid social influence anywhere. He cannot avoid the sight of pleasing or displeasing scenes. He cannot shun hearing

the noise of revelry or of weeping. Under circumstances variously affecting his mind, he is obliged to respond to them, for response to excitement is the nature of mind. If he cannot be philanthrophist he must be a misanthrope or indifferent. All that he is required to do in successfully controlling his mind under perplexing circumstances is to maintain the purity of his mind. The way of keeping the mind pure is stated as follows :—(I. 33).

"The mind becomes pure by cultivating the habit of friendliness towards those who are found in the enjoyment of pleasure, compassion towards those who are suffering from pain, complacency towards those who are suffering from pain and indifference towards those who are vicious."

Thus while the social good which an Advaitin is expected to do is rarely of a positive nature, but mostly of negative character, the follower of Sânkhya-Yoga is required to congratulate the happy and sympathise with the suffering. The Vedântin satisfies himself with the good that can result to society from his withdrawal and from the withdrawal of his followers from the pursuit of objective pleasure. While under such theistic religions as Saivism and Vaishnavism people are asked to do good with the hope of getting rewards after death and to desist from evil in order to escape from terrible punishment inclusive of rebirth in various living forms in the next birth, the philosophers of the Sânkhya and the Yoga, and the Upanishads declare that rebirth is the only punishment for doing evil. It cannot be denied that the excellent examples set by the Sânkhyas in restraining the mind from its wanderings after objective pleasure coupled with the public opinion thus formed in praise of self-denial and in condemnation of self-indulgence had their desired effect on the political and economical worlds of ancient India. If the maxim that example is better than precept is accepted, then the example of self-denial set by Mahâvîra, the twenty-fourth teacher of the Jainas and the host of his followers during the reign of Srenika in Magadha, by the Buddha and his followers in Benares and other parts of Northern India immediately after Mahâvîra, by Upagupta and his followers in the empire of Asoka the great, by the Jaina ascetics in the court of Samprâti of the dynasty of the Mauryas, by Patanjali, the founder of the practical Yoga-School of the Sânkhyas during the reign of Pushyamitra, by the Jaina

ascetic Pâdalipia and the band of his disciples during the rule of the Sakas, and the Murundas, by Vasubandhu, the Buddhist teacher and his followers during the ascendency of the Guptas, by Merutunga, the Jaina ascetic, and by Bâna and Mayûra and other Brahman poet-philosophers at the imperial court of Harshavardhana, by Vidyânanda, Bhaṭṭakalanka, Jinasena and other Jaina teachers, Sankarâchârya, Sivagñâna Sambandhar, Vâgîsa, Tirumangaiyâlvâr and other Brahmana philosophers expounding the principle of self-denial on the basis of Advaita, Saivism or Vaishnavism during the reign of Kubja or Saundara Pândya and Srîvallabha in the South, by Hemchandra and his colleagues at the court of Kumâra-pâla in Guzarat, by Halâyudha during the reign of the Kâkatîyas in Varangal, and by Vidyâranya Bhârati during the commencement of the Vijyanagar empire had a far better salutary effect on the equilibrium of the political and economical forces at war with each other than any statutory legal restraints that could be devised by representative bodies in a parliament or legislative chamber. There was one favourite social service which the host of self-denying religious missionaries constantly had before their mind. It formed the object of concentration of the mind. It was the gift of food, peace, medicine and knowledge to all that needed it—âharabhaya-bhaiṣajya-sâstra-dânâni.—Every page of Indian history, however blank it might be, proclaims in unmistakable terms that these and other religious teachers and philosophers too numerous to enumerate here dedicated their lives to social service and prevailed upon wealthy merchants and kings to spend their hoards upon hoards in making the gift of food, peace, medicine and knowledge to the needy under their own supervision and guidance. It is no doubt true that lavish charity is setting a high premium on beggary and idleness. Though beggary of the teacher and their students may be excused in consideration of the services they render like government servants to society, indiscreet charity to others is, it may be urged, unpardonable injury to society itself. But it should not be forgotten that the tendency of human nature is more towards the pursuit of wealth and pleasure than towards beggary, self-denial, and charity. That inspite of the direct and indirect encouragement given to beggary and indolence by the establishment of charitable institutions in ancient India, the land had a greater reputation for its wealth than any other part of the world is fully

corroborated by history. It is equally due to human nature that inspite of the incessant endeavour of Indian philosophers to convince the people both by precept and example of the pleasures of self-denial and of the miseries due to self-indulgence, kings and merchants were ever on the way of aggrandising themselves at the expense of others for the sake of self-indulgence. Those who fall a victim to self-indulgence, whether they are individuals or communities or states, have to break the restraints put upon them, no matter what the restraints are, whether religious or legal. In ancient times the restraints were of religious nature: Whereas now they come under law: national or international. When individual or communal craving for self-indulgence becomes too intense, it breaks the national law and in the case of states, it violates international law and makes aggression upon foreign states for its own self-indulgence. Sometimes the aggressive community or state is in the habit of excusing itself by asserting that its aggression is for the good of the invaded community or state. Any how the violation of accepted restraints is a common feature of both ancient and modern societies alike. The difference between the forms of ancient and modern restraints is that while the ancients appealed to withdrawal from objective pleasure as the only restraint applicable to all forms of activity, modern governments find no limit to the multiplication of their legal restraints. Our governments have thus become so very complex and the volumes of statutory laws have become so many that even the greatest judge or lawyer does not find it possible at least to be aware of all the laws. Still new leakages in human nature are being found out and new legal restraints are being devised to close them. But it is too leaky and it is likely that our attempt to repair it may result in breaking it.

With the ancients, however, the only task in all spheres of human activity, whether religious, economical or political, was control over the mind. That control was no more than withdrawal from the pursuit of objective pleasure. The giving up of objective pleasure is not the same as the giving up of pleasure altogether, for according to the philosophers of India pleasure is of two kinds: subjective and objective. Objects that appear to give pleasure are only stimulants and only excite the pleasure which is the nature of the self itself. This is what is stated by Sankarânanda in his *Vivekasâra*. (Page 72 etc.)

Is pleasure a quality of the objects enjoyed? Or is it a mental phenomenon? Or is it a characteristic of place or time? Or is it brought about by activity or is it the quality of the sense, or is it a quality of the self? It is not a quality of the objects perceived, for the feeling of pleasure experienced at the moment of perceiving an object disappears the next moment, though there is the object still under the act of perception. If it were a property of the object perceived, the feeling of pleasure would have continued just as fragrant smell is continued to be experienced as long as the flower giving rise to the sensation of fragrance remains close by. Hence it follows it is not a property of the object enjoyed.

Nor is it a function of the mind, for in the absence of objects of enjoyment the mind does not experience the feeling of pleasure, as it would have done if it were its own function.

Nor is it the function of the association of mind with objects; for even though there is such association, the feeling of pleasure experienced in the first moment of contact disappears the next moment.

Nor is it a property of the enjoyer, for the feeling of pleasure is not constantly experienced. If it were the property of the enjoyer, there would have been no break in experiencing the enjoyer's own property by the enjoyer.

Nor is it a characteristic of activity, for it (activity) is invariably painful. Nor is it a result of past deeds, for the body which is believed to be a result of past deeds is a victim of misery and pain.

Nor is it due to place and environment, for in the same place and under the same environments experience of pain and pleasure varies with different men.

If it were due to place and environment all men in the same place and under the same environment would have felt pleasure or pain equally.

Nor is it a property of time, for if it were so, all men would have experienced pleasure equally like heat and cold.

Nor is it a property of senses, in as much as the dumb, the deaf, the blind and the like experience pleasure not-with-standing the deformity of their senses.

Then the only remaining alternative is whether it is a property

of the self. Here there are two issues to be considered. (1) Is it a property of the self or (2) is it the nature of the self? It cannot be said that it is a quality of the self, for the disappearance of property causes the disappearance of that which possesses the quality as its constituent. But in the case of the self even in the absence of the feeling of pleasure, there is the consciousness of selfs' existence. Hence it cannot be said to be a quality of the self. Hence it follows that it is the nature of self. But it may be questioned why is it not always felt.

The question is answered as follows :—

There are two forms of pleasure, subjective pleasure and objective pleasure. The former is the nature of the self and is eternal. The latter is momentary and is due to external objects which are only stimulants. He who has realised self does not stand in need of stimulants to experience his own self-pleasure.

Thus the realisation of self-pleasure with a sparing use of objects which are its stimulants and withdrawal as much as possible from the pursuit of objective pleasure have been the principles constantly held before the mind by Indian politicians in their religious, economical and political activities. That such were the guiding principles of their life is corroborated by the very ascetic life they lived in the midst of luxuries in the courts of wealthy monarchs of ancient India. Mahâvîra, the Buddha, Upagupta, Vidyâranya, Vyâsarâya and a host of successive ascetics were not merely teachers of ancient kings, but also some of them were ministers in charge of administrative work. That Vidyâranya was the minister of Bukka, the emperor of Vijayanagar, and that Vyâsarâya played at the request of the king himself the part of a king, are historical facts known to historians of India. According to the *Mudrârâksasa*, a drama by Viṣakhadatta, Chânakya lived a strict religious life, though engaged in serious political activities. It is this self-denying frame of mind which enabled them to succeed in accomplishing what otherwise would have cost their lives and imperilled the safety of the empire itself. They were above all kinds of reproaches due to religious or secretarian prejudices. Selfishness was unknown to them. Their views and acts were altruistic and pleasing to all that came in contact with them. It is to set an example to the

masses that they set themselves to worldly activity, as expounded in the *Bhagavadgîta* (20 & 21).

"By action only, indeed, did Janaka and others try to attain perfection. With a view to lead the masses thou shouldst perform action.

Whatsoever a great man does, that alone the other men do ; whatever he sets up as the standard, that the world follows."

In this work they all killed their individuality and raised themselves to the standard of the Universal soul. They were in short what they talked of.

In his notes on the *Sânkhya Philosophy* (P. 149 Hindu Philosophy, the Sankhya Karika of Isvarakrishna) John Davies says :—

The Hindu and the German philosophers alike maintain that there is no hope for the world by any process of amendment. The only sufficient and abiding cure of its vows is the annihilation of individual life.

But individuality cannot be suppressed, so long as the mind is active. According to the Sânkhya philosophy mind is material and possesses three aspects, *satvika* or calm and retiring, *râjasa* or assertive and imperial, and *tâmasa* or dull and rash. Of the three aspects, none is found to be absolutely free from the contamination of the other two aspects. In other words any one of the qualities may be found predominent with the other two qualities suppressed. It follows therefore that some men are born possessed of calm and retiring temper, while others appear to have inherited either an imperial temper or dull but rash character. The material nourishment and the spiritual training which a boy receives in his tender age may also contribute something to increase or decrease his inherited quality. Accordingly some may develop a philosophical and religious tendency. Others may show an aptitude for warlike or enterprising commercial work. A third class may be so dull and rash as to dissipate their lives and die in utter poverty and misery. It is to eradicate this inherited nature, as far as possible, religious and educational institutions are started and boys are kept under strict discipline under the supervision of teachers of approved character. Inspite of education under best teachers, inherited inequality persists in human nature. Thus the inherited inequality of temperament produces a tremendous effect

on the will power of man. No restraint either philosophical or legal can control it. Its licentious proceedings will be economical (*Artha*) or uneconomical (*Anartha*) and loyal or anarchical or tyrannical. Such minds will be impervious to the philosophical lesson that withdrawal from objective pleasures is a blessing. Persons who are under the sway of such minds and will, may happen to occupy a throne or roll in wealth and luxury without caring for suffering humanity. Fortunately for humanity the blessings of self-denial are so true and convincing and so beneficial in its application that public opinion forms itself and condemns in one voice the voluptuous proceedings of the self-indulgent. If self-indulgent man happens to be a king, he is at once dethroned ; or if a wealthy aristocrat, his wealth is taken away by the application of any one of the expedients detailed in the *Arthaśâstra* (V). The expedients narrated there are so indirect in their application that the state incurs the displeasure neither of the owner nor of his followers. The wealth thus taken is distributed among the needy and economical equilibrium is restored. While doing all these apparently high-handed acts, at least the ministers of the king, if not the king also, live as ascetics to the very letter of the law of self-denial. As the expedient measures are all indirectly applied, the aggrieved man himself will rather blame his own fate than hold the king or his ministers responsible for his loss. Provided public opinion is favourable, even direct confiscation of the superfluous wealth of the rich on the part of a state in need of money, is justified. Accordingly there is an oft-quoted verse to the effect that four are the kinsmen of wealth, charity, fire, the king, and robbers, of whom the last three will be provoked, if the first is contemptuously treated.

From this it is clear that one of the politico-economical principles of the Hindu politicians is that provided the administrative body of the state inclusive of the king has strictly adopted the ascetic principle of self-denial, it is no wrong to confiscate the superfluous wealth of the rich for its redistribution to mitigate poverty or to give encouragement to art or religion or to make charity in any other way.

It is more than probable that being aware of this principle the rich in ancient India were in the habit of spending their wealth in the construction of such charitable institutions as feeding houses

for the poor, wells, tanks, groves, temples and the like. It is not likely that the countless temples, tanks, wells, reservoirs, bathing ghats, and quarters for travellers which are seen through the breadth and length of India and which are referred to in ancient inscriptions are all made at the expense of the states themselves. The philosophical law of self-denial is the basis on which all theistic and atheistic religions of India are founded. The Buddhists, the Advaitins, the Jainas, and other theistic religions such as Saivism and Vaishnavism have all adopted it and practised it. They all preached it in one voice to the people at large and especially to the rich and more particularly to kings, with the result that the supefluous wealth in the possession of the few was so diverted as to encourage art and culture and restore economical equilibrium without disturbance. Just as there were armed ascetics in ancient India, so also there were ascetic kings and ministers. The function of such armed ascetics as the Kâpâlikas, Bhairavas, the Sâktas and the like was to maintain the observance of the law of self-denial and to preserve their religion. Likewise the functions of ascetic kings such as Asoka, the Parivrâjaka Mahārajas, Kumārapāla and others were to set an example of self-denial to their subjects. Thus without the exercise of any despotic law the people were at no less liberty to pursue economical and sensual activities (Artha and Kâma) than to observe the ordinance of charity and salvation (Dharma and Moksha) which are not susceptible of compulsion. It is no less impossible to make a man charitable by force than to make him loyal. Still public opinion and particularly the opinion of men of exemplary character and conduct at the helm of the state can make a man both charitable and loyal more easily by example than by force.

It is also clear that in a state whose basic principle of governance is the spiritual law of self-denial people have more liberty than in a representative government where under the verdict of the majority the minority cannot but patiently suffer and may even die of starvation. With liberty there comes equality in availing oneself of opportunity in making pursuit of wealth and sensual desires. Caste is no obstruction to economical pursuits. Besides the higher the caste the greater the responsibility of observing self-denial. Otherwise degradation in caste (*apakarṣa*) is a dire consequence. Elevation and degradation in caste was a custom in

ancient India. Where selfishness reigns there cannot exist fraternity. Fraternity is a necessary effect of self-denial. Hence it follows that under the so-called despotic governments in ancient Indian States, liberty, equality and fraternity seem to have been more real than in the so-called self-governments or representative governments. This is entirely due to the law, of self-denial of the cultured class in ancient India. With the establishment of the reign of the law of self-denial the same salutary effects cannot but follow irrespective of place and time. The murder of self-denial committed by Indians themselves is the main cause of caste and sectarian prejudices, communal animosities, antipathies and rivalries, and of the poverty of many against the few rich. The two legs on which caste stands are inter-marriage and inter-dining within itself. But this can be productive of no dire consequences of any kind, if only the law of self-denial reigns to its true spirit everywhere. If, as in ancient India, the fortunate few shun objective pleasures, begin to live for others and use their talents for the good of society, especially the low in caste and condition, internal harmony between castes and creeds must necessarily follow ; conflict between creeds is due more to economical causes. If self-denial of one creed sees to economical improvement either by means of open charity or by supplying means of earning wealth to another creed, i. e., if the idea of fraternity is translated into action by one creed with regard to another creed, there can possibly be no conflict between creed and creed. Likewise is the case with castes. This is what was observed by Harṣavardhana. This was the attitude of Kumârapala of Guzarat. This was the faith of Vidyâranya, the minister of the Vijayanagar Emperor Bukka.

The one defect which marred this excellence of ancient states of India together with their vitality was the neglect of the protection of the frontier of India against external danger. The golden law of self-denial radically cured the states of their internal disease. But the same law could have no effect on external dangers. It was however supposed that it could do it also. But it failed. As a contrast to this, European governments of modern times have armed themselves to such an extent that neither internal nor external danger can dare to molest them. But with all this protective organisation the natural law of animal selfishness is driving out the law of self-denial and is rendering the people unchristian. The

golden christian law 'Do unto others what thou wouldst that they should do unto you,' which is evidently a corollary of the Universal law of self-denial, is thrown over board and pure selfish and racial antipathies are fondly cherished. Will the world awake to the divine law of self-denial and be an abode of heavenly bliss?

VIKRAMĀDITYA

(Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar M.A., Ph.D., [Hony.])

The third century in Indian History is a period of transition from the Andhra Empire through its stages of decay and dismemberment to the new empire that came into existence under the Guptas. All the shiftings of the powers and the arrangements of the struggling forces are far from clear. At the end of about a century of this struggle, there seem to emerge two powers, one of which was to attain ultimately the position of leadership in India.

These two powers seem to have been the Vākāṭaka and the Gupta. The Vākāṭkas were somewhere in the Vindhyan region and the Guptas in the Gangetic basin. The leadership seems to have passed ultimately to the Guptas. Although the phases of the struggle that led to this dénouement are far from clear, there seems to be but little doubt that the result of it was the establishment of the Gupta Empire under Chandragupta I.

The ancestral territory of the Guptas was a comparatively small region on either bank of the Ganges, to which was added the territory of the Lichchavis by marriage, and the neighbouring regions by conquest, so that it became a compact state stretching out both ways, eastwards and westwards to keep out the enemies of the rising state. The Vākāṭakas perhaps suffered a misfortune with the death of the great Pravarasena, and that cleared the way for the ascent of the Guptas, at the supreme moment. It appears that this ascent to supreme power was marked by the Gupta era, which has hitherto been accepted as the year A.D., 319-20.

The correctness of this has been recently called into question by Dr. Shama Sastri. On the foundation that was thus laid by Chandragupta was reared a magnificent imperial structure by his son Samudragupta. The accession of this new ruler seems to have been taken advantage of by those disintegrating forces recently brought under the control of the empire. Samudragupta had to beat off the enemies that assailed him, and make sure that the states that had been brought under control were true to their allegiance, and then launch out on his scheme of expansion, which brought the

empire more or less co-extensive with that of Asoka. He succeeded in his effort partly by conquest, and partly by diplomacy, and left a compact empire to his successor, Chandragupta II.

This last is generally known to historians as the ruler who was the original of the traditional Vikramāditya of Ujjain, and his reign was otherwise remarkable in many ways. The following pages attempt to bring together facts so far known about this remarkable sovereign, and are presented as a constructive effort at the history of an important epoch.

Chandragupta was the son of Samudragupta by Dattadevi, and was probably one among many sons. Chandragupta II ascended the throne after his father Samudragupta, according to the practice of the family, "by the choice of the father". There seems to have been no opposition of any kind to his accession, and the succession therefore was a peaceful one. Such a succession gives us the indication that the empire built at such great pains and organised by two of his predecessors had got into a sufficiently settled condition to be handed on as a peaceful possession. Chandragupta's work therefore was not that of the warrior statesman, but was one of a peaceful administrator. All the frontiers appears to have remained without disturbance of any kind except along the south-west where he had to carry on a war, the only war of his reign. Chandragupta, "the sun of valour" (Vikramāditya), had comparatively speaking, the minimum of war to wage. Notwithstanding the fact that his reign was essentially one of peace he was undoubtedly a valiant man possessed of great personal courage and as such deserving of the surname. Before proceeding to consider his warlike activity or his peaceful statesmanship it would be just as well useful to take a survey of the general position of the empire. It has been already pointed out* in the description of the achievements of Samudragupta that he had brought his empire in many respects co-extensive with that of Asoka, not necessarily as a unified empire under a single ruler which obviously was impossible in the circumstances of the times, but as something like a federation of states grouped together in subordinate alliance, not without an appreciation of the common

* Article on Samudragupta, Mysore University Magazine.

interests that such a unity subserved. While the states of nearer Hindusthan formed probably an integral part of the empire the frontier states in the east and north remained practically independent, but on terms of active diplomatic relationship amounting to alliance. That seems to have been the case also in respect of the north-west frontier except in the southern end of it where the Kshatrapa revival had become sufficiently aggressive to attract his attention. The Kshatrapas along the coast and their neighbours, the Vākāṭakas, seem to have been, to a great extent, at war with each other, and it is this hostility that has to account, at any rate, partly for the decay of the power of the Kshatrapas. After the death of the great Prithvisena, the Kshatrapas appear to have recovered some portions of their lost territory and a considerable amount of their influence, so much so that they appear to have assumed the offensive and made an effort at recovering the region round Ujjain which constituted the core of their territory in the best days of the Kshatrapa power. Chandragupta seems to have proceeded with all the circumspection of a warrior-statesman in dealing with this new danger to the empire.

It has been made clear elsewhere that the Vākāṭakas had obviously been brought to a state of alliance and were content to remain as subordinate allies of Samudragupta. Chandragupta seems to have taken steps to make the assurance doubly sure on this frontier, and entered into a diplomatic marriage either with the reigning prince, or, what seems more probable, with the heir-apparent. He gave in marriage to Prince Rudrasena, son of the great Prithvisena of the Vākāṭakas, his daughter by a Nāga queen of his by name Kubhéra-Nāga. We have two grants issued by this Gupta princess, and these give us some information in regard to the actual character of this alliance. She seems to have been regent for thirteen years at least for one of her sons, Divākarasena, who must have died young, and continued to wield a considerable amount of power while the other Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena, was actually the sovereign. She describes herself as the crowned queen of Rudrasena II and as the mother of the sovereign for the time being. Besides these indications of her position in respect of the family which she entered, she seems to have felt very proud of her parentage and gives the Gupta genealogy right down to her father Chandragupta II, who is described in Vākāṭaka

records generally under the name Devagupta with the title "Mahārājādhirāja." It seems very probable that Chandragupta II was mainly responsible for this alliance, while it is just possible that the alliance was actually made in the reign of Samudragupta himself. Thus secure on his flank, it was possible for Chandragupta to take effective steps to get rid of the Kshatrapa trouble.

Inscriptions of dates 82 and onwards referring themselves to his reign are found in the region round Vidisā and Sānchi, chiefly in Udayagiri. One of them goes the length of stating broadly that Chandragupta was there in that region on a royal progress "for the conquest of the world". The obvious exaggeration of the language seems merely to imply that this was an invasion undertaken by Chandragupta with a view to rounding off his empire in this particular corner and thus making himself emperor of a vast empire such as his father had left him, with this possibility of danger removed.

That seems the significance of the expression "conquest of the world", which conveys further the impression that it involved more than one campaign and a gradual reduction of territory for final incorporation in the empire. Hence the inference seems justifiable that the war in the region of Western Malava was a protracted affair, and was not a short and sharp conflict as the numismatic inference would lead one to believe.

Malava had been for more than three centuries in the possession of a foreign dynasty, the Kshatrapas, which was founded by Chashṭana. It is now generally agreed that Chashṭana effected the conquest of this region which constituted in all probability a governorship under the Kushāns, very probably under Kanishka, but it may possibly be under Kadphises II. The greatest among these Kshatrapas was Rudradamana for whom we have dates in coins ranging from 52 to 78. These dates are now generally accepted as having reference to the Saka era. The last known coin date of the Kshatrapas is 310 or 31 x, which would therefore be equivalent to about A. D. 388, the uncertainty being due to the uncertain reading of the last figure of the date. From a study of the Kshatrapa coins alone, for Kshatrapa history that is almost the only source as yet available, it is found that the dynasty of Rudradamana comes to an end for a time between A. D. 305 and A. D. 348. During this period, A. D., 305 to 348, the office of Mahākshatrapa falls into abeyance. During

the first half of this period, A.D. 305 to 332, there were two Kshatrapas, and even this office disappears in the period 332 to 348. From an elaborate study of the coins of the Kshatrapas, Professor Rapson draws the following conclusions:—"All the evidence afforded by coins, or the absence of coins during this period—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Mahākshatrapas and afterwards of both Mahākshatrapa and Kshatrapa, seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kshatrapas were subjected to some foreign invasion, but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful, and must remain so until more can be known about the history of the neighbouring peoples during this period". The period under consideration is the period of the rise to prominence, first of the Vākāṭakas in the region of Malava dependent upon Vidisā, and next of the rise to dominance of the dynasty of the Guptas under Chandragupta I. The first of these periods, that is the period of abeyance of the Kshatrapas, covers exactly the period of the dominance of the Vākāṭakas under Pravarasena I, and the greater part of the period of the rise of the Gupta Mahārājādhirāja Srī Chandragupta I. As we have already pointed out,* the Puranas make the clear statement that Pravīra ruled in the region of Vidiśā, celebrated great sacrifices and had four of his sons ruling under him. We have also pointed out† that Vindhyaśakti, the father of this Pravīra of the Puranas was no doubt Vindhyaśakti the founder of the Vākāṭakas on the ground that the great Ajantā inscription seems to refer to Vindhyaśakti as belonging to the family of the Vindhyakas. From these statements it becomes clear that whatever was the ancestral territory to which Vindhyaśakti laid claim, the greatness of the family under Pravarasena was due to the expansion of the Vākāṭaka territory to take in eastern Malava and even parts of Bundelkhand. If, as is very probable, the homeland of the Vākāṭakas had been somewhere near Elichpur, this expansion could only have been at the expense of the Kshatrapas for the time being. Therefore, as the power of the Vākāṭakas rose, the territory of the Kshatrapas must

* *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1923, on the Vākāṭakas.
† *Ibid.*

have shrunk, and that is what perhaps is indicated in the cessation of the title Mahākshatrapa and the existence still of the Kshatrapas. The crushing blow to the Kshatrapa power, however, came probably from the rising power of the Guptas. Vākāṭaka inscriptions make it clear that Pravarasena I enjoyed the imperial title "Samrāt" which is given up by his successor-grandson Rudrasena I. This could only mean that the Vākāṭaka power suffered a reverse either at the end of the reign of Pravarasena I, or, what is more probable at his death. The significant omission of this title combined with the glowing reference to the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I, the Nāga chief of the Bharaśiva family, leads to the inference that a calamity befell the dynasty of Pravarasena, and the Bharaśiva chieftain exerted himself to retrieve the fortunes of this family. Even so, the restored Vākāṭaka monarchy could only sustain the inferior title of the Mahārāja, and could not maintain the claim to the higher title. The calamity could have come only from one of two rival powers at the time, or by the combined efforts of the two. The latter alternative seems impossible. The Kshatrapas do not appear to have been sufficiently strong to have brought this calamity to the family of their former rival although they must have exerted themselves in this direction. There seems, however, no doubt about a great struggle for recovery of power and prestige by the Kshatrapas, and they succeeded in it ultimately to a considerable extent. This recovery must have taken place later. Whatever might have been the actual cause of the calamity, Chandragupta I was ready to take advantage of it, and made use of the opportunity probably to administer a crushing defeat upon the Kshatrapas and their allies, the Bahlikas, and that perhaps gave him the title to set up an *adhirājya*. A short dynasty of three Bahlikas is referred to in the Purāṇas as ruling in this region, probably the region west of Māhishmati, and the victory over the Bahlikas by marching across the seven mouths of the Indus, ascribed to the Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar seems to be clearly in reference to such an achievement of Chandragupta I, and that is what gave the title to Chandragupta to set up an *adhirājya* which had the simultaneous consequence of reducing the Vākāṭakas from their *Sāmrajya* to the position of mere *Mahārājas*. The temporary extinction therefore of the Mahākshatrapa and the Kshatrapa offices seems to be due to this defeat by Chandragupta I. The recovery of the Kshatrapas from the effects

of this crushing defeat to rebuild their power was made very difficult by the occupation of the Vākāṭaka throne by Prithvisena I in succession to his father. Prithvisena seems to have been a conquering monarch, and had not merely extended his influence over a part of the territory held by his ancestor Paravarasena I but extended it southwards to take in Kuntala also within the limits of the Vākāṭaka territory. Hence the conclusion seems warranted that the Kshatrapas could set up again only as a power, owning at least nominal subordination, to the great Vākāṭakas. That is what seems indicated by the rise of a new family of Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas, and what is perhaps more significant in this regard, their uniform assumption of the title "svāmi" and the occasional creeping in of the title "Mahārāja" after date 270, or A. D. 348. Their subordination must have been real when the great Prithvisena was ruling. His death probably gave the opportunity for a more active revival of their power, and an attempt at the recovery of their lost prestige and of the territory once in their possession. It is this revived power of the new family of the Kshatrapas that must have called for the activity of Chandragupta in this region. As a counterstroke of policy Chandragupta entered into an alliance with their rival, the King of the Vākāṭakas, by giving his daughter Prabhāvatigupta in marriage to Prithvisena's son Rudrasena II. He then set about gradually reducing and incorporating into his territory the outlying portions of Kshatrapa possessions and ultimately put an end to their power.

Such seems the trend of events that led to the great Kshatrapa war under Chandragupta II. The somewhat enigmatic statement of Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita,* and the unfortunately ambiguous note of his commentator Sankararaya both receive unlooked for illumination from a drama recently discovered by the search party of the Government Manuscripts Library at Madras. This drama is called *Devi Chandraguptam,* and for its subject the capture by the Sakas of the queen of Chandragupta and her romantic recovery by him, just exactly as is mentioned by Bāṇa in the passage referred to above. Some of the passages quoted therefrom, make it clear that Dhruvadevi, the crowned consort of Chandragupta, fell into the hands of the Kshatrapas. The Kshatrapa ruler, whoever he was, made overtures of love to the captive queen of which she managed to give information to her husband. Chandragupta proceeded to adopt a heroic

measure for the relief of the queen who was in such imminent danger. He assumed the guise of the queen and took along with him a portion of his guard disguised as women-attendants upon the queen, and managed to effect an entry into the city where she was kept prisoner. Throwing off the disguise there they recovered the queen and returned victorious. All this is said to have taken place in a place which is written Aripura in Bāṇa and Alipura in the drama. The former might be taken to mean nothing more than the enemy's city, the latter probably gives the name of the capital wherever it was. If this should turn out to be the actual and proper name of the city, and if it could be located satisfactorily, we may get a little more insight into this campaign.* Having recovered the queen, Chandragupta perhaps took effective steps to wipe out a dynasty of unworthy rulers such as the later Kshatrapas had apparently become, and the result of a protracted war was the end of the Kshatrapa rule in Konkan, Gujarat and such parts of Malava as they still had possession of. The fact that the queen was actually carried off as a prisoner, and that Chandragupta had recourse to the dangerous strategem of himself going, it may be at the head of a selected body of his troops, gives a clear indication of the protracted and dangerous character of the war. It would therefore be safe to regard that the war was one in which both the Vākāṭakas and he were alike interested, and the marriage alliance between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas was in the nature of a precautionary measure, and not one of a merely superfluous ratification of the treaty as a result of the war. As a result of this war the Gupta empire stretched out to the western sea, and the whole of the western trade of that region came within the sphere of the Gupta empire.

The Gupta empire of Chandragupta II must have included within it practically the whole of Hindusthan up to the frontier of the Ganges, if not the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), beginning from the western mountains. The whole of the territory from north to south between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas was included in the empire. The great bulk of it was, perhaps, practically under the rule of the empire. The region extending southwards from the

* There is a place called Alirājapura and a district dependent thereon, but on the mere name it would be hazardous to suggest an identification.

Vindhyas almost up the frontiers of Mysore was also under Gupta rule, though less directly. The bulk of this region formed part of the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas. The marriage alliance seems to have brought them not only under the influence of the Guptas but seems to have resulted even in the bringing of their territory under the administrative control of the empire. Prabhāvatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta by a junior queen was married, to Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭakas. It would appear as though Rudrasena's reign was a very short one. We have records of Prabhāvatigupta as regent on behalf of one son of hers by name Divākarasena, and she carried on the regency, apparently for a long term of years, as the Poona plates of hers happen to be dated in the 13th year ; it must be the 13th year of her ward Divākarasena. Apparently Divākarasena died before he attained majority. He was then succeeded by a younger brother Dāmodarasena, who became on accession, Pravarasena II. A record dated in his 19th year and another of the 21st year seem to be issued by Prabhāvatigupta herself. In his 19th and 21st years, it is very unlikely that Pravarasena could have been a minor. It seems therefore clear that this Gupta princess took an active part in the administration of her son's territory even during the actual period of the rule of that son. That Pravarasena II was not an efficient administrator seems thus clearly indicated. This is put beyond doubt in an unlooked for source in literature.

A drama by name *Kuntalesvara-dautyam* ascribed to Kālidāsa has a reference which seems to bear directly on the point. The story is that Kālidāsa was sent as a Commissioner to the Kuntala country by the emperor Vikramāditya just to see for himself how exactly the administration was being actually carried on. The Commissioner returns to headquarters, and is accosted by the Emperor with the question "what does the King of Kuntala"? The answer given by the Commissioner is, "that Kuntaleśa, having placed the burden of administration upon you, is engaged in sucking the honey from out of the lips of damsels smelling sweet liquor".*

* asakalahasitatvāt kṣāḷitānīva kāntyā
mukuḷitanayanatvād vyaktakarṇōt palāni.I
pibati madhusugandhinyānanāni priyāṇām
tvayi vinihitabhāraḥ Kuntaḷānām adhiśaḥ II

This verse is quoted by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya Mimāṃsā* to illustrate that the drift of a passage could be completely changed by very slight verbal alterations. This very same stanza is quoted in Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kanthabharaṇa* in a similar context. It is however Kshemendra's *Auchitya Vichāra Charchā* that refers the passage to the work *Kuntesa-Dautyam* of Kālidāsa ; but it is the unpublished work *Śrīgāra Prakāsa* that gives more details about the passage and makes it clear that it has reference to a Kuntaleśvara or Rāja of Kuntala. Another Sanskrit work named *Bharata-Charita* contains the verse* which ascribes the composition of the Prakrit Kavya *Setu-bandham* to a Kuntaleśa. This latter *kāvya* is, as is very well-known, a work of Pravarasena. The commentary on this work called *Rāmasetupradīpa* ascribes this work to Pravarasena, the newly installed monarch from a passage in the text itself.†

It ascribes the revision of it to Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya. We already know that Kuntala, the southern Mahratta country and the south-western portions of the Nizam's Dominions, were incorporated in the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas under Prithvīsena I. Under his successors Rudrasena II and his son, Kuntala probably constituted the most important part of the kingdom, and hence one could understand why Pravarasena II is called Kuntaleśa. The statement of Rāmadāsa, that at the instance of Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa revised Pravarasena's work, coupled with the ascription of the Drama *Kuntalesvara-dautyam* to Kālidāsa by Kshemendra, makes the position clear that Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa and Kuntaleśa, the author of the *Setu-bandham*, were contemporaries. That the *Setu-bandham* was a *Kāvya* of Pravarasena is clear from the statement of *Bāṇa* contained in one of the slokas in the *Harsa Charita*.‡

* jaḍāśayasyāntaragādhamāraga-
mahabdarandhram giri chaurya vṛtyā I
lokeṣvalankāntam apūrva setum
babandha kirtya saha Kuntaleśaḥ.II

(*Bharata Charita*—Canto 1.)

† ahinavarāyāraddha chukkakkhaliyēsu vihaḍima parittāviya
mettiva pamuharasiva nivvōḍum dukkaam kavvakahā
abhinavarāyārabdha chyutaskhalitēṣu vighaṭita paristhāpita
maittriva pramukha rasikā nirvōḍumbhavati duṣkaram kāvyakatha.

‡ Kirti Pravarasenasya prayātā kumudōjvalā
sāgarasya param pāram kapisénéva setunā.II

From the point of view of history, the inference from these details in literature is clear that Pravarasena was an administrator who took his main business very easy, and he did so in the full confidence that, with his maternal grandfather Vikramāditya as his overlord, he need not be particularly anxious about the conduct of his government. This position is reflected in the grants of Prabhāvatigupta. So therefore Vikramāditya's administration had actually to take the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas within the fold of the empire.

The Gupta empire under Chandragupta II may therefore be regarded as almost co-extensive with that of the empire of Asoka except along the northwest frontier. Along this frontier, it is doubtful, if the Gupta empire extended beyond the mountainous frontier of the west of the Indus. It is very likely that the region of Gandhāra and eastern Afghanistan were under petty chieftains, successors of the Kushāns under their suzerain the Kush-Newas.* This Kushān suzerain was overthrown in the first quarter of the fifth century by the irruption of the White Huns. Before this calamity befell the ruler, the Kushān state under his overlordship seems to have been a fairly compact and strong one, sometimes at war, perhaps more often in alliance, with the ruling Sassanid monarchs of Persia. The empire, therefore, was bounded on the west by mountains on this side of the Khaiber, if it went so far at all, on the north and the east by the bordering kings and kingdoms as detailed in the *Praśasti* of Samudragupta ; and on the south it went down to the frontier of the present-day Mysore, perhaps including the northern part of it. If it is permissible to draw an inference from what may be taken as the compliment of a poet in the remark of Kālidāsa, that the young ruler of Kuntala was devoting himself to a life of enjoyment, secure under the protection of his suzerain overlord, Vikramāditya's empire must have been a well-administered one, where even the most distant provinces felt the influence of the imperial headquarters. As was usual in the organization of Hindu empires of those days, the imperial headquarters had for its charge the internal security by

*Identified with Toramāna on certain grounds by Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay in a paper presented to the Third Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Madras.

putting an end to all causes of disturbance, or by an efficient method of settlement of differences. It had also to guarantee protection of the frontier. As far as we are able to see from the r cords of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, and comparing his account with that of the two later pilgrims Hieun-tsang and I-Tsing, the empire was traversed by roads, at any rate, so far as Hindusthan was concerned, which enjoyed almost perfect security. This comes out clearly from what Fa-Hien has to say regarding the Dakshina ; "The country of Dakshina is mountainous and its roads difficult for travellers ; even those who know the way, if they wish to travel, should send a present of money to the king who will thereupon depute men to escort them and pass them on from one stage to another showing them the short-cuts." This must be understood in comparison with what he has to say of northern India. It is obvious that Fa-Hien here is drawing a contrast unfavourable to the Dakshina, and this can be understood from what Kālidāsa has to say of Pravarasena's administration. In regard to the rest of Hindusthan, Fa-Hien's statements contain his actual experience and not what he gained from hearsay, as in the case of the Dakshina. Fa-Hien travelled through the whole kingdom of Gandhāra practically from north to south, and after crossing the Indus marched along the trunk road to as far as the eastern limit of Kośala, and then crossing the Ganges travelled in a triangle from Rājagriha to Gayā, thence to Benares and Allahabad, and back again to Patna. From there he went across to Tāmralipti and set sail for Ceylon. Through all this region no mishap had befallen him such as did to I-Tsing. This is clear evidence of the security of government under Chandragupta. Speaking of the kingdom of Kośala of which the headquarters was probably Srāvasti, Fa-Hien notes : "In this country, there are 96 schools of heretics, all of which recognise the present state of existence (as real, not illusory), each school has its own disciples, who also beg their food but do not carry alms-bowls. They further seek salvation by building alongside out of the way roads, houses of charity, where shelter, with beds and food and drink, is offered to travellers and wandering priests passing to and fro ; but the time allowed for remaining is different in each case." The last sentence is reminiscent of the rule laid down in the *Arthaśāstra*, in regard to the stay of travellers in choultries like these, and the good institution of halting places seems to have continued, at any rate, from the days

of the Maurya empire down to that of the Guptas in their best days. Describing the kingdom of Magadha, Fa-Hien makes the following observations: "Of all the countries of Central India this has the largest cities and towns. Its people are rich and thriving, and emulate one another in the practice of charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour. Regularly every year on the 8th day of the second moon they have a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car of five stories by lashing together bamboos, and these stories are supported by posts in the form of crescent-plated halberds. The car is over 20 feet in height and forms like a pagoda, and it is draped with a kind of white Kashmir painted in various colours. They make images of *Devas* ornamented with gold, silver and strass, and with silk banners and canopies overhead. At the four sides they make niches each with a Buddha sitting inside and a Bodhisatva in attendance. There may be some 20 cars, all beautifully ornamented and different from one another. On the above-mentioned day all the ecclesiastical and lay men in the district assemble. They have singing and high class music and make offerings of flowers and incense. The Brahmans come to invite the Buddhas; and these enter the city in regular order and there pass two nights while all night-long, lamps are burning, high class music is being played and offerings are being made. Such is the custom of all these nations." One has only to carry himself to a place like Kumbhakonam on the day of Makha or to Tiruvidaimarudur on the day of Pushya to see in actual fact what Fa-Hien attempts to describe in words. Describing the capital he refers to it as the city of Pataliputra, formerly ruled by king Asoka. He then goes on: "the king's palace and the city with its various halls, all built by spirits who piled up stones, constructed walls and gates, carved designs, engraved and inlaid after no human fashion, is still in existence". In the following paragraph he refers to a famous Brahman Raivata belonging to the greater vehicle, and the habit that he was in of washing his hands when the king touched him, as often the latter came to consult him on matters of importance. He gives the detail that he was over 50 years of age and that all the country looked up to him to diffuse the faith of the Buddha. This seems an indication that Raivata was not much anterior to Fa-Hien and may indicate that Pāṭaliputra continued to be the capital under Chandragupta II though it is not specially stated in so many words.

Notwithstanding this position, Chandragupta seems to have made Ujjain his capital also ; and perhaps continued remaining in it for a number of years as the habitual royal residence. It is probable he did so in consideration of the exigencies of his administration, chiefly the war against the Sakas and the consequent organization of the newly acquired provinces in that region. In the period previous to the undated record at Udayagiri, that is, down to A. D. 400 in all probability, his capital was Pāṭaliputra with the alternative Vidiśā, the modern Bhīlsā. Thereafter Ujjain became, in all probability, his seat of residence, and therefore came to be regarded by his successors as the capital of the empire. It is common knowledge that Kālidāsa refers to this latter city, Bhilsā, as a capital.* Further on, he refers to Ujjaini by that name in Sloka 27, and again speaks of the same city under the name Viśāla in sloka 30.† This presumption that Ujjaini was the capital of Chandragupta in the latter half of his reign is supported by the account that Rajsekhara speaks of assemblies (Brahmasabhās) that conferred degrees in arts and sciences in early days. One such assembly, according to him was held at Ujjain to which he refers by the alternative term Viśala, and the poets honoured in the assembly at Ujjain were, according to him, Kālidāsa, Mentha, Amara, Rūpa, Sura, Bhāravi, Harichandra and Chandragupta.‡ In the same context he refers also to a similar assembly held for examination in the *Śāstras* at Pāṭaliputra. We have shown elsewhere§ the evidence that Indian literary tradition offers for making Kālidāsa a contemporary of Chandragupta II, but he may have been a younger contemporary of the monarch, and if he had to undergo an examination in the Brahma-Sabhā held at Ujjain, such a Sabhā should have been held under Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya. One of the conditions for holding the Sabhā is that the Rāja holding it must be a man of learning himself. Kings unlearned should not apparently hold such assemblies. That seems clearly to be the view of Rāja-

* Rājadhāni in his *Megha*, sloka 24.

† The references are to Dr. Hultzsch's edition issued by the Royal Asiatic Society.

‡ *Kāvya Mimāmsā*, page 55.

§ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* for July 1923, The Vākāṭakas.

sekhara.* Even in the matter of learning, therefore, Chandragupta must have been a worthy son of Samudragupta. We have already shown § that Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭakas was, in all probability, the author of the Prakrit Kāvya, *Setubandham*, and prince Pravarasena seems to have been at the court of Chandragupta, as in all likelihood he received his early education there, as he was the son of Prabhāvatigupta, the daughter of Chandragupta II himself, and as we have very good reasons for believing that she became a widow comparatively early with two young sons Divākarasena and Pravarasena, for the former of whom she was regent for at least 13 years. It is therefore very likely that the young princes were with their maternal grandfather during their period of education, while the mother carried on the administration in the name of the first son. So then Chandragupta's capital Ujjain was the real royal capital during a substantial part of his reign, and it seems very likely that Ujjain continued to be the royal capital under his successors during the strenuous times that followed.

Fa-Hien has a note in regard to the general condition of what was known as the middle kingdom (Madhyadeśa of the Brāhmans), which gives a general idea of the condition of administration, though imperfect in many particulars and perhaps even inaccurate in details ; "To the south of this, the country is called the Middle Kingdom (of the Brahmans). It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow ; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the king's land have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The king in his administration uses no corporal punishments ; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the king's bodyguard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic; but *chandālas* are segregated. *Chandāla* is their name for foul men (lepers). These live away from other people ; and when they approach a city or market, they beat

* *Kāvya Mimāmsā*, page 54.

† *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, July, 1923.

a piece of wood, in order to distinguish themselves. Then people know who they are and avoid coming into contact with them.

"In this country they do not keep pigs or fouls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places. Only the *chandālas* go hunting and deal in flesh."

The state of Buddhism and the benefactions that it received, as well as the popularity that it enjoyed, he notes down in the following paragraphs. In regard to this particular subject Fa-Hien's knowledge must have been more direct and we may accept it more or less, as a correct picture of the general condition of Buddhism and the life of the Buddhist from what we know of the contemporary accounts of Buddhism and Buddhist festivities in the *Mahāvaṃśa* of Ceylon.

"From the date of Buddha's disappearance from the world, the kings, elders, and gentry of the countries round about, built shrines, for making offerings to the priests, and gave them lands, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them, in unbroken succession to this day. Rooms with beds and mattresses, food and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling priests, without fail ; and this is the same in all places. The priests occupy themselves with benevolent ministrations, and with chanting liturgies; or they sit in meditation. When travelling priests arrive, the old resident priests go out to welcome them and carry for them their clothes and alms-bowls, giving them water for washing and oil for anointing their feet, as well as the liquid food allowed out of hours. By and by, when the travellers have rested, the priests ask them how long they have been priests and what is their standing ; and then each traveller is provided with a room and bedroom requisites, in accordance with the rules of the faith.

"In places where priests reside, pagodas are built in honour of Sāriputra, Mogalan, and Ānanda & Buddhas to come, and also in honour of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sūtras (divisions of the Buddhist canon). A month after the annual retreat, the more pious families organise a subscription to make offerings to the priests and prepare for them the liquid food allowed out of hours. The priests arrange a great assembly and expound the faith. When this

is over, offerings are made at the pagoda of Sāriputra of all kinds of incense and flowers, and lamps are burning all night, with a band of musicians playing. Sāriputra was originally a Brāhman. On one occasion when he visited the Buddha, he begged to enter the priesthood, as also did the great Mogalan and the great Kaśyapa.

"Nuns mostly make offerings at the pagoda of Ānanda, because it was he who urged the World-Honoured one to allow women to become nuns. Novices of both sexes chiefly make their offerings to Rāhula (son of Buddha). Teachers of the Abhidharma make their offerings in honour thereof, and teachers of the Vinaya in honour of the Vinaya ; there being one such function every year, and each denomination having its own particular day. The followers of the Greater Vehicle make offerings in honour of Abstract Wisdom, of Manjusri (the God of Wisdom), of Kuan Yin (Avalokitesvara), and others. When the priests have received their annual tithes, the elders, the gentry, Brahmans and others bring, each one, various articles of clothing and things of which *Samans* stand in need, and distribute them among the priests, who also make presents to one another. Ever since the Nirvāna of Buddha these regulations of dignified ceremonial or the guidance of the holy brotherhood have been handed down without interruption."

Except for the one war Chandragupta seems to have enjoyed a reign of peace. This is indicated unmistakably in what Fa-Hien has noted regarding the character of his administration. Fa-Hien's statements in regard to the excellence of his administration are confirmed in a way by the large variety and the distinctly original character of the coin issues of Chandragupta II. Chandragupta's vast empire, through his long reign of comparative peace, must have had a brisk commercial activity both internal and external which called for the large variety of coins that he issued. This large variety seems to be accounted for as being due to the needs of the various provinces into which the empire of Chandragupta was divided One feature which does not appear to have received the attention of numismatists is, as is clearly indicated by his silver coinage intended for use in the territory of the Kshatrapas as well as what might be called the Kushan variety, that Chandragupta probably issued for each province a coinage similar to that with which the province was familiar. Such changes as he introduced in the coinage he did while preserving the readily visible external form of it, as far as may

be, like the coinage which was intended ultimately to supersede. This feature of his coinage would account for the long interval that elapsed between the last date on the Kshatrapa coins and the first of those of Chandragupta in the western part of his dominions. There would have been no need for a fresh issue so long as the old coinage was in circulation.

We gain an insight into Chandragupta's provincial administration from the Basarh excavations and the Damodharpur inscriptions. The former unearthed a number of clay seals. From one of these, Dhruvadevi, the queen consort of Chandragupta, seems to have had charge of perhaps the government of a province even under the emperor. Among the clay seals which were found in the excavations at Basrah (Vaisali) by Dr. Bloch, is one bearing the following inscription;—

> Mahādevi Srī Dhruvasvāmini, wife
> of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandra-
> gupta and mother of Mahārājā Srī Govinda Gupta."*

There was a number of other seals of officers of various degrees as also of private individuals. Among them there is one of Śrī Ghatotkacha Gupta. The variety and character of the seals in this find seem to justify Professor Bhandarkar's suggestion that they were the casts preserved in the workshop of the potter who was the general manufacturer of seals for the locality. There are the seals of a number of officers—of the Yuvarāja and Bhaṭṭaraka. These seem somewhat misunderstood and slightly mis-translated as they appear in Dr. Bloch's article in the *A. S. R.* 1903-04 (pp. 101-120). The expression "Yuvaraja-Bhaṭṭāraka-Kumārāmātya-Adhikaraṇa." must be taken as a whole and broken up into *āmātya-adhikarana*, chief among the ministers of the Yuvarāja and Bhaṭṭāraka-Kumāra. This Kumāra need not necessarily stand for Kumāra-Gupta, but the titles before, Yuvarāja and Bhaṭṭāraka, may seem to indicate that it did. Mahārāja Srī Govinda Gupta, another son of Dhruvadevi, whose name appears on the seal of the queen may have been actu-

* The seals, with the inscriptions upon them, attached to the charters issued by the Queen Prabhāvatigupta about the same time give clear indication of the possibility of Dhruvasvāmini's rule. " Jananya Yuvarājasya " in place of " Rāja Pravarasenasya " or something analogous before the expression " sāsaṇam ripusāsaṇam "—this is the last term in these inscriptions.

ally carrying on the administration as the deputy of his brother the heir-apparent whose province probably Tirabhukti (or Tirhut) was. The other officers that we find reference to in these seals are similar to those referred to in the Dāmodharpur inscriptions of the later Guptas, and on the whole give us some idea of the character of the official heirarchy who carried on the administration of the province under the empire. There was a governor or Viceroy who appointed the local governors and who again appointed the governors of sub-divisions such as the Vishaya etc. The headquarters, staff of the Viceroy was more or less similar to that of the imperial headquarters themselves, and would seem to have continued pretty much the same from the days of Asoka, who addressed some of his edicts to the Āryaputra (prince) and the Mahāmātras (great lords). So here in the days of the Gupta empire some provinces were governed by royal princes such as Tirabhukti in this particular instance. Kumāragupta who was probably the Viceroy must have been detained at headquarters, his brother Govindagupta carrying on the administration in his name. If Govindagupta happened to be too young for carrying on the administration himself, we could understand Dhruvasvamini being in charge of it in the name of her son. We have a parallel instance for this in the position of Prabhāvatigupta a daughter of this Chandragupta himself who carried on the administration for her son Divākarasena for 13 years as his regent, and seems to have exercised some authority up to the 19th and the 21st year of Pravarasena II, her other son. The prince and the queen in this case must have been assisted by a board of ministers among whom there must have been a chief, and that is the Āmatya-adhikaraṇa, the chief minister for military affairs (Balādhikaraṇa), the chief commissary officer (Ranabhāndakara-ādhikaraṇa), the chief of the Police (Dandapāsa-adhikaraṇa); there were besides the great chamberlain (Mahāpratihāra), and the chief judge (Mahādaṇḍanāyaka). The particular chamberlain Vinayasura is given the additional title Taravara, the chief of the Tara or rank. This seems to correspond to the Tamil Perundaram who had to countersign documents issuing from headquarters along with the chief secretary, it may be to represent the chief of "the lords in council". There were besides the chief of the guild of bankers (Sreshthin), the chief of the carrying traders (sārthavāha), and the chief of the merchants (Kulika). These seem to have formed the

body of officials constituting the administration. As we find this in regard to one particular province which happened to be in a locality where there was not much likelihood of the disturbance of peace, the inference would be justifiable that this gives the normal constitution of a provincial administration. Tirabhuki was probably regarded as a palatine viceroyalty as it was the accession of that province that constituted the claim to the greatness of the Guptas under Chandragupta I. Chandragupta II probably regarded that this province required to be governed by personages of no less importance than the queen-consort or a royal prince both as a matter of dignity, and because Ujjain had become his habitual headquarters.

The earliest known date of Kumāragupta I is 96, that is A.D. 415 ; Chandragupta must have died then. It may be that he died a year or two earlier. In or about the year A.D. 414-415 the vast empire of Chandragupta passed peacefully on to the rule of his son Kumāragupta I by his queen-consort Dhruvadevi. Kumāragupta's was a comparatively long reign going on to the year 136 almost, thus giving him a reign of 40 years. Such materials as are accessible to us at present for the history of the Guptas give us but little information regarding Kumāragupta's reign. This silence of our sources combined with the vast and varied coinage of Kumāragupta would justify the inference that his was a reign of peace throughout.

Much of the credit for the long and peaceful reign of Kumāragupta must be ascribed to the efficient organisation of the Gupta empire under Chandragupta II. This benevolent efficiency of organisation finds indirect support in the fact, and recorded in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta, that a guild of weavers belonging originally to the latter country found it necessary to migrate owing to the disorder prevailing in their native land, and settle down within the empire with a view to ply their trade of silk-weaving, and attain prosperity thereby. That a guild of weavers in the course of a generation prospered so well that a considerable section of them could give themselves up to the pursuit of such a leisurely study as astronomy, testifies to the fact that the empire offered the advantages necessary for the prosperity of trade, internal, and perhaps even over seas, in such an article of luxury as silk fabrics. It further shows that even an industrial class like that of silk-weavers could take to the pursuit of a study like that of astronomy, of course among other things. Hints such as these are undoubtedly clear in-

dications of the general condition of prosperity of the empire of Chandragupta, and go a long way to confirm the conclusions to which we are led by a study of Fa-Hien's account of his travels in the country. The Gupta empire under Chandragupta I reached, therefore, a high level of achievement and would compare to advantage with empires of contemporary and even later times. Is it of this Gupta emperor that the poet has sung:—

Dattvā ruddhagatiḥ Khasādhipataye devim Dhruvasvāminīm
Yasmātkhanditasāhasō nivavṛte Śrī Sarma Guptō Nṛpaḥ
Tasiminneva Himālaye guruguhā Kōṇakkvaṇat Kinnare
Gīyante tava Kārttikeya nagara strīṇam gaṇaiḥ Kīrttayaḥ?

THE EVOLUTION OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITIES

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Hardly a year has passed during the last fifteen years, in which some scholarly additions have not been made to the descriptive and critical study of old Indian forms of Government. The subject has in a very special sense come to his own, during this period, mainly as the result of national feeling, and of the natural desire to seek in our past history the justification for current political reforms and ideals. Despite the numerous contributions to the literature of ancient Indian Governments made during this epoch, studies which have attempted to dispel the old illusions of the static conditions of Indian political life have been sporadic and superficial.

The classical view of oriental governments, (within which those of Ancient and Medieval India are usually brought) has been that they were normally despotic monarchies, frequently in alliance with sacerdotalism. The *locus classicus* of such views is a well-known passage of Sir Henry Maine's *Early History of Institutions*, in which he cites the military despotism of Runjeet Singh in the Punjab as typical of oriental forms of government, and affirms that "the Punjab under Runjeet Singh may be taken as the type of all oriental countries in their native state during their rare intervals of peace and order." Maine's fatal gift of epigram and picturesque phraseology has done much to impede the correct perception of historic forces and instititutions. Nowhere has this been more evident than in the manner in which his teachings have paralysed the critical study of Indian political evolution. The postulates of Maine became the axioms of T. H. Green*, and the warrant for dialectics on oriental stagnation from Lord Balfour†.

In the following pages an attempt is made in the form of a critical and comparative study of three distinct and well-marked epochs of the History of Pre-Musalman India to outline the progressive evolution of forms of Ancient Indian Government and the causes which promoted or retarded their growth.

* See his *Principles of Political Obligation*. para 88.

† See his Sidgwick Memorial Lecture on "Decadence" pp. 34—39.

To commence with the most ancient epoch, about the conditions of which we are able to get a *coherent* picture—namely, the so-called Vedic period or the age of the Mantras, the farther limit of it is not certain, while the nearer limit comes down to about the seventh century before Christ.

We gather that during, at least, the last few centuries of this epoch, monarchy was the normal, but, not the only form of Government, though the use of the synonyms "kinglessness" (*arājata*)* to denote "anarchy" might seem to imply more. As we should have naturally expected in such an epoch of military and colonising activity, from our knowledge of the similar conditions of early Greek and English History, we also find here that royalty was much esteemed, and royal anger spoken of as a thing to be dreaded. We hear also, with how much poetical exaggeration in the description we know not, of the state and splendour maintained by these kings. We also find, towards the end of the epoch, a vague opinion growing up that the king was the proprietor of all the land in the kingdom. On the other hand, we learn that the king was less of an autocrat than he came to be regarded in later times. For we are told that, besides his duty of propitiating the priesthood with gifts, so as to have the help of its prayers and its magic for the obtaining of victories and the retention of sovereign power, he had to undergo, on accession, if not a *form* of popular *election*, at least a kind of *acceptance* by the people: Strict hereditary succession had not become the rule, and a person selected from the royal family, or even from a noble family, might be crowned†: In the coronation, the officiation of the head of the village (*Grāmani or Vispati*)‡ and court-officers like the charioteer, was so necessary as to entitle them to be spoken of as 'King-makers' (*rāja-kartarah*)§. Kings were occasionally expelled from their dominions. Their taxation of the people was felt to be a burden and was sometimes regarded as a

* *Arājata* "lack of king" means anarchy, perhaps also non-monarchic polities. *Taittriya Brāhmaṇa* i. 5, 9, 1; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* i. 14, 6.

† A kingdom of ten generations is mentioned in *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* xii, 9, 3, 3; and *Aitareya Brahmaṇa* viii, 12, 7. The succession, however, need not have been strictly hereditary but instead confined to royal house or family.

‡ *Rig Veda* i. 65, 4: *Ait. Brāh.* vii 29, viii, 12, 17; *Kausitāki Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 12; *Sat. Brāh.* i. 8, 2, 17, iv. 2, 1, 3, 17 etc.

§ *Sat. Brāh.* v. 4, 4, 7.

payment for the protection given by the king. Some kinds of an assembly, (*Sabhā, Samiti*)* the powers of which are not quite clear, existed at the head-quarters consisting of the notables of the realm, like Brāhmans, nobles, etc. The king is stated as immune from punishment (*a-dandya*), and, in a metaphor, which was destined to become so potent in later political theory, to wield *Danda* or, the rod of chastisement.† He appears to have exercised an extensive criminal jurisdiction and the powers of an appellate judge in civil cases, being assisted in his judicial functions by his family priest (the *purohita*) and his court officers. It is not clear whether he selected or approved of the appointment of the village heads (*Grāmani*) who practically looked after the local affairs. There are obscure indications also, in early Vedic literature, of the great power of the Royal House (*Rājanya*) and of the nobles, and of even their having had equal rights with the king himself in times of peace (Zimmer 176-7). The sacerdotal basis of society is indicated by the sanctity ascribed to the Brāhman. The slaying of a *Brāhman* was regarded as a more serious crime than the murder of an ordinary person. By the same confusion between crime and sin, and by the absence of any distinction *in principle* between real crimes and fanciful characteristic of a primitive society, physical imperfections, or infringements of conventional practices [Macdonell and Keith. I page 391], "bodily defects, such as bad nails and discoloured teeth, marrying a younger daughter while her elder sister was unmarried, were coupled with murder though not equated with it." [*Ibid.* page 391 n.] The prevalence of Wehrgild (*Vaira*) or money-compensation for killing, shows that the State was not yet strong enough to assert itself in avenging manslaughter—a significant proof of the weakness of the king, as contrasted with his position in the succeeding age—when, as we know from the Sūtras and Buddhist literature, crimes were regarded as offences against the majesty of the State. In concluding, it should be added that the State was *not* based on a *fixed* territory and was generally of a small area, in spite of the aspirations or the compliment implied in the poetic reference to the heads of really small States as *Samrāts*,

* On the Vedic Sabhā and Samiti: see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Chapter IV, and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, pp. 11-21 with references in it.

† *Sat. Brāh.* V. 4, 4, 7.

Virāts, Swarāts and Sārvabhaumas—i.e., the titles later on reserved for emperors and kings of kings.

In regard to the polity of the next great epoch—the period lying between the seventh and fourth centuries B. C., we have fuller information. The Upanishads, the Brāhmanic, Jain and Buddhist Sūtras, the references in the extant fragments of Ktesias and Megasthenes, the *Arthaśāstra* of Chāṇakya and, above all, the Jātakas are our chief authorities.

The State, that these sources describe, marks several points of advance over the Vedic State. While a striking—almost novel-feature of the period is the existence side by side with monarchies —some of which were powerful ones too—of *republics*, partially or wholly independent. The Buddhist accounts testify to the existence of these republics, among the clans and the tribes in *North-East* India, for instance among the Videhas or Vrijjians, the Cetis and the Mallas ; while the evidence of the Greeks shows their presence, again in *tribal* units, in the Punjab and in the North-West. In an important passage, Chāṇakya refers to a similar condition among the warlike Kṣatriya clans of the Kambhojas (near Peshwar) and the Surashtras (Gujarat), which followed the pursuit of agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade and were apparently not even under aristocracies like the republics of the north-east. It is a remarkable testimony to the strength and vitality and perhaps also to the number of such republics in his day, that the Indian Machiavelli should devote, as he does, an entire book (III of his *Arthaśāstra* to the devices by which an ambitious king (like Chandragupta, we presume) might annex such republics after undermining the power of their governing bodies or executives. It should be remembered that these republics were *invariably* tribal, generally oligarchic, and often had sprung from more ancient monarchies, as for instance, the Vrijjian confederation in what was once the kingdom of the Videhas.* This inference is justified by the fact

* See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* p. 26.

"It is very interesting to notice that while tradition makes Videha a kingdom in earlier times, it describes it in the Buddha's time as a republic." Its size as a separate kingdom is said to have been 300 leagues in circumference. With its capital town Mithilā is associated the name of the great Epic King Janaka. *Sat. Brāh*, xi. 6, 2, 1; *Jātakas*. vi 30-68; *ibid* III 365, IV 316,

that in the government of these oligarchic republics generally, as among their European contemporaries, the Bacchiads of Corinth, the royal power was put *in commission* and was owned *jointly by all the nobles*, who claimed descent from a common royal ancestor. That this was so *even* up to the time of Chandragupta the Maurya is evident from a famous passage in Chāṇakya,* that, as against the general rule of primogeniture the throne might occasionally belong to a whole royal family or clan. To those, again, who are conversant with the history of the prevailing forms of land-tenure in Upper India, the similar conditions in which the Bhaiyachara† system arose, will furnish a convincing analogy.

An organised territory has not yet come to be regarded at least in the earlier part of this epoch, as a requisite of a State. Only tribes and nations are spoken of.‡ This is but natural, for the time was then yet far when a powerful kingdom would arise to absorb many states and dynasties, efface old land-marks, and make it impossible to refer to itself except on a territorial basis.

Among the free clans and tribes, the Government is generally oligarchic, the executive head or heads being elected periodically at a mass meeting of the people who possessed the suffrage.§ In a similar folk moot were settled all large questions, such as those relating to foreign policy. This is very significant. Nowhere else in the history of India do we henceforth meet with the folk moot, the landesgeminde, which was such an essential feature of Germanic,

* Kautiliya, I. 17.

† On Bhaiyachara, refer to B. H. Baden-Powell's *Land Systems of British India*, Vol III.

‡ Cf. The lists of the sixteen great powers or the sixteen great nations in the early Buddhist canon. e.g. *Anguttara* I. 213; IV 252, 256, 260: *Vinaya* Texts II 146; referred to in *Mahāvastu* II 2. 1. 15. It is interesting that the names Kāsis, Kosalas, Kambhojas are names not of countries but peoples, tribes or clans.

§ Cf. Mr. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, p. 84 *et seq*. The Hindu term for feroligarchies would be *Rājakulas* or *kulasaṃgha*. In Kula states supreme leadership went evidently by turns to the few fuling families. *Anguttara Nikaya*, 58. 1. The executive authority in these Kulas seem sometimes, as with the Yaudheyas, to have vested with the Mantradharas or councillors. On procedure of deliberation in Hindu republics see Mr. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, pp. 103-117 and references cited therein to the Buddhist Canon.

and in a wider sense, of Aryan polity. In the Vedic age we hear of the king, and his council (Sabhā or Samiti)—as we do, in the age of Chāṇakya and subsequent periods, of the king and the cabinet of ministers—sometimes even of a large or outer cabinet, with an inner cabinet or cabal, which enjoyed the exclusive confidence of the ruler.

It was perhaps this growth of royal power and pretensions that helped to crush out of existence the remnants of free institutions like the councils of notables (Sabhā, Samiti)—our analogue to the Anglo-Saxon Witan and the folk moots. The growth in the size of the states and in the intricacy, complexity and difficulty of administrative work, as well as the absence of the representative principle in Government, would largely account for the disappearance of these institutions. I shall attempt to demonstrate later on, how an identical cause probably underlay both the growth of royal absolutism and the failure of representative institutions to germinate in our soil.

To come back to the king—we find in this epoch an increase in his authority and powers, and in the spectacular and ceremonial features of his station. Elaborate regalia, a solemn state, the practice of seclusion,—partly through policy and partly for safety-became the recognised associations of royalty. The throne was usually hereditary and went by primogeniture. The heir-apparent was treated with reserve and suspicion, was often educated outside the State—and if he completely reassured the parental suspicion and jealousy, was given a part in the administration, as a commander, or provincial Governor.* The theoretical absolutism of king was accepted, but his power was known to rest solely on his effective military strength. Gradually, both through the spread of sacerdotal and metaphysical notions the view gained ground among the common folk, that a king was not like other men, but stood apart on account of his power of association with and his influence on super-mundane forces. He was popularly credited with the power of forcing the will of the Gods so as to ensure to his country a perennial prosperity and freedom from seasonal vicissitudes.†

* *Arthaśāstra* I. 17.

† *Jātakas*, II, p. 368.

Logically, the acceptance of this view reacted, in course of time, against the absolutist claims of the monarch, as it left him face to face with a popular tumult, whenever famine or other dangers threatened the land. Thus, the belief expressed in one of the Jātaka tales*—namely that "if a king be unrighteous, God sends rain out of season, and in season no rain, and fear of famine, fear of pestilence, fear of the sword—these three fears come upon men, through him"—had its constitutional value for the growth of the later Indian State into a specifically military power (witness the huge armament mentioned by the Greek writers as maintained by Indian kings, and Asoka's acknowledgement of the same fact), and therefore, a virtual tax-gathering despotism whose inclination to satisfy the populace, and the priesthood which influenced it, was only governed by its confidence in its strength to cope with "the chaotic outbreaks of the government making power"† i.e., the mob.

The administrative machinery grew in size and complexity with the increase in the royal prestige and power. While, in theory, the king, as of old, was still the chief judge of his people, in practice the administration of justice had become the work of a separate set of officers. Even the royal prerogative or obligation to preside at the chief appellate tribunal could be delegated by the king to others—such as the high priest (*purohita*) or the treasurer or the commander (*Sainika*). The increasing expenditure of the State and of the court necessitated a more elaborate system of taxation and the recourse to diverse ways of filling the treasury. It is also probable that one cause for the elaborate attention bestowed on public finance by ancient kings and ancient writers was the consciousness that, in a state which had not advanced far enough in civilisation, the happiness and the welfare of the people depended almost entirely on the revenue system and the methods of taxation. Whether we compare with one another the financial systems of the pre-Buddhist, the Buddhist, the Mauryan and the later epochs, as evidenced by contemporary literature and inscriptions, or whether we compare the treatment of public finance in the earlier with that in the later works on law and polity, we

* *Jātakas trans. by Cowell* and others II. p. 124.

† The phrase in Sir John Seeley, *Lectures on Political Science*.

cannot fail to observe that every succeeding age shows a more intricate and elaborate revenue system than the preceding ages. In this connection, it is also worthy of remark that all the principals of the prerogative constituents (i. e., the residuary rights of the king)—which we are able to gather from the references thereto scattered through the Sūtra Literature and the Jātaka, all of them, relate to finance e. g. the king's right to treasure trove, to the produce of mines, to elephants, to the land revenue, to escheats, to wardship, to abandoned property, to a sixth of the booty of war, to milk-money on the birth of an heir, to be informed of all adoptions, and to have his property free from alienation even after any length of prescription or adverse possession. It would be well to consider this fact along with the length of the list of the sources of the king's revenue.* Some idea of the thoroughness of the revenue administration may be gained by remembering (1) that the assessment was based on individual properties so as to ensure the demand of the maximum of revenue while in the collection of the revenue, the responsibility of the head of the village, or of the revenue circle was generally recognised along with that of the individuals assessed, and (2) that simple and inexpensive but effective, contrivances were provided for audit and control of the collection. It hardly required Chāṇakya's sage warning that—"all undertakings depend upon finance ; therefore the treasury should receive the best attention of the ruler"† to make the Indian Rājas of the Buddhist and later epochs vigilant in this sphere, and readily have recourse to such methods of insuring the treasury against loss, as Chāṇakya suggested :—namely that—as "whoever lessens the revenue eats the king's wealth, so if by neglect, he allows the revenue to diminish in amount, he should be made to yield the difference between the demand and the collection". It is evident that one object of the Census which Chāṇakya recommends was to ensure that the State did not overlook taxable resources.

So rigorous a system of revenue collection, it is evident, should have been oppressive. The Jātakas show that there was overtaxation and this will perhaps explain the emphasis which the

* *Sukranīti*, II. ii. 222-60.

† Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*. p. 79.

writers on Dharma and Nīti lay on the unwisdom of taxing the people so as to reduce their capacity for production.*

In general administration, the king was in theory absolute, and could appoint or dismiss any officers. But, in practice, it is certain that custom favoured a hereditary succession to offices. The rational justification of this practice offered by Chāṇakya following an earlier writer named Kaunapadanta is significant as showing how even unconservative writers like him felt the need to justify what could not be altered. Thus :—"The king shall employ as ministers those whose fathers and grandfathers had been ministers before, as such persons, in virtue of their knowledge of past events and of a deep attachment to the king, will, though provoked, never desert him."†

In the light of the evidence available for this epoch, we should do well to re-consider in regard to one other important matter, the assumptions regarding the absolutism of the ancient Indian king, which are being confidently made even by eminent authorities : that is in regard to the king's position towards law. While, no reference is made to Codes of law, in the modern sense, as in use in guiding the judges, it is hardly right to presume that there was no definite body of rules whatsoever to guide the judge, except those of common sense equity and good conscience. Writing, notwithstanding Megasthenes,‡—was in public administrative use—for do not the proclamations of Asoka, engraved a generation after Megasthenes and addressed to every section of the people, imply extended knowledge of writing? How then can we assume that there was then no body of rules available in books, written or remembered (as our Dharma sūtras are), to guide the kings in such extremely important matters as the adjudication of disputes in courts of law One of the Jātakas has a pointed reference to a "book of judgments "§—apparently a collection of precedents by observing which suits were to be settled. Another refers to the engrossing on "a golden plate"¶, probably for future guidance. Is it likely

* *Mahābhārata* XII 87. 18. 20. 21; 88. 7-8. Also Manu, vii, 129.
† Kautilya, *Arthaśāstra* I, 3.
‡ McCrindle's *Ancient India*, Megasthenes, Fragment XXVII.
§ *Jātakas*. III. 292.
¶ *Ibid* V. 125.

that in an epoch when definiteness and accuracy were passionately desired in the most trifling details of ritual, when the boundaries separating the secular and religious spheres were indistinct, when the administrations were cultivating under expert advice a passion for detail in revenue and finance, that a function of so much ethical importance as publicly redressing wrong, a ceremony of such deep religious import as deciding how the divine Daṇḍa was to be used would have been left to accident, to caprice, and to argument? Can it be claimed that the decisions, as we occasionally come upon them in our ancient literature, have always the impress of equity and logic? And, assuming that there was then no common body of written laws, how can we account for the unanimity with which the Dharmasūtras advise kings to give just decisions* without indicating some specific rules? Do not these pre-suppose that there was some well-recognised standard of what was then deemed a "just decision" in the different cases? The frequent mention in the Jātakas, of the reversal of a judicial decision by authority after authority in succession, sometimes even by learned ascetics who held no office but probably turned up as friends of the court, would surely indicate more a conflict of precedents, laws, of evidence, than a conflict of equity and logic? We have also to remember that, at this and in succeeding epochs, the trials were public,† and that "applause" by those present was allowed, and that the administration of justice, being exclusively in the hands of Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas, was less like amateurs deciding on law than a trained class of educated men exercising their learning in settling points at issue. To my mind, the position of a judge in an ancient Indian court with ascetics, Brāhmans and assessors to help him, was similar to that of a new Roman praetor deciding in the presence of senior members of the senatorial order‡ questions in the adjudication of which, they could use the same authorities as he relied on, but with

* See Manu VIII. 3.

† See Nārada, Book I. i. iii. about Courts of justice, trial, procedure and judgment

‡ Cf. Sir Henry Summer Maine, *Ancient Law*, Chapters II and III, remarks on the bar legislating and not the bench in ancient Rome; and the restrictions imposed on a new praetor by the presence of ex-magistrates and legists in the court. Also Dr. Moyle's Introduction to his edition of the *Institutes of Justinian*.

the precision and confidence induced by their greater knowledge and wider experience. Even the testimony of Megasthenes to the absence of written laws in India, to which exaggerated importance has often been attached in forgetfulness of his many erroneous statements (natural to one who was not a trained observer and who had only limited facilities for observation), is not against my contention. For, what should have been the conception of a written law to a Greek like Megasthenes, the idea that should be uppermost in his mind, whenever he thought of law, whether Indian or other? Would he not have regarded public exposure, tangible publication, to be the characteristic feature of laws properly so called, remembering how the laws of Draco were "shown publicly,"* those of Solon were preserved, in his own day, on rollers and triangular tablets in the Prytaneoum,† and how the laws of Gortyn‡ were engraved on stone; obviously, therefore, he should have generalised from the absence of such in India. In the face of these difficulties, I feel somewhat impatient of such dogmatic statements as that the ancient Indian State did not issue laws as distinct from particular or occasional commands, that it never judicially administered autonomic law, or that there was no customary or written law in ancient India.

We now come to the third and last period in the history of the old Indian State—the period represented in its initial stages by the Mauryan empire, in its meridian by the Gupta empire, and in its later development by the Rajput States which grew up all over North India and the Deccan in the long interval between the death of Harsha of Thanesar and the Mussalman conquest. The revivals of ancient polity that were attempted in Indian soil by Shivaji§ and the survivals of the old forms of our Government in the existing Native States do not represent a new epoch, but bear reference only to the conditions of this classical epoch. In the domain of political theory, this age is associated with the speculations of Sukra, of Manu, and of the later writers on Dharma and Nīti like Yajñavalkya, Nārada and Kāmandaki. As no attempt is being made here to deal

* *History of Greece*, Vol. II. p. 447.

† *Ibid.* III, p. 500.

‡ Whibley's *Hand-book of Hellenic Studies*, p. 378.

§ On Shivaji's attempted revival of ancient Indian polity, see Ranade, *Rise of the Marhatta Power*. Also see *Marhatta Administration*.

with the mechanism of administration, in detail, it is not necessary to do more than indicate the points of difference in the political institutions and conditions of this period as distinguished from those of previous epochs.

The most important feature of the political life in this age is what may be termed the "perfection" of royal absolutism, the apotheosis of the king. The recognition of the essentialness of the king in administration in a specific, and of unity in the state, in a general sense, had indeed led to the ascription of much importance to the king even in earlier times. Thus, Āpastamba had ruled that the death of a king interrupted Vedic study,* and according to Vasishta all monetary transactions were legally suspended between the death of a king and the accession of his successor.† The sanctity of the throne was further protected by rules making attempts against the life of the king, the corruption of his ministers, the forging of his edicts, the seduction of his queens—crimes and sins of the greatest turpitude.‡ His position was explained as out of the common, and from very early times he had been viewed as beyond the law as *adandaya*.§ But, gradually with the growth in actual powers of kings, and with the evolution first of large states on the basis of the old tribal governments and subsequently of the first historical empire in Indian soil, the claims of royalty were advanced beyond all previous limits.

The mania for speculation—characteristic of the age—which saw the application of logic to fundamentals in ethics and religion, led also to the consideration of abstract political questions. The great extension of religious systems (Jainism, Buddhism, Brāhminism) which sought to base all social and political order on divine sanction, and to connect the various activities and relations of life with one another and with supposed transmundane conditions—led to further developments in the current theories of government. Readers of Asoka's edicts need not be told how deeply, how intensely the great Emperor felt his personal responsibility for the upkeep of the moral

* Āpastamba I, 4, 13; Viṣnu XXII 45; Baudhāyana I. 11-22.

† Vasishtah II, 49-50.

‡ Manu IX 232; *Ibid*, IX, 275.

§ *Ibid*. V. 96; VII, 4-12; 17. *Sat. Brāh*. xiii. 6. 2. 18.

and material welfare of the world. Though not actually framed at this epoch, it is extremely probable that this was the stage at which the theories of the origin of kingship in compact and in divine sanction received their widest currency.* At any rate, at no other point in the evolution of Indian polity did the theory and the practice of the State in India so nearly tend to approach to the ideals implied in those theories.

And what were the logical—the historical foundations of this exaltation of royal power, and the acceptance of these theories of the birth of political order? In Otto Gierke's unrivalled account of the political theories of the Middle Age will be found an easy answer. There are singular resemblances, almost an identity, between the medieval European and the classical Indian conceptions of Monarchy. Both started by regarding the Universe itself as a kingdom under a supreme director, all earthly lordships as reflections of the divine lordship, and all institutions, secular or spiritual as well as every species of office of authority and position as divinely ordained. From both it followed as a natural inference from the assumption of one-Force as governing the Universe, that the rule of one-Monarch was the form of Government indicated logically as the best for men. Both saw confirmation of this in history, which related the triumph of monarchies over republics, and in experience which showed how, in their own epochs of disruptive tendencies, emanating respectively from Feudalism or from Caste and Religious rivalries, a strong kingship was the integrating force which kept society together. To both, the belief in monarchy brought two tendencies, the first to exalt the person of the sovereign, and the other to magnify his office. It was well that these two tendencies were born together ; for, apart, one of them would have pulled towards absolutism and the other towards the opposite extreme of unlimited popular sovereignty. This conception of kingship as an office led to a recognition of its duties and obligations which again started enquiries regarding the philosophical basis of the king's relations to the community. This, in turn, led to the conviction that a king bore an onerous burden, because he occupied an emi-

* *Mahābhārata*, Sāntiparvan LXVII 12-14; *Ibid.* LXVIII 15-19. Also passages in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya.

nent office and was responsible for the conduct of the community according to the divine precepts, and for ensuring to its members justice, peace and happiness generally. It was then only a step further to the conclusion that kings existed for subjects and not the subjects for the kings, and to the assumptions of the theories of the social contract.

Thus, in a remarkable manner, somewhat similar conditions started, in medieval Europe and in ancient India, parallel lines of thought, with the result that in both, the epochs of royal apotheosis saw also the birth of the conflicting principle that resistance to the will of a bad ruler was justifiable, because it was monstrous to assume that Divine sanction could lie behind tyranny. A few quotations will show that this interpretation of the derivation of the political ideas of our Classical age is justified by the data available. The Rāja-dharma section of the *Mahābhārata*—whose didactic character and strange resemblances to Manu—convict it of being, in its present form, the product of the epoch under consideration, says, to begin with, that "the world which depends upon agriculture and trade is protected by the Vedas ; and both the world and the Vedas are protected by the dutiful king".* "A sovereign ', says Kāmandaki, "who discharges his duty according to Nīti secures *Trivarga* for himself and his subjects." Manu's statements are more pointed.† "A king must protect the Universe; for, when living beings were scattered about, in mutual fear, in a state of kinglessness, the Lord created the king for the protection of the creation taking for the purpose the eternal principles of Indra, of Vāyu, of Yama, or Āditya, of Agni, of Varuṇa, of Chandra and of Kubera; and because he has been formed of the essence of these gods, therefore the king surpasses all created beings in lustre.....The man who in his folly hates the king will surely perish.....Let no man transgress the commands of the king.....For the kings's sake, the supreme Being created His own Son, Danda, from Brahma's glory,—Danda—the protector of all creatures and the incarnation of the Dharma. Through fear of him all created beings, the immovable and the movable, allow themselves to be used swerve not from their appointed functions" and,

* *Mahābhārata*, Rājadharma LXVIII.

† Manu, VII. 3-4.

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† Manu, VII. 3-4.

then reversing his position, Manu continues, and makes out Danda to be the ruler *defacto*, the king being only an instrument, chosen as such, only if he is virtuous ; for "Danda, possesses a very bright lustre, and is hard to be administered by men with unimproved minds ; it strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his family". The same sentiments are echoed by Sukra :— "The king is the cause of the increase of the world. If there was no king, to lead them properly, the subjects will drift as does a rudderless ship in the ocean. Without him the people do not keep, each in his appointed sphere of duties, and, without subjects, he too does not shine on the earth."..... The king who follows the "Law" (Dharma) has the divine essence in him, while if he is otherwise, he is assuredly made up of the essence of the demons. The royal obligation to protect and to be popular is implied in ingenious etymologies constructed for the words Kṣatriya—and Rājan—making them out to imply 'the healer' and 'the pleaser' respectively (vide Kālidāsa); and the opinion is definitely stated that taxes are paid in return for protection, and that unrighteousness destroys a ruler.* The proposition was thus reached that 'just ruler' and 'king' were naturally convertible terms, and that a 'bad king' was a verbal contradiction. In the province of law this ingenious conclusion was reaffirmed in the form of the celebrated identity of law and justice which we owe to the epoch of the Upaniṣads,† an identity which has persisted up to the current day in the different connotations of the term Dharma : "Law is the power of the king ; therefore there is nothing higher than law. For by it the weak and the strong are equally ruled by the king. Thus whatever is law, is also truth. When a man says the truth they say he declares the law ; and if he declares what is true. Thus both are the same".

It may be pertinently asked why, after the evolution of this logical justification to limit royal power, India historically persisted in a form of theoretical absolutism while Europe, apparently starting from the same point, developed institutions based on the principle

* *Mahābhārata* : Sānti Parvan LX I. 10. Narada, XVIII. 48. *Arthaśastra*, Book I. 13. *Mahābhārata, Parva* LVII. 46-48.

† Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad, I. 4. 14.

of popular sovereignty. The question is a big one, and is not capable of a single or a simple answer. But one explanation may be offered, in the light of our present knowledge, namely, the conditions of India and Europe were not quite the same, as particularly at the period in question Europe possessed an institution which tended to foster popular rights, while in classical India there was an institution which tended precisely in the opposite direction of monarchical concentration, the two institutions being respectively Feudalism and Caste.

In regard to the manner in which an absolutism came to be transformed into a limited monarchy or even a democratic republic through the instrumentality of Feudalism, I may refer to the brilliant exposition contained in Professor G. B. Adam's study of the "*Origin of the English Constitution*". From it will be seen how contractual basis of Feudalism* familiarised the people with the conception of the reciprocal duties of chief and vassal, of king and subject. If in the Feudal Law the vassal was bound to yield allegiance, his chief was equally bound to provide security and good government. Thus it followed that while in Medieval Europe the king was in one respect conceived of as being above the law, he was also viewed from another aspect as subject, equally with his lieges, to a particular body of laws. It is in this sense that Feudalism appears a kind of "legalism" or "constitutionalism". Had we in ancient India any similar condition? It is true that the subject of one of our ancient king *e.g.*, of Asoka or of Samudragupta, for the matter of that, the king himself, would have admitted the existence of a body of rules to which he was subject just like any ordinary person. But these rules would have been those of the religious or moral code of the times. It is of course true that, being as much a creature of his surroundings as any of his subjects, the king would have shared in the belief in the binding character of these moral rules. Nevertheless, though the prevalence of this opinion must have tended largely to mitigate in *practice* the absolutism of the Indian ruler, yet it could not have furnished anything comparable to the *systematic* assertion of right against the king, which Feudal

* Cf. Sir Paul Vinogradoff's observation on Feudalism in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. III, pp. 458 et. Seq.

Law gave. It is noticeable that the *historical* forms of Indian polity in which this feeling prevails that the subject has a right as against his ruler, has been commonest in states where something approaching Feudalism existed, as for instance, in the states of Rajputana. This is my justification for maintaining that. With the facilities afforded by the current political theories of the classical age, India might have developed some kind of popular rule, if our ancient Indian society had passed through some form of Feudalism.

The bearing of caste on free institutions has been more generally understood, and it is not therefore necessary here to do more than indicate the manner in which it has contributed in our country, to the concentration of monarchical power and the consequent depression of popular rights. The sacerdotal foundation of society implies a paternal government that would restrict each caste to the due performance of its appointed functions and work. As division of functions according to caste is an essential feature of this system, it followed that particular departments of activity in the state and in society became the monopoly of special castes; and jealousies were bound to arise in course of time between caste and caste by the growth of economic and political inequality and of immunities secured by influential groups from taxation, jurisdiction and forced labour. This would form a powerful disruptive force in society and necessitate the strengthening of monarchy so as to enable it not only to conduct the routine work of the administration but to be powerful enough to confine each class to its traditional position. Among such privileged castes oligarchies would not arise through the persistence of divided counsels and individual rivalries. The organisation of caste as Party is rendered impracticable by the universal nature of the distinctions of the caste system, that is, the horizontal and unvertical cleavage in society it postulates. Further, the permanent exclusion of the largest part of the population, by its status, from administrative work would deprive society as a whole of opportunities for training in collective action. In these ways, especially, as in course of time castes increased in number, forces of disintegration would gain in volume and necessitate a corresponding concentration of power in the hands of the monarch. That this was so in Ancient India is evident from the passionate denunciations of an Interregnum that we have in several parts of our classical literature.

That Ancient India inspite of these tendencies has so largely escaped the presence of such unrelieved despotisms as other countries similarly placed, is, I consider in a large measure, due to a variety of checks on absolutism which grew up side by side in our land, partly as a result of our peculiar social evolution. Among them I might mention the favourable leaning of the rulers themselves through training, through sympathy and through superstition, to acquiese in the restraints placed on their power by the current religious and moral codes ; the curbing influence of the privileged classes of the Brāhmans and the Kṣatriyas—the priests, the officials and soldiers of the day ; the deep-rooted conservatism of the royal counsellors, of the civil servants and the people themselves, which made them oppose any deliberate change from the old system of benevolent paternalism ; 'the right of rebellion' latent in despotisms and conceded in India by the political theory which restricted the title of King to the Just Ruler ; and, above all, the small size of most of the states of the time and the weak international law of the time which would have condoned the conquest of a state in the throes of civil strife by its neighbour, the abundant testimony of the inscriptions, of the contemporary literature, the accounts of foreign observers—all combine to show that those checks were effective, and that as a result there was a large measure of good government, even according to the best modern standards, in most of the states of ancient India. And if any further proofs were wanting, in defence of this position I would refer to the remarkable manner in which loyalty to the ruler had become an instinct in India, and had been consecrated as a moral and as a political vidtue, by the teachings of those who moulded for centuries the course of Indian thought and opinion.

A NEW VERSION OF THE RAMA-LEGEND

(PROFESSOR SURENDRA NATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI, M.A., P.R.S.)

It is known to every Hindu that the 'passing of Sîtâ' to the nether world has been narrated in the *Uttarakâṇḍa* of *Vâlmîki's Râmāyaṇa*. But *Bhavabhûti* has, in his *Uttara-Râmacharita*, re-united her with Râma. And critics have come to the conclusion that the dramatist has turned the tragic history of Râma to a comedy as tragedies are seldom met with in Sanskrit dramatic literature.* But before accepting this theory we ought to investigate whether the 'Re-union of Râma and Sîtâ' (after the latter's abandonment by the former) has anywhere been described in early Sanskrit literature or not. And the result of my investigation on the subject is that Bhavabhûti borrowed it from Guṇâdhya whose work is now popularly familiar to us in its eleventh or twelfth century A. D. Sanskrit version—the *Kathâ- sarit-sâgara*.

In the *Alaṅkâravatî-lambaka* section of the *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara* there is a sketch of Râma's career narrated by *Kânchanaprabhā*, a demi-goddess of the *Vidyâdharî* class. She came to know that *Nara-vâhana-datta* (the son of *Udayana* of Kauśâmbî by *Vâsava-dattâ*) was not able to bear the pangs of separation of her daughter, Alaṇkâra-vatî, and so she narrated it to pacify the sorrows of her would-be son-in-law (Naravâhana-datta). This version of the Râma-legend differs much from that of the *Uttarakâṇḍa* of Valmîki's *Râmâyaṇa*. I reproduce here a portion of that chapter with its purport in English :

किमेकरात्रि-विश्लेषे ह्यधैर्यं युवयोरिदम् ।
अनिश्चितावधिं धीराः सहन्ते विरहं चिरम् ।
श्रूयतां रामभद्रस्य सीतादेव्यास्तथा कथा ॥ ५८ ॥

58. Wherefore do you two (*i.e. Naravâhanadatta* and *Alaṅkāravatî*) feel this impatience for a single-night's separation? The firm-minded bear the pangs of separation even for an uncertain period. Do you listen to the story of Râma-bhadra and Sîtâ !

* Tragedies are rare in Sanskrit. The only one of note is one of the Trivanandrum series ascribed to Bhâsa.

* * * * * *

अथावृत्तस्य वनतः शासतो भरतार्पितम् ।
तस्य राजमयोध्यायां सीता गर्भमधत्त सा ॥ ६५ ॥
तावत् चात्र प्रजाचेष्टां ज्ञातुमल्पपरिच्छदः ।
स्वैरं परिभ्रमन्नेकं सोऽपश्यत् पुरुषं प्रभुः ॥ ६६ ॥
हस्ते गृहीत्वा गृहिणीं निरस्यन्तं निजात् गृहात् ।
परस्येयं गृहमगादिति दोषानुकीर्त्तनात् ॥ ६७ ॥
रक्षो-गृहोषिता सीता रामदेवेन नोज्झिता ।
अयमभ्यधिको यो मामुज्झति ज्ञातिवेश्मगाम् ॥ ६८ ॥
इति तद्-गृहिणीं तां च ब्रुवतीं तं निजं पतिम् ।
रामो राजा स शुश्राव खिन्नश्चाभ्यन्तरं ययौ ॥ ६९ ॥
लोकापवादभीतश्च सीतां तत्याज तां वने ।
सहते विरहक्लेशं यशस्वी नायशः पुनः ॥ ७० ॥
सा च गर्भालसा दैवात् वाल्मीकेः प्रापदाश्रमम् ।
तेनर्षिणा समाश्वास्य तत्रैव ग्राहिता स्थितिम् ॥ ७१ ॥
नूनं सीता सदोषेयं त्यक्ता भर्त्रान्यथा कथम् ।
तत् एतद्-दर्शनात् नित्यम् पापं संक्रामतीह नः ॥ ७२ ॥
वाल्मीकिः क्रूपया चैतां निर्वासयति नाश्रमात् ।
एतद्-दर्शनजं पापं तपसा च व्यपोहति ॥ ७३ ॥

59-64 describe the early life of Râma upto the death of Râvaṇa

65. Râma returned from the forest. He was governing Ayodhyâ. Sîtâ became pregnant.

66-67. Râma was walking *incognito* to get first-hand information about his subjects, and saw one who was driving away his wife for her having been into somebody else's house.

68-69. She was saying that His Majesty Râma did not drive Sîtâ away though she (Sîtâ) dwelt in the house of the *Râkṣasa*, but she was being driven out for having been to the house of a kinsman. Râma became very sorry to hear it.

70. Râma abandoned Sîtâ on account of the above rumour.

71. Sîtâ went to the hermitage of Vâlmîki.

तद् एत यावद् गच्छामो द्वितीयं कंचिदाश्रमम् ।
इति संमन्त्रयामासुस्तत्रान्ये मुनयस्तदा ॥ ७४ ॥
तद्बुद्ध्वा तान् स वाल्मीकिरब्रवीत् नात्र संशयः ।
शुद्धैषा प्रणिधानेन मया दृष्टा द्विजा इति ॥ ७५ ॥
तथाप्यप्रत्ययस्तेषां यदा सीता तदाभ्यधात् ।
भगवन्तो यथा वित्थ तथा शोधयतेह माम् ॥ ७६ ॥
अशुद्धायाः शिरश्छेद-निग्रहः क्रियतां मम ।
तत् श्रुत्वा जात-करुणा जगदुर्मुनयोऽत्र ते ॥ ७७ ॥
अस्त्याच्च टीटिभसरो नाम तीर्थं महत् वने ।
टीटिभी हि पुरा कापि भर्त्रान्यासङ्ग-शङ्किना ॥ ७८ ॥
मिथ्यैव दूषिता साध्वी चक्रन्दाशरणा भुवम् ।
लोकपालांश्च तैस्तस्या शुद्ध्यर्थं तत् विनिर्मितम् ॥ ७९ ॥
तत्रैषा राघवबधूः परिशुद्धिं करोतु नः ।
इत्युक्तवद्भिस्तैः साकं जानकी तत् सरो ययौ ॥ ८० ॥
यदार्यपुत्रादन्यत्र न स्वप्नेऽपि मनो मम ।
तदुत्तरेयं सरसः पारमस्तु वसुन्धरे ॥ ८१ ॥
इत्युक्त्वैव प्रविष्टा च तस्मिन् सरसि सा सती ।
नीता च पारमुत्सङ्गे कृत्वाविर्भूतया भुवा ॥ ८२ ॥
ततस्तां ते महासाध्वीं प्रणेमुर्मुनयोऽखिलाः ।
राघवं शप्तुमैच्छंश्च तत्परित्यागमन्युना ॥ ८३ ॥

72-74. Sages dwelling in Vâlmîki's penance-grove did not approve of her living there (for they thought her not to be 'pure') and so they formed a plan to migrate from that grove.

75-76. After Vâlmîki's fruitless attempt to convince them of Sitâ's purity, the latter asked them to test her purity in any way they pleased.

77-80. The sages said: "Here is a sacred pond, *Tîṭibha-saras* by name. It was made by the Earth and the Guardians of the quarters to test the chastity of one Tîtibhî, who was suspected by her husband. Let Sîtâ's chastity be tested there." Then Sîtâ accompanied them thither.

81-83. Sîtâ was tested pure by this water-ordeal, she being able to cross it safely. Then the sages believed her to be a very chaste lady and were about to curse Râma for banishing her.

युष्माभिरार्यपुत्रस्य न ध्यातव्यममङ्गलम् ।
शप्तु मर्हथ मामेव पापामञ्जलिरेषः ॥ ८४ ॥
इति यत् वारयामास सीता तान् सा पतिव्रता ।
तेन ते मुनयस्तुष्टास्तस्याः पुत्राशिषं ददुः ॥ ८५ ॥
ततः सा तत्र तिष्ठन्ती समये सुषुवे सुतम् ।
तं च नाम्ना लवं चक्रे स वाल्मीकिमुनिः शिशुम् ॥ ८६ ॥
बालमादाय तं तस्यां गतायां स्नातुमेकदा ।
तेन शून्यं तदुटजं दृष्ट्वा सोऽचिन्तयत् मुनिः ॥ ८७ ॥
स्थापयित्वार्भकं याति स्नातुं सा, तत् क्व सोऽर्भकः ।
नीतः स श्वापदेनेह नूनमन्यं सृजामि तत् ॥ ८८ ॥
स्नात्वागतान्यथा सीता न प्राणान् धारयेदिह ।
इति ध्यात्वा कुशैः कृत्वा पवित्रं निर्ममेऽर्भकम् ॥ ८९ ॥
लवस्य सदृशं तं च स तथास्थापयत् मुनिः ।
आगता तं च सा दृष्ट्वा मुनिं सीता व्यजिज्ञपत् ॥ ९० ॥
सकोऽयं मे स्थितो बालस्तदेषोऽन्यः कुतो मुने ।
तत् श्रुत्वा स यथावृत्तमुक्त्वा मुनिरुवाच ताम् ॥ ९१ ॥
भवितव्यं गृहाणैतं द्वितीयमनघे सुतम् ।
कुश-संज्ञं मयायं यत् स्वप्रभावात् कुशैः कृतः ॥ ९२ ॥
इत्युक्ता तेन मुनिना सीता लव-कुशौ सुतौ ।
तेनैव कृत-संस्कारौ बर्द्धयामास तत्र तौ ॥ ९३ ॥

84. Sîtâ asked them not to curse her husband.

85. They then blessed Sîtâ with the boon of a son.

86. She gave birth to one child who was named "Lava."

87-89. She took her child with her one day, while she went out for a bath. But Vâlmîki (who was not aware of this fact) thought the child to be eaten up by some beast of prey; and then created, through his supernatural power, another child with Kuśa-grass.

90-91. Then Sîtâ returned and saw the child. Being pressed by her, the sage had to narrate how the child had been fashioned.

92-93. Thus Sîta got two sons—Lava and Kuśa.

वाल्मीकिमुनेः क्षत्रकुमारकौ ॥ ९४ ॥
एकदा आश्रममृगं हत्वा तन्मांसमादतुः ।
अर्चालिङ्गं च वाल्मीकेश्चक्रतुः क्रीडनीयकम् ॥ ९५ ॥
तेन खिन्नो मुनिः सोऽथ सीतादेव्यानुनोदितः ।
प्रायश्चित्तं तयोरेवमादिदेश कुमारयोः ॥ ९६ ॥
गत्वा कुबेर-सरसः स्वर्ण-पद्मान्यथं लवः ।
तदुद्यानाच्च मन्दार-पुष्पाण्यानयतु द्रुतम् ॥ ९७ ॥
तैरेतौ भ्रातरावेतत् लिङ्गमर्चयतामुभौ ।
तेनैतयोरिदं पापमुपशान्तिं गमिष्यति ॥ ९८ ॥
एतत् श्रुत्वैव कैलासं स बालोऽपि लवो ययौ ।
आचस्कन्द कुबेरस्य सरश्चोपवनं च तत् ॥ ९९ ॥
निहत्य यक्षानादाय पद्मानि कुसुमानि च ।
आगच्छन् पथि स श्रान्तो विश्रश्राम तरोस्तले ॥ १०० ॥
तत्रान्तरे च रामस्य नरमेधे सुलक्षणम् ।
चिन्वन् पुरुषमागच्छत् तेन मार्गेण लक्ष्मणः ॥ १०१ ॥
स लवं समराङ्गतं मोहनास्त्रेण मोहितम् ।
क्षत्रधर्मेण बद्ध्वा तमयोध्यामानयत् पुरीम् ॥ १०२ ॥

94. These two boys learnt the various branches of learning and the use of weapons.

95-98. Then once they killed a stag to eat meat and turned the *Siva-linga* of Vâlmîki to a play-thing. So the sage ordered them to perform, as an expiatory rite, the worship of the *linga* with flowers procured from the garden of Kuvera.

99. So Lava started for Kailâsa, got lotuses and flowers after killing Yaksha-guards; and then while he was returning to the hermitage of Vâlmîki, he was taking rest under a tree.

101-102. Now *Râma* was to perform the *Nara-medha* sacrifice; and so Lakṣmaṇa was in search of a man (with auspicious marks) to be sacrificed in connection with the performance of that rite. The latter found Lava and brought him to Ayodhyâ for that purpose after overpowering him in battle.

तावत् च सीतामाश्वास्य लवागमन-दुःखिताम् ।
वाल्मीकिः स्वाश्रमे ज्ञानी तत्र कुशमभाषत ॥ १०३ ॥
नीतोऽयोध्यामवष्टभ्य लक्ष्मणेन सुतो लवः ।
गच्छ मोचय तं तस्मादेभिरस्त्रैर्विनिर्जितात् ॥ १०४ ॥
इत्युक्त्वा दत्तदिव्यास्त्रस्तेन गत्वा कुशस्ततः ।
रोध्यमानामयोध्यायां यज्ञभूमिं रुरोध सः ॥ १०५ ॥
जिगाय लक्ष्मणं चात्र तन्निमित्तं प्रधावितम् ।
युद्धे दिव्यैर्महास्त्रैस्तैस्ततो रामस्तमभ्यगात् ॥ १०६ ॥
सोऽपि प्रभावात् वाल्मीकेर्जेतुं नास्त्रैः शशाक तम् ।
कुशं यत् तेन पप्रच्छ कोऽर्थस्ते को भवानिति ॥ १०७ ॥
कुशस्ततोऽब्रवीत् बद्ध्वा लक्ष्मणेनाग्रजो मम ।
आनीत इह तस्याहं मोचनार्थमिहागतः ॥ १०८ ॥
आवां लव-कुशौ रामतनयौ इति जानकी ।
माता नौ वक्ति चेत्युक्त्वा तद्वृत्तान्तं शशंस सः ॥ १०९ ॥
ततः सबाष्पो रामस्तं लवमानाय्य तावुभौ ।
कण्ठे जग्राह सैषोऽहं पापो राम इति ब्रुवन् ॥ ११० ॥
अथ सीतां प्रशंसत्सु, वीरोऽपश्यत् सुतौ शिशू ।
पौरेषु मिलितेष्वत्र स तौ रामोऽग्रहीत् सुतौ ॥ १११ ॥

103-105. Vâlmîki became aware of this fact, through his supernatural power, and sent Kuśa to free him with the help of divine weapons which he just then handed over to him (Kuśa).

106. Kuśa went to Ayodhyâ and defeated Lakṣmaṇa. Then Râma also attempted to overpower the child, but could not succeed in his attempt.

107-109. Then Kuśa informed Râma that he had come to save his brother who had been brought there in chains, and that they were *Lava and Kuśa* by name, the sons of *Râma* by *Jânakî*.

110. Then Râma embraced him saying that he was Râma.

111-112. The citizens praised Sîtâ who was then brought thither from the hermitage. Now Râma lived happily with her placing all the burdens of the kingdoms on the shoulders of his sons.

आनाय्य सीतादेवीं च वाल्मीकेराश्रमात् ततः ।
तया सह सुखं तस्थौ पुत्र-न्यस्त--भरोऽथ सः ॥ ११२ ॥
एवं सहन्ते विरहं धीराश्चिरमपीदृशम् ।
न सहेथे युवां पुत्रौ कथमेकामपि क्षपाम् ॥ ११३ ॥
इत्यात्मजामलंकारवतीं परिणयोत्सुकाम् ।
नरवाहनदत्तं च तमुक्त्वा काञ्चनप्रभा ॥ ११४ ॥
नभसा प्रातरागन्तुमगादादाय तां सुताम् ।
नरवाहनदत्तोऽपि कौशाम्बीं विमना ययौ ॥ ११५ ॥

112-115. Thus the firm-minded bear the pangs of separation; so you also bear them for a night only. Saying thus Kāñchana-prabhā vanished with her daughter Alankâravatî. Naravâhan-datta also proceeded towards Kauśambî.

Kathā-sarit-sāgara, IX, 1, 58—115.

This version is unique for many reasons. Nowhere else have we heard of (i) the human sacrifice of Râma, and of (ii) the water-ordeal of Sîtâ (over and above the ordeal of fire). Again, here we find (iii) Râma re-united with Sîtâ whose 'passing to the nether world' has been described by Vâlmîki. We ought to note also that (iv) Lava is described here as the only real son of Sîtâ; for Kuśa was produced by the supernatural power of Vâlmîki. This point is well known in Bengal and North Bihar, for reciters of the *Râmâyaṇa* repeat it even now. (v) Lava and Kuśa's fight with Râma and Lakṣmaṇa has also been recorded in the *Padmapurâṇa*; but there it has been located in the hermitage of *Vâlmîki*. That (vi) this fight took place in Ayodhyâ is another important point of this version.

The *Râma*-saga has been preserved in various versions. The Buddhist Jâtaka version describing Sîtâ as the sister (and wife, at the same time,) of Râma was long known to Indologists. Sir George Grierson has drawn the attention of scholars to the Kashmirian version which makes Sîtâ the abandoned natural daughter of *Mandodarî* picked up by *Janaka*—a version which occurs, I may be permitted to add, in the Bengali *Adbhûta Râmâyaṇa* also. But nowhere else do we find some of the points of the *Kathâ-sarit sâgara* version mentioned above.

Now the *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara* was composed, in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., by the great Kashmirian poet Somadeva-Bhaṭṭa. It is a terse translation, as the author himself has stated, of *Guṇâdhya's Bṛhat Kathâ*. The latter work has been mentioned in the Kâvyâdarśa of Daṇḍin and by Bâṇabhaṭṭa, and, as such, it was composed not after the sixth century A.D. Again, as such historical characters as Sâtavâhana and Nâgârjuna have been mentioned as the central figures of many strange legends, it is to be placed at least a century after them. Hence, the work of *Guṇâdhya* seems to have been composed in the 3rd or 4th century A. D. This old collection of Indian folk-lore composed in the Paiśâchî dialect of Prâkrit is now lost. There are four abstracts of it, one in Tamil and three in Sanskrit. The oldest Sanskrit version is the *Bṛhat-Kathâ-Śloka-Sangraha* which was discovered in Nepal by M. M. Haraprasâd Śâstrî and which is being edited by M. Lacote. The second in point of time is the *Bṛhat-Kathâ- Manjarî* of Kṣemendra Vyâsadâsa (eleventh century A.D.) which has been published in the *Kâvyamâlâ series*. The third is the *Kathâ-sarit- sâgara*. As only a few chapters of the first has been printed and as the second is very concise, the third is the only abstract which is generally studied. Its author, Somadeva, says :—

यथा मूलं तथैवैतत् न मनागप्यतिक्रमः ।
ग्रन्थ-विस्तर-संक्षेपमात्रं भाषा च भिद्यते ॥

Book I, i, Sloka 10.

'As (is the) original so it (is); (there is) not the slightest deviation. Only in the hugeness (of that) and conciseness (of this) and in language is difference.' But M. Lacote has, in his Essay on *Guṇâḍhya*, pointed out that there is much difference as to the subject-matter of the above abstracts ; and there seems to have existed two different recensions of the *Bṛhat-Kathâ*.

The original work of Guṇâḍhya is now lost ; and, as such, no one is sure whether this or that tale occurred in it or not. But if there is mention of any tale in more than one of those four abstracts, then we ought to conclude that it existed in the original *Bṛhat-Kathâ*. And let us now apply this test to the above-quoted version of the Râma-legend. It occurs neither in the printed portion of the *Bṛhat-Kathâ-śloka-saṅgraha*, nor in its table of contents as

detailed in Lacote's Essay on *Guṇâdhya*. As for the Tamil version, we have no access to it. But we find it also in *Kṣemendra's Bṛhat-Kathâ-Manjarî*. But as the *Manjarî* is very concise, its Râma-legend also is very very short. Yet we find in it the mention of the water-ordeal in the following passage :—

दिष्ट्यिोऽन्थितटे जायां दृष्ट्वान्येन समागताम् ।
प्रतिश्रयार्थिना भर्त्तृविया निर्व्याजमानसाम् ॥

(Kâvyamalâ series ed., p. 516, verse 45.)

As for Râma's re-union with Sîtâ, it has been clearly stated thus :—

पुत्रौ कुश-लवाभिख्यौ उक्तौ वाल्मीकिना स्वयम् ।
तौ प्राप्य रामो दयितां विशुद्धामानिनाय ताम् ॥
इत्येवं राघवः कान्ताविर्योगं धैर्यसागरः ।
सेहे क्षणं त्वमप्येवं सहस्व स्वप्रियागमे ॥

(P. 513, verses 50-51.)

Thus it is clear that the re-union of Râma and Sîtâ, or, to put it otherwise, the legend of Râma without a tragic end was narrated, at least, in one of the two recensions of the *Bṛhat-kathâ*, which was composed a few centuries before Bhavabhûti. As for the latter's familiarity with *Guṇâdhya's* work, it is clear from the fact, pointed out by Professor Levi, that the plot of Bhavəbhûti's *Mâlatî-Madhava* was borrowed from the original of the tale of *Madirâvatî* in the *Kathâ-sarit-sāgara*.

POSITION OF THE MĀNASARĀ IN LITERATURE

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The treatise bearing the title *Mānasāra** is the standard work on ancient Indian architecture. In seventy chapters it deals in a systematic manner with all architectural matters. In it the term architecture is taken in its broadest sense and implies what is built or constructed. Thus in the first place it connotes all kinds of buildings: religious, residential and military, and their auxiliary members and component mouldings. Secondly, it implies town-planning; laying out gardens; constructing market-places including ports and harbours; making roads, bridges, gate-ways, triumphal arches; digging wells, tanks, trenches, drains, sewers, moats; building enclosure walls, embankments, dams, railings, landing-places, flights of steps for hills and bathing *ghats*, and ladders. Thirdly, it denotes articles of furniture such as bedsteads, couches, tables, chairs, thrones,

* Etymologically the term *Mānasāra* implies 'the essence of measurement'—*sāra* meaning 'essence' and *māna* 'measurement'. In the treatise itself the term is used in different senses, namely, a generic name for the professors of architecture, a personal name of an architect, and the title of a treatise. In the *Daśa-Kumāra-Charita* of Daṇḍin, Mānasāra is the name of the king of Malwa.

In 1834 in his essay on the architecture of the Hindus, Rām Rāz referred to the first few chapters of the *Mānasāra* from a single fragmentary manuscript he had access to. Since then, several manuscripts have been discovered but owing to some great difficulties set forth elsewhere no body had made any attempt to deal with this huge text in any way for a period of 80 years when the present writer undertook the work in 1914. The text, as known from the eleven badly preserved manuscripts on which the first edition of the present writer is based, is written in five different scripts (Grantha, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Nāgari), has undergone five recensions and comprises more than 10,000 lines of a language rightly branded by Dr. Bühler (and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar) as "barbarous Sanskrit" (*Epigraphia Indica*., Vol. I. p. 377; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII. pp. 140, 141). Sketches or illustrations of any kind are absolutely wanting in all the available manuscripts. There are, besides, no commentaries on the texts, nor could any body make an attempt to translate any of the texts into English before the translation of the *Mānasāra* into English by the present writer, mainly because there had been no dictionaries, before the compilation of *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* by the present writer, dealing with the architectural terms which necessarily abound in the *Mānasāra* and other texts on architecture.

wardrobes, baskets, cages, nests, mills, conveyances, lamps and lamp-posts for streets. It also includes the making of dresses and ornaments such as chains, crowns and head-gears, and foot and arm wears. Architecture also includes sculpture, and deals with carving of phalli, idols of deities, statues of great personages, images of animals and birds. As preliminary matters it is also concerned with the selection of site, testing of soil, planning, designing, finding out cardinal points by means of a gnomon, dialling and astronomical and astrological calculation.

With a view to ascertaining the position of the *Mānasāra* in the non-architectural literature it will be necessary to discuss the points of similarity or resemblance in some details. It is, however, not possible, in an article like this, to take into consideration all the works which deal with architectural matters rather casually. For the purpose of an elaborate treatment, we propose to compare the *Mānasāra* with the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, the *Kāmikāgama*, and the *Suprabhedāgama*.

It has been pointed out at the outset that architecture comprises a variety of subjects. But it can never be denied that the fundamental business of the architect is concerned with the building of houses, residential, religious and military. It appears to be a fashion among many peoples of the past as of the present to designate individual buildings by some proper names with or without a meaning.* It seems to have been a prevailing custom among the ancient Hindu architects to describe buildings under some such names. In the eight treatises we have proposed to compare in detail we find buildings bearing some proper names classified and described in the following way.

1. In the *Mānasāra*, the main buildings are described in some thirteen chapters†. Their common features from bottom to top are given under stories varying from one to twelve. They are also

* Compare for instance, White Hall, Guild Hall, Mansion House, Cosy Corner, Gordon Castle, Benmore, Barnes Castle, Svastika, Vijaya, Indra-kānta, Chatur-mukha, Pāñchāla, Drāviḍa, Kamala-Bhavana, Chitta-viśrāma, Pātaliputra etc.

† Chapters XVII to XXX, see the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 47—51.

classified under three styles—Nagara, Vesara, and Drāvida—depending chiefly on the shape of the topmost part*; three sizes†; Śuddha, Miśra, and Saṃkīrna depending on materials of which they are built‡; Jāti, Chhanda, Vikalpa, and Ābhasa depending on the various lengths of the cubit with which buildings are measured§; Sthānaka, Āsana, and Śayana, which are otherwise called Saṃchita, Asaṃchita, and Apasaṃchita respectively¶; and under males and females depending on shapes.**

The details of the ninety-eight types of buildings described under twelve stories are given below. (The numerical figures on the left indicate the serial numbers and those on the right refer to the lines or verses of the chapter):—

(I) The eight kinds of single storied buildings with their characteristic features, chapter XIX—(1) Vaijayantika with round spire (śīrṣa), pinnacle (śiraḥ), and neck (grīvā) (166); (2) Bhoga has similar ear (187); (3) Śrīvisāla has the bhadra or front tabernacle in it (168); (4) Svastibandha has octagonal finials (168); (5) Śrīkara has quadrangular sikhara or steeple (170); (6) Hastipriṣṭha has oval steeple (171); (7) Skandatāra has hexagonal spire and neck (172); (8) Keśara has the front tabernacles in the centre of the sides, towers at the corners of the roof, and its nose, head, and neck are round or quadrangular (173-175).††

(II) The eight kinds of two storied buildings, chapter XX. The general features are same in all the eight kinds, the distinction

* For details of these styles see the writer's *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* under Nāgara.

† Large, intermediate and small.

‡ (*a*) Śuddha or pure, made of one material (brick, iron, or wood).
(*b*) Miśra or mixed, made of two materials.
(*c*) Saṃkirna or amalgamated made of three or more materials, M. XVIII 139—142.

§ M. XIX. 2—5.

¶ Referring respectively to height, breadth, and length, ibid 7—9, 10—11. The three latter sets also refer to the postures of the idols in case of temples, namely: erect, sitting, and recumbent.

** Equiangular and rectangular respectively. But in case of temples the former contains the male deities while the latter can contain both the female and the male deities, ibid 14-17.

†† For further details see the writer's *Dictionary* under Ekabhūmi.

lying in the different proportions given to the component parts from above the ground floor to the top :—

(9) Śrīkara (94, 2—9) ; (10) Vijaya (94, 10—15) ; (11) Siddha (94, 16—18) ; (12) Pauṣṭika (94, 19—25) ; (13) Antika (84, 25—27) ; (14) Adbhūta (94, 28—33) ; (15) Svastika (95, 34—41) ; and (16) Puṣkala (94, 42—43). The projection, the general features and carvings on the doors when these buildings are used as temples are given (44—93), (96—116).*

(III) The eight kinds of three-storied buildings, chapter XXI :

The general features and the characteristic marks are similar to those of the two-storied buildings ; their names are as follows :—

(17) Śrīkānta (2—11) ; (18) Āsana (12—21) ; (19) Sukhālaya (22—30) ; (20) Keśara (31—32) ; (21) Kamalaṅga (33—38) ; (22) Brahmakānta (39—40) ; (23) Merukānta (41—49) ; and (24) Kailāśa.

The general features, characteristic marks and concluding details of the following kinds are similar, except the number of stories, to those of the two and three-storied buildings.

(IV) The eight kinds of four-storied buildings, chapter XXII :

(25) Viṣṇukānta (3—12) ; (26) Chaturmūkha (13—24) ; (27) Sadāśiva (25—33) , (28) Rudrakānta (34—43); (29) Iśvarakānta (44—46) ; (30) Mañchakānta (47—57) ; (31) Vedikānta (58—59) ; and (32) Indrakānta (60—88).*

(V) The eight kinds of the five-storied buildings, chapter XXIII :

(33) Airāvata (3—12) ; (34) Bhūtakānta (13—15) ; (35) Viśvakānta (16—18) ; (36) Mūrtikānta (19 24) ; (37) Yamakānta (25—29) ; (38) Gṛhakānta (30—38) ; (39) Yajñakānta (33—40) ; and (40) Brahmakānta (41—42).*

(VI) The thirteen kinds of six-storied buildings, chapter XXIV :

(41) Padmakānta (3—12) ; (42) Kāntāra (13—14) ; (43) Sundara (15) ; (44) Upakānta (16) ; (45) Kamala (17—18) ; (46) Ratnakānta (19)

* For further details see the writer's *Dictionary* under Dvitala, Tritala, Chatustala, and Pañchatala.

(47) Vipulāṅka (20) ; (48) Jyoti(ṣ)kānta (50) ; (49) Saroruha (51—52) ; (50); Vipulakṛitika (53); (51) Svastikānta (53); (52) Nandyāvarta (54) ; and (53) Ikṣukānta (55).*

(VII) The eight kinds of the seven-storied buildings, chapter XXV :

(54) Puṇḍarīka (3—23) ; (55) Śrīkānta (24) ; (56) Śrībhoga (25) ; (57) Dhāraṇa (26) ; (58) Pañjara (27) ; (59) Āśramāgāra (28) ; (60) Harmyakānta (29) ; and (61) Himakānta (30).†

(VIII) The eight kinds of eight-storied buildings, chapter XXVI :

(62) Bhūkānta (3—21) ; (63) Bhūpakānta (22—28) ; (64) Svargakānta (29—34); (65) Mahākānta (35—39) ; (66) Janakānta (40) ; (67) Tapa(s)kānta (41—42) ; (68) Satyakānta (43—45) ; and (69) Devakānta (46—47).†

(IX) The seven kinds of the nine-storied buildings, chapter XXVII :

(70) Saurakānta (5—9) ; (71) Raurava (10) ; (72) Chaṇḍita (11—12) ; (73) Bhūṣaṇa (13—14) ; (74) Vivṛta (20—22) ; (75) Supratikānta (22—26) ; and (76) Viśvakānta (27—33).†

(X) The six kinds of ten-storied buildings, chapter XXVIII :

(77) Bhūkānta (6—8) ; (78) Chandrakānta (6—8) ; (79) Bhavanakānta (9—13) ; (80) Antarikṣakānta (14—15) ; (81) Meghakānta (16—17); and (82) Abjakānta (18).†

(XI) The six kinds of eleven-storied buildings, chapter XXIX :

(83) Śambhukānta (3—7) ; (84) Īśakānta (8—0) ; (85) Chakrakānta (10—14) ; (86) Yamakānta (15—17) ; (87) Vajrakānta (18—24) ; and (88) Akrakānta (24—33).*

(XII) The ten kinds of twelve-storied buildings, chapter XX :

(89) Pāñchāla (8—10) ; (90) Drāviḍa (8—10) ; (91) Madhyakānta

* For further details see the writer's *Dictionary* under Shaṭṭala,

† For further details, see the writer's *Dictionary* under Saptatala, Aṣṭatala, Navatala, Daśatala, and Ekādaśatala.

(11—14) ; (92) Kāliṅgakānta (14—16) ; (93) Virāṭa (17—27) ; (94) Kerala (28—30) ; (95) Vaṃsakānta (31—32) ; (96) Māgadhakānta (33—34) ; (97) Janakānta (33—36) ; and (98) Sphūrjaka or Gurjaraka (7; 37—84 description of the twelfth storey).*

2. *Agni Purāṇa*, chapter 42, v. 1—9 (general plan), 10—25 (plan with reference to the idol), chapter 104, v. 1—11, 22—34 (further general plan), 11—21 (names, classes, shapes and features of the 45 kinds of temples).

Five divisions depending on five shapes (plans) and each including nine kinds of temples (chapter 104, V. 11—13) :

(I) Vairāja—quadrangular (square)—includes (1) Meru, (2) Mandara, (3) Vīmāna, (4) Bhadra, (5) Sarvatobhadra, (6) Charuka (also in the Kāmikāgama XXXV, 87, 91 where it is called Ruchaka), (7) Nandika, (8) Nandivarddhana, and (9) Śrīvatsa (chapter 104, v. 14, 15).

(II) Puṣpaka—rectangular—includes (10) Ba(Va)labhī, (11) Gṛiharāja, (12) Śālāgṛiha or Śālāmandira, (13) Viśāla, (14) Sama, (15) Brahmamandira, (16) Bhavana or Bhuvana, (17) Prabhava, and (18) Śivikā-veśma (chapter 104, v. 16, 17).

(III) Kailāśa—round—includes (19) Balaya (Valaya), (20) Dundubhi, (21) Padma, (22) Mahā-padmaka, (23) Vardhanī, (29) Uṣṇī, (25) Saṃkha, (26) Kalaśa, and (27) Svavṛikṣa (chapter 104, v. 17—18).

(IV) Maṇika—oval (vṛittāyata)—includes (28) Gaja, (29) Vṛṣabha, (30) Haṃsa, (31) Garutman, (32) Rikṣanāyaka, (33) Bhūṣaṇa. (34) Bhūdhara, (35) Śrījaya, and (36) Pṛthivīdhara (chapter 104, v. 19—20).

* These ten kinds are named, it should be noticed, after the historic places, well marked in the ancient geography of India, which cover the whole length and breadth of the continent. The topography of these places is well known. For the architectural details of these buildings see the writer's *Dictionary* under these ten terms. The description of the twelfth storey is given under Dvādaśatala.

(V) Triviṣṭapa—octagonal—includes (37) Vajra, (38) Chakra, (39) Svastika, (40) Vajra-svastika, (41) Chitra, (42) Svastika-khaḍga, (43) Gadā, (44) Śrīkaṇṭha, and (45) Vijaya (chapter v. 20—21).

3. *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (chapter 47) has exactly the same general plan (v. 1—20, 32—47), five shapes, five classes (v. 21—23), and 45 kinds of buildings (v. 24—32), but the wording is not identical. The fourth class, is read Mālikā (v. 21) in the general description but the name 'Maṇika' (v. 30) is given later on :

(I) Vairāja—square (v. 21—22)—includes the same nine kinds; but (7) Nandika is read as Nandana and (6) Charuka is correctly read as Ruchaka (v. 24—25).

(II) Puṣpaka—rectangular (v. 22—23)—includes nine kinds where (10) Valabhī is correctly spelt, (13) Viśāla is read as Vimāna which is apparently a mistake in the Garuḍa Purāṇa because (3) Vimāna is a kind of building included in the square (I) Vairāja class. But the reading of class (II) seems better in the Garuḍa Purāṇa, which may be quoted : (10) Valabhī, (11) Gṛiharāja, (12) Sālāgṛha, (13) Mandira, (14) Viśāla (also 'Vimāna'), (15) Brahmamandira, (16) Bhavana, (17) Uttambha, and (18) Śibikā veśma (v. 26—27.)

(III) Kailāśa—round (v. 21—23)—has nine kinds which also seem to have better reading ; (19) Vālaya, (20) Dundubhi, (21) Padma, (22) Mahāpadma, (23) Mukulī (in place of Varddhani), (24) Uṣṇī, (25) Saṃkha, (26) Kalaśa, and (27) Guvāvṛikṣa (v. 28—29).

(IV) Maṇika—oval (v. 30)—has nine kinds, of which (31), (32), (33) are read as Garuḍa, Siṃha, and Bhūmukha respectively (v. 29—30).

(V) Triviṣṭapa octagonal (v. 21, 23)—has nine kinds which seems to be better read : (37) Vaira, (38) Chakra, (39) Muṣṭika (preceded by Babhru, v. 31), (40) Vakra, (41) Svastika, (42) Khaḍga, (43) Gadā, (44) Śrīvṛikṣa, and (45) Vijaya (v. 31—32).

4. *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapter 269:

The description of the general plan (verses 1—7)* is followed by that of some special plans (verses 8—20).

The names (v. 28—30), descriptions of architectural details (v. 31—46), measures (v. 47—51), division (v. 53—54) of twenty types of buildings:

(1) Meru has 100 cupolas (śṛiṅga), 16 stories (bhūmikā), many variegated steeples (śikharas), and is 50 cubits broad (v. 28, 31, 53); (2) Mandāra has 12 stories many steeples and faces, and is 45 cubits broad (v. 28, 37, 47, 53); (3) Kailāśa has 9 stories, many steeples and faces and is 40 cubits broad (v. 32, 47, 53); (4) Vimānachchhanda has 8 stories, many steeples and faces (ānana), and is 34 cubits broad (v. 25, 32, 33, 47, 53); (5) Nandivardhana has 7 stories, and is 32 cubits broad (v. 29, 33, 48, 53); (6) Nandana has 7 stories, and is furnished with horns and is 30 cubits broad (v. 29, 33, 48, 53); (7) Sarvatobhadra has 5 stories, 16 corners with various shapes, furnished with art galleries (*chitraśālā*) and is 30 cubits broad (v. 29, 34, 35, 48, 53); (8) Valabhīchchhandaka has 5 stories, many steeples and

* एवं वास्तुबलिं कृत्वा भजेत् षोडशभागिकम्।
तस्य मध्ये चतुर्भिस्तु भागैर्गर्भं तु कारयेत्॥ १॥
भागद्वादशकसार्धं ततस्तु परिकल्पयेत्।
चतुर्दिक्षु तथा ज्ञेयं निर्गमं तु ततो बुधैः॥ २॥
चतुर्भागेन भित्तीनां उच्छ्रयः स्यात् प्रमाणतः।
द्विगुणः शिखरोच्छ्रयो भित्त्युच्छ्रायप्रमाणतः॥ ३॥
शिखरार्धस्य चार्धेन विधेया तु प्रदक्षिणा।
गर्भसूत्रद्वयं चाग्रे विस्तारे मण्डलस्य तु॥ ४॥
आयतः स्यात् त्रिभिर्भागैर्भद्रयुक्तः सुशोभनः।
पञ्चभागेन संभज्य गर्भमानं विचक्षणः॥ ५॥
भागमेकं गृहीत्वा तु प्राग्ग्रीवं कल्पयेद् बुधः।
गर्भसूत्रसमभागादग्रतो मुखमण्डपः॥ ६।
एतत् सामान्यमुद्दिष्टं प्रासादस्य च लक्षणम्।

faces, and 16 cubits broad (v. 35, 50, 53); (9) Vṛṣa should resemble the height and length of the bull, be round and without corners, there should be 5 cupolas, 2 stories and it should be 4 cubits high at the central hall (v. 30, 36, 44, 45, 53); (10) Simha resembles the lion and is 16 cubits broad, is adorned with the famous *chandraśālā* (gable-windows) and is 6 stories high by the width of the front neck (v. 29, 36, 40, 49, 53); (11) Gaja resembles the elephant and is 16 cubits broad, and has many gable-windows on top rooms (v. 36, 41, 49, 53), (12) Kumbha resembles the water-jar, has 9 stories, 5 cupolas (aṇḍas), aṅguli-puṭa-saṃsthāna (?), and is 16 cubits broad (v. 37, 49, 53); (13) Samudraka has 16 sides around, 2 gable-windows at the two sides, and 2 stories (v. 38, 53); (14) Padma has 3 stories,

Compare also the following :—

सामान्यमपरं तद्वत् प्रासादं शृणुत द्विज ।
त्रिभागं कारयेत् क्षेत्रं यत्र तिष्ठन्ति देवता: ॥ २१ ॥
रथाङ्गस्तेन मानेन बाह्यभागविनिर्गत: ।
नेमिपादेन विस्तीर्णा प्रासादस्य समन्तत: ॥ २२ ॥
गर्भं तु द्विगुणं कुर्यात् तस्य मानं भवेदिह ।
स एव भित्तेरुत्सेधो द्विगुण: शिखरो मत: । २३ ॥
प्राग्ग्रीव: पञ्चभागेन निष्कास स्तस्य चोच्यते ।
कारयेत् सुषिरं तद्वत् प्राकारस्य विभागत: ॥ २४ ॥
प्राग्ग्रीवं पञ्चभागेन निष्कासेन विशेषत: ।
कुर्याद् वा पञ्चभागेन प्राग्ग्रीवं कर्णमूलत: ॥ २५ ॥
स्थापयेत् कणकं तत्र गर्भान्ते द्वारमूलत: ।
एवं तु त्रिविधं कुर्याज्ज्येष्ठमध्यकनीयसम् ॥ २६ ॥
लिङ्गमानानुभेदेन रूपभेदेन वा पुन: ।
एते समासत: प्रोक्ता नामत: शृणुताधुना ॥ २७ ॥
तथा मेर्वादय: सप्त ज्येष्ठलिङ्गे शुभावहा: ।
श्रीवृक्षकादयश्चाष्टौ मध्यमस्य प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥५३॥
तथा हंसादय: पञ्च कनिष्ठे शुभदा मता: ॥५४॥

16 corners, a variegated steeple and is 20 cubits broad (v. 30, 39, 49, 53); (15) Garuḍa has gṛharāja (large house) around, 7 stories, 3 top rooms, and is 8 cubits broad, and there should be 86 compartments (bhūmikā, lit. stories, v. 42) all around the outside (v. 41, 43, 51). There is a similar Garuḍa-building with 10 stories and a second Padmaka building with 2 stories more (*i.e.* 12 stories, v. 43); (16) Haṃsa is 10 cubits broad (36, 51); (17) Vartula is 20 cubits broad (v. 29, 49, 53). No special description is given of the remaining: (18) Chaturaśra (four cornered, v. 28, 53); (19) Aṣṭāśra (eight cornered) (v. 29, 53); and (20) Shoḍaśāsra (sixteen cornered, v. 29, 53).

Similar types of buildings are described almost in the same way in both the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.

5. *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, chapter 130, names (verses 23—26), description of the architectural details and measures (v. 27—35) of the twenty kinds of buildings (same as in the Bṛhat Saṃhitā, see below):

(1) Meru is 39 cubits high and 32 cubits broad, has 12 stories, various windows (kuhara) and four gateways (v. 27).

(2) Mandara is 30 cubits broad and has 10 stories (v. 28).

(3) Kailāśa is 28 cubits broad, has steeples and 8 stories (v. 28).

The description of the following is clearer in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, which is quoted below. The names are given here:

(4) Vimāna with latticed windows (v. 29).

(5) Nandana (v. 29).

(6) Samudga (v. 30), Samudra, v. 24, as in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, LVI, 28, 53.

(7) Padma (v. 30).

(8) Garuḍa (v. 31).

(9) Nandi-vardhana (v. 28, Nandi v. 31).

(10) Kuñjara (v. 32).

(11) Gṛharāja (v. 32); *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, (LVI 25) has 'Guharājā.'

(12) Vṛṣa (v. 33).

(13) Haṃsa (v. 33).

(14) Ghaṭa (v. 33).

(15) Sarvatobhadra (v. 34).

(16) Siṃha (v. 35).

(17) Vṛtta (as in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, LVI, 29, 49 ; but here (v. 33) it is read Vṛṣa like (12), which is apparently a mistake (see v. 30).

No special account is given of the remaining.

(18) Chatuṣkoṇa (four-cornered, v. 25), *Matsya Purāṇa* (chapter 269, v. 28, 53) reads Chaturaśra; and *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (LVI, 28) has Chatuṣkoṇa.

(19) Aṣṭāsra (octangular, v. 25).

(20) Shoḍaśasra (sixteen-cornered, v. 25).

Varāhamihira seems to have taken these from a work like the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and improved in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.

6. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (LVI, 1—19) ;

The religious merits acquired by building temples (verses 1—2). The suitable sites-in the garden, wood, banks of rivers, seas or tanks (v. 3 8) ; ground (v. 9) ; general plan (v. 10) ; situation of the door (v. 10) ; comparative measures of the length, breadth, and height (v. 11), of the adytum (garbha, v. 12), of the doors and their different parts (v. 12—14) ; carvings on the door (v. 15) ; comparative measures of the idol, pedestal, and door (v. 16) and the heights of stories (v. 29—30).

This is followed by the classification (v. 17—19) and the description of the architectural details (v. 20—28) of the same twenty kinds of temples (Prāsāda) as are given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. The names of these buildings are given below; their details being almost same as in the Purāṇas :

(1) Meru (v. 20).
(2) Mandara (v. 21).
(3) Kailāśa (v. 21).
(4) Vimāna-(chchhanda) (v. 17—22).
(5) Nandana (v. 22).
(6) Samudga (v. 23).
(7) Padma (v. 23).
(8) Garuḍa (v. 24).

(9) Nandivardhana (v. 24).
(10) Kuñjara (v. 25).
(11) Guharāja (v. 25).
(12) Vṛsa (v. 26).
(13) Haṃsa (v. 26).
(14) Ghaṭa (v. 26).
(15) Sarvatobhadra (v. 27).
(16) Siṃha (v. 28).
(17) Vṛitta (v. 18—28).
(18) Chatuṣkoṇa (v. 18—28).
(19) Aṣṭāśra (v. 18—28).
(20) Shoḍaśāsra (v. 18—28).

7. *Kāmikāgama, Paṭala,* LV :*

The four classes :

Jāti (verse 128), Chhanda (v. 129), Vikalpa (v. 130), and Abhāsa (v. 130).

Paṭala XLV :

Further classifications :

(1) Saṃchita, Apasaṃchita, and Upasaṃchita (v. 6).

(2) Nāgara (v. 6, 12, 13), Drāvida (v. 6, 14, 15), and Vesara (v. 7, 16—18).

(3) Jāti (v. 7—19), Chhanda (v. 7—20), and Vikalpa (v. 7—20).

(4) Śuddha (v. 7, 21), Miśra (v. 7, 22), and Saṃkīrṇa (v. 7, 22).

(5) Puṃliṅga, or masculine, also called Saṃchita (v. 8, 9) ; Strīliṅga or feminine (9, 10) ; and Napuṃsaka or neuter (v. 11).

This class (5) does not refer (like the *Mānasāra*) to the sexes of the deities. Here they appear more like residential buildings : their characteristic features are determined by some architectural details.

The distinguishing marks of the divisions in other four classes (1—4) are similar to those of the *Mānasāra* noticed above.

* This Paṭala (LV) refers to the description of a single building and its component parts.

So also does the Paṭala XLV, which is named Mālikā (lakṣaṇa) and does not mean anything but Prāsāda : Cf. Prāsāda-vyāsa-dīrghochchā proktā *prāsāda-mālikā* (11, 4).

In Paṭala XXXV, Śālās, in almost the same sense as of Prāsāda, are divided into five classes—Sarvatobhadra (v. 87, 88), Varddhamana (v. 87, 88), Svastika (v. 87, 89), Nandyāvarta (v. 87, 90), and Charuka (v. 87, 97).

Their technical names*:

(1) Sindhuka (XLV, 23—28); (2) Saṃpūrṇa (29—30); (3) Merukūṭa (31); (4) Kṣema (32—34); (5) Śiva (35—38); (6) Harmya (39—40); (7) Saumya (40); (8) Viśāla (41); (9) Sarvakalyāṇa (43—49); (10) Vijaya (50); (11) Bhadra (51); (12) Raṇgamukha (52); (13) Alpa (53—54); (14) Koṇa (55—58); (15) Geya (58*a*—59); (16) Sāra (60); (17) Puṣkara (61, 63); (18) Adbhūta (61a); (19) Saṃkīrṇa (62); and (20) Daṇḍa (64).

8. *Suprabhedāgama,* Paṭala XXXI (named Prāsāda).

Three styles of temples—Nāgara, Drāviḍa, and Vesara (verses 38—39).

Different kinds of temples—(1) Kailāśa, (2) Mandara, (3) Meru, (4) Himavat, (5) Niṣadha, (also called Nīlaparvata, Mahendra), (6) Nalinaka, (7) Pralīnaka, (8) Nandyāvarta, (9) Śrīvarta (?Śrīpada), and (10) Parvata (verses 40—52).

The *Maṇḍapas* are first divided into four classes:

Deva (god)-maṇḍapas, snapana (bath)-maṇḍapa, bṛṣa (bull, nandin)-maṇḍapa, and nṛitta (music)-maṇḍapa (verses 96—97, 98 99); further classified under the names—Nandavṛitta, Śriyāvṛitta, Vīrāsana, Jayabhadra, Nandyāvarta, Maṇibhadra, and Viśāla (verses 100—104).

Attention of the reader is invited to the lists of buildings given in the eight works under observation.

The list in the *Mānasāra* contains in 12 classes (stories) 98 types of buildings; the *Agni Purāṇa* has under 5 classes (or divisions) 45 types; the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* also has under the same 5 classes (or divisions) the same 45 types; the *Matsya Purāṇa* has in 3 divisions 20 types; the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* has left out the broader divisions and contains 20 types; the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* in the very same way contains 20 types; the *Kāmikāgama* has in 3 divisions (of various kinds) 20 types; and the *Suprabhedāgama* has left out all the minor divisions but pre-

* For further details see the writer's *Dictionary* under these terms and Mālikā.

serves the most significant one, namely, the 3 styles (Nāgara, Vesara, Drāviḍa), which comprise 10 types of buildings.

The various broader divisions, such as Śuddha, Saṃchita, Sthānaka, Jāti, Puṃliṅga, etc., we have seen in the *Mānasāra*, are repeated in the same terms and same sense in the *Āgamas*. The most important division, *viz.*, into the styles—the Nāgara, Vesara and Drāviḍa—is also preserved intact in the latter works. These are purely architectual divisions and they are not taken into consideration in the non-architectural treatises like the *Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. Even the broadest division into stories under which the *Mānasāra* describes the buildings in 12 or 13 chapters has lost its prominence in the latter works.

Thus the *Mānasāra* has the largest number of the types, namely, 98.

The *Agni Purāṇa*, and the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* have 45 types each.

The *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, and the *Kāmikāgama* have 20 types each.

The *Suprabhedāgama* has the smallest number of types, namely, 10.

The technical names of these types of buildings and the maximum number of their stories are, as we have seen above, common in many sases. We have also seen that in some instances the architectural details are identical. The lists of the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* on the one hand, and the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* on the other, are strikingly similar. Of the works containing the lists of 20 types, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* gives the most improved description. But in respect of brevity, explicitness, and precision, the *Suprabhedāgama*, which contains the smallest number of types, surpasses all.

The common names of the types, the identity of their details and the similarity in their description are not accidental. The grades of the linguistic style and the explicitness and precision of the description are not unconnected. And the variations in the number of types of buildings treated in these works cannot be meaningless. But before hazarding an opinion, it will be better to compare some of the other important points of similarity between the *Mānasāra* and the architectural portions of other works.

Amongst others, the three crucial features in architecture, at least so far as the ancient records are concerned, seem to be the measurements, the orders or columns, and the styles. Similarities in these respects are hardly accidental and may be ascribed to a common origin.

(i) Measurements—

(*a*) The linear measurement is divided into six kinds* :—

(1) Māna, (2) Pramāṇa, (3) Parimāṇa, (4) Lambamāna,

(5) Unmāna, and (6) Upamāna, (M., LV, 3—9).

References to these measurements are met with also in non-architectural treatises, like the *Matsya Purāṇa* (chapter 258, verse 16), the *Suprabhedāgama* (Paṭala, XXXIV, 35), as well as the *Bimbamāna* (British Museum, Mss. 658, 5292, verse 9).

(*b*) The primary measurement (ādimāna) refers to comparative measures and is divided into nine kinds :—

The height of an image is determined by comparing it with the

(1) breadth of the main temple,
(2) height of the adytum,
(3) length of the door,
(4) measurement of the basement,
(5) cubit,
(6) tāla,
(7) aṇgula,
(8) height of the worshipper, and
(9) height of the riding animal. (M. LV. 10—15).

* Measurement from the foot to the top of the head is Māna (which is nothing but height).

Pramāṇa is the measurement of breadth.

Parimāṇa is the measurement of width or circumference (paritaḥ).

Lambamāna is the measurement by the plumb lines or the lines drawn perpendicularly through different parts of the body, the māna or the measurement of height being taken by the surface of the body.

Unmāna is the measurement of thickness (nimna) or diameter.

Upamāna is the measurement of interspace (antara), such as that between two feet of an image.

Parimāṇa, unmāna and māna are also mentioned in the *Sukranīti* (I. 310), but their meanings are not quite clear.

Each of these measurements is again divided into nine kinds (M. LV. 22).

Under (1), (2), (3), (4), the proportions naturally vary on various occasions but the general methods are similar in these treatises ; compare for instance, the *Suprabhedāgama* (XXXI. 1 15).

The aṇgula (finger breadth) and the hasta (cubit) measures, under (5) and (7), are in fact the same. The finger-breath, equivalent to ¾ inch, is perhaps the earliest unit of measurement ever invented by human brain. Though free from being lost or changed in the course of time, it has its own defects, namely, the fingers of two persons are hardly of equal breadth, and the finger of some person is liable to change owing to various natural causes. Apparently with a view to avoiding these defects finger-breadth is ascertained by the measures of certain other objects, namely, atom, car-dust, hair-end, nit, louse, and barley corn*. The largest size of finger breadth is stated to be equal to eight barley corns, the intermediate seven barley corns, and the smallest six barley corns. Again, for the same purpose, this unit of measure is divided into three kinds—mānāṇgula, mātrāṇgula, and dehalabdhāṇgula. Of these, Mānāṇgula which is equal to eight barley corns, is meant to be the unit proper : Mātrāṇgula is the measure taken by the middle finger of the master who makes an image (or a building) : Dehalabdhāṇgula is the measure equal to one of the equal parts into which the whole height of a statue is divided for sculptural measurement†.

This aṇgula measure is practically of the same kind in almost all the Sanskrit works bearing upon measurement, for instance—

(1) Mānasāra (II. 40—45, 46—47, 48—52, 53—64, LXIV, 49—53, etc),

* 8 atoms = 1 car-dust.
8 car-dusts = 1 hair-end.
8 hair-ends = 1 nit.
8 nits = 1 louse.
8 lice = 1 barley corn.
8 barley corns = 1 aṇgula.

† For further details see the writer's *Dictionary* under Aṇgula.

(2) Bṛhat-Saṃhitā (LVIII, 1, 2).

(3) Siddhānta Śiromaṇi (ed. Bāpūdeva, p. 52).

(4) Rajavallabha-Maṇḍana, (ed. Bhāratī, Introduction).

(5) Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (part I, section 2, chapter VII).

(6) Matsya Purāṇa (chapter 258, v. 17—18).

(7) Vāstu-vidyā (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, I, 3—5).

(8) Bimba-māna (Ms. British Museum, nos. 558, 592, verse 91).

(9) Suprabhedāgama (XX. 1—9, 10—16, 20—26, etc).

(10) Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (ed. Shama Sastri, p. 106) ; compare also,

(11) Manu Saṃhitā, VIII, 271.

(12) Rāmāyaṇa, VI. 20, 22.

(13) Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, X, 2, 13, III. 5, 4, 5.

(14) Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII 5,

(15) Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, V, 18, 1, etc.

(16) Śulva Sūtra of Baudhāyana (J. R. A. S. 1912, pp. 231—233, notes 1, 2).

The Tāla-māna (under 6) is a sculptural measure. The length of face inclusive of head is taken as the unit of measurement.* But it seems more proper to have the span or the distance between the tips of the fully stretched thumb and middle finger, which is technically called tāla†, as the unit. It admits of many varieties: ten tāla measures are mentioned in the *Mānasāra*‡; the *Bimba-māna* has reference to twelve kinds§. Each of these ten or twelve varieties is again divided into three types, namely, uttama or large, madhyama or intermediate, and adhama or small. Thus an image is of ten (daśa) tāla measure when its whole length is ten times the face inclusive of head. In the large type of the ten tāla system, however, the whole length is divided into 124 equal parts which are proportionately distributed over the different parts of the body ; in the intermediate type the whole length is divided into 120 equal parts, and in the smallest type into 116 equal parts. In the nine

* Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 258, verse 19 :
Mukhamānena kartavyā sarvāvayavakalpanā.

† Aṃśumadbheda of Kāśyapa, fol. 251 (Ms. Egg. 3148, 3012).

‡ One to ten tāla (M. LX. 6—35, etc).

§ One to twelve tāla (Appendix).

(nava) tāla system, the whole length would be nine times the face ; in the eight (aṣṭa) tāla eight times, and so forth.

The principle of the tāla measure is fundamentally the same in all the works dealing with the subject, although certain differences in matters of detail are noticed ; compare, for instance—

(1) Mānasāra—LX, 6—35 ; LVII, LIX, 14—64 ; 67—100, LXVI. 0—78 ; LXV. 2—179.

(2) Bimbamāna—verses, 17—72, 91—138 and appendix X,

(3) Suprabhedāgama—XXXIV, 30—34 ; XXX, 31—40.

(4) Bṛhat Saṃhitā—LVIII, 4.

(5) Aṃśumadbheda of Kāśyapa (Eg. fol. 251, 3148, 3012).

(6) Bramhāṇḍa Purāṇa—Part I, anusaṁgapāda, VII. 97.

(7) Matsya Purāṇa—chapter 258, verse 19.

The details of the tāla measures from the following authorities are given by Mr. Rao.*

(8) Śilparatna.

(9) Aṃśumadbhedāgama.

(10) Kā(?ki)raṇāgama.

(11) Vaikhānasāgama.

(12) Kāmikāgama.

Another exclusively sculptural measure is that mentioned under (8), (9), namely, that the height of an image is compared with the height of the worshipper (*yajamāna*), and the height of the riding animal (*vāhana*) is compared with the height of the main idol. Each of these admits of nine kinds. The height of an image may be equal to the full height of its worshipper, and may extend up to his hair-limit on the forehead (sometimes it is stated to be the eye-line), nose-tip, chin, arm-limit (to the shoulder), breast, heart, navel, and sex organ. The height of the riding animal is in the same manner compared with the height of the main idol†.

Corresponding to the above mentioned sculptural measures there are exclusively architectural measures also.

* *Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. Gopināth Rāo, Appendix B, pp, 9—28.

† *Mānasāra*, LV, 30—33, etc.

The architectural Gaṇya-māna* or the comparative heights of the component members of a structure corresponds to the sculptural Tāla-māna or the comparative heights of the component limbs of a statue.

The Ghana-māna or the measurement by the exterior, and the Aghana-māna or the measurement by the interior of a structure is also exclusively architectural†.

In another kind of architectural measure the height of a structure is compared with its breadth. It admits of five proportions, technically called, Śāntika, Pauṣṭika, Jayada, Sarva-kāmika or Dhananda, and Adbhuta, the height being respectively equal to it, 1¼, 1½, 1¾, and twice of the breadth‡.

These latter items, highly technical and extremely minute in detail, are found in no other treatise under observation than the *Mānasāra*. Thus in respect of at least purely architectural and sculptural measures the *Mānasāra* of all these works may occupy the first place among the works under observation.

(ii) The five orders

Like the five Græco-Roman orders, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite, columns, in ancient India also were divided into five main orders or classes. In the *Mānasāra*§ they are called Brahma Kānta¶, Viṣṇu Kanta, Rudra Kānta, Siva Kānta, and Skanda Kānta. These divisions are based on the general shapes of columns. With respect to demensions and ornaments they are called Chitra-

* See the writer's *Dictionary* and compare the *Mānasāra*, XXXII. 36—40; XXIX, 35—38; XXXIII, 134—145, 216—117, 248; XLV, 86—97; LIII, 29—34; XIII, 36—40, etc.

† See the writer's *Dictionary*, sub. voce.

‡ See the writer's *Dictionary*, under Utsedha.

When a large number of absolute measures are prescribed for the one and the same object, the right proportion is selected by the test of six formulas technically called āya, vyaya, ṛikṣa, yoni, vāra, tithi or aṃśa (see details in the writer's *Dictionary*, under shaḍ-varga).

§ Chapter XV, 20—23, 31, 39, 40, 73, 204.

¶ Also in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, p. 252, 253; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, p. 212, 216; V. p. 151,

karṇa, Padma-kaṇtha, Chitra-stambha, Pālikā-stambha, and Kumbha-stambha, A sixth one* in the latter division is pilaster, not pillar proper, and is called Koṣṭha-stambha and Kuḍya-stambha.

Of the *Purāṇas*, these details are very clear only in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. In this *Purāṇa*† as well as in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*‡, the five orders are called Ruchaka, Vajra, Dvi-vajra, Pralīnaka, and Vṛtta.

Of the *Āgamas*§, the *Suprabhedāgama* contains the essential details. The names of the five orders according to this *Āgama* are *Śrī-kara*, Chandra-kanta, Saumukhya, Priya-darśana, and Subhaṃ-karī. The last one is stated to be the Indian composite order, being compound of Saumukhya and Priya-darsana, just like the Græco-Roman composite order which is compound of Corinthian and Ionic.

Between the European and the Indian columns, however, there is a striking point of difference. Of the Græco-Roman orders, the five names have been left unchanged, while in India the names of the five orders have varied in various treatises referred to above. It is true, all the same, that the criteria of divisions are essentially the same in the *Mānasāra*, the *Āgamas*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. We have also seen above that the *Mānasāra* contains two sets of names of the five orders, one set referring like the *Āgamas*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*¶ to the shapes of the columns or more precisely the shafts, while the other refers mostly to the capitals. The works other than the *Vāstu-śāstras* as represented by the *Mānasāra* have not kept this distinction clear. What we can reasonably infer from this fact as regards the mutual relation of these treatises will be further elucidated by the consideration of the component parts of the column. The question of the variation of the names of the five orders in the Indian works can perhaps

* *Mānasāra*, XV, 84.

† Matsya Purāṇa. chapter 255, 1—6.

‡ Bṛhat Saṃhitā, VIII 27—30, also J. R. A. S. (N. S.) 285, notes 1. 2.

§ See also the Kāmikāgama, Paṭala XXXV. 24—26. 161. LV, 203, etc.

¶ See references given above, and for further details consult the writer's *Dictionary* under Stambha.

be explained. While in Europe the origin of the names of the five orders is traced to historical geography*, in India they were based on the shapes of columns. And as the Indians are comparatively religious and poetical rather than historical in temperament and imagination, they chose mythological and highly poetical names according to the spirit of the times when these various works were composed. Thus in the *Mānasāra,* we see the orders bearing the names of mythological deities, Brahmā Viṣṇu, Rudra, Śiva, and Skanda ; as well as *Chitra-kānta* (variegated ears), *Padma-kānta* (graceful like lotus), Chitra-stambha (of variegated shaft), *Pālikā-stambha* (edged like a measuring pot), and *Kumbha-stambha* (of jug-shaped capital) ; while in the *Āgama,* they are highly poetical names—*Śrī-kara* (beautifying), *Chandra-kānta* (graceful like the moon), *Saumukhya* (of very charming face), *Priyadarśana* (of pleasing sight), *Śubhaṃkarī* (auspicious). and in the *Purāṇas,* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* they are called *Ruchaka* (beautiful or pleasing), *Vajra* (club, hence lasting), *Dvi-vajra* (doubly lasting), *Pralīnaka* (firmly attached, hence a pilaster), and *Vṛtta* (round, hence solid and dignified).

With regard to the names and the functions of the component parts of the column, the variation is a little less marked. But these subservient parts, called mouldings and common to all orders, vary in number. Thus in the *Mānasāra* which, of almost all the treatises, deals separately and exhaustively with the pedestal, the base, and the entablature, mention is made in connection with pillar, of five mouldings†, apparently of the shaft, namely, *Bodhikā, Mushṭi-bandha, Phalakā, Tāṭikā,* and *Ghaṭa.* The *Suprabhedāgama* describes two sets of seven mouldings‡, one set referring to the column of the main building and the other to that of the pavillion—*Daṇḍa,*

* Doric is derived from the species of columns first seen in the cities of Doria (Vitruvius, IV. 1). That species of which the Ionians (inhabitants of Ionia) were the inventors has received the appellation of Ionic (ibid). Callimachus constructed columns after the model of the tomb in the country about Corinth, hence this species is called Corinthian (ibid). The other two orders, Tuscan and Composite, are of Italian or Roman origin. The Tuscan order has reference to the country, formerly called Euria in Italy, and the Composite is compound of Corithian and Ionic (Gwilt *Encyclopeadia of Architecture,* article 178).

† *Mānasāra,* XLVII 16—18.

‡ *Suprabhedāgama,* Paṭala, XXXI, 56—60, 107—108.

Maṇḍi, Kaṇṭha, Kumbha, Phalakā, Vīra-kaṇṭha and *Potikā ;* and *Bodhikā, Uttara, Vājana, Mūrdhikā, Tulā, Jayantī,* and *Tala.* These mouldings have reached the significant number of eight in the *Matsya Purāṇa,* the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā,* and the *Kiraṇa-tantra,* and bear the very same eight names*, to wit, *Vāhana, Ghaṭa, Padma, Uttarostha, Bāhulya, Bhāra* (or *Hāra*), *Tulā,* and *Upa-tulā.*

The significance of the number 'eight' referred to above lies in the fact that the component parts of the Græco-Roman orders also are eight in number†, and like the five orders themselves, their names are invariable ever since their introduction, though most of them have been given more than one name. They are called (1) the ovalo, echinus or quarter round ; (2) the talon, ogee or reversed cyma ; (3) the cyma, cyma-recta or cymatium ; (4) the torus; (5) the scotia or trochilos; (6) the cavetto, mouth or hollow ; (7) the astragal ; and (8) the fillet, listet or annulet.

The *Mānasāra* refers to five mouldings ; the *Suprabhedāgama* describes seven ; and the *Matsya Purāṇa,* the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā,* and *Kiraṇa-tantra,* each, makes mention of eight mouldings‡. But if the very large number of mouldings, described in the *Mānasāra* in connection with the pedestal, the base, and the entablature, be also taken into consideration, the *Mānasāra* will certainly exceed all other treatises under notice. Thus in the *Mānasāra* we can detect the following mouldings§——(1) abja, ambuja, padma or

* Matsya Purāṇa, chap. 1—6; Bṛhat Saṃhitā VIII. 29—30, Kiraṇa-tantra, J. R. A. S. (N.S.) 1. 285, notes 1, 2.

† See figures 867—874 and article 2532, Gwilt, *Encyclopædia of Architecture;* Glossary of Architectural terms, Plate XXXIV.

‡ See the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* under Upapiṭha, Adhiṣṭhāna and Prastara.

§ There are mouldings which bear a large number of names or synonyms, e.g.

(i) Kapota, prastara, mañcha, prachchhādana, gopāna, vitāna, valabhī, and matta-vāraṇa,

(ii) Prati, prastara, prati-vājana, anvanta, avasāna, vidhāna, and vidhānaka.

(iii) Prati-rūpa, dalākāra, vijana, vājana, kṣepaṇa, vetra, paṭṭa, uttara, paṭṭikā, kampa, trika, maṇḍa, and antarita.

(iv) Tulā-daṇḍa, jayantī, and phalakā.

vakra-hasta, lūpā, gopānaka, and chandra.

(vi) Saṃgraha, muṣṭi-bandha, maddala, uddhṛta-hasta, valabhī, and dhāraṇa.

saroruha (cyma); (2) antara, antarita, antarāla or antarika (fillet); (3) aṇghri; (4) aṁśu; (5) argala; (6) ādhāra; (7) āliṇga; (8) āsana; (9) bhadra; (10) bodhikā; (11) dala; (12) dhārā-(kumbha), (13) gala; grīvā, kaṇtha or kandhara (dado); (14) ghaṭa; (15) gopana (ka); (16) hāra (bead); (17) janman (plinth); (18) kapota;* (19) kampa, kampana (fillet); (20) karṇa; (21) kumbha; (22) kumuda (torus or astragal); (23) kendra; (24) kṣepaṇa; (25) muṣṭi-bandha; (26) mūla; (27) mṛṇāla or mṛṇālikā; (28) naṭaka; (28) nāsī; (30) nimna (drip); (31) paṭṭa or paṭṭikā (fillet); (32) prati or pratika; (33) prati-vakra; (34) prati-vājana; (35) prati-bandha; (36) pratima; (37) pāduka; (38) prastara; (39) phalakā; (40) ratna, compound with kampa, paṭṭa, and vapra; (41) tāṭikā; (42) tuṇga; (43) uttara (fillet; (44) upāna (plinth); (45) vapra or vapraka; (46) valabha or valabhī; and (47) vājana (fillet).

There is a number of compound mouldings also, such as, Kampa-karṇa, Karṇa-padma, Kṣudra kampa, Kṣudra-padma, Kṣepaṇāmbuja, Mahāmbuja, Padma-kampa, Ratna-paṭṭa, Ratna-vapra, Vajra-paṭṭa, etc.

Again, of all these treatises only the *Mānasāra* and the *Āgamas* refer to the highly technical and purely architectural matters. Thus in the *Mānasāra* we find the measurements and other details of sixty-four varieties of bases divided into nineteen classes,† called, (1) Pāda-bandha, (2) Uraga-bandha, (3) Prati-krama, (4) Kumuda-bandha, (5) Padma-keśara, (6) Puṣpa-pushkala, (7) Śrī-bandha, (8) Mañcha-bandha, (9) Śreṇi-bandha, (10) Padma-bandha, (11) Kumbha bandha, (12) Vapra-bandha, (13) Vajra-bandha, (14) Śrī-bhoga, (15) Ratna-bandha, (16) Paṭṭa-bandha, (17) Kukshi-bandha, (18) Kampa-bandha, and (19) Śrī-kānta.

In the *Suprabhedāgama*, only four classes‡ of bases are mentioned, namely, Padma-bandha, Chāru-bandha, Pāda-bandha, and

(vii) Nāṭaka, anta, mṛṇalikā, vallikā, chitrāṇga, and kulikāṇghrika.

(viii) Uttara, vājana, ādhāra, ādheya, śayana, uddhṛita, mahā-tauli, mūrdhaka, and svavaṃsaka.

* Dovecot, also called Kapotapālī.

† *Mānasāra*, XIV, 11-387. See details in the writer's *Dictionary* under 'Adhiṣṭhāna.'

‡ *Suprabhedāgama*, XXXI. 17f

Pratikrama. The *Kāmikāgama* gives only the general description of the base.*

In the *Mānasāra* sixteen types of pedestals are described in detail under three classes†—Vedi-bhadra, Prati-bhadra, and Mañcha-bhadra.

Only scanty information of the pedestal is found in the *Kāmikāgama*‡, the *Suprabhedāgama*,§ and a Tamil version of the *Mayamata*.¶

As regards the entablature, various mouldings and their measurements are given under eight classes in the *Mānasāra*.** The *Kāmikāgama*,†† the *Suprabhedāgama*,‡‡ and the *Vāstu-vidyā* only briefly refer to the general description of the entablature.

The comparative measurements of the column proper and the pedestal, the base, and the entablature are also given in more detail in the *Mānasāra* than in the *Āgamas* and some of the architectural treatises.§§

Thus in respect of the names of columns, the number of their subservient parts called mouldings, and also the base, the pedestal, and the entablature, as well as their comparative measurements, the *Mānasāra* can reasonably occupy the first place among all the treatises under observation. ¶¶

(iii) *The three Styles*

The style is also a technical and purely architectural subject. Thus it is not dealt with in the *Purāṇas*, not to speak of the epics or other poetical works where casual references to architecture and

* Kāmikāgama, XXXV. 22, 33, 114, 116, 122; LV. 202.

† *Mānasāra*, XII. 37—127. See details in the writer's *Dictionary* under 'Upa-pīṭha.'

‡ Patala XXXV, 115, 122.

§ Paṭala, XXXI, 12.

¶ *Essay on the Architecture of Hindus*, Rām Rāz, pp. 23, 26.

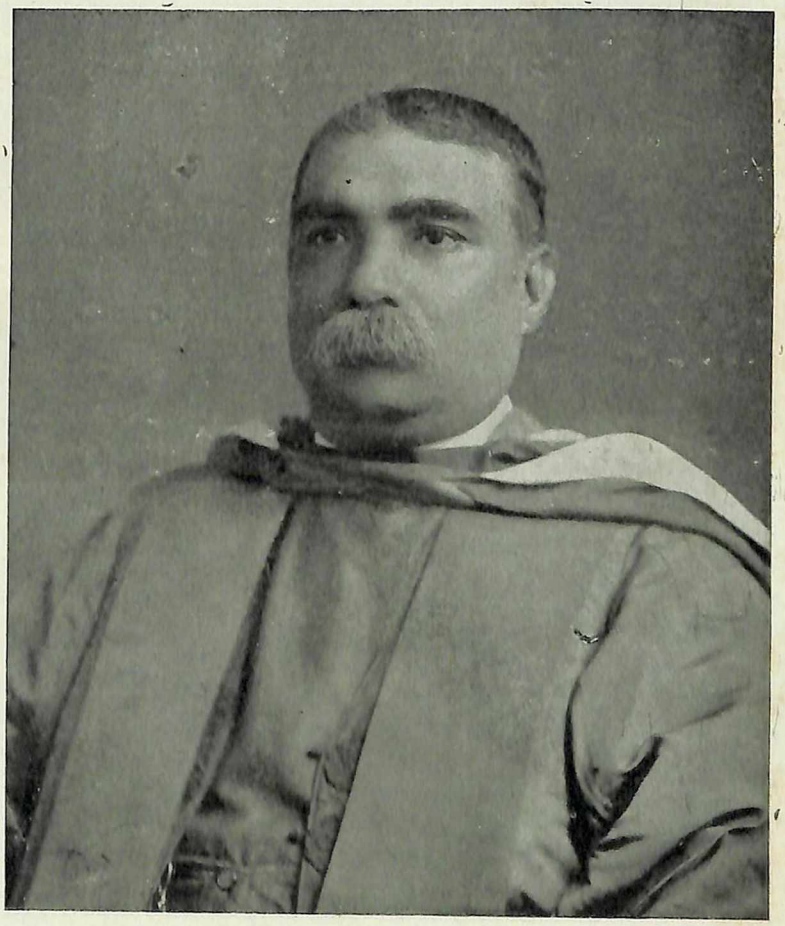
** Chapter XVI, 22—119. See details in the writer's *Dictionary* under 'Prastara.'

†† XXXV, 27—29 LIV. 1—4, 7—8, 9—46, 47.

‡‡ XXXI, 68—71.

§§ Ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, IX, 23, 26.

¶¶ See details in the writer's *Dictionary* under Stambha, Upa-pīṭha, Adhiṣṭhāna and Prastara.



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Frontispiece, Part II.

*Mar*ure are met with. In some of the epigraphical documents and in *that Saṃhitā* mention of the style is occasionally made. The *nas* contain a little more detail, while in the *Mānasāra* the subject is exhaustively treated.

The Nāgara, Vesara, and Drāviḍa are the three broad styles distinguished in the *Mānasāra*.* They are applied to both architecture† and sculpture.‡ With reference to the construction of cars or chariots a fourth style is mentioned.§ This is called Randhra which seems to be a corrupt form of Andhra. In an epigraphical record¶ Kaliṅga is mentioned as a distinct style of architecture. But if the identification of Vesara with Telugu or Tri-Kaliṅga be accepted, the Kaliṅga and the Andhra would be but two branches of the Vesara style. In the case of twelve-storyed buildings,** which are the most magnificent and imposing edifices, twelve special types, not necessarily the styles, of residential dwellings are also mentioned in the *Mānasāra*. All these names are geographical implying the twelve provinces into which the then India was divided architecturally, if not politically also. And these types are distinctly based on geographical divisions, in exactly the same way as the three styles, the Nāgara, Vesara, Drāvida, as also the two branches of the Vesara, the Kaliṅga and Andhra, are based. The Græco-Roman orders on which the European styles of architecture are mainly based, are also but geographical names†† as stated above.

* *Mānasāra*, XVIII, 92—104. For details, see the writer's *Dictionary* under Nāgara.

† *Ibid*. LIII, 53-54; XXI, 72-78; XXVI, 76. XLIII, 124-125, etc.

‡ *Ibid*. LII, 78, 100; LIII, 46-47, etc.

§ *Ibid* XLIII, 124—125.

¶ In the record itself, it is, however, stated that the Nāgara, Vesara, Drāviḍa, and Kāliṅga are four *types* not *styles* of buildings. (An inscription on the capital of a pillar in the Amṛitesvara temple at Holal, Government of Madras, G. O. No. 1260, 15th August, 1915; Progress Report of the Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, 1914-15, page 90).

** Pāñchāla, Drāviḍa, Madhyakānta, Kāliṅga, Va(Vi)rāṭa, Kerala, Vaṃśaka, Māgadha, Janaka and Gurjaraka (Mānasāra, XXX, 5—7). We have seen above that 98 kinds of mansions are described in the Mānasāra. In the Holal inscription mentioned above a reference is made to 64 kinds of mansions.

†† See above.

In the *Kāmikāgama* as well as in the *Suprabhedāgama*, frequent references to the three broad styles, the Nāgara, Vesara, and Drāvida are made.*

The distinguishing features of these styles are practically the same in all the three works—the *Mānasāra*, the *Kāmikāgama*, and the *Suprabhedāgama*.† The Andhra and the Kaliṅga branches of the Vesara style are not mentioned in the *Āgamas*. But we have seen that the *Kāmikāgama*, like the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, describes twenty kinds of mansions, while the *Suprabhedāgama* has reference to ten kinds. These varieties of buildings, as also the sixty-four kinds mentioned in the Holal inscription, and the ninety-eight kinds described in the *Mānasāra*, do not, however, represent the styles which fall only under three broad divisions, namely, the Nāgara, Vesara and Drāvida.

In the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, a clear mention is made only of the Drāvida style in connection with the measurement of the face, although the other styles may be said to have been implied. It is stated that according to one's own aṅgula (finger-breadth) the face (of an image) should be twelve aṅgulas (nine inches) broad and long; but as stated by the architect Nagnajit the face should be twelve aṅgulas long and fourteen aṅgulas broad in the Drāvida style. Obviously, therefore, the former measurement refers to other existing styles which are, however, not specified.

In regard to the styles also, then, the *Mānasāra* must be given pre-eminently the first place among all these works which in the present item of comparison comprise practically this work and the *Āgamas*.

In the light of all these facts—merely to deal with the question in its aspects as they concern the *Mānasāra*—I think it impossible to resist the following conclusion. There must have been a relation of indebtedness between the *Mānasāra* and the other works both architectural and non-architectural. Except in a few instances noted above, it is, however, difficult to state definitely that the

* Kāmikāgama, LXV, 6—7, 12—18, etc., Suprabhedāgama, XXXI, 37—39, etc.

† For details, see the writer's *Dictionary* under Nāgara.

‡ Chapter LVIII, 4.

Mānasāra is the debtor or creditor to this or that work in respect of this or that matter. Most of the difficulties, it is needless to observe, hinge upon the chronology, the irritating point in Sanskrit literature. If the chronology of the works discussed above were definitely known, it would have been easier to assume that the works earlier than the *Mānasāra* had been known to its author and those later than the *Mānasāra* had been influenced by it. Except in cases of support by archaeological records, epigraphical or non-epigraphical, the dates assigned to Sanskrit works are mostly but provisional. I have discussed elsewhere the available materials and the reasons which have induced me to provisionally place the *Mānasāra* somewhere in the fifth to seventh century of the Christian era. In view of the essential points of comparison and the accepted chronology of those works which have been critically studied by scholars, I would say that the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and the later Āgamic and Paurāṇic works, in respect of architectural and sculptural matters, as well as most of the avowedly architectural manuscripts are debtors to the *Mānasāra*, while it is a debtor itself in respect of the same matters to the Vedic and the early epic works as also the poli-technical treatises like the Kautiliya *Arthaśāstra*, and the the Kāmandakiya *Nitiśāra*, and the avowedly architectural works of the thirty-two authorities mentioned in the *Mānasāra* which might have existed till its own time. Besides, certain portion of it cannot but have been based on the actual observation and measurement of extant architectural and sculptural objects.

An objection may be raised. It is possible that those works which are stated here to have been debtors to the *Mānasāra* might have been influenced directly by those which are asserted to have been the creditors to the *Mānasāra*. Such an objection, however, can be easily disposed of. The *Mānasāra* in whichever period of history it is finally placed, has become a standard work on architecture and sculpture, because we have seen, first, it is the largest of its kind, secondly, its treatment of the subjects is most exhaustive, and thirdly, the subject-matters have been scientifically classified and systematised. And when there is a standard work it is natural and highly probable that those who treat the subject rather casually or less exhaustively should draw upon it instead of going through the original sources except for some

special reasons. For the ordinary meanings or synonyms of a word, we generally consult a standard dictionary, rather than attempt to trace the history, phonology, morphology and the semasiology, of the word. An analogical instance may perhaps make the point clearer. Pāṇini's grammar makes mention of some nineteen pre-existing grammatical works, and it has been placed by the later scholars somewhere in the fourth to third century of the pre-Christian era. Like the works on rhetoric and prosody, grammars cannot be prepared without consulting the existing literature, because the sole business of these works is to generalise certain regulating features of literature. The methods of the pioneers of law books, as well as of the grammar, the *Alaṃkāra Śāstra,* and the *Śilpa Śāstra,* must have been inductive. Pāṇini, as he acknowledges generously, has been indebted to his predecessors ; it is also clear from his work that he himself has consulted the preceding Vedic and post-Vedic literature. It is true that other grammars have been prepared after Pāṇini also. But when Pāṇini's grammar reached the status of a standard work, his rules and regulations were naturally followed in the later literature. The later grammarians also must have been influenced by Pānini. In the field of grammars and literature Pāṇini's grammar is, therefore, the regulating and controlling standard work. In the same sense, and more clearly and significantly, it seems to me, the *Mānasāra* occupies a unique position in literature, both architectural and non-architectural.

PRATIMĀ-LAKṢAṆAM

(PROFESSOR PHANINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A.)

Sanskrit Texts on *Pratimā* are very rare. We have only a few chapters on the art of image-making in *Śukranīti*, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and some of the *Purāṇas*, namely, *Matsya* and *Agni*. The *Purāṇas* are encyclopædic in character and the above two *Purāṇas* treat among other things the topic of *Pratimā-lakṣaṇam*. It is difficult to say from where the author of *Matsyapurāṇa* gathered the discourse on *Pratimā*. If we accept the view that the *Matsyapurāṇa* was composed by the sage Vyāsa, then he might be taken also as the writer of the discourse on *Pratimā*. There is, however, also the possibility that it was simply taken from another book and incorporated in the *Matsyapurāṇa*. The *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* portion of *Matsyapurāṇa* quotes two authorities on the subject, namely, Brahmā and Svāyaṃbhūva.

Though strictly speaking chapter 259 of *Matsyapurāṇa* is entitled *Pratimā-lakṣaṇam*, yet chapters 258, 260 and 261 also deal about *Pratimās*. In Ch. 258, we have the measurements of images in general and also that of images of goddesses. It also contains a description of the image of *Viṣṇu*. In Ch. 259, we have the description of *Rudra* and some general instructions as to how images should be made beautiful. In Ch. 260, we have the description of various gods such as—*Ardha-nārīsvara*, *Śiva-nārāyaṇa*, *Mahā-varāha*, *Nārasiṃha*, *Brahmā*, *Kārtikeya*, *Vināyaka*, *Kātyāanī* and *Indra*. In Ch. 261, we have the description of a few goddesses, such as—*Brahmāṇī*, *Māheśvarī*, *Kaumārī*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Varāhi*, *Indrāṇi* and *Lakṣmī*. *Prabhākara* is also described in this chapter.

Here we find that all the three gods of the Hindu Trinity described *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Rudra*, as well as *Brahmāṇī*, *Lakṣmī* and *Māheśvarī* come in for their shares. These gods and goddesses not only were worshipped in India, but also in such Indian colonies such as Champā, Siam and Cambodia. In Champā, *Siva-Nārāyaṇa* (or *Hari-Hara*) figures frequently. *

* See my *Indian Colony of Champā*, p. 95.

Brahmā, the creator, has been described thus :—

ब्रह्मा कमण्डलुधरः कर्त्तव्यः स चतुर्म्मुखः ।
हंसारूढः क्वचित् कार्यः क्वचिच्च कमलासनः ॥ ४० ।
वर्णतः पद्मगर्भाभश्चतुर्बाहुः शुभेक्षणः ।
कमण्डलुं वामकरे स्रुवं हस्ते तु दक्षिणे ॥ ४१ ।
वामे दण्डधरं तद्वत् स्रुवंचापि प्रदर्शयत् ।
मुनिभिर्देवगंधर्वैः स्तूयमानं समंततः ॥ ४२ ।
कुर्वाणमिव लोकां स्त्रीन् शुक्लाम्बरधरं विभुम् ।
मृगचर्मधरंचापि दिव्ययज्ञोपवीतिनम् ॥ ४३ ।
आज्यस्थालीं न्यसेत् पार्श्वे वेदांश्च चतुरः पुनः ।
वामपार्श्वेऽस्य सावित्रीं दक्षिणे च सरस्वतीम् ॥ ४४ ।

Thus the creator Brahmā should be represented with a *kamaṇḍalu* (water-pot) and should have four faces. Sometimes he should be made to sit on a *haṃsa* (swan) and sometimes on lotus-seat. His colour should be like the inner part of a *padma*. He should have four hands. In his left hand, there will be *kamaṇḍalu* and in the right hand a *sruva*. In the other left hand, there will be a *daṇḍa* (staff) and in the right hand another *sruva*. On all sides, he should be praised by sages and gods and *gandharvas*. He should put on white cloth, deer-skin and sacrificial *upavīta* (sacred thread). A plate of *ghee* and the four *vedas* should be put on his sides. On his left, should stand *Sāvitri* and on his right *Sarasvatī*.

In Indian sculpture we have many instances of Brahmā. They agree in many respects with this description. We have many images of Brahmā in the Indian museum. In sculpture, the fourth face is not observable. In the Mathurā Museum, we have the images of Brahmā and *Sarasvatī* together. There he has a lotus-seat, a pair of geese, in his right hands a staff and a *kamaṇḍalu* and in his left hand a *Veda*.* In Southern India, we have examples of Brahmā both in standing and sitting postures. The representation of Brahmā at seven Pagodas and another at Kumbakonam

* B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, Vol. I. p. 19.

illustrate the standing posture. A beautiful image of Brahmā in sitting attitude is seen at Tiruvādi near Tanjore. Another image of Brahmā from Chidambaram represents him seated on a swan.*

Let us now turn to the description of *Viṣṇu*, as given in the *Matsyapurāṇam*. It says :—

शंखचक्रधरं शान्तं पद्महस्तं गदाधरम् ॥ ४ ॥
छत्राकारं शिरस्तस्य कम्बुग्रीवं शुभेक्षणम् ।
तुंगनासं शुक्तिकर्णं प्रशान्तोरुभूजक्रमम् ॥ ५ ॥
क्वचिदष्टभुजं विद्याच्चतुर्भुजमथापरम् ।
द्विभुजश्चापि कर्त्तव्यो भवनेषु पुरोधसा ॥ ६ ॥

Viṣṇu should hold in his hands *saṃkha* (conch), *chakra* (disc), *padma* (lotus) and *gadā* (club). His head should be in the form of an umbrella, his neck like a conch, his ear like *śukti*. He should have high nose and great thigh and arms.

Sometimes the image is made eight-handed, sometimes four-handed, and sometimes two-handed by the priest.

In a Nepal Ms. of *Pratimā-māna-lakṣaṇam*, of which there is a copy in the Visvabhārati Library, we find that *padma*, *saṃkha* etc. have been spoken of as auspicious signs. We read :

"हस्तरेखां प्रवक्ष्यामि देवानां शुभलक्षणाम् ॥
शंखं पद्मं ध्वजं वज्रं चक्रं स्वस्तिककुण्डली ।
कलशं शशिनं छत्रं श्रीवत्साङ्कुशमेव च ॥
त्रिशूलं यवमालाश्च कुर्वीत वसुधां तथा ।"

Here we find that the following marks on the hands of gods are considered auspicious, namely, the conch, lotus, flag, thunderbolt, wheel, *svastika*, bracelet, pitcher, moon, umbrella, *śrīvatsa*, hook, trident, barley-garland and *vasudhā*.

Of these, we note that, the conch, lotus, and disc are the symbols of the god *Viṣṇu*.

In the *Matsyapurāṇam*, the head of *Viṣṇu* is said to be like an umbrella and the neck like a conch. It says :—

छत्राकारं शिरस्तस्य कम्बुग्रीवं शुभेक्षणम् ॥

* H. K. Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods & Goddesses*, p. 11.

In the Nepal Ms. of *Pratimā-māna-lakṣaṇam*, we read :—

शिरश्छत्रसमं कार्यं धनधान्यसमृद्धिदम् ॥

The same Ms. in another place says :—

कम्बुग्रीवा भवेदर्च्चा सर्वसिद्धिकरी सदा ॥

The images of *Viṣṇu* are very common in Northern as well as in Southern India. They are also found in Champā, Siam and Cambodia. We have at Sāntiniketan, a standing image of *Viṣṇu*, with two arms and two attendants.

Rudra is thus described in the *Matsyapurāṇam* :—

स पीनोरुभुज स्कन्धस्तप्तकांचनसप्रभः ॥ ३ ॥
शुक्लोऽर्करश्मिसंघातश्चन्द्रांकित जटो विभुः ।
जटामुकुटधारी च द्वयष्टवर्षाकृति श्च सः ॥ ४ ॥
वाहु वारणहस्ताभौ वृत्तजंघोरुमण्डलः ।
उर्द्धकेशश्च कर्त्तव्यो दीर्घायतविलोचनः ॥ ५ ॥
व्याघ्रचर्म्मपरीधानः कटिसूत्रत्रयान्वितः ।
हारकेयुरसम्पन्नो भुजंगाभरणस्तथा ॥ ६ ॥
खेटकं वामहस्ते तु खड्गं चैव तु दक्षिणे ॥ ८ ॥
शक्तिं दण्डं त्रिशूलंच दक्षिणेषु निवेशयेत् ।
कपालं वामपार्श्वे तु नागं खट्वांगमे च ॥
एकश्च वरदो हस्तस्तथाऽन्यवलयोऽपरः ।
वज्रास्थानकं कृत्वा नृत्याभिनयसंस्थितः ॥ १० ॥
नृत्यन् दशभुजः कार्यो गजचर्मधरस्तथा ।

Rudra is said to be the lord of destruction and so his representation seems to be awe-striking. Though his image is like that of a young man of sixteen, yet it rather strikes terror in the hearts of worshippers. His matted hair should be as white as the sun's rays and will have the symbol of the moon. The matted hair should be made up like a crown (*jatā-mukuta*). His arms should be like the trunk of an elephant, his thigh and knee should be round and eyes extended. He should put on tiger-skin and three *sutras* on the waist, as well as a necklace and a *keyura*. Serpents should also be his ornaments. In

his left hand, he should have a *khetaka* and a sword in the right. On his right should be placed *śakti*, staff and trident, on the left *kapāla, nāga* and *khattaṅga;* when dancing on the bull, one of his hands should be in the *varada* attitude and in the other *akṣamālā*. When he would be represented dancing he should have ten hands and should put on the elephant skin.

A question may arise here : why the gods are endowed with so many hands? The earliest representation of Śiva may be found in the Kusān coins where Śiva is represented only with two hands. Even in later Kusān coins we find Śiva with four hands. What may be the reason for the multiplication of hands of these Indian gods? It may be that the artists wanted to show the supernatural power of gods by adding more hands. Man has got two hands, the gods, they argued, therefore, must have four or eight or more arms. In the early evolution of Indian images, gods had no supernatural elements. The artists made them as simple as possible. But soon, with the rise of the Pauranic Hinduism, gods began to be endowed with super-human powers, just as in Assyria, sometimes claws or the faces of animals were added to the images of gods to show that they were more than human beings.

In the *Purāṇas* we find the multiplication of arms and faces of the Hindu gods. The age of the *Purāṇas* has been determined by Pargiter, who has placed them in the Gupta period.

It was, therefore, in the Gupta period that the Indian gods began to be endowed with four or more arms. There was another reason for the outward decoration of these gods in the later period. When the artists found that they could not make the image beautiful, they began to add outward decorations to make the image more gorgeous. As they could not make the face appear in *dhyāna* (meditation) attitude, they multiplied the number of faces and hands and also added many figures of decoration on the background. Instead of making the image beautiful, these outward decorations made the image rather clumsy, as evidenced in the later Brahmanic sculptures.

The author of the commentary *Jayamangala* on the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, when dealing with the *mlechchhita-vikalpa* (systems of cipher-writing) cites, by way of illustration, two systems, one founded by Kauṭilya and the other by Mūladeva. This fact that Kauṭilya and Mūladeva were the authors of systems of cipher-writing is quite in keeping with the tradition that ascribes to them mastery of all sciences and arts. The system of Mūladeva, it may be noted here, is preserved intact in Kerala along with many other ancient Indian survivals, and the sons of the land are found to make use of it on occasions of secrecy.

The Bhāṇa *Padmaprābhṛtaka* attributed to Śūdraka, which has for its plot the love between Mūladeva and Vipulā, exhibits Mūladeva as a Dhūrtachārya (a beau-ideal) and as proficient in all arts; and Mūladeva is called in it by the name of *Karṇīsuta*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva connects Mūladeva with Vikramāditya of legendary fame; and in Ksemendra's *Kalāvilāsa*, Mūladeva figures as a teacher of *Kalās*, lecturing to sons of gentlemen and making them wealthier by his teachings.

In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* the story of Karṇīsuta is referred to as invariably associated with Vipulā, Achala, and Śaśa. The Jain Upādhyāya Śubhachandra, commenting on the story of Karṇīsuta, says that Karṇīsuta was a Kṣatriya, had two companions named Vipulā and Achala, and a minister Śaśa; and quotes in support of his comment, a passage identifying Karṇīsuta with Kharapaṭa; and further tells us that the story of Karṇīsuta is recounted in the *Bṛhatkathā*. Another commentary named *Kādambari-padārtha-darpaṇa* by an anonymous author gives out that Karṇīsuta was a king, and Vipulā and Achalā were his two wives, and that he had a minister named Śaśa. Another erudite commentary in metrical form called *Āmoda* by *Aṣṭamūrti* (probably a Nambitiri Brahmin of Malabār) tells us of his having heard a story of Karṇīsuta, in which Karṇīsuta is represented as a Brahmin teacher of *Chora-vidyā*, with Vipula and Achala as his two disciples.

The love-story of Mūladeva and Devadattā is dealt with in the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* of the Jain author Somaprabha, and in it Mūladeva is said to be a beautiful person, proficient in all Kalās and a fountain of all good qualities. Gambling, burglary, abduction,

illicit love and such other immoralities are included among the teachings of Karṇisuta in the *Daśa-kumāra-charita.*

These are some of the notions that have gathered around the name of Kharapaṭa, Mūladeva and Karṇisuta, which exhibit a person, whatever his name, as the author of a treatise on theft, advocating burglary and murder, as a romantic adventurer and a cynosure of all the gay gallants, a master and teacher of all Kalās, possessing all good qualities, and as a daring opponent of an usurper of the imperial throne. As it is highly doubtful if one and the same person could have possessed all these attributes, the correctness of the identification of the names based on the lexicon *Hārāvalī* has to be held under abeyance until fresh light is thrown on it by further researches. Besides, the mention of the word Kharapaṭa in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, which, from the weight of evidence, is now accepted to be the real work of the minister of Chandragupta Maurya, disproves the identity, inasmuch as Mūladeva is said to be a contemporary of Puṣyamitra.

SANKISĀ EXCAVATIONS*

(HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L.)

Some nine years ago I was asked to excavate the ancient site at Sankisā in the Farrukhābād district of the United Provinces. At the instance of the late Dr. Venis of the Queen's College, Benares, and the Hon'ble Mr. Burn, the then Chief Secretary to the United Provinces Government, a sum of Rs. 3,000, anonymously contributed by some large-hearted members of the U. P. Historical Society which had then recently come into existence under the very sympathetic patronage of Sir James (now Lord) Meston, the then Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, was placed at my disposal for the purpose. In consultations with Sir John Marshall, the eminent Director-General of Archæology in India, I spotted some portions of the very extensive site for exploration and would have examined them all but for my deputation to Kashmir in consequence of which I had to leave the work only half done.

In 1919, I drew out a detailed report of these operations to get it printed in the Journal of the above-mentioned U. P. Historical Society and sent it on together with several illustrations to the Hon. Mr. Burn but somehow its publication has been delayed. Before this report and the illustrations which accompany it are published in the Journal, it looked very desirable to place a short account of the work before scholars interested in Indian Archæology. To do this, sanction was needed and I am very glad the U. P. Government has very kindly accorded it through the Director General of Archæology in India, allowing me to publish a short sumé in this volume. Accordingly, I am contributing the following note as a token of my respect and admiration for Sir Asutosh Mookerjee the great Indian Educationist, to whom this volume is dedicated.

Sankisā† is a small village lying about 40 miles to the north

* This note mainly deals with the excavations of 1926. For Cunningham's operations, see *A. S. R.* I & XI.,

† Local people seem to pronounce it as *Sankso*.

of Kanauj. It is situated in long. 79°30 and lat. 27°.20 perched on an extensive mound which, as reported by Cunningham,* is 41 feet in height above the surrounding fields, 1,500 feet in length from east to west and 1,000 feet in breadth. The nearest approach to it is from Moṭā, a Railway station on the Farrukhābād Shikohābād branch of the East Indian Railway which is about five miles from it and lies on the opposite side of the Kālindrī (Kālinadī), a small tributary of the Ganges.

That Saṇkisā represents the old *Sāṇkāsyā* or the *Sāng-Kia-she* of the Chinese writers, does not require much demonstration. The identity is supported not only by the similarity of the name but by the topography or relative position of the locality with regard to the places like Mathurā, Kanauj or Ahichchhatra, the modern Rāmanagar in the Bareilly district of the United Provinces. It is true that we have the elephant and not the lion capital talked of by the Chinese pilgrims now lying at Saṇkisā. It is also certain that the elephant capital must have stood near the spot where it now stands during the Gupta epoch otherwise the existence of the terracotta elephant figures which I excavated during my exploration of the site cannot be explained. I doubt if it was myopia owing to which the Chinese pilgrims mistook the elephant figure for that of a lion even if we take it for granted that the trunk was cut off long before their visit. The figure is remarkably life-like and can hardly be taken for any other animal. As at Rāmpurvā, which has two Aśoka columns one surmounted by a bull and the other by a lion, there might have been two pillars at Saṇkisā, one with a lion and the other with an elephant capital. The former, perhaps, is still to be traced out. That the elephant capital is Aśokan cannot be denied. The pilgrims did not mention the pillar with an elephant capital. That Mauryan structures must have existed here is amply borne out by the finds made and the remains which still exist on the site though at a considerable depth. No special proof is needed to show that the capital is Mauryan or that it rested on a Mauryan pillar originally. The figures of the four sacred animals, usually seen on the tops of the monolithic columns of Aśoka, are believed to represent the animals who protect the four quarters of the world. So

* *Archl. Sur.* Vol. I., p. 274.

the elephant figure on this capital is to be taken as a symbol of the East, the elephant being the guardian of the East, the horse of the South, the bull of the West and the lion of the North.* That all the four animals are represented on the Sāranāth capital would show that the " turning of the wheel " (or *dharma-chakra-pravartana*) was meant for all the four quarters of the world. More than one symbol at one spot would refer to the communities residing there. Rāmpurvā, for instance, had the bull and the lion capital to mark the monasteries occupied by Western and Northern communities. That there must have been northern communities at Saṇkisā will be evidenced by the seal of the *Hēmavatas* which was unearthed there. The lion-capital at Saṇkisā, might have been connected with them, while the elephant-capital was related to the special direction *i.e.*, the East. To doubt the identity of Saṇkisā on the ground that the figure of a couchant lion was seen by Hiuen Tsiang or his fellow pilgrim, therefore, does not appear to be very reasonable. Here we should not forget the discrepancy in the statements of these pilgrims in regard to the capital of one of the Śrāvastī pillars which Fa-Hian calls an ox and Hiuen Tsiang an elephant.

In addition to the apparent identity of the names spoken of above, I think, Hiuen Tsiang's calling the locality by the name of *Kie-pi-tha* will be a further proof. This *kie-pi-tha* is apparently the Kapitthika whence the Madhubana plate of Harṣa was issued—*Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jaya-skandhāvārāt Kapitthikāyāḥ*—and very probably the Kapitthakā where Varāhamihira, the great astronomer, is said to have obtained a boon from the sun.† That *Saṇkāsyikah* and *Kāmpillakaḥ* are synonymous terms is evidenced by the *Kāseikāvṛtti* on Pāṇini (IV. 2. 121). That Kāmpillaka is represented by the modern village of Kampil in the Kaimganj *tahsil* of the Farrukhābād district situated in 27 35'N and 79 14'E, 28 miles to the north-west of Fatehgarh does not require demonstration. According to the *Mahābhārata* it was the capital town of the Southern Pāñchāla which fell to the lot of Drupada when the Northern Pāñchāla with Ahichchhatra as its capital was wrested from him by mighty Droṇa to

* Cf. V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, pp. 59, f.
† *Bṛhajjātaka*, 26. 1.

avenge himself on the insolent and haughty king of the whole of the Pāñchāla country. According to Mahīdhara's commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka*, the Kāpitthaka* is the village of Kāmpilla, for, it says **कापित्थके कांपिल्लाख्ये ग्रामे**। But the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala called *Bṛhajjātakavivriti*, a manuscript copy of which I saw in possession of Nāthrām Pandit at Srinagar in Kashmir, renders it differently, i.e., by **कापित्थाख्ये ग्रामे**। These authorities, therefore, would lead us to surmise that, provided Kāmpilla is not a mistake for Kāpittha (*lla* for *ttha*,), both these names designated the same locality. Saṅkisā and Kampil are situated in the same district of Farrukhābād or Fatehgarh and are not far distant from each other. The former lies some 23 miles and the latter 28 miles to the west and north-west of the headquarters of the district, namely, Fatehgarh. Thus, on the authorities quoted above, it seems reasonable to surmise that all the three appellations are connected with one another and were applied to, probably, different parts of one and the same tract which possibly, went by the name of Sāṅkāsya, the capital of Kuśadhvaja, the brother of the Mithilā King Janaka of the epic fame. It is interesting to observe that the description of the *prākāras* of the capital town of Kuśadhvaja found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* or its commentary i.e., *Tilaka*† would agree fairly well with the remains of the ramparts which are still to be seen round Saṅkisā.

To Brahmanical works Sāṅkāśya is chiefly known in connection with the princes of Mithilā but in Buddhist literature it is mentioned as a place of special sanctity and one of the chief sacred spots on the earth. It was at Saṅkāsya that the Buddha is said to have alighted from the *Trayastrṃśa* heaven after imparting the *Dhamma* to his mother who was bereft of the privilege of seeing her illustrious son attaining the Bodhi or Enlightenment and hearing the law direct from him.

* It is obviously different from the *Kapitthaka* on or near the bank of the Godāvarī which is mentioned in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, the Rāṣtrakuṭa king who flourished about 936 A. C.

† I. 70-2, 3. **'वार्याफलक पर्यन्ताम्' परबलं वारयितुमर्हो वार्यः प्राकार स्तत्स्था आफलकाः यत्फलकास्तदुक्तः पर्यन्तः परिसरो यस्या;** etc.

Cunningham excavated the spot, though partially, about the year 1862 and gave an account of his operations in his Archæological Survey Reports. Mr. Growse of the Indian Civil Service is also said to have done some spade work here, though I have not seen any account of it. Cunningham found very interesting antiques during his explorations. One of the most noteworthy finds he made is the sculptured scene in soapstone which, might be connected with the Sāṇkāśya legend. The other* noteworthy find is the goldsmith's mould with short Kharoshṭhī legends which might have belonged to some goldsmiths from the North-west who settled at Saṇkisā during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Cunningham excavated some places at Pāknā Bihār. Here he succeeded in unearthing clay seals of decidedly Buddhist origin which he has described and illustrated along with his other finds in his Survey Reports.† It is not impossible that they were connected with the great *vihāra* of Sāṇkāśya mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims in their itineraries.

The site near the spot where the elephant capital now stands was believed by Cunningham to be the place where the column surmounted by the capital was originally set up. To see if it was really the case, I started digging there and laid bare the brick platform which Cunningham took to have been the base of the Aśoka pillar. It lies to the north of the mound now marked by the temple of Bisāri Devī. On examination I found that the platform was made of comparatively modern bricks, of late mediæval origin, and could not have possibly supported the Aśoka pillar. On no account can it be ascribed to the Mauryan age. Cunningham was certainly mistaken when he connected this platform with the Aśokan pillar. Possibly it was built later on to support the capital when people began to worship it as Gaṇēśa, as they are doing now. In all probability the column must have stood not far off from this place originally, for, near the base

* For illustrations of these two finds see *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, plate IX, figures 2 and 6.

† Vols. I and XI.

of the mound on which the village of Saṅkisā now stands I succeeded in securing Aśokan or Mauryan relics in the form of fragments of highly polished Chunār stone and in tracing the remains of a structure of Mauryan bricks at a depth of some 19 feet from the present field level. Structural remains of somewhat similar bricks were also opened at the foot of the mound on which the temple of Bisāri Devī is now standing. The Aśoka column might have been erected in or near either of these structures. In that case the remains of the great monastery with the three holy staircases should be searched for in the large mound under the village or the said temple and not at Pāknā-Bihār. Near the spot where the elephant capital lay at the time of Cunningham's visit—now it has been shifted towards the east outside the fields—I unearthed numerous elephant figures in terra-cotta along with several clay seals of about the 4th century (A.C.) Apparently these figures are connected with the elephant capital. They were in all probability offered by the people in imitation of the elephant which surmounted the Aśoka pillar. These votive figurines would indicate that the elephant capital must have stood close by when they were offered i.e., about the Gupta period to which the seals found along with them belong. To think of the removal of the capital from a long distance after knocking down the column prior to the fourth century of the Christian era will be to expect too much from imagination. And then the existence of the remains of the Mauryan epoch will have to be accounted for. The absence of Buddhist relics in large numbers round the spot is, apparently, due to the predominance of the Brahminical cults to the existence of which the itiniraries of the Chinese pilgrims afford ample testimony.

After examining the platform thoroughly, I took several trenches round it and near the village of Saṅkisā confining the operations to the north of the mound surmounted by the temple of Bisāri Devī. Every trench showed remains of buildings. The lower-most structure whose remains I could trace under this mound is, as alluded to above, built of bricks of the Mauryan type, measuring 21½" x 11" x 4". Besides this, I excavated here the foundations of an extensive building and opened not less than seven of its wide door-ways. The outline of another structure was also traced more or less completely. In addition to these remains I was able to open the foundations of

some other buildings.* There seems to be no necessity of describing them here.

Now I may give a brief account of the seals and other relics which I excavated at Sankisā. They consist of pottery, bricks and fragments of stones which are all deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Of the terra-cottas the votive figures of elephants have already been spoken of. Others need not be mentioned here. The coins found were much worn out but some 40 could be identified. Of these the oldest, and perhaps unique, is the lead coin bearing the legend *Gomitasa*† in early Brāhmī characters of about the 2nd century B.C. The other old piece is of Hagāmāsha, a satrap of Mathurā who flourished about the first century B.C. Among the rest the coin of Kadphises II, of the usual Siva and Bull type, may be noticed in passing.

The seals found number not less than 114, excluding those that were fragmentary. One of them is sectarian and decidedly Buddhist. It was found at a depth of 14 feet from the present ground level in the debris mostly consisting of ashes and charcoal which would indicate that the place must have been burnt down. It has a short but interesting legend which is written in the early Kuṣāṇa script and reads—

Aya(ā)na(naṁ) Hēmavata(ā)na(naṁ)

meaning "of the venerable Haimavatas." The *Haimavatas* were the primitive *Sthaviras* who formed one of the early eighteen principal schools of Buddhism. According to the account given by Beal after the Chinese rendering of a treatise of Vasumitra, the *Haimavata* school was indentical with 'Yun-shan' of the Chinese which is considered to be a branch of the *Mahāsthaviras*. Apparently, it was so called after the abode of its founder. The legend on this seal supplies, perhaps, the earliest known mention of the sect and is an indication of the existence of Northern Buddhist communities at Saṅkisā, as stated above. The

* In the debris round the temple of Mahādeva shrine I picked up a pestle-like piece of highly polished Chunar stone.

† For *Gomitra* see *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*. Vol. I, p. 205, plate XXIII-6.

remaining seals seem to be personal. They may be classed into three groups, viz., (1), those issued in the name of *Bhadrākṣa,* (69 in number), (2), those having the name *Ramyākṣa* (4 in number) and (3), those which give the name of *Śvetabhadra* (40 in number). The seals of the first two groups, i.e., of Bhadrākṣa and Ramyākṣa either bear the figure of Śiva himself or his well-known emblems the bull and the trident. Both these persons, on this account, must have been *Śaiva* or the devotees of Śiva. The seals which bear the name of *Śvetabhadra* show a flying figure, probably of Garuḍa, holding a serpent in the left hand. On the reverse of some of these we see a divine figure seated on what looks more like a peacock with unfurled plumage than Garuḍa. The Garuḍa symbol would show that Svetabhadra was a *Vaiṣnava.* On paleaographic grounds the seals are ascribable to the early Gupta epoch, a surmise strengthened by the age of the bricks found with them which measure 16" x 10" x 2½ and are decidedly of the Gupta period. The persons named in these legends are not known to history or tradition, and we cannot say whether they were kings or religious teachers of that age. The name of Śvetabhadra, however, reminds us of the Bhāgabhadra mentioned in the now well-known inscription on the Besnagar pillar—*raña Kāsīputasa Bhāgabhadrasā.* This Bhāgabhadra, apparently, must have been a *bhāgavata* or devotee of Viṣṇu. He flourished about the 2nd century B.C. We have no grounds to connect him with the Śvetabhadra of these seals. The ending in the names alone is striking. As to the use of such seals much has already been said by different scholars and I need not dwell on it here.

I cannot close this account without mentioning the Mauryan relics spoken of above. Structural remains have already been alluded to. One area yielded heaps of ink-pots and pottery of sorts besides some ancient stone-seats usually called *Goreyas.* These objects however, do not attract us so much as do the fragments of the well-known Chunār stone with the characteristic Mauryan or Aśokan polish which I found in the debris here at a depth of about 13 feet from the ground level towards the west of the wall. Unfortunately they are mere fragments with no carving or inscriptions. Do these fragments belong to the Aśoka column or the figure of Buddha which Fa-Hian ascribed to Aśoka?