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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

PART III

PAPERS READ BEFORE

THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF

BOMBAY

BY

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TO

THE HON'BLE Mr. JUSTICE KINCAID, C. V. O., I. C. S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

As a token of Literary friendship and in Recognition and Appreciation of his valuable Work in the Line of Indian History and Folk-Lore.

PREFACE.

I have read in all 80 papers before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Thirty of these have been published in the first volume (1911 A. C.), twenty in the second volume (1918). Twelve, being of a more general interest have been published separately, and 14 more are published in this volume.[1]

I remember with pleasure, on this occasion, my long connection with the Anthropological Society of Bombay, which I have served in various capacities, especially as its Honorary Secretary for the last 25 years. This close association and long connection with the Society have given some zest to my life. To my esteemed colleagues of the Council, I beg to tender my humble and respectful thanks for all the help they have given me and the kindness they have shown me in the discharge of my duties. I remember with grateful pleasure that I have served under 17 Presidents. To one of them, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. A. Kincaid, I beg to dedicate this volume. His Presidentship in 1922 had been of great help to the Society, as he, kindly sympathising with the aim, object and work of the Society, had helped to draw to its work, the co-operation and sympathy of many others and had thus increased the number of its members. As I have said elsewhere, he is one of those members of the distinguished Civil Service, who, besides doing well their usual honest hard work of administration, have attempted, by their learned studies and broad-minded sympathies, to bring the East and the West closer.

COLABA,
1st August 1924.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

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1 I can speak of the number of my papers. As to their quality, I will refer my readers, to literary Journals like the Athenæum (13th July 1912), the Academy (14th September 1912), and the Calcutta Review (January 1913). *Vide* the Preface of my Anthropological Papers, Part II.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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The Religious System of the Parsees.

A Catechism of the Zoroastrian Religion.

The Naôjote Ceremony of the Parsees.

The Marriage Ceremony of the Parsees.

Marriage Customs among the Parsees, their Comparison with similar Customs of other Nations.

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatroîhâ-i-Airân, va Afdya va Sahigiya-Seistân, *i.e.*, the Memoir of Zarir, Cities of Irân, and the Wonders and Marvels of Seistân. (Pahlavi Translations Part I. Texts in Gujarati character, with English and Gujarâti translations and notes).

Jâmâspi (Pahlavi Translations, Part III. Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian texts with translations).

Wine among the Ancient Persians.

Asiatic Papers, Parts I and II. Part III in the Press.

Anthropological Papers, Parts I and II.

Masonic Papers.

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Impressions d'un Parsi sur la Ville de Paris.

La Visite d'un Parsi à la Ville de Constantinople.

La Cêrêmonie du Naôjote parmi les Parsis.

GUJARATI.

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જમશેદ, હોમ અને આતશ (Jamshed, Hom and Fire).

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મુકતાદના દિવસો કેટલા છે ? તે બાબેની પેહેલવી, પાજંદ, ફારસી વિગેરે પુસ્તકોને આધારે તપાસ (An Inquiry from Pahlavi, Pazend, Persian and other works on the subject of the Number of Days of the Fravardegan).

મુંબઇના પારસી ધરમ ખાતાંઓ (Bombay Parsee Charities).

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The Pahlavi Mâdigân-i-Hazâr Dâdistân.

K. R. Cama Masonic Jubilee Volume.

Spiegel Memorial Volume.

Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

PART III.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF PARIS FROM A DISTANCE OF 60 MILES, SUPPOSED TO BE A MYSTERY. AN INSTANCE OF A SOMEWHAT SIMILAR MYSTERY IN THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF PERSIA.

(*Read on 24th April* 1918.)

At the commencement of the present offensive against the British and the French armies by the Germans on or about the 23rd March 1918, the enemy began bombarding Paris from a distance of about 60 miles. This is an extraordinary feat, even of the modern artillery which has, as it were, advanced by leaps and jumps in the preparation of long-range cannons *The Times of India* of 25th March, while summarising the substance of the telegrams from London, said :—" The enemy is shelling Paris suburbs with a long-range 240 millimetre gun, firing every quarter of an hour. Hitherto no explanation has been received of the long-range shelling of Paris which is a mystery as the nearest point on the front is usually regarded as being sixty miles distant." A telegram published in our papers here on the 26th March said : " Twenty-four shells were discharged in the bombardment of Paris. Theories are alternatively advanced that (*a*) projectiles are mechanically constructed so that they gather fresh force subsequent tc discharge from the gun (*b*) or that an infinitively more powerful explosive is employed than hitherto has been known." A telegram dated " London, March 25," said : " There is much speculation as to the nature of the gun bombarding Paris..... The damage done is insignificant compared with that done by bombs from Gothas. The ex-Premier, M. Painleve, considers that the Germans have invented a process for trebling the

speed of the projectile with a view to causing a moral effect, as shells of such velocity cannot have powerful material effect. It is expected in London that the gun may be tried against the shores in England." Then a telegram dated " Paris, April 8th " said: " An official statement says that the bursting of one of the long-range guns is confirmed from a sure source. It occurred on the 25th March and a lieutenant and nine men were killed." Another telegram informed us that the German Emperor congratulated Krupp for making such a powerful cannon.

We gather the following facts from all the above telegrams :—

1. That the present feat, of the artillery firing a shell to a distance of about 60 miles, is held to be a " mystery."

2. That there are various speculations about the feat. Some attribute it to a new mechanical arrangement and others to a new powerful explosive, the result of some chemicals.

3. That the effect of such a long-range shot is lost at the other end.

4. That the cannon after several powerful shots is likely to burst killing the gunners who used it.

The news of this extraordinary feat of modern artillery has reminded me of an event in the ancient History of Persia, with this difference, that the extraordinary feat of the ancient Persians was in archery. The arrow then took the place of a shell or cannon-ball. The object of this paper is to describe that event. In both cases, we find how real events assume the forms of " mysteries," even shortly after their occurrence, and how historical facts pass into semi-historical or mythological some time after their occurrence. In connection with this matter, I may refer my readers for some further particulars to my paper, entitled " Archery in Ancient Persia. A Few Extraordinary Feats " read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 24th January 1918.[1]

The Avesta while invoking Tishtrya, the star-Yazata of the brilliant Sirius, the dispenser or rain in ancient Iran, compares

[1] *Journal, B B. R. A. Society*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, pp. 175-186.

its swift motion to that of one Erekhsha, " the swiftest Iranian archer, the swiftest archer among all the Iranians (who threw the arrow) from the Khashotha mountain to the Khanvant mountain.[1] As first pointed out by Prof. Nöldeke[2] and then by Prof. Darmesteter,[3] this Erekhsha of the Avesta is the archer Aresh of the Arab historian Tabari. According to this historian, King Minocheher of the Peshdadian dynasty of Persia had a long war of about 10 years with Afrâsiâb, the King of Turân, the cause of the war being a boundary question. The Turanian tribe of Afrâsiâb was genealogically related to the tribe or tribes of the later Huns."[4] The Iranian king was besieged in the fortress of Amol in Tabaristan.[5] After a long siege, the two kings came to terms and entered into a treaty, one of the terms of which was, that the Iranian king was to ask one of his best, swiftest, and strongest archers to shoot an arrow from a peak of the Demavand, a mountain of the Alburz range, to which Mount Caucassus also belonged. A line to be drawn from the place where the arrow fell was to be the boundary-line between the countries of the two kings. The Iranian king asked his famous archer Aresh, the Erekhsha of the Avesta, to shoot the arrow. Aresh went over the peak and shot the arrow with all his force and the arrow went on flying and flying till midday and fell at a place more than a hundred miles away. This feat thus added a large portion of the country to the dominions of the Persian king.

As said by Ousley (Travels in Persia, Vol. III, pp. 333-34), this extraordinarily marvellous feat has been attempted to be explained by several Persian writers in various ways. Some said,

1 Tir Yasht. Yt. VIII. 6 and 37.

2 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gessalschaft (1881) pp. 445 et seq.

3 Etudes Iraniennes, Tome, II, p. 220.

4 *Vide* my paper on " The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia." *Journal B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol, XXIV No. 3. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 293-349.

5 According to the Pahlavi Bundhesh this fort was in Padashkhvârgar in Tabaristan.

it was magic; some said, it was due to the assistance of an angel; others said, that the arrow expressed figuratively the skill of the Persians in archery. Arab writers like Tabari (Zotenberg Partie I ch. 68) and Mirkhond (David Shea, p. 175) doubted the incident but still described it, saying that "though so remote from probability, it has been invariably recorded in the text of all historians." Albiruni (Chronology, Sachau's Translation, p. 205) also refers to it.

The points of similarity in the two incidents, the ancient Persian and the modern German, seem to be the following:—

(*a*) The ancient Persian extraordinary feat is spoken of as divine thing (chiz-i kuhdai) reminding us of the use of the word "mystery" in the present case of the feat of the modern German artillery.

(*b*) Again, we find, that well-nigh the same thing was said of the arrow of Aresh, as it is said now of the German cannon-ball, *viz.*, that the distance to which the arrow went was due to the fact of there being some chemicals in the arrow, which drove by their force the arrow further and further. According to Ousley,[1] it is the famous Daulat Shâh, who "informs us that the arrow was so contrived as to contain a chymical (chemical) mixture of quicksilver and other substances, which when heated by the sun augmented the original force of projection in such a manner that it reached to Merv."

(*c*) Again, the connon or one of the cannons, which bombarded Paris from an extraordinary distance, is said to have burst as the very result of the extraordinary force it put forth. The same was the case with Aresh. We read the following in Albiruni: "There was a genius present called Isfandarmadh; he ordered to be brought a bow

1 Ousley's Travels in Persia, Vol. III, pp. 333-34.

and an arrow of such a size as he himself had indicated to the arrow-maker, in conformity with that which is manifest in the Avesta. Then he sent for Aresh, a noble, pious and wise man, and ordered him to take the bow and to shoot the arrow. Aresh stepped forward, took off his clothes and said: 'O King and ye others, look at my body. I am free from any wound or disease, I know that when I shoot with this arrow I shall fall to pieces and my life will be gone, but I have determined to sacrifice it for you.' Then, he applied himself to the work, and bent the bow with all the power God had given him; then he shot, and fell asunder into pieces. By order of God the wind bore the arrow away from the mountain of Rayan and brought it to the utmost frontier of Khurasan."

(*d*) In the version of the story as given by Albiruni, who refers to the Avesta, we find, that, as there is somebody behind the gunner of the big cannon, *viz.*, Krupp, who ordered the gun to be made, so, there was somebody behind the archer who shot the arrow, *viz.*, Isfandarmadh, a genius, who ordered the bow and the arrow to be made. Krupp is, as it were, the German Isfandarmadh or Isfandarmadh was the Persian Krupp.

There is one other explanation of Aresh's extraordinary feat which, on its surface, seems to be probable. It is given by Tabari. I translate from Zotenberg's French Translation: "Some persons maintain that this arrow, by virtue of the good fortune of Minocheher, just struck a vulture in the air and that this bird fell and died on the banks of the Jihoun; that they afterwards found the arrow and carried it to Tabaristan." We learn from this, that the arrow, thrown with an extraordinary force, had spent its force after its long but ordinary flight and that, while falling, it wounded a bird which fled to a distance and

then died of its wound. Thus the probable cause of the arrow falling at an extraordinary distance was, that it was carried to that distance by a bird which it had wounded.

We read in the above version of Albiruni, that Aresh " bent the bow with all the power God had given him." Prof. Bartholomae has adopted as a motto for his translation of the Gathas the words " Wie du kannst so wolle " putting them under the figure of an archer drawing his bow with all his strength, as found on some Iranian monuments. Both the monumental figure and the words may be taken as suggested by the above story.

The modern Parsees of Bombay observe, even now, a holiday, known as the Jashan-i Tirangân. It occurs on the day Tir, the thirteenth day of the month Tir, the fourth month of the Parsee year. This festival day is connected with the above story of the event in the reign of Minocheher.

The Mujmal-al-Tawârikh speaks of an Aresh Shivatir. Here the name Shivatir is the Persian form of Shepâk-tir, which is the Pahlavi rendering of the word *khshviwishur* in the Avesta. Firdousi often refers to the feat when he speaks of the Tir-i Aresh, *i.e.*, the arrow of Aresh.

Ousley compares the above story of Aresh's arrow to that of " the golden arrow of such classical celebrity which wafted Abaris through the air." This classical story also has been the subject of much learned conjectural explanation. Thus Abaris was a Hyperborean priest of Apollo and he came from the country round the Caucasus. I think this Abaris may be the Iranian Aris, especially because the Iranian Aris also had performed his feat on a mountain belonging to the Caucasus range.

Of course, one may say, that the present German artillery feat is a real historical event and the ancient Iranian archery feat is well-nigh a mythological feat. But, we must remember, that there are many historical events, which time and later

generations have turned into so-called mythological events. The present artillery feat on the very morning after its occurrence has begun to be called a" mystery " and various " speculations " have begun to be made about it. The present is a world-war, involving the whole world into its net and spreading misery all round. Suppose the result is equally large, and, in the end, through victory or long exhaustion we have a peace, which may be called a world-peace. Both sides, seeing the disastrous effects of the long world-war, preserve the world-peace, say, for some generations. The result will be that the devilish art of constructing such distant-range guns falls into oblivion. Then a century or two hence, people, not seeing such guns, or possibly even the pre-war guns before them, will take the present actual real event to be more than a mystery, a piece of mere imagination on the part of the writers of the present day. Speculations have from now begun to be made, and more may follow adding other elements to the actual present-day elements. But at the bottom of all these the historical event must rest. It seems, that round the original historical event of an extraordinary feat of an archery in ancient Persia, several stories have been woven, and what was historical has passed into the sphere of mythological. Before our very eyes, history begins to pass into mythology. Historical personages are being deified, and it is possible, that in a few generations, they may be considered as semi-gods and then as gods. I think, that students of Anthropology will then have as much work as we have now, to unearth the so-called mysteries woven round their names and round the events connected with the names. As Ousley says, a number of ingenious explanations have been given for the extraordinary archery feat, which, as referred to in the Avesta, seems to be simple. By the time we come to the generation of Alberuni who refers to the Avesta in the matter the number of explanations have increased. One ingenious writer has suggested, that the mistake of taking the fort of one Amoul to be that of another Amoul has brought about the result of an enormous distance which cannot be believed.

THE PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE ARABS: THEIR RELATIONS WITH ANCIENT PERSIANS.

(*Read on* 24th *June* 1919.)

I.

Introduction.

The subject of this paper was suggested to me by a learned paper, entitled "The Physical Characters of the Arabs" from the pen of Dr. C. G. Seligman, Vice-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, published in the January-June 1917 number[1] of the Journal of the Institute. The article is interesting and instructive, both from the point of view of physical anthropology and from that of history, taking history as a branch of cultural anthropology. I do not propose saying anything new from the point of view of physical anthropology, but beg to submit some materials from the historical point of view.

A nation, people or race, may, at one time or period of its history, have, on the whole, one particular physical character but, in the course of time, a change may come in, as the result of various causes. In my paper on "The Ancient Germans"[2] before this Society, we saw, on the authority of Dr. Arthur Keith, that the Germans, who, at one time, were mostly a dolichosephalic or long-headed people, had latterly, owing to some historical events, become brachycephalic or broad-headed; and so, they, who, at one time, were known, as "the kith and kin" of the Britons, were no longer, held to be so. The case discussed by Dr. Seligman is akin, though not on all fours, to that case. His point is this: The traditional Arab is, as a rule,

[1] Volume XLVII, pp. 214-33.
[2] Vol. X pp. 636-84.

dolichocephalic, but the Arabs of Southern Arabia are mostly brachycephalic or broad-headed. So, the question is: What foreign influence brought about this change or result? The object of my paper then is, to give some historical notes from a Parsee point of view, from old Parsee and other books, which lead to show, that, among the outside or foreign influences on Arabia and its Arabs, one was from ancient Persia.

II.

DR. SELIGMAN'S THEORY ABOUT THE PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE ARABS.

Before coming to the subject proper of my paper, I will give a brief outline of Dr. Seligman's paper. He says of Arabia, that "Probably there is no country in the world of equal area with Arabia, certainly there is none approaching it in historic interest, of whose inhabitants we are so profoundly ignorant." He then discusses the physical character of the Arabs, and says: "The traditional Arab of the text-books is dolichocephalic [1] and leptoprosopic,[2] 'with a fine oval face.....a type which.....often assumes an almost ideal beauty.[3] Yet a glance at the literature shows as many brachycephals as dolichocephals, or even perhaps more of the former." [4]

1 Dolichocephals (from two Greek words meaning long heads) are those people in whose skulls the antero-posterior diameter (*i.e.*, the diameter from the front to the back) is longer than the transverse diameter. They are also spoken of as the long-headed people. Brachycephals are those people in whose skulls the transverse diameter is longer than the antero-posterior diameter. They are also spoken of as the short-headed people. *Vide* for the portrait of the two types, my paper on "The Ancient Germans: Their History, Constitution, Religion, Manners and Customs," read before this Society on 28th June 1916 (Journal of the Society. Vol. X, p. 640).

The dolichocephalic or long-headed or the fine-nosed have, their cephalic (*i.e.* head) index not exceeding 70 per cent. The brachycephalic or the broad-headed have their cephalic index exceeding 80 per cent.

2 *I.e.*, thin faced or fine-nosed.

3 A. H. Keane's "Ethnology," (1896) p. 393.

4 Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 214.

Dr. Seligman then takes two skulls, both from the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, for the discussion of his subject. The first (R. C. S. No. 627) is from Midian and was brought by Sir Richard Burton. The second (No. 558) " is catalogued as that of Mossa Kadim, Arab of Oman."[1] The first question for him to settle is " (*a*) whether these two skulls are typical of two great groups of the inhabitants of Arabia, or (*b*) whether one of them represents the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Peninsula, the other being the remains of a chance wanderer or of a member of some isolated colony of foreigners."[2]

From the comparison of the anthropometric measurements of the above Midian skull, which is a dolichocephalic skull, and of several other skulls found in Northern Arabia, Dr. Seligman concludes, that " the dolichocephalic skull from Midian not only represents a well-defined Arab type widely spread in Arabia, and, Palestine, but that this type is no new thing in Arabia, since men with skulls resembling the modern inhabitants of Midian and Sinai lived on the northern edge of the Arabian desert some 1800 years ago."[3] Coming to the Oman skull, which is brachycephalic, he says, that " although no other skulls from the south are available for comparison, the measurements of living Arabs from Southern Arabia.....indicate that brachycephals constitute more than half the population, so that the subject from whom this skull was derived was no chance wanderer."[4] Thus, it is seen, " that both long-headed and short-headed Arabs are found in Arabia."[5] As to " the distribution of each of these types," it is concluded, " that the northern Arabs are predominantly long-headed and have been so for the last 2000 years.....The northern Semites were essentially long-headed, and the Arabs of Northern Arabia exhibited and still exhibit this characteristic."[6]

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1 Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 214.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
3 Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 217.
4 *Ibid.* p. 217. 5 *Ibid.*, p. 218. 6 *Ibid.*

Before going further into the subject, Dr. Seligman describes the geographical divisions of Arabia. Some knowledge of the division is useful for our purpose. "The greater part of the interior of Arabia consists of immense lava tracts called *harrah*, and of high dune regions of wasted sandstone (*nafud* or *dahna*)"[1] A great part of this interior is well-nigh unpassable. The rest of the country, excluding this interior, which can be called the coastal country, may be divided into three main divisions, the northern, the southern and the central. The northern division extends to the edge of the Syrian desert. Though desert throughout, it has many oases and is inhabited by nomads to whose cattle it provides sufficient pasturage at certain seasons. The central division extends from a place further north of Medina to the south of Mecca. It includes the Hejaz, Nejd and El Hasa. Though mostly stony, and, therefore, sparsely occupied by nomads, it contains, besides the above holy cities, many great *wadys* of "fertile stretches of alluvial soil, where cultivation is possible, and which support a considerable settled population, large enough at Hail and El Riad to form small independent, Emirates."[2]

"The southern division contains the highlands of Yemen and Asir in the west, which, with the Hadramut, including the almost unknown Sheher district (district east of, and inland from, Makalla), form a habitable zone round the great southern desert, continued to the east by Oman and Jebel Akhdar, north of which lies the practically unknown country behind the coastal area of the Persian Gulf. The Yemen and Asir highlands, enjoy a temperate climate, due to their considerable elevation and their proximity to the sea. Their population consists largely of agriculturists whose terraced hills form one of the most characteristic features of the landscape."[3]

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1 *Ibid.*

2 Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 219.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

From the data before him, Dr. Seligman concludes, "that both the northern and southern divisions have their characteristic population; in the north dolichocephalic, in the south brachycephalic. No statement comparable with this can be made with regard to the central area. Culturally and historically this area is more closely related to the Beduin north than to the settled south, and there seems little reason to doubt that its ancient inhabitants were one with their northern neighbours."[1]

Now, the question is: "How is it that Southern Arabia has a predominantly brachycephalic population?" Dr. Seligman indicates the direction in which the answer must be sought. It is this: South Arabia was the great incense-producing country known from the earliest time. So, its incense trade brought it into contact with some brachycephalic populations. The incense trade had brought it into contact with Syria and with other eastern Mediterranean coast-lands. So, Arabia had played a great part in the civilizations of these sea-coast lands. The incense trade brought it also into contact with Africa, Persia and India. South Arabian inscriptions—both Minaean and Sabaean, dating from 800 B. C., have been found, which show the relations of Arabia with some of the above countries. To the Minaean inscriptions belong texts, dating from the "period of the kings of Ma'an whose capitals were in the South Arabian Jauf, in the neighbourhood of San' and Ma'rib, as well as others from Qataban and the Hadramut. The Sabaean inscriptions begin in the period of the so-called priest-kings, some 700—500 B. C., and continue for about a thousand years."[2] These latter inscriptions, refer to a kingdom with Ma'rib as its capital. References in the Old Testament seem to identify this kingdom with the route which the incense-trade took. Jeremiah (believed to have lived in about 640 B.C., VI, 20), Ezekiel (about 580 B. C., XXVII, 22) and Isaiah about 500 B. C., LX, 6) refer to this incense trade of Arabia.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 219—220.
2 Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLVII, p. 220.

Reverence to fire held a prominent place in the Zoroastrian ritual of ancient Persia. So, naturally, Persia must have imported a good deal of incense from Arabia, both *viâ* Mesopotamia, over which it ruled, to greater or less extent, during a long period of its history, and by the sea route.

The routes for Mesopotamian influence.

Thus, among the various countries that came into contact with South Arabia on account of its incense trade, Mesopotamia was one. It had great influence upon South Arabia. Some scholars point to Mesopotamian references to Yemen, and say, that inter-relations existed between the South Arabians and the people of Mesopotamian cultures from the times of the earliest Semitic dynasty. Dr. Seligman points to three routes for this Mesopotamian influence—(1) indirect, through Syria and Palestine and (2) direct through the desert track of Nafud or Dahna, which, in those early times, not being so much desiccated as now, was to a certain extent passable. As pointed out by Mr. Ellesworth Hunttingdon in his "Pulse of Asia," there are many large tracts of Asia which were not desiccated in early times as now. (3) Dr. Seligman suggests an alternative third route for influence. Instead of the influence proceeding from the north to the south, in this case it was directly on the south and then from the south to the north along the incense route. He gives two outstanding examples of the Mesopotamian influence on Southern Arabia of the latter kind.

The first example is that of the conquest of Yemen in South Arabia by Noshirwân Adal (Noshirwân the Just, Chosroes I of the Roman writers) who, after the conquest, appointed a Zoroastrian governor over Yemen. The last of this Zoroastrian governor's successors was Badhan, who, on the death of Noshirwân's grandson, Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II in 628 A. D.), adopted Islamism, thus ending the Zoroastrian sovereignty over the country. The second example was that of the easy march of the Arabs from Southern Arabia to Mesopotamia, to fight with the Zoroastrian Persians, when the great Sassanian Empire under the last monarch Yazdazard was overthrow.

Dr. Seligman then refers to either Mesopotamian influence which is "inferential rather than direct." I will not enter further into the question of influence as treated by the author, but simply say, that some influence of this kind is very probable. In my paper on "The Persian Origin of the Kurds and the Tajiks"[1] before this Society, I quoted Dr. Luschan on the subject of the Anthropology of Persia. He said "Notwithstanding some recent researches, our knowledge of the Anthropology of Persia is rather scanty.....There are two large ethnical groups in Persia.....The old type seems to be preserved in the Parsi, the descendants of Persians who emigrated to India after the battle of Nahâuband (Nehavand A. D. 640), of much purer form than among any true Persians. .....We know nothing of the physical characteristics of the Achæmenides who called themselves Aryans of Aryan stock, and who brought an Aryan language to Persia; it is possible that they were fair, and dolichocephalic, like the ancestors of the modern Kurds, but they were certainly few in number and it would therefore be astonishing if their physical characteristics should have persisted among a large section of the actual Persians."[2] What one can infer from this is, that there were few dolichocephalic among the ancient Persians and many brachycephalic.

Probability of some influence.

Recently, I wrote to Mr. B. A. Gupta (Alipore, Calcutta) who has recently taken various anthropometrical measurements of some Indian communities, and inquired: "Which part of India is long-headed and which short or flat or broad-headed? What were the ancient Hindus and Parsees?" In his reply dated 22nd May 1919, he says: "Persians are however known as broad-headed people. The conclusion forced on us is that the original Indians were long-headed people: that Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Makran coast, Arabia and Egypt sent out

1 Journal, Vol. IX, pp. 493—99. (*Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp. 40—46).

2 Journal, Vol. IX, p. 497.

broad-headed people who settled in the Punjab and along the western coast, and influenced the breed of the locals, but got themselves mixed by local admixtures which though minimised by endogamous marriages could not be avoided altogether." What we gather from this reply also is, that the ancient Persians were mostly brachycephalic or broad-headed. If they, in the course of time, had an influence on the physical characters of some of the people of distant India, there is a greater probability of their influencing the physical characters of the Arabs who were nearer home. To show the probability of such influence, one must examine at some length, the relations that existed between the ancient Persians and the Arabs. This brings me to the subject proper of my paper.

III.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANCIENT PERSIANS AND THE ANCIENT ARABS.

Writers on the History of the Arabs, like Prof. Perceval,[1] Prof. Huart[2] and Mr. Gifford Palgrave,[3] have referred briefly to events of such contacts in later historical times, but they have not referred fully to some earlier events. I propose to present here on the authority of old Parsee books and works of some later Mahomedan authors, especially Firdousi, a brief account of all the events that brought about, now and then, a contact between the ancient Arabs and the ancient Persians. I do not claim for the whole of it the authority of a history of the relations subsisting between them. A part of it belongs to what one may, from one point of view, choose to call, a prehistoric period; but, whatever it may be, it presents a view—a traditional view it may be called—of a very early contact.

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1 Essai Sur L'Historie Des Arabes, avant l'Islamisme, pendant l'époque de Mahomet et jusqu' à la réduction de toutes les tribus sous laloi Musulmane, par A. P. Caussin de Perceval (1847).

2 Histoire des Arabes, par Cl. Huart 1912.

3 Article on Arabia in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. II.

The history of the Arabs may be divided into three periods—(1) the pre-historic period, (2) the pre-Mahomedan period, *i.e.*, the period before the advent of the Prophet, and (3) the period after the Arab conquest of Persia. It is the second period with which I have to deal. But, before speaking on it, I will briefly refer here to the first period on the authority of the Arab historian Macoudi.

Three periods of the history of the Arabs.

IV.

1. THE PRE HISTORIC PERIOD.

According to M. Cl. Huart, [1] the ancient Arabs generally adhered to their country up to about 3000 B. C. Later on, a few went out with their camels, which were required for caravans, and which, at times, were required by Assyrian kings for the marches of their armies through some barren lands. During the third millenium before Christ, they founded here and there in their country some cities. In the eighth century before Christ, there came to be founded in Southern Arabia a powerful dominion, that of the Minæans or the people of Mâin, whose inscriptions have been recently founded after the excavations of a part of their country by M. J. Holévy. It was in this century that the Arabs came into contact with the Assyrians. At that time, there flourished, in the south of the Arabian peninsula, some kingdoms like those of the kings of Mâin, of Quaban and Hydramaut. Then, there was also the kingdom of the Minæns. It is believed that the Hebrews have derived their word "Levites," a name for a class of priests, from *lewi*, a word found as used in the inscription of these Minæans. Thus the Hebrew tribe of the Levites is believed to have its origin in an Arab tribe. It is about this time, that the Assyrians speak of the Arabs as Aribi in their inscriptions, wherein their war with Egypt is referred to. At this time, the Arabs of the north had

The Assyrians and the ancient Arabs.

1 *Historie des Arabes*, par. Cl. Huart (1912). Tome I, p. 44.

two kingdoms—those of the Mousri and Melouhha. The former name seems to have suggested the name Miçr, for Egypt. In the time of the Assyrian king Tiglat-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.), an Arab Shaikh Idibiel ruled over this kingdom of Mousram.

The Arab historian, Macoudi, says that some Arabs derive their genealogy from Kahtan, and others especially the poets of the tribe of Nazar (نزار) considering themselves above the Kahtanides of Yemen, invoke their relationship with Persia.[1]

The Taziks or Arabs according to the Pahlavi Bundehesh.

The Pahlavi Bundehesh[2] seems to support this view of the relationship of some Arabs to the Persians. This book presents an old Iranian view of the genesis or the creation of the world. Man was not a spontaneous creation, but he came down from some hoary antiquity—from a primitive form of being or existence, from which there originated at first the vegetable and animal kingdoms. Heaven, water, earth, vegetation, animals and men—this was the order of creation, one after another. The very first primitive being or human form of existence was one Gayomard, who was sexless. His first progeny (Mashi and Mashyâni) had sexes combined in one body. From this pair, there came forth seven pairs, whose average age was 100 years. From these were descended 15 races.[3] In all, at first, there proceeded one by one, 25 species. From one Fravák, a descendant of the primitive human being, Gayomard, there descended two persons, one Tâz and another Hoshang. The first, Taz, was the progenitor of the Tâzis of the Arabs. The second was the progenitor of the Iranians, and, as he was called Peshdad, the

1 Maçoudi, traduit par B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille, Tome II, p. 142.

2 Chap. I. *Vide* my Gujarati translation of the "Bundehesh."

3 The Pahlavi Bundehesh, Chap. XV. For some detailed outline of the Iranian Genesis according to the "Bundehesh," *vide* my paper on "The Antiquity of Man" before this Society (Journal, Vol. X, pp 577-92); *vide* my Anthropologica Papers, Part II, pp. 229 *et seq.*

line of rulers that descended from him came to be known as the Peshdâdians. Thus, we see from this very old Iranian tradition that the Arabs and the Persians, the Semites and the Aryans, had, at first, as it were, a common stem in Western Asia.

Maçoudi on the origin of the Arabs.

We have, in Maçoudi's History[1] several chapters on the Arabs, and, among them, some specially on the Arabs of Yemen. He says that there is a difference of views on the subject of the etymology of the name of Yemen. Some say, that it was called Yemen, because it was situated on the right (يمن *yamn*) of Kaabah. Similarly Syria, being situated on the left (شمال *shimâl*) was called Shâm. Hajaz was so called, because it formed a kind of barrier (حاجز hâjiz) between Yemen and Syria. Irak is so called from *Irâq* (عراق), *i.e.*, "a double stich in the bottom of a leather bottle," because it received the waters of the Euphrates, the Tigris and other rivers.[2] According to others, Yemen signified a happy country from *yamn* (يمن), *i.e.*, felicity, just as Shâm (Syria) signified "unfortunate, unhappy" from *shâm*, (شوم) *i.e.*, an ill-omen. Others say, that, when the languages were confused on the construction of the tower of Babel, some took the direction to the right (*yamn*) of the course of the sun, *i.e.*, toward Yemen and others to the left (*shimâl*, *i.e.*, towards Shâm (Syria).

Opinions differ also on the subject of the origin of the Arabs of Yemen. Maçoudi, after referring to some opinions, gives as reliable, the following descending line of ancestors:—Noah, Sâm, Arfakhshad, Qainân, Sâlim, Shâlikh, Â'bir, Qahtân. Âbir had three sons—Fâtigh, Qahtân and Melkân. They became the progenitors of several tribes. Kahtan's direct descendants were as follows:—Ya'rob, Yashjob, abd Shams, otherwise known as Sabâ who gave his name to the Sabeans.[3]

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1 *Ibid.*, Chap. XLI *et seq.* Vol. III, p. 139.

2 Iraq-i-Azam, *i.e.*, Persian Irak, is the country about Media, the country of Kurdistan and the surrounding districts. The Iraq-i-Arab is Babylonia, Chaldea. etc.

3 *Ibid.* p. 144, Chap. XLII.

Sabâ (سبا) is taken to be the first king of Yemen. As said above, his original name was Abd-Shams (عبد شمس), but, it is said, that, as he reduced to slavery those whom he took prisoners in war, he was called Sabâ (from Arabic *saba* سبا) which means "buying wine for the purpose of selling it." In slavery, there are good many buying and selling transactions. He (or rather his dynasty) reigned for 484 years. He had Himyar (حمير) as his successor who reigned for 50 years. He was the first to put on a golden crown (تاج الذهب) on his head as a king.[1] His brother Kahlân succeeding him ruled for 300 years. Then, there was a change in the direct line of kings. After several kings, we come to the name of Tobâ who is spoken of by Maçoudi as the first Tobâa (تبع الاول). He was succeeded by a woman named Belqis (بلقيس). Some time after, the throne came back to Tobâa's family. One of them invaded the countries of Khorasan, Tibet, China and Sijistan. One person of this line, Tobâa, son of Hasan Abou Karib, fought with adjoining tribes, and he would have destroyed Kaabah were it not for some Jewish priests (احبار اليهود) who had domiciled there and who dissuaded him. On his return to Yemen, he adopted the Jewish religion which then began to spread and to replace idolatry there.

Firdousi on the early religion of the Arabs.

Firdousi, while speaking of the commencement of Fire-worship, says that the ancient Arabs worshipped a stone arch.[2] From this, it appears that just as Cross existed as a symbol before Christ, so an arch (*mehrèb*) existed as an object of worship before Mahomed. The new element, which seems to have been added since the Prophet's time, was, that the arch should be in the direction of the Kâbah, in the direction of the West. According to Maçoudi,[3] at one time, the Zoroastrian Fire-worship had entered into Arabia and was about to spread a good deal and to be paramount. But Khaled, son

1 Chap. XLIII, Vol. III, p. 150.

2 Mohl. I, p. 36.

3 B. De Meynard I, 131, Chap. VI.

of Sinân, son of Ghais (غيث), son of Âbs, suppressed it and even extinguished the sacred fire that was burning.[1]

V.

2. THE HISTORICAL PERIOD BEFORE THE PROPHET. THE PESHDÂDIANS.

Coming to the historical period, I will treat my subject in the order of the different great dynasties that ruled over ancient Persia—the Peshdâdians, the Kaiyânians, the Achæmenians, the Pârthians and the Sâssânians. Of these different dynasties, the first two also may, perhaps, be taken by some as belonging to the pre-historic period. But, as they have been treated as historic dynasties by several old writers, we take them as such.

Firdousi's reference to some very early relations with the Arabs.

I will draw a good deal from the Shâh-nâmeh of the poet-historian Firdousi. In this matter, one must not be carried away with the idea, that, because Firdousi was a poet, all his accounts must be the result of some poetic imagination. Of course, we must expect some poetic flourishes of imagination in a poet, and especially in an oriental poet. But we must bear in mind what we now begin to learn about Homer and his poems. Homer's Illiad was at one time taken to be mostly the result of poetic imagination, but the recent excavations at Crete and at the site of old Troy have made us pause and say that there have been historical facts at the bottom of the poet's work. Similarly, we have the authority of the Avesta, of several Pahlavi books, of writers earlier than Firdousi like Maçoudi and Tabari, and of some Armenian and other writers, to say that, in the matter of history, Firdousi had some historical materials to dwell upon, and that he did not rest upon his imagination as a poet.

1 *Vide* below, pp. 743-44, the second reference in the Dinkard to king Pat-Khusrub of Yemen.

نیارا ہمي بود آئین و کیش ∴ پرستیدن ایزدی بود پیش

بدانگہ بدي آتش خوب رنگ ∴ چو مرتازیان است محراب سنگ

Firdousi's very first reference to Arabia suggests, that the art of writing went to Persia from outside. King Tehmuras is spoken of as learning some languages at the hands of some Divs, by which word we must understand some extraordinary foreigners. They taught, among other languages, the art of writing the Tâzi (Arabic) language.[1] In the early part of the Shâh-nâmeh, Firdousi speaks of the Arabs as the Tâzis and of their language as the Tâzi language.

The conquest of Persia by Zohak Tâzi.

The Peshâddian dynasty had a long break—according to Firdousi, that of 1000 years—owing to the invasion and occupation of Persia by one Zohâk Tâzi, *i.e.*, Zohâk, the Arab. He is the Azi Dahâka of the Avesta. He was a great tyrant. Old Parsee books always speak disparagingly of three foreign conquerors. They are Zohâk the Arab, Afrâsiâb the Turânian, and Alexander (Alexander) the Greek who is spoken of as *gazashte*, *i.e.* accursed. Zohâk is said to have overrun Persia from the side of Bawri or Babylon. A blacksmith, named Kâveh, raised the standard of revolt. He induced Faridun, a prince of the old Peshdâdian family, to lead an army against the foreign ruler. Faridun did so and drove away the Arab ruler from Persia. A particular national banner of ancient Irân, which, on the downfall of the Sassanian Empire, fell into the hands of the Arab conquerors, was known, upto the last, as the Kâviâni banner, from the fact, that the above Kâveh had at first formed it from the apron, which he put on while working as a blacksmith. This revolt and this fight between Zohâk and Faridun are also referred to in the Avesta[2] and in Pahlavi works like the Dinkard[3] and the Bundehesh.[4]

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1 (J. A. Vuller's Text, Tomus, p. 22.)

نبشتن بخسرو بیاموختند ∴ دلشرا بدانش برافروختند

نبشتن یکی نرکه نزدیک سي ∴ چه رومي چه تازي و چه پارسي

2 Aban Yasht, 29-31 ; Gosh Yasht, 13-14 ; Ram Yasht, 19, etc.

3 Dinkard, Book VIII. chap. XIII, 9 ; S.B.E., XXXVII, p. 28.

4 XII, 31 ; XXIX, 9 ; S. B. E. Vol. V, pp. 40 and 119.

Arabs as sailors from very early times.

We know, that Arabs have been held to be good sailors from very early times. In the trade of the West with the East, the Arabs had a great hand. We have a reference to the Arabs being sailors in Firdousi's account of the reign of Faredun. When Faridun crossed the Tigris, it were the Arab sailors whom he asked to supply boats to him and his army.[1]

We know, that long before the fall of Nineveh (B. C. 606) at the hands of the Confederacy in which the Medes had a hand, Arabia had a good trade with India. At the time of the fall, the trade was extremely prosperous. The Arabs passed on the commodities brought from India and landed, at South Arabia, by a caravan route to the west and to the north. But, when Rome rose in power her merchants started direct trade *via* Red Sea. This saved the landing of commodities in South Arabia and the conveyance by caravans. The Romans arranged that commodities may be landed at Arsinoe (Cleopatris, Suez) and at other ports of Egypt on the Red Sea. The trade being thus diverted, Yemen or South Arabia, fell in power and influence. Their old caravan route of trade had brought about the erection of several cities, canals, *bunds* and water-works. All these fell into ruin. So, in the beginning of the Christian era, the Arabs of Yemen left their country, and in search of their bread and butter went northward.[2] Some, *viz.*, the Azdites, founded on the river Euphrates the cities of Hira and Anbar and ruled over Damascus. Others went to the mountain countries of Ajâ and Salinâ, to the towns of Najd and Al Hajâz. Later on, these Arabs, who were thus driven to emigrate to the north from the South, got divided, some going under the jurisdiction of the Sassanides and others under that of the Roman Emperors. These divisions quarrelled among themselves and asked their re-

1 (Mohl, I, p. 96.)

چو آمد بنزدیک ارونده رود ∴ فرستاد زي رودبادان درود

بدان تازیان گفت پیروز شاه ∴ کم کشتي بر افگن هم اکنون بواه

2 *Vide* Warner's Shah-nameh, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 11 *et seq.*

spective masters—the Iranians and the Romans—to fight for them. Among the several causes of the wars between the Romans and the Persians, one was this, *viz.*, the fight for the rights of the Arabs who were under their respective suzerainties. These wars weakened both Rome and Persia, and, to a great extent, facilitated the later advent of the Arabs into their countries. They were an important cause of the downfall of the Sassanian and Roman Empires.

It appears from the Shâh-nâmeh, that among the articles of the Arab trade, the rubies (*yakik*) of Yemen were well known for their brilliance.[1]

Faredun's relationship with the King of Yemen in Arabia.

The next reference is important, as it shows some relationship between a ruling dynasty of Persia and a king of Yemen in Arabia. The Persian king referred to is the above mentioned Faredun, the Thraêtaona of the Avesta, the fifth monarch of the Peshdâdian dynasty, the very first dynasty mentioned by Firdousi as a historic dynasty. Faredun's three sons were married with three Arab princesses. Firdousi's account of this marriage is as follows :—Faredun sent a courtier named Jandel to travel and find out three girls for his three sons. He found in the dominions under the suzerainty of the king of Iran no king who can be worthy of the honour of being related in marriage to Faredun and who had three marriageable daughters. He then went to Yemen and found that the king thereof, named Sarv, had three marriageable daughters worthy of the sons of Faredun. He proposed the match and it was accepted, though with some hesitation, the first condition being, that Faredun should first send his three sons to the court of the Arab king of Yemen. Jande

1 The cheeks of Tehmina, when she appeared before Rustam, are compared to these rubies. (Mohl. II, p. 78).

دوزخ چو عقیق یمانی برنگ ∴ دهان چو دل عاشقان گشته تنگ

In one place, sparking wine is compared to the rubies or cornelia of Yemen. *Ibid.* II, p. 296.

می اندر قدح چون عقیق یمن ∴ پیش اندرون لاله و نسترن

carried the message to Faredun who consented and sent his sons to the royal court of Yemen. He told his sons that the king of Yemen would test their intelligence and so they should be on a sharp look-out. He informed them, that the three daughters were equal in stature, and so, they must keep a proper watch as to which is the eldest and which the youngest. He added that when the girls would approach them, the youngest would walk first, then the second, and then the eldest, and that the eldest will sit by the side of the youngest prince and the youngest by the side of the eldest. The sons were thus asked not to be taken in. When they went to Yemen, the above trick which Faredun expected, was played, but the sons saw through it and each made the choice according to seniority of age. The king then tried some means to see how they overcame the effects of it. He produced by some artifice extraordinary cold at the place where they slept, but by the favour of God they were saved from its effects. The result of all these trials was, that the Arab king was pleased with them and accepted them as princes worthy to be the consorts of his three daughters. The princes married and returned to Iran. Faredun, before receiving them into the royal palace, wished to try their bravery. He assumed the form of a large serpent and first went before the eldest son (Selam) who got frightened and ran away from him. The same was the case with the second prince (Tur) who, though he first showed some courage, gave way and ran. But the youngest (Erach) stood fast. Faredun thereupon saw that the youngest as the bravest and wisest. Thereafter, he divided his dominions and in that division, gave to Erach, the youngest Iran proper, which was the best of all his countries. He gave to Selam, the country of Roum and Khâvar (the West), and to Tur, the country of Turkistan. According to some manuscripts of the Shah-nameh, in the division which Faredun made of the dominions over which he had suzerainty, Arabia was associated with Iran and was allotted to his third son Erach.[1]

1 Warner's Shah-nameh, I, p. 189.

We have references to this episode of relationship in several Pahlavi books much anterior to that of Firdousi. They are the following :—

Pahlavi books which support Firdousi.

(1) The Pahlavi Vendidad, (2) The Dinkard, (3) The Shatroihâ-i-Airân, and (4) The Mâdigân-i-Binâ-i-Farvardin Yûm Khordâd.

1. The Pahlavi Vendidad.

In the Pahlavi Vendidad (Chap. XX),[1] Zarathushtra asks Ahura Mazda as to who was the first man, who, besides himself being one who took care of his body, and who, besides being wise, happy, fortunate, glorious, strong and just withal, was also one (a physician), who, taking care of the bodies of others, kept back or drove away sickness and death, who preserved bones and kept them in their proper condition and who kept back the heart of fever from mankind ? The reply of Ahura Mazda was, that such a good, wise and fortunate person was one Thrita. A number of complaints are mentioned from which he cured mankind. This Thrita is elsewhere identified with Thraêtaona, the Faredun of the Shâh-nâmeh. Some of the disease-driving amulets of the later Pazend times, contain, for this reason, the name of Faredun. Now, in the midst of the above question in the Avesta Vendidad, the Pahlavi translator and commentator, to illustrate what is meant by the qualifications of " baharhum andân," the Pahlavi rendering of Yâtumatâm, adds that he must be as wealthy or as powerful as one Pât-srub (tobânikân chegun Pât-srub).[2] According to

[1] Spiegal's Text, p. 221 ; Dastur Hoshang's Text, p. 644 ; Dastur Jamaspji's Gujarati Text, p. 136, Translation, p 174.

[2] Here, the Pahlavi rendering of Yatumatâm is very suggestive. Avesta yâtu is Pers. jadu (جادو), *i.e.*, magic. The Pahlavi rendering suggests, that it is the powerful (tobânikân) who are, as it were, considered to be magicians. As the proverb says, " Knowledge is Power." A man may merely use his power—physical, mental or spiritual—and that may be an ordinary thing with him, but with the less fortunate, the ignorant, the illiterate, it may be something extraordinary, supernatural, magical.

the Vendidad then this Pât-srub was, as Darmesteter says the Crœsus of his time (Etudes Iraniennes, II., p. 216).

This Pât-sarûb of the Pahlavi Vendidad is the Sarv of Firdousi, the first word Pât being dropped. We will see from what follows that the full name seems to be Pat-khusrob. Then the intermediate *khu* was dropped, and then, the first part Pât also was dropped. So the Pahlavi names, Pat-khusrob and Pât-srub are the same as Sarb or Sarv of Firdousi.

2. The Dinkard.

There are two references in the Pahlavi Dinkard to the above event.[1] (*a*) In the eighth book of the Dinkard, in the account of the contents of the lost books of the Avesta, we find the contents of the Chitradâd, which, if we followed the order of the number of the words of the Ahunaver prayer-formula, was the 12th book, and if we followed the order of the Revayets, was the 14th. There, it is said, that the lost Avesta book contained an account of the ancient kings. The kings are mentioned here with short references to them and to their accounts. Among these, there is the mention of Faredun, and it is said, that the lost book contained an account of the division of the dominions of Khaniraç by Faredun among his three sons and of the marriage (patvastan) of these three sons with the daughters of Pât-srub, the king of the Tâziks and a relative (by descent) of Tâz. The king Pât-srub of the above book of the Dinkard is the king Sarv of Firdousi.

(*b*) This Arab king Pat-srub or Sarv is referred to in another part of the Dinkard.[2] We read there of the Iranian glory or splendour[3] passing from one worthy of Irân to another. It began, or came into existence, with Gayômard, who may either

1 S. B. E., XXXVII, Book VIII, Chap. XIII, 9; Dastur Darab's Dinkard, Vol. XV, Chap. XII, 9.

2 Bk. VII, Chap. I, 34, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 12. Dastur Darab's Dinkard, Vol. XIII, Text, p. 13, Introductory Chapter.

3 Pahl. vakhsh. Av. Hvareno or Khareno (Zamyâd Yasht. Yt. XIX).

be taken as the prototype of the human race or as the first ruler of Iran. It then passed to his progeny the Mashya and Mashyâni, then to Sâmak (Siyâmak of Firdousi), then to Vâêgered and Hoshang, then to Takhmurupa (Tehmurasp), then to Yima Khshaêta (Jamshed), then to Faredun and to his son Erach in the life-time of this father, and then to several other worthies. It then came to one Pât-khosrob (𐬐𐬀𐬑-𐬑𐬭𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬥), the son of Airyêfshva, son of Tâz, the king of the Tâziks (Arabs). This Pat-khosrob got this Iranian glory on account of his mindfulness[3] or friendship[2] (𐬑𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀) for Ashavahishta (Ardibehesht) Ameshâspand, *i.e.*, for his reverence to fire, similar to that paid by the early Mazdayaçnañs, the pre-Zoroastrians. It is further stated here, that this Tâzik or Arab was molested by some of his tribesmen for his inclination towards fire-worship as against the ancient fish-worship of his tribe.[3] He cast away the custom of fish-worship mâhi-*kalp*, *lit.* fish-body into the adjoining river (rud) and came over to the practice of Zoroastrian worship (val yazashna-i-Zartuhasht mat).[4] Thus, we see, that some Arabs had from very early times, taken up the old Mazdean form of worship and held fire in reverence.

That this Pat-khosrob is the same as the Pât-srub of the above first passage of the Dinkard appears from the language. In the

1 If you read the word with Dr. West, as *ayâtgih*.

2 If you read it with Dastur Darab as *ashtagih*, I would like to take it as a form of *yashtagih*, *i.e.*, worship, invocation. What is intended to be said is, that for his worship of, or reverence for Fire, on which Ashavahista presided, he got the glory.

3 *Vide* above, p. 736 the statement of Macoudi. This confirms wha is said by him, that Fire-worship once prevailed in Arabia.

4 As the time of Patkhuro was far anterior to that of Zoroaster, one may very properly take the reference to Zoroaster as an anachronism. But the writer seems to mean that he took to the Iranian way of paying reverence to fire which was prevalent among the Mazdyaçnâns or Pre Zoroastrians—the way which led to the final reform of Zoroaster. According to Firdousi, it was Hoshang, the founder of the Peshdadian dynasty of Persia, who had first introduced Fire-worship among the Iranians.

7th book, he is spoken of as the son of Airyêfshva, the son of Taz, the king of the Tâziks (Arabs). (Pat-khosrob-i-Airyêfshava-i-Taz-i-Tazikân malaka). In the 8th book, he is spoken of as Pât-Sarûb, the king of the Tâziks and the relative (in descent) of Tâz-Pâtsarub-i Tazikan malaka va Tâz patvand). From the Pahlavi Bundehesh (Chap. XXXI, 6) we know of one Tâz, whose son was Virafshang. This Virafshang, the son of the Tâz of the Bundehesh, is the above Airyêfshava, the son of the Tâz of the Dinkard. Dr. West finds some chronological difficulty in the identification. He says : " How his daughters could have been married to the three sons of Faredun, as said in the Chitradâd Nask is a chronological difficulty." But, I think, the difficulty should vanish, if we take it, that, as was the case of the ancestors of king Faredun, who, according to the Bundehesh, had a long line of eight kings, all known as the Aspiyâns (Âthwayâns, Abtins), with their personal names added to patronymic names, so, here also, the Pat-khosrûb may be a patronymic name, and the Pat-khosrâb whose three daughters married the three sons of Faredun, may be a descendant of a first Pât-khosrub, the son of Airyefshava, the Virafshanga of the Bundehesh, the son of Taz.

3. Shatroihâ-i Airân.

The Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i Airân (*i.e.*, the Cities of Irân), written in about the ninth century A. D., shows some closer relationship between the Arabs and the Persians. It enumerates the cities of the vast country known to the ancients as Irân and gives us the names of the kings, heroes and others who founded them. In it, the writer speaks of twenty-four cities as belonging to the land of Shâm (Syria), Yemen (Arabia Felix), Frica (Africa), Kufhâ (Cufa), Makhâ (Mecca) and Madinak (Medinha). He then adds that some of them were ruled over by Malikân Malikân, *i.e.*, the Shâhânshâh or the Emperor of Persia, and some by Kaisar, *i.e.*, the Roman Emperor (aêtô malikân malikâ aêtô Kaisar).[1] This passage shows that Arabia, or at

least a part of it, was under the sway of the Persian Empire and so had come under the direct influence of Persia. We read in the book as follows of a place called Simlân and of a desert (dasht) called the Dasht-i Tâzik, *i.e.*, the Desert of Arabia: "Faredun of Âbtin founded the city of Simlân,.... and brought the land of Simlân back into the possession of Irân-Shatra (Iranian Dominions) and he gave Dasht-i Tazik with possession and property to Bât-Khosrû, the king of the Arabs, for forming relation with himself." [2] What we learn from this passage is this: Faredun, the Persian King, had conquered Simlân, a part of Arabia. He had also conquered therewith the desert country of the Dasht-i. Tâzik, *i.e.*, the Arabian Desert. Perhaps, this latter place is the desert known and marked in the modern maps as "the Desert of Arabia." Faredun conquered it and presented it to Bât-Khosru or Pât-srub or Srub as a marriage gift or present on the occasion of the marriage of his three sons with the three daughters of the latter.

4. Madigân-i Binâ-i Farvardin Yum-i Khordad.

In the Madigân-i Binâ-i Farvardin Yûm-i Khurdâd, we read: "In the month Farvardin and day Khordad, Faredun made the division of the world (*i.e.*, his dominions). He gave Arum (*i.e.*, Asia Minor, the country latterly comprised under the later Roman Empire of the East) to Salam, Turkastân to Tuch (Tur) and the country of Iran to Erach. And he chose the three daughters of Bokht-Khosro, the king of the Arabs (Taziks), and gave them as wives to his sons. Salam and Tur went to (the way of) disobeying their father and killed Erach who was their own brother."[3] The day Khordad and the month Farvardin, *i.e.*, the 6th day of the first month is known as the Khordâd Sâl.

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1 *Vide* my translation of the Aiyadgar-i-Zarirân, Shatroiha-i Airân va Afdiyava Sahigiya-i Sistân, pp. 87-89.

2 *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 108-11.

3 For the text, *vide* The Pahlavi Texts of Dastur Jamaspji, p. 103. *Vide* the paper of Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji in the K.R. Cama Memorial Volume, edited by me, pp. 124-25.

It is considered to be a very great and auspicious day and is even now observed by the Parsees as a great holiday. The Pahlavi treatise enumerates the great events which took place in old Irân on that auspicious day. In that enumeration, it includes the events of the marriage of the three sons of the Persian king with the three daughters of the Arab king of Yemen as having occurred on the Khordâd Sâl day.

The signification of the word Tâzik.

In the above Pahlavi passages, the word used for the Arabs is Tâjik or Tâizik. That word requires some explanation. The Arabs were called Tâziks by the Pahlavi writers, because, as said above, they were believed to have come down from one Taz, who was the fourth in descent from Gayômard, the primitive man or the primitive king. Now, it appears, that latterly, it were not all the Arabs that were known as Tâziks, but only those early Arabs or their descendants who followed the same belief as that of the Mazdayaçnâns in earlier times and of the Zoroastrians in later times. We saw in one of the above passages of the Dinkard, that at first they had different forms of worship, one of which was like that of the ancient Egyptian animal-worship, in which fish played a prominent part. Latterly, one or two tribes, headed by the above king Pât-khoshrub or Khosrub or Surb, took to the form of the worship of the ancient Iranians, the Mazdayaçnâns and became fire-worshippers. Hence, it was, that there arose some hostility between those tribes and some other tribes who followed the old way. It is these Arabs who were associated with the Mazdayaçnân Irânians that were specially known as Tâziks. The Tâziks, who now-a-days form a special group, one of the two principal ethnical groups of Persia, are the descendants of these Persianized or Zoroastrianized Arabs. Dr. Luschen speaks of them as "the descendants of the old Persians." Dr. Bellew says, that in Afghanistan, even now, the Tâziks are known as the Parsiwan. This very name points to their relationship with the ancient Persians. Dr. Bellew thus speaks of the Tâziks at

some length :—" They are the representatives of the ancient Persian inhabitants of the country, as the Afghans are or its ancient Indian inhabitants. It would appear that as the Afghans (whose true home and seat are in the Kandahar and Arghandâb valleys) mixed and intermarried with the Indian people whom they conquered, and gave their name to the mixed race, so the Arabs, who did the same with the Persian people whom they conquered, left their name as the national designation of their mixed posterity,—that is the name by which they were called by the Persians.....The term Taji, it is said, is derived from the ancient Persian name for the Arab. The ancient Persian writers distinguishing their hereditary enemies on the north and south respectively by the terms Turk and Tâz or Tâj. And hence it is that the term Tâz applied to the Arab only in Persia : and everything connected with him or proceeding from him, was called by the Persians Tâzi or Tâzik, which are the same as Tâji or Tâjik. In course of time, it seems these terms became restricted to designate things of Arab origin in Persia in contradistinction to the pure and native article. Thus an Arab settling in the country, and not intermarrying with its people, retained his proper national title through successive generations. But the Arab intermarrying with the people of the country lost his proper nationality, and in the succeeding generations, was called Tâjik by the Persians. An imported Arab horse or dog, etc., was not called Tazi but Arabi. Their offspring, however, from a Persian mare or bitch, received the name of Tazi, and were no longer called Arabi."[1]

We saw above, that some Tâziks or Arabs, following the lead of Pât-Khôsrab, followed the Mazdayacnân religion. In one of the later Parsi prayers (the Nirang-i Sarosh Yasht), among the Zoroastrian people, on whom blessings are invoked, the Taziks also are included, but they are specially spoken of

1 The Races of Afghanistan, being a brief account of the principal nations inhabiting that country (1880), by Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew, pp. 109-10.

there as Taziân-i basta-kustiân, *i.e.*, the Tazis who put on the Zoroastrian sacred thread. Their association even in a Zoroastrian prayer shows, that some of the Arabs had come into much closer contact with the ancient Persians. So there is no wonder if their physical characteristics were thereby influenced to some extent.

Minocheher and the Arabs.

According to the Arab historian Tabari, Yemen was at one time under the sovereignty of Minocheher, a descendant of Faridun, whom he makes a contemporary of Moses. He says :—"There were some kings of Persia to whom the Arabs were under submission and who had, under their obedience, the kings of Syria and those of Yemen.....But never had the Arabs and the inhabitants of the Magreb (*i.e.*, the West of Africa) entirely submitted to any of the kings of Persia except to Minocheher."[1] There ruled in Yemen during Minocheher's time, a famous king, named Raîseh[2] or Arâish (آرایش),[3] who had gone even to Hindustan. He fought there and brought riches to Yemen. He had also entered into Mesopotamia and had gone up to Azarbaizân which was then under the hand of the Turcs. He took the country from them. Tabari says that, when there, this king of Yemen inscribed there on a large rock his and his father's name.[4] According to another Persian text of Tabari, the inscription took also a note of his doings there.[5] Even this king, who had conquered far and wide, had submitted to Minocheher.

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1 I have translated from Tabari, par Zotenberg, Vol. I, p. 275.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 289. 3 Naval Keshore's Text, p. 119, l. 7.

4 Tabari par Zotenberg, I. p. 289.

5 Naval Keshore's Text, p. 119, l. 11.

در سنگی بزرگ نام خود و آمدن و باز گشتن و مقدار سپاه و ظفرها
که اورا بوده کنده و بر آن سنگ نوشت تا امروز همي خوانند و
بزرگي او میدانند

i.e., he cut into and inscribed on a large stone his own name and (an account of) his coming and returning and of the strength of his army and of the victories that he had gained, so that people even now read and know his greatness.

VI.

THE KAYÂNIANS.

King Kâus and the Arabs.

It appears from the Shâh-nâmeh, that the Arabs of Yemen were under the rule of the Iranians in the time of King Kâus. They rose in rebellion but were suppressed.[1] Kâus was at the time in Nimrouz (Seistân). He heard, that even the people of Misr (Egypt) and Berber[2] had revolted. He left Seistân and went to Mekran (on the south of Baluchistan), got a fleet of ships prepared and led his army by sea.[3] The Arabs who rose against him were principally the Arabs of Hamâvarân. The Hamâvarân of Firdousi is the Himyâr of the Arabs which is another name of Yemen. Of the three above powers that rose against him, the Arabs of Hamâvarân at first yielded, and, according to one of the terms of peace, Kâus married Soudâbeh, a daughter of the Arab king. The Arab king had yielded under compulsion, and therefore he neither liked the peace nor the marriage. So, one day, calling Kâus to a feast, he treacherously imprisoned him and a number of his generals and officers. The Iranian army thus losing their king and commanders, re-embarked on their ships and barges (کشتي و زورق) and returned to Iran.

News of the defeat of Kâus reached Rustam at Seistân and he led an army against the Arabs. Even some Indians formed a part of his army. Rustam was at first afraid, lest the Arab

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1 چو شد کار گیتی بدین راستی .. پدید آمد از تازیان کاستی (Mohl II, p. 6).

2 This Berber is, as said by Darmesteter, the Berbera on the Somali coast opposite Aden. (*Vide* his article on "Expeditions de Kai Kaoc dans le Hamavaran et le Berberistan" in his "Etudes Iraniennes" Tome II, pp. 221-24). This Berber is the Barbarica regio of Pliny, the Pun of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Putiya of the Inscription of Darius at Naksh-i Rustam (Tolman's Pers. Inscriptions, p. 79) (*Vide* Etudes Iraniennes II. p. 223).

3 بی اندازه کشتي وزورق بساخت .. بر آشفت و بر آب لشکر بتافت (*Ibid, p.* 8.)

king may, in revenge for the invasion, kill king Kâus in prison. But, in reply to a secret message, Kâus sent him a word of encouragement, saying "Do not care for me; the world has not been created for me."[1] Then Rustam gave battle to the armies of all the abovenamed three kings. The Berber army was the first to be defeated. The kings of Hamâvarân asked for peace, which was granted on condition that Kâus may be released at once.

The Turks or Turkomans of Afrasiâb and the Arabs.

It seems, that at the time, when the Persians were fighting with the Arabs of Hamâvarân, there were other Arabs in the adjoining regions who were still under the suzerainty of Persia. When Afrasiâb, the ruler of Turkestân, heard, that the Persians under Kâus were occupied with the Arabs of Hâmâvarân or Yemen, and that the Persian king himself had been imprisoned, he invaded and overran the country of those Arabs who owed allegiance to Persia and invaded the country of Persia itself.[2] He first attacked the Arabs who rose against him out of allegiance to their Persian masters and who stood loyally by their side though the Persians were fighting as enemies against their confréres, the Arabs of Yemen. He then invaded India.

Rustam, after defeating the abovementioned three kings of the triple alliance—Egypt, Barbary and Hamâvarân or Yemen—turned his attention to Afrâsiâb. The Arabs, whom Afrâsiâb had attacked and defeated, now wrote to Kâus, offering their help to Rustam in his war against Afrâsiâb. They wrote, that when Afrâsiâb invaded the territories of the Shâh of Persia, they stood up to defend them, but were defeat-

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[1] بدین داد پاسخ که میندیش ازین ∴ نه گسترده از بهر من شد زمین
Mohl. II p. 28.

[2] بر آشفت افراسیاب آن زمان ∴ بر آویخت با لشکر تازیان
بجنگ اندرون بود لشکر همه ∴ بدادند سرها ز بهر کلاه
شکست آمد از ترک بر تازیان ∴ ز جستن فزونی بر آمد زیان

ed, but now, when the Shâh wanted to avenge the misdeed of Afrâsiâb, they were ready to help and fight.[1]

Maçoudi and Tabari also refer to the invasion of Hamâvarân or Yemen by Kâus. According to Maçoudi, the Arab king's name was Shamr, son of Yara'sh. (شمر بن يرعش Text of Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 119). He speaks of Queen Soudabeh as Sâada (سعدي).

Tabri says, that at the time of this invasion, Dsoul-Adsar, son of Abraha, was ruling at Yemen. The king, though suffering from paralysis, himself went to war, to defend his country. He headed an army of the Himyarites, the Qahtanides and other Arabs, and defeating Kâus, took him prisoner. Later on, Rustam brought an army from Seistân, defeated the king of Yemen and released Kâus.[2]

The Arabs in the reign of Kai Khosru.

It appears that some Arab tribes continued under the suzerainty of the Persians when Kai Khosru succeeded King Kâus. When Kai Khosru carried on war with Afrâsiâb to avenge the death of his father at Afrâsiâb's hand, he collected armies from different parts of his territories, and among them, from India, Asia Minor and the country of the Arabs.[3] In the account for the preparations for the second war with Afrâsiâb, wherein Pirân died in the early encounters, we find Sabah, the king of Yemen, fighting for Kai Khosru.[4]

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[1] کہ ما شاہرا سر بسر چاکریم ∴ جہان جز بفرمان او نسپریم
ہمي تخت تو خواست افراسیاب ∴ چنین بد مبیناد ہرگز بخواب
ہم نامداران شمشیر زن ∴ برین کینگہ بر شدیم انجمن
Mohl. II, 34).

[2] Tabari par Zotenberg, I, p. 465. Naval Keshore's Text (p. 192) does not give the name of the king of Yemen.

[3] بفرمود کز روم و از ہندوان ∴ سواران جنگي یلان و گوان
دلیران گردنکش از تازیان ∴ بسیچیدۂ جنگ شیر ژیان
(Mohl. III, p. 420).

[4] چو صحباح فرزانہ شاہ یمن ∴ دگر شیر دل ابرج پیل تن
(Mohl. IV, p. 16).

The later rulers of Yemen have been called Tobba, (طبع) as they all traced their descent from one Tobba who had the surname of Dsoul Adsar,[1] Though they are spoken of specially as rulers over Yemen, their rule extended much to the north upto the frontiers of Mesopotamia. Tobba is said to have carried an expedition against China. He first went to Càbul and stayed at the northern frontier of Hindustân. Then, he went to China *viâ* Turkestan and the frontiers of Tibet. On his way to China he left an army of 12,000 Arabs in Tibet, so that, in case he was defeated, they may protect his rear. He won a victory over the Chinese and on his way back, did not return by the same route. So, his 12,000 troops remained in Tibet, and, at present, there are many Tibetans who have descended from the Arabs. This Arab king lived in the time of Gushtâsp, whose grandson Bahman is said to have founded Hirat. The place was so called, because, once invading Irâq in the time of Gushtâsp *viâ* Koufah, he came to the place, where the desert stopped his advance. The name means a stoppage. Tabari says that Tobba's expedition to China was the result of a false exaggeration of the beauty, etc., of China, by one of India's untrustworthy ambassadors. At that time, there prevailed, according to Tabari, friendly relations between the king of Yemen and the king of India, who once sent to Yemen a special embassy with presents. The king of Yemen was delighted with the rich presents from India, and inquired, if all of them were the products of the country. The Indian ambassador, fearing lest the truthful answer in the affirmative may tempt the Arab king to India, put him on the wrong track and said that some of them came from China which was a very beautiful country.

The Arabs in the Time of Gushtâsp.

The above account of Tabari shows that the Arabs of Yemen had come into some contact, however short, with various

[1] Tabari par Zotenberg, I, p. 505. Naval Keshore's Text (p. 211 l. 12) gives the surname as Zoul's Minar (ذوالمنار)

people—the Persians, the Indians and the Chinese. Again, Tabari's account of the permanent stay of about 12,000 Arabs in Tibet, suggests to students of Ethnology and Ethnography some thoughts as to the various ways in which populations are affected by passing armies. For example, the origins of some tribes of Afghanistan are traced to the armies of Alexander the Great and of the Persian monarch who preceded him.

VII.

THE ACHÆMENIAN PERIOD.

Darius the Great's trilingual inscriptions, presenting a reflex of the ethnical view.

Coming to the Achæmenian times, we find that Darius Hystaspes, the Great Aḫæmenian Emperor, had his cuneiform inscriptions in three different languages—the Persian, Babylonian and Scythian. As said by Mr. Warner, his idea of using these three languages was, as it were, a reflex of the ethnical view about the people over whom he ruled and by whom he was surrounded. His Persia was the extensive expanse of the country, occupied at one time or another, by the Persians proper, the Babylonians and the Scythians. These three people represented the three great races,—the Aryans, the Semetics and the Turanians. So, Darius, in inscribing his work on the rocks, in three different languages spoken by the three great races, "followed a true philological instinct"[1] and had, as it were, an ethnical view. His own Aryan race, very properly spoken of also as the Indo-European race, at one time spoke a common language in the remote past. It then divided, one offshoot spreading in Europe and the other in Asia.

Arabia in Darius's inscription.

We know from Darius's Behistun Inscription,[2] that Arabia, spoken of as Arabaya, formed a part of his dominions. From the words *tyaiy dara*

[1] The Shâhnâmeh, Vol. I, Introduction.

[2] I 5. Tolman's Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions, pp. 55 and 118.

yahya (*i.e.*, which are by the sea), used in the inscription, after the names of Arabia and Egypt (Mudrays, later Misr), we find, that the conquest of Arabia by Darius was from the direction of the sea and not from the land. We will see later on, that in the Sassanian times also, the conquest of king Noshirwân was by the sea route. We thus see, that ancient Persia, the Airyana-vaeja of the Avesta, after the separation of its people from the Aryas of the Aryavrut, was not only surrounded by Semetic and Turanian races, but also contained people of these races. Of these two, the Semetic people mostly lived on its west, in countries like Arabia and Babylonia, and the Turanian on the north. Thus, Persia had come into contact from very ancient times with the Arabs, not only in their own country of Arabia, but also in Mesopotamia and the adjoining countries ruled over by Persia. But, as seen above, old Parsee books and Firdousi, Maçoudi, and Tabari have taken us to times even earlier than that of Darius the Great.

Darab and the Arabs.

In the time of Dârâb, the father of Dârâ, the Arabs under Shâib who was descended from Katib, declared war against Persia.[1] Dârâb opposed them, and in a battle, which lasted for four days, the Arabs were defeated and their chief Shâib was killed.[2]

Alexander the Great and the Arabs.

Firdousi says, that when Alexander the Great, after defeating Persia, marched towards India the help of whose king Dârâ had sought, and fought with Four (Porus), he had the Arabs of Syria, Hedjaz and Yemen serving in his army.[3]

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[1] چنان بود کہ از تازیان صد ہزار ∴ نبرده سواران نیزه گذار
برفتند و سالار ایشان شعیب ∴ یکی نامدار از نژاد نقیب
Mohl. V p. 50.

[2] چہارم عرب روي برگاشتند ∴ بشب دست پیکار بگذاشتند
شعیب اندر آن رزمگاه کشته شد ∴ عرب را ہمہ روز برگشته شد

[3] Mohl. Small Ed. V., p. 118.

IX.

THE PARTHIANS.

Coming to the times of the Parthians, we learn from Maçoudi,[1] that during the times of the Muluk-ut-tawâif (ملوك الطوايف) of Persia, *i.e.*, during the periods of the Parthian rule of Persia, when the country was divided into petty kingdoms, Arabia was under Persian sway. The kings of Hirah (حيرة) at the time were of the family of Jozimeh (جذيمة). This Persian rule over Arabia continued in the time of Ardeshir Babegân and Shâpur. During the Parthian period, the Arabs occasionally invaded the Persian territories of Irâq. One of such invasions was in the time of Jauzar bin Sabour (جوذر بن سابور.) This Jauzar is the same as the Parthian ruler Godarz (گودرز). According to Perceval, they took (advantages of the internal quarrels of the Parthian kings and invaded Irâq under their prince Khaufar. They were[2] helped by the Arméens. At times, the Arab princes of Heirah fought under Parthian banners against the Emperors of Rome.[3] According to Tabari (II, 2), they were long in possession of Yemâma in central Arabia.

X.

THE SASSANIANS.

Shapur Ardeshir and the City of Hairat according to the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i-Airan.

A good deal of the history of the relations between the ancient Persians and the Arabs in the Sassanian times has been woven, as it were, round the name of the Arab city Hirrat spoken of as Hairat (𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭲) in the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân. There we read: "Shapuhar of Ardashir founded the city of Hairat. He appointed Mitrozâd who was

1 Maçoudi par Barier de Meynard, Vol. III, p. 151.
2 Essai sur l' Histoire des Arabes, Vol. II p. 8.
3 Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 282.

the lord-marcher of Hairat (to rule) over the district of the Tâziks."[1] This Hairat of the Pahlavi book is the Hirat (حيرة) of Aboulfeda.[2] According to Ousley, "Heirah enjoys a pure air and is one farsang distant from Cufa."[3] As said by Kinneir, its foundation has been attributed to Alexander the Great, from whose name it was for some time known as Alexandria—one of the many Alexandrias he had founded. Then "it became the residence of a dynasty of Arabian princes, who fought under the Parthian banners against the Emperors of Rome. It is also known in history under the general appellation of Almondari after the name of Almondar (the Almondarus of Procopius) distinguished in the wars of Noshirwân and Justinian."[4] According to Perceval,[5] its foundation, has been attributed by some to Nebuchadnazzar, who founded it with his Arab war-prisoners. According to Maçoudi,[6] Tobáa Abu Karib, who invaded the country of Iraq during the reign of the Parthian king Jauzar bin Sabour (Gudrez گودرز), added to the Arab population of the city, as he had made it the head-quarter of the wounded and the sick of his army. From all the above accounts, we see that the foundation of this great Arab centre has been attributed to various great men of the past, and that, latterly, it was Shapour of Ardeshir who re-founded it or made it more prosperous. The above Pahlavi book says, that Shapour appointed one Mitrozâd as its governor. I think, that this name Mitrozâd is the older form of Maharak (Naush) Zâd (مهرک نوش زاد) of the Shâhnâmeh, whose daughter Shapour, the son of Ardeshir (Ardeshir Babigân), had married.

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1 Shatrôstâni-i Hairat Shapuhari Artashirân kard avash Mitrôzâdi Hairat marzpân var-i- Tazikâ barâ gumârd.
(*Vide* my Aiyâdgar-i-zaristân. Shatroiha-i-Airan, p. 75).

2 Text of Reinaud et Slane, p. 299.

3 Ousely's Oriental Geography, p. 66.

4 Kinneir's Persian Empires, p. 282.

5 Essai sur l' Histoire des Arabes, par A. P. Caussin de Perceval, Vol. II, pp. 1-8.

6 Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Maynard. III, p. 226.

Shapur II, the grandson of Hormazd, the son of Narsi, was a posthumous child of his father. On the death of Hormazd (Hormisdas, II, 302-309), his son Âzar Narsi succeeded him, but was deposed within a year. Âzar Narsi was succeeded by his brother Hormazd, who was imprisoned. The third son of Hormazd, who was blinded, had a son born to him after his death. This posthumous child was Shapur (Shapur II). In fact, he was born a king and his whole life was a ruling life. The Arabs, taking advantage of his minority, committed several raids, but Shapur, whose reign was a glorious reign for Persia, when he grew up, punished them sufficiently well.

Shapur II (A.D. 309-379) and the Arabs.

It is believed that some of the real events in relation to the Arabs, which had occurred in the reign of some early Sassanian rulers, have been transferred by Firdousi to his reign, and some romantic tales have been added. However, as the story given by Firdousi and others goes, there had arisen an Arab principality in Mesopotamia at some distance from the western banks of the Tigris in the later days of the Prathian kings. Hatra or Al Hadr was its capital. Its ruins are said to be still standing about 40 miles south of Mosul and 200 miles north of Bagdad. Tâir (طایر) was the Arab ruler of the principality in the time of Shapur. He carried on raids during Shapur's minority, and, at one time, even carried off a Persian princess, said to be the aunt of Shapur and married her. Malikah (ملکہ) was the name of the daughter that was born to them. When Shapur came to the age of 26, he marched against Tâir who is spoken of as the king of the Ghassanians (غسانیان). Tâir was defeated and he fled. The Arabs shut themselves up in a fort in Yemen where they were beseiged. The above mentioned Malikah, one day, seeing Shapur from the fort wall, fell in love with him and secretly sent a message, saying, that if Shapur promised to marry her she would open the fort gate to his army. Shapur consented, the gate was opened, and the fort taken. Shapur married her. One

night, she complained of a little pain on a part of her body, and Shapur found in the morning, that it was the soft leaf of a flower that erased her soft skin and gave her pain. He was surprised at the great delicacy of her skin, and asked her, as to what food she was fed upon by her father, which produced so soft a skin. She described the delicacies she was brought upon. Shapur thought to himself: "If she, in spite of all the tender care of her father for her health and nourishment, proved traitress to him, she may very likely prove the same to me." Beguiled by such a thought, he put her to death. Firdousi says that Shapur was called Shapur Zu'l Aktâf (*i.e.*, Master of Shoulders), because he, as a sort of punishment, dislocated the shoulders of the Arabs from their spine.[1]

Behramgour and the Arabs.

Yazdagard, the son of Shapur III, was a bad king. So, when a boy who was named Behram (Behramgour) was born to him, the ministers thought it advisable that the prince, their future monarch, may be brought up under different associations elsewhere far, away from those of the king. They therefore advised the king to bring up the child in foreign clime. From among the different friendly or feudatory kings, Manzar, the king of the Arabs, was chosen as the ward of the prince, who was then four years old. Another writer gives the following version: The children of Yazdagard did not live long, but died soon after birth. So, he was advised to send his prince Behram to a dry salubrious climate. As Arabia had such a climate, the young prince was sent there. Firdousi refers in more than one place to the brilliancy of Canopus in Arabia due to its dry climate. In the accounts of the love of Roudabah for Zal,[2] of that of Soudâbeh [3] for her step-son Shiavakhs, and of

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[1] عرابی ذولاکتاف کردش لقب ∴ چوراز مهره بکشاد کفت عرب

[2] زسر تا با پایش گلست و سمن ∴ بسرو سهی بر سهیل یمن
Mohl I. p. 266.

[3] نشستم چو تابان سهیل یمن ∴ سرزلف وجعدش شکن بر شکن
Ibid., II, p. 203.

Bejan[1] and Manijeh, where the star Canopus is referred to, it is spoken of as the Canopus of Yemen, because of its appearing very brilliant in the dry weather of Yemen.

Behram grew up in Arabia as a bold young prince and then desired to see his father. Manzar therefore sent him to the royal court in the company of his son Noamân. Behram soon got displeased with the treatment he received from his father and returned to the court of the Arab king, Manzar. On the death of Yazdazard, the grandees of the court gave the throne to one Khusru who had no claim to it by descent, and set aside Behram, fearing lest he also may turn out as bad as his father. Thereupon, Behram, with the help of an Arab army, supplied by Manzar, marched against Persia. The Arab army consisted of Arabs known as Shaibans (شيبان) or Sabeans and Kabtiâns (قبطيان). The Arab king, Manzar, on behalf of Behram and the Persian grandees, settled the question of succession amicably, and Behram was given the throne. Behram rewarded liberally the Arab king and his son Noaman, who then returned to their country.

Noshirwan.

According to Maçoudi,[2] after the rule of the successors of Saba and of the early Tobâas, there followed a line of several kings, many of whom went through various vicissitudes of fortune. Then, there came to the throne one Zou Nowâs (ذو نواس), who persecuted, tormented and burnt the Christians living in his country. Nejâshi (نجاشي), a Christian king of Abyssinia (الحبشه Al Habsheh), thereupon invaded Yemen *viâ* Nâsi and Zailla (ناصع والزيلع) which were his sea-ports. On being defeated, he committed suicide by drowning himself, and then, the Abyssinian general Aryât (اريـاط) ruled over Yemen for 20 years. But he was killed by Abrahat Alashran who then ascended the

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[1] برخسارگان چو سهيل يمن ∴ بنفشه گرفته دو برگ سمن
Ibid., III, p. 310.

[2] Maçoudi par B de Meynard III. pp. 157 et seq.

throne. The Abyssinian king, on hearing this, got enraged and swore by the name of Christ, that (*a*) he would knock the forehead of the usurper, (*b*) spill his blood, and (*c*) tread under his feet the land of Yemen. Abrahat, knowing this, got afraid. So, to avoid and win over his rage, he got his front hair cut and placed them in an ivory box, collected his own blood in a vase, and filled a sack with the soil of Yemen. He sent these to the Abyssinian king and apologized for his conduct. He wrote to the king, that to free him from his oath of revenge which he had taken, he had sent the above three things mentioned by him in his oath, so that, he may have the hair of his head cut off, spill his blood and tread over the soil of Yemen. By this artifice, he appeased the wrath of the Abyssinian king. At this time, there reigned in Persia, Kobâd, the father of Noshirwân (Chosroes I).

In the 40th year of the reign of Noshirwân, Abrahah invaded the country of Mecca. Abou Righal of the tribe of Takif, who guided him, died on the way between Tâyif and Mecca. He was buried there. It is said that, later on, pilgrims passing by his tomb often threw stones at it, to show their disgust at his conduct of being a party in the invasion of Kabáa. The tomb of one Ibadi also got a similar treatment. The Abyssinians continued in Yemen for a number of years with Abrahah and his heirs. Abrahah was succeeded by his son Yaksoum, who, in turn, was succeeded by his brother Masrouk whose mother was of the family of Zi Yezan (ذی یزن). A son of this Zi Yezan named Saif (سیف), once went to the court of the Roman Kaisar to ask his help against the Abyssinians who had occupied Yemen and who were under Masrouk. The Roman Emperor refused it on the ground, that Saif and his Arabs being Jews and the Abyssinian king a Christian, he could not, as a Christian, help a Jew against a Christian. Thereupon, Saif went to Noshirwân, the king of Persia and implored help on the ground of a kind of relationship, *viz.*, the relationship of white skin, meaning that the Arabs were white-coloured like the Persians, while the Abyssinians were black-coloured. Noshirwân promised him

help, but his wars with the Romans and other people prevented him from fulfilling the promise. Then, some time after, Saif's son, Ma'di Karib, went to the court of Noshirwân and renewed his father's appeal for help. Noshirwân lent him an army, made up from criminal prisoners in his country and led by Wahrâz (وهراز) the general of Dailam, saying, that if the army was defeated and killed it would not matter much. His troops got into boats from a port called Obolah, which stood on the site of modern Basrah. The transports came to the coast of Hadraumaut to a place named Masoub. After the disembarkment of the troops, Wahrâz set fire to the transports in order to let the soldiers understand that they must try to win; otherwise, if defeated, there were no means of escape. Macoudi quotes an Arab poem on this subject, wherein the poet speaks of the Iranian soldiers as the men of Sassan (بنى ساسان).

The two armies—one of Masrouk with about 100,000 Abyssinian soldiers and others and another of Saif with Persian troops under Wahrâz—met on a battle-field. Masrouk, the king of Yemen was first mounted on an elephant. When the two armies met, he got down from the elephant and mounted a horse. Then he got down from the horse and mounted a camel. Then, he again dismounted from the camel and mounted an ass. He did all these to show his contempt for the Persian army, whom, on account of their having come in boats from the sea-side, he took to be mere sailors. He meant to say and to show, that they were not worthy of a fight from the back of an elephant, a horse or a camel but were worthless, only worthy of a fight from the back of an ass. Wahrâz took all this for a good omen and said to his men, that all that showed that he will gradually fall from a higher state to a lower state. In the end, Masrouk's army of Yemen including the Abyssinians was defeated and Masrouk himself was killed.

One of the conditions which Noshirwân imposed upon Ma'di Karib for helping him was, that the Persians were free to marry

Arab women of Yemen, but that the Arabs should not marry Persian women. Ma'di Karib also agreed to give a tribute to Persia. Wahrâz placed a crown on the head of Ma'di Karib as the king of Yemen. Wahrâz left in Yemen a garrison of Persian troops. The Abyssinian rule, *i.e.*, the rule of the Abyssinians with Abrahah and his successors as rulers, lasted for 72 years. This happened in the 45th year of the reign of Noshirwân. This attempt of the Persians to free the Yemen Arabs—the Himarites, the descendants of Himir (حمير)—from the tyranny of the Abyssinian rulers, has been sung by Arab poets. Maçoudi quotes some Arabic verses, wherein the Persian soliders, who fought against the Abyssinians (الحبسان) have been spoken of as heroes of the race of Sassan (نسل ساسان). In the above battle, Wahrâz had, knocked down, with a well-shot arrow, a superb red ruby which Masrouk had put on, on his forehead. This feat of archery is referred to in the above poem. An Arab poet, named Abou Âbâdah al Bahtari (ابوعبادة البحتري), has, a long time after this event, referred to this Persian victory, in a poem which he addressed to a Parsee nobleman of Persia. He addresses him and asks him to remember the above noble deed of Noshirwân. It seems from this poem, that Aden (عدن) together with Sana'â (صنعا) took part against the Persians in this war.[1]

This victory established Ma'di Karib as king over all the Arabs and even over the Abyssinians who lived there in great numbers. Some time after, the Abyssinians treacherously killed Ma'di Karib. Thereupon, the officer whom Wahrâz had left in Yemen at the head of the Persian garrison, hastened with his troops to the town and driving away the Abyssinians occupied it and informed Wahrâz who was then at Madâyan (مدائن Ctesiphon) with Noshirwân, of the event. Wahrâz, with the permission of his royal master, at once started with 4,000 cavalry *viâ* the land route, to re-establish order in Yemen. The order given to this band of cavalry was to kill all the Abyssinians, and also all

[1] Maçoudi par Barbier, de Meynard III, pp. 167-68.

those whose woolly or crispy hair [1] showed them to have a mixture of black negro (الحبسہ) blood. Wahrâz came, conquered and ruled over Yemen in the name of Noshirwân. He died there and his son Noushjân (نوشجان) succeeded him. Then, on Noushjan's death another governor named Sabhân (سبحان) came from Persia. His successors who, one after another, governed there, were Khurzâd (خرزاد), a son of the above Sabhân whose name is not given, Marzbân, who was a member of the royal family, Khur Khosro (خر خسرو) who was born in Yemen, and Bâdân, son of Sassan (باذان بن ساساد).

The above account shows, that, (*a*) at first there ruled in Yemen the Kahtanides, *i.e.*, the descendants of an Arab progenitor Kathtan, and (*b*) then, for about 80 years, the Christian Abyssinians, and then (*c*) the Zoroastrian Persians. The Persian rule continued till the time of Prophet Mahomed, of whom it is said, that he took pride for having been born during the time of the rule of Noshirwân Adal (Noshirwân the Just).

It appears from Firdousi, that Noushirwân had, besides the Arabs in the further south, closer relations with the Arabs of the north. It seems that there, some Arab tribes lived under the suzerainty of the Romans and some under that of the Persians. These two tribes or sections fought among themselves, and then, appealing to their respective sovereigns for help created causes of quarrel between the Romans and the Persians. The chief of the Arabs under the Persian sway was Manzar, the Almondar of the Romans. The chief of the other tribes, who lived under the Roman sway and was known as the Gassans, was Arethas. On the south of Palmyra, there existed a large grazing-ground in the midst of a desert. The Arabs under Manzar claimed it as belonging to their tribe who grazed their cattle

[1] In the Pahlavi translation of the 9th chapter of the Yaçna (S. 10), a commentator Mahvindat is quoted as saying that the Arabs had a particular way (dâtá) of keeping the curls (giswar) of hir. (Spiegel's Pahl. yaçna p. 72. Dr. Davar's Pahl. version of yaçna IX, p. 19).

there from old times. The Roman Arabs claimed it as their own.[1] When Noshirwân during one of his circuits in his dominions was at Madâyan[2] (مدائن), the modern Ctesiphon, Manzar saw him and complained about the Arabs under the Roman rule. This led to a war with the Romans. Thus, the Arabs were one of the causes of the wars between the Persians and the Romans. As said above, these wars weakened the Persians and the Romans. The Arabs on the other hand, fighting on both the sides, learned the art of war from both the countries and gained in strength and intelligence, which, when they got united, under the temporal and spiritual leadership of the Prophet, stood them in good stead. It was at about this time that the old Arab poetry began to be somewhat influenced by outside countries, among which one was Persia.

Influence of Rome and Persia upon Arab poetry.

Arabian poetry, though the product of the soil of Arabia, and though connected with the indigenous early civilization of Yemen, was affected by some outside influence at the time when the clans of Yemen dispersed, and when, later on, they formed two kingdoms in the North—the kingdom of Ghassan which fell under the sway of the Kaisar (Cæsar) of Byzantine Rome and the kingdom of Hira, which fell under the sway of Kesr (Chosroes) of Persia. Lady Blunt, while speaking on the subject, says: "It was through the medium of the two rival Courts of the north that the poets of Arabia got indirectly their knowledge of the world outside .. .. Faith echoes of the resplendent imperial names are to be heard in the Arabian poetry,

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1 For an account of the war between the Roman Emperor Justinian and the Persian Emperor Noshirwân, *vide* Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Chap. XLII. Edition of 1844, Vol. III.

2 Madâyan pl. of Madineh, (مدينه) *i.e.*, a city. As the city was situated on both sides of the river, it was known by the plural form, meaning the city made up of two cities on both sides of the river. According to the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân, it was called Ctesiphon because it was founded by one Tus of Sifkân. Thus, the name appears to be an abbreviated form of Tus-i Sifkân. *Vide* my translation of the Pahlavi text.

but they are echoes only, coming from afar and received at second hand."[1]

Hormazd, the son of Noshirwân.

According to Firdousi, in the time of Hormazd, the son of Noshirwân, about ten years after his accession to the throne, an Arab army commanded by Abbas and Amr, invaded that portion of Mesopotamia which was ruled over by the Persians and from which annual tributes were gathered. This Arab army is said to have come from the deserts of Arabia with lances and to have devastated a good part of the fertile dominions on the banks of the Euphrates, which were under Persian rule. According to Macoudi, it was the Arabs of the tribes of Kahtan[2] and Madd in Yemen who invaded the Persian territories. As his country was invaded by the Turks also from another direction, Hormazd had to make peace with the Arabs.

Khosru Parviz.

When Khosru Parviz was hard pressed at the hands of Behram Chobin, he wanted to ask the help of the Arabs,[3] but his father Hormazd prevented him from doing so. The reasons which Hormazd gave for his refusal were these: They had not sufficient means both of men and money. Again, Khosru had not taken much interest in the welfare of the Arabs, in return of which he could ask their help. So there was no chance of any substan-

1 "The Seven golden Odes of Pagan Arabia," known also as the Moallakat, by Lady Anne Blunt. Introduction, p. x.

2 According to Maçoudi (II. 243-44), some traced the origin of the Yunânis, *i.e.*, the Greeks, from one Yunân, the brother of Kahtan, who founded the tribe of Kahtan. Yunan had some differences with his brother, so he left Yemen and proceeded with his family and followers to the West to the country of Greece (called Yunân after his name). His Arabic language, lost by degrees its purity, and, then, its existence in the new country. Another tradition says, that Alexander the Great also was descended from the above Kahtân. Some Arabs, who occupied one of the cities under the rule of the Romans, left the city and founded a new colony of those who had come from Yemen. It is from these Arabs of Yemen that Zoul-Kernein or Alexander is taken to have descended.

3 گر ایدونکه فرمان دهد شهریار ∴ سواران تازي برم بسیار

tial help from the Arabs. It would be better to ask the help of the Romans. However, later on, during the Persian king's flight, Kais, son of Harith, helped him and gave him food and the help of a guide.

XI.

THE PERIOD AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST OF PERSIA.

As pointed out by Prof. Darmesteter, when Alexander conquered Persia, the conquest was more material than intellectual. Greece instead of influencing Persia, was influenced by it. He says: Alexander "a persisé la Grèce, il n'a pas hellénisé la Perse."[1] In the case of the conquest of Persia by the Arabs also, the case was to some extent similar. Persia was conquered materially, but not intellectually. The Iranians, instead of being Arabianised, Iranianized the Arabs to some extent. The Arabs took a good deal from the science, art and literature of Persia. To illustrate the great influence of ancient Persia upon Arabia, we may refer to the influence of the Arabs upon the West in the early times of their rise and to the later influence of Mahomedanism. Though Mahomedanism has spread over a larger area of the world now than before, its influence is not so great now as it was then. At one time, the Arab Universities in Spain were seats of learning to which the then learned world turned for culture and higher education. The reason was, that besides possessing the zeal, ardour and industry of a new rising people, they had, as it were, the accumulated experience of their contact with the civilizations of the Romans and the Persians. With their downfall, the two latter empires lost exerting any influence on the outside countries. Again, on the downfall of the Sassanian empire, the Arabs made a permanent stay in their country and began acquiring fresh experience and knowledge of their accumulated learning of centuries. This long contact with the Iranians, both before and after the

1 Coup d'œil sur l'Histoire de la Perse, par James Darmesteter (1885), p 21

conquest, gave them a good deal of culture. A recent writer, referring to the later decline of Arab influence in Central Asia, says :—"This contemporary religious fanaticism, however, does not play the cultural rôle which it did when Mahometanism was introduced into this region in the 10th and 11th centuries, as a rival to the earlier Christianity influences of Buddhism and the well-developed local animistic religion. At that time, under the influence of Iranian culture, Mahometanism meant also the development of science and art, literature and architecture. The present theologians of Turkestan have banished from their religion every thing which is not in accordance with strict devotion and asceticism. In a way, they play the rôle of Calvanists in the Mahometan world."[1]

Though the new religion of Mahomed overthrew the religion of Zoroaster, that new religion itself was pervaded by a good deal of Zoroastrianism. Prof. Darmesteter thus speaks on the subject: "However, if one sees it closely, he sees that the national element has disappeared more from the surface than from the bottom, and that Persia, in accepting the stranger (*i.e.*, the new religion) has transformed it more than being itself transformed, that she has adapted its life and its new faith to the hereditary customs and traditions and it is not without reason that for the mass of the Mussulman people, Persia is any thing but Islam. In reality, the Islam of Persia is not Islam. It is the old religion of Persia, encircled with Musulman formulæ." The question of the influence of the Iranian religion on Islam is a large question and we need not enter into it here.

1 The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the present day, by M. H. Czaplicka, p. 28.

A FEW PARSEE NIRANGS (INCANTATIONS OR RELIGIOUS FORMULÆ).

(*Read on 27th August* 1919.)

I.

Introduction.

The other day, Thursday, the 14th August 1919, I was hearing at our University (Sir Cowasjee Jehangir) Convocation Hall, one of the interesting and learned Wilson Philological Lectures delivered by our esteemed colleague, Father Zimmermann. While discoursing on the subject of the Âthrava Veda, which contains many Vedic incantations, charms, amulets or prayers of exorcism, he said, that the literatures of many ancient nations referred to some kind of charms, amulets, incantations or religious formulæ to keep off or to exorcise evils. He quoted an incantation of that kind from the Âthrava Veda, wherein the worshipper asked certain evils to be away, to be off, to be destroyed. That incantation reminded me of a similar incantation in the Vendidâd of the Parsis. The next day, or the day after, I drew his attention to an Avesta incantation. Father Zimmermann's above lecture and a further consideration of the matter have suggested to me the subject of this evening's paper. I propose handling, before the Society under the general head of *Nîrangs*, the subject of incantations, charms, amulets, religious formulæ, etc., which were believed by some Parsees, of one age or another, to possess efficacy for the removal of evils, physical or mental.

The English word 'amulet' and its equivalents in other European languages (Lat. *amuletum*, Fr. *amulette*, Span. *amuletto*) came from Arabic *hamâ'il* حمائل which word comes from an Arabic root *haml*, حمل *i.e.*, carrying. Then, it has come to mean "something that you carry over your person with a view to keep off an evil." "A small korân suspended from the neck as a preservative "[1] is spoken of as a hamâ'il.

[1] Steingass.

The English word 'talisman' and its equivalents of some other European languages also come from an Arabic word *tilisam* or *tilsam* (طلسم) Gr. τέλεσμα One need not conclude from these words, that the belief in amulets or talisman went to the West from the East, to Europe from Arabia after the Arab conquest of Spain and a great part of Europe. The ancient Egyptians, Romans, Greeks, Hebrews and even the early Christians had that belief.

The custom of wearing amulets is said to be "almost as widespread as the human race itself." During the last great war, there fought nations of different grades of civilization. There were soldiers from the countries of the so-called dark continent of Africa as well as soldiers from the so-called highly civilized countries of Europe and America, and as I told the Society at its last monthly meeting, in the great War Exhibitions held in England at Burlington House, there was, what is called "the lighter side" consisting of "the collection of soldiers' and saliors' mascots" of all nations.[1]

It is said on the authority of Mr. Doughty, that in Arabia there is hardly a child or animal which is not defended by some kind of amulets against evil eyes. The ancient Jews believed, that out of every 100 deaths, 99 occurred from evil eyes and only one from natural causes.[2]

In India, women put black marks on the temples of their children, so that the evil eyes of the onlookers may be drawn away to the black spots on the face and not to the face itself. The putting on of ornaments in ancient times is similarly connected with the idea of driving away evil eyes. "In antiquity jewels were worn quite as much for protective as for decorative purposes, being supposed to draw the attention of

1 "The Folklore" of June 1918 gives a variety of charms and amulets carried over their persons by soldiers and sailors to protect themselves from risks.

2 Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible (1909), p. 29.

the spirit from the wearer."[1] Even now, we see many an amulet put in in ornamental lockets or in pretty forms of ornament. I remember noticing in Naples, that many a Neapolitan carried over their bodies some things recovered from the ruins of Pompei, set in some ornamental forms, to serve as amulets. Young lovers and beloveds carrying in their ornamental lockets, locks of hair or miniatures of those whom they love or by whom they are loved, remind us that the idea of wearing these lockets and the idea of putting on amulets, may be traced to the same origin. The sight of the lockets and the amulets may arouse in the minds of the wearers certain noble ideals—ideals of pure love, courage, patience, faith in God or some Higher Power—which may bear them up, carry them forward in walks of life, inspire them, and lead them to thoughts of doing some good or of avoiding evil. Though we may be tempted to smile or laugh at some of these old beliefs, yet, when we reflect, that, even at present, in our advanced times, we indulge in some customs and beliefs, which, traced to their origin, point to the same idea, we are led to look at these old beliefs with a kind of toleration and sympathy. As long as they lead those who profess those beliefs to some higher thoughts, we must look at them with sympathy, not only from their standpoint, but from a general standpoint. You and I, we are neither putting on amulets or charms, nor are we going to recommend others to put them on, but when we see others of a different calibre of mind—or even when we see others of the same calibre of mind as ourselves but differing from us in thoughts or views on different occasions—putting on such charms or amulets which bear them up, keep them up, inspire them with higher thoughts for bearing difficulties or for daring deeds, we must look at them with a tolerant and sympathetic eye. Many a solidier in the last war, whose amulets and charms were exhibited in the last War Exhibition in England, must have been soothed at times of pain and difficulties, or encouraged

[1] Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible (1909), p. 29

in fighting, or even inspired for nobler deeds in his own limited sphere of activity; and thus, he may have done a piece of service to you, to me, and to the country and Empire at large by winning the war. Begging to be excused for this rather long introduction, I now come to the subject proper of my paper.

II.

What is a *nîrang*.

The word *nîrang* is originally Pahlavi (𐭭𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭲𐭪), from which it has passed into Persian (نیرنگ). It then passed into Parsi-Gujarati in the same form (नीरंग). It bears various meanings, most of them akin or arising from one original idea. They are the following :—

1. A religious formula or prayer to be recited at the end of some larger prayers. For example, we have the *nîrangs* to be recited after the Yashts.

2. A religious formula to be recited with the performance of a particular little ceremony or ritual. For example, the *nîrang* to be recited early in the morning with the application of cow's urine on the exposed parts of the body.

3. A religious formula to be recited on particular occasions for keeping away ordinary evils—evils both physical and mental.

4. A religious formula to keep away evils coming or proceeding from outside or from other persons, *e.g.*, evil eyes.

5. A religious formula recited with a view to invoke some good or success.

6. At times, the word is used for a ritual itself. For example the whole ritual, wherein the Yaçna, Visparad, Vendidad, etc., are recited to consecrate bull's urine, is called Nîrang-din. Generally speaking, a *nîrang* is a religious formula, intended to bring some good or to keep off some evil from the persons who uses it. Then, the word began to be used for a thing or things, in connection with which the religious formula was recited.

For example, the Parsees even now speak of cow's urine as *nîrang*. The cow's urine is applied to the body with the recital of a *nîrang*, and from this fact, even the religious or technical term for cow's urine is *nîrang*. The special *nîrang* or cow's urine, which is consecrated with a long ceremony lasting for about eighteen days, is spoken of at times as *nîrang-din* or more properly *nîrang-i-din*, *i.e.*, the *nirang* or cow's urine consecrated with religious ceremony or ritual.

Looking to the old Iranian literature of different periods, we find that, at first, the *nirangs* were pure prayer-formulas recited on certain occasions for the removed of certain evils. That being the case, we find the word *nîrang* used in the Pahlavi Virâf-nâmeh [1] with words for other larger liturgical prayers and forms of ceremonies, such as Yazashna, Darun (Bâj) Âfringân. Latterly, the *nîrangs* or prayer-formulæ, were accompanied by certain forms and rituals.

The Virâf-nâmeh speaks of the *nîrangs* or religion (nîrang-i-dînik) as having been written both in the Avesta and Zend (Pahlavi).[2] Most of the *nîrangs* which we have now in the Parsee books as separate pieces of prayer-formulæ are in Pahlavi or Pâzend more akin to Persian. The above referred to passage of the Virf-nâmeh shows, that some *nîrangs* existed even in the Avesta language. The Pahlavi Ghosht-i-Frayâna also speaks of Avesta *nîrangs*. It refers to such *nîrangs* for killing snakes (mâr-i-pavan nîrang-i Avestâ barî zektelûnd).[3] The same book refers to a nîrang-i dînîk, which was used with a barsam-cutting [4] knife by Dastur Gosht-i Frayâna to destroy Akht, a great sorcerer. The Pahlavi Vendidad [5] also speaks of such *nîrangs*.

1 Virâf-nâmeh, Chapter 1, 26.

2 *Ibid*, II, 32.

3 Chapter, V, 2. Hoshang-Haug Virâf-nâmeh. p. 244.

4 Barsam-picking or Barsam-gathering knife (kard-i Barsam-chin pavan nirâng-i dinik). Chapter IV, 27. *Ibid*, p. 243.

5 Pavan denman nîrang min lavîn paitâk barâ Zaktalûnnishn (Pahlavi Vendidad III, 14), *i.e.* to kill that (Nasush) by the *nîrang* mentioned above.

I think, that the word *nîrang* (نیرنگ) is originally the same in meaning as the word *nîrûk* or *nirui* (P. نیرو) *i.e.*, strength or power. The same Pahlavi form ( ) can be read as *nîrang* and *nîruk*. (Vide Dastur Hoshang's Glossarial Index of the Vendidad, p. 172). The prayer-formulæ, incantations, charms, rituals, etc., were called *nîrang* (*nîrûk*) because they all gave (mental) *strength* or *power* to those who resorted to them.

Classes of *Nirangs*.

The *nirangs* or incantation prayers or religious formulæ of the Parsees may be divided into two classes: (1) those that are given in their modern prayer books and (2) those that are not given in their prayer books but are found in the later Revâyets and other miscellaneous writings. The first are pure religious formulæ recited with or without other regular Avesta prayers, and with very little or no ritual or form. Some of them may be taken as pure incantations, *i.e.*, pure prayer-formulæ, for the removal or suppression of physical or mental evils, and as such can be recited by any person, even by a person of refined but religious-minded views. The second class of *nîrangs* which are not found in prayer-books, form amulets or charms. They are spoken of as tâviz (تعویز) *i.e.*, amulets. They are written on pieces of paper and are kept on the body or applied or used as directed. This second class of *nîrangs* may be divided into various classes.

1. Those that are believed as curatives, *i.e.*, as cures for physical complaints or diseases.

2. Those that are believed as curatives for mental evils which have been already caught, as the result of the influence of demons, sorcerers or evil persons.

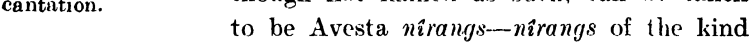
3. Those that are believed as mere preventives from all evils, whether physical or mental. They are, as it were, charms of that class, the like of which were found on the bodies of soldiers of all nationalities during the last war and which were exhibited in the War Exhibition above referred to.

To-day, I will speak of the *nîrangs* of the first class, *i.e.*, those that are found in the Khordeh Avesta, the small Avesta which forms the common prayer book of the Parsees. In old Parsee prayer book manuscripts they are given in Avesta characters, with their ritual, here and there, in Persian characters and language.

III.

Before giving here the *nîrangs*, which are spoken of as *nîrangs* in the books in which they are found, I will give here two Avesta *nîrangs*, which are embodied in the Vendidâd, but which, though not named as such, can be taken to be Avesta *nîrangs*—*nîrangs* of the kind of the Âthrava Veda incantations. The first occurs in the 20th chapter XX, 7, of the Vendidâd, and runs thus :

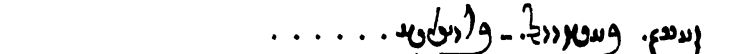
A *nîrang* from the Vendidâd corresponding to an Âthrava Veda incantation.



O Sickness ! I tell thee, be gone. O Death ! I tell thee, be gone O Pain ! I tell thee, be gone. O Fever ! I tell thee, be gone O Sârana (headache) [1] ! I tell thee, be gone. O Sârastya ! I tell thee, be gone. O Azana ! I tell thee, be gone. O Azahva ! I tell thee, be gone. O Kurugha ! I tell thee be gone. O Azhivâka ! I tell thee, be gone ! O Duruka, I tell thee, be gone. O Astairya ! I tell thee, be gone. O Aghashi I tell thee, be gone.

The sacred prayer of Kemnâ Mazdâ (Vend. VIII, 21) recited several times by the Parsees during the day, while untying and tying their *kusti* (sacred thread) also contains a few sentences which can be taken as another *nîrang* or incantation to keep off evil. It runs thus :

Another Avesta incantation.



[1] This and others that follow are various physical and mental diseases, the exact modern equivalents of which it is rather difficult to detremine.

Translation.

O Daêva! Be off.
O ye of the seed of the Daêvas! Be off.
O ye shown by the Daevas! Be off.
O Ye following the Daevas! Be off.
O Druj! Be off.
O Druj! Run away from here.
O Djuj! Run further away from here. Run away to the north.

IV.

The *nîrang* for the application of *gaomez* or cow's urine.

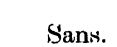
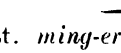
The first thing that an orthodox Parsee had to do on leaving his bed in the morning was to recite an Ashem Vohu (a short prayer in praise of purity and piety) near the bed itself and then to untie and re-tie with the recital of its proper prayer-formula (*nîrang-i kusti*') his sacred thread. The next immediate thing to be done was the application of the cow's or the goat's urine, with the recital of its proper *nîrang* or prayer-formula. The *nîrang* for the application of this Gaomez called Nîrang-i-âb-i zar (نیرنگ آب زر) [1] or Nîrang-i Dast-shoi (نیرنگ دست شوی). [2]

The urine of a cow is generally spoken of as âb-i- zar, *i.e.*, the golden or the yellow water. It was so called on account of its colour, or perhaps, because its application to the body with its proper prayer-formula was held to be very useful and

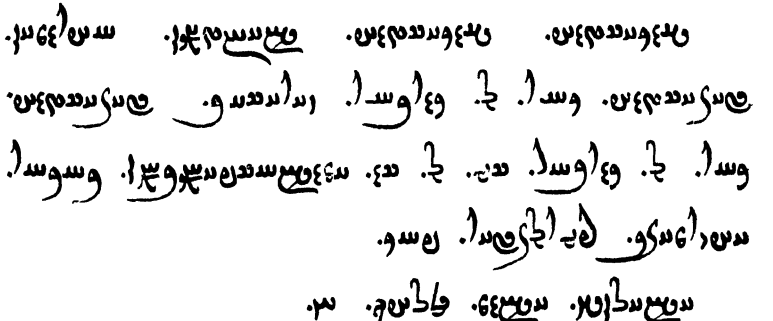
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[1] *Vide* Dr. Eugen Wilhelm's paper "On the Use of Beef's Urine. according to the precepts of the Avesta and on Similar Customs with Other Nations," printed and published by Maneckji Barjorji Minocher Homji at the Bombay Samachar Press (1889). Dr. Wilhelm at first discusses the various passages of the Avesta which refer to the use of cows's urine and then gives an account of its use among different nations, by some of whom it is still used as a remedy or purificant.

[2] *I.e.*, the *nîrang* for washing the hands. It has received this alternative or additional name from the fact that it is recited with the application of cow's urine early in the morning before washing one s hands and face.

important from a religious point of view. In the Avesta, (Vend. IX. 14; XIX, 21, 22) it is spoken of as gao-maêza ( Pahl. ) from *gao* गो cow and *maêza* urine (मेह) from Av.  (Pahl.  Pers.  Sans. (मिह) Lat. *ming-ere*) to sprinkle, to make water. The Parsees generally speak of it as *nîrang*, because it is applied with the recital of a *nirang* or a prayer-formula. Of all other things connected with the *nîrangs* or the recital of religious formulæ, it is especially called so, because upto a few years ago, its application was general. In the Parsee prayer-books, its prayer-formula was given in the very commencement, after the Ahunavar and Ashem Vohu prayers. All Parsee children were expected to know it by heart. In Bombay, the custom, now-a-days, is not generally observed. But the mofussil Parsees and most of the clergy still observe it. The Avesta speaks only of cow's urine, but now-a-days for ordinary application to the exposed parts of the body early in the morning on leaving bed, even a goat's urine is used, if that of the cow is not available.

I give here the prayer-formula as given in the Avesta characters in Parsee prayer books.[1]



1 *Vide* Khordeh Avesta in Avesta characters by Framji Minocheherji Dastur Jamasp Asajina (1881) p. 10. *Vide* Spiegel's Khordeh Avesta, translated by Bleek (1864) (Prayer on taking the cow-urine) p. 3.

Translation.—May Shaitân be defeated. May Âhriman and his deeds and actions be accursed. May his accursed deeds and actions never reach me. May thirty-three Aneshasparads (and) Dâdâr Ahura Mazda, (who is always) victorious and holy, come to my help.

The language and the contents of this prayer-formula show it to be a much later composition. The language is Persian. The use of the word Shaitân (شیطان Satan) a later form of Shêdâân (𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬀𐬌) also points to a very late composition of the prayer-formula. Again, when we know, that according to the Avesta and Pahlavi writings, the Ameshâspantas are always known to be seven (including Ahura Mazda himself), this *nîrang* speaks of their number as thirty-three, mixing them up with the thirty-three Yazatas.

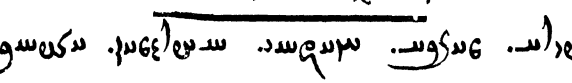
As to how the urine may be applied to the different exposed portions of the body, later ritualistic writings give injunctions as follows :—The gâomez or *nîrang* is first to be held in the hollow of the hand, and then the *nîrang* (the above Persian prayer-formula) is to be recited. Then the Srosh-Bâj is to be recited, wherein, with the recital of the first Ahunavar or Yathâ Ahû Vairyô, it is to be applied on the right hand ; with the recital of the second on the left hand ; with that of the third on the face, with that of the fourth on the right foot ; and with the recital of the last or the fifth Ahunavar on the left foot. The Srosh-Baj is then to be finished and then the hands and face may be washed with water. It is only after the observance of this ritual that an orthodox Parsee can touch other utensils and things.[1]

[1] We see from the *nîrang* itself, that there is no mention of the cow's urine in it. A Zoroastrian is asked in the Vendidâd, to be up from his bed with the crowing of the cock, to wash his face, and to kindle the fire of the family hearth, which was covered over with ashes at the close of the previous night before going to bed. The washing of the face is to be preceded with an application of cow's urine which was held in ancient Iran to be a purifier. In the *nîrang*, the worshipper prays

Nîrang-i. Kusti

The *nîrang* or prayer-formula given in the prayer-books next to that of the *nîrang-i-ab-i-zar* is the Nîrang-i Kusti, *i.e.*, the prayer-formula for putting on the sacred shirt.[1] It is ordinarily known as Ahura Mazda Khudâe prayer and is held to be the most important prayer by the Parsees, because it is the prayer, which a Zoroastrian child has, next to *Yathâ Ahû Vairyô* and Ashem Vohû prayers, to learn by heart before being admitted into the fold, with the investiture of the sacred shirt and thread (sudreh kûsti), and which every Parsee has to recite while tying and untying his sacred thread several times during the day. It is spoken of as a *nîrang* (નેરંગ or નીરંગ કુસ્તી બાંધવાની).[2] In the Pazend Text, [3] it is spoken of as *nîrang-kûsti bastan* (نیرنگ کستی بستن) *i.e.*, the *nîrang* of putting on kusti.

I give below this Nîrang-i-kusti with its translation.



to exorcise or to keep away Ahriman and his deeds and actions. In this connection one may notice that ghosts that hover over this earth, are according to the Parsee belief, generally the participants of Ahriman or the Evil Spirit, and it was, and, to a certain extent, it is even now, believed that in your night travels, if you are overtaken by a ghost, the efficacious remedy is to make water immediately. The urine which you pass will drive away the ghosts. It is believed, that when one is overtaken by a ghost at night while travelling, he loses his way, or finds himself returning to the same spot which he had once passed over, or he is disturbed in his march by a clapping of hands as if somebody behind was calling him and on looking back finds nobody there. Next to passing urine, it is the crowing of a cock that drives away a ghost—a common belief, of which we are reminded by Horatio in Shakespeare's play of Hamlet.

1 *Vide* Spiegel's Khordeh Avesta, translated by Bleeck (1864) p. 4.

2 Khordeh Avesta in Avesta characters, by Framji Minocherjee Dastur (1181) p. 2.; Khordeh Avesta bâ mâinî, by Behedin Hormusji Muncherjee (1863), p. 2; Khordeh Avesta bâ mâinî, by Bhedin Dadabhoy Sorabjee (1845), p. 2.

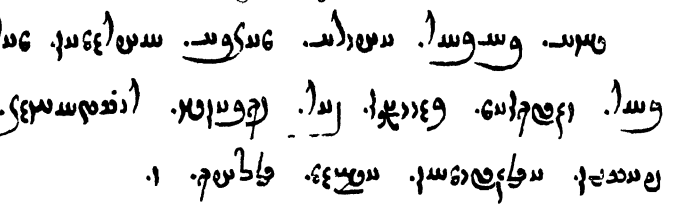
3 The Pazend Texts by Ervad Edalji Antia (1909), p. 164.

ꣻꣾꣽ꣼ꣿꣻꣾꣽ꣼ꣿꣻꣾꣽ꣼ꣿ

Translation—Ahura Mazda (is) God. May Âhriman, the powerless, the keeper-off (of good), be smitten and defeated. May Âhriman, the Daêvas, the Drujs (the laying spirits), the magicians, the Dravants (vagrants), the Kiks (the seeing-blind), the Karafs (the hearing-deafs), the oppressors, the sinners, the Âshmogs (the back-biters), the Dravants, the enemies, the (evil) fairies be smitten and defeated. May evil-rulers be powerless. May enemies be subdued. May enemies be powerless. Ahura Mazda is God. I repent of all sins. I repent of all bad thoughts, bad words and bad deeds, which I may have thought or said, or done in this world, which I may have sought, which I may have begun. O Lord! I repent of all such sins with my thoughts, words and deeds (whether the sins may be) of body or of soul, (whether they be in connection with the thoughts) of this corporeal world or the next spiritual world. I repent of all these with three-fold words. Rejoiced be Ahura Mazda! Condemned be Âhriman. The wish of those who work for truth is the best wish. I praise Righteousness.

Nîrang-i Ahura Mazda Yasht[1] or Nîrang-i Yâ Dâdâr.[2]

The recital of the Ahura Mazda Yasht (Yt. I) is followed by the recital of the following *nîrang*.



Translation—O Dâdâr Ormazd! May I subdue Âhriman, the destroyer, and the Devs. I undoubtedly believe in the occurrence of the Resurrection (Rastâkhiz) and Future Existence (tan-pasin), Ashem Vohû.

1 Spiegel, Khordeh Avesta, translated by Vleeck, p. 190. "Prayer after reading the Ormazd-Yasht.

2 The second name here and that in the next *nîrang* are derived from the preliminary words of the *nîrang*.

I may say here that in the recital of the *nîrangs*, wherever the word or words for Âhriman, the Devs, the diseases, or the evil whose exorcism or obstruction is sought for, occur, the worshipper symbolizes or emphasises his expression of hatred by clapping his thumb with the third or middle finger of his right hand,—a process known as *tachâkri fodvi*.

Nîrang-i Ardibehesht Yasht or Nîrang-i Dâdâr Jehandâr.

The Ardibehesht Yasht (Yt. III), as now recited, ends with a *nîrang*. The contents of the whole of the Ardibehesht Yasht may be said to be full of incantations for the removal of physical and mental diseases. Upto a few years ago, and even now to some extent, the Ardibehesht Yasht is recited by a priest before a sick person.[1] At times, fire is kept burning before the patient at the time. Ardibehesht is Avesta Asha-vahishta, *i.e.*, the best purity. Fire is the best type of purity. It purifies all impurities. In later Avestan hierarchy, fire is as much associated with Ardibehesht as with Âdar, the fire-Yazata proper. Fire-temples are generally consecrated on the day Âdar or on the day Ardibehesht. While reciting the Ardibehesht Yasht over a patient, the priest passes a handkerchief over his body. He, as it were, makes passes over his body exorcising the illness with each pass.

The Ardibehesht Yasht speaks of five kinds of physicians, *viz.*, (1) one who cures with his *asha* or righteousness (asho-baêshaza), (2) one who cures by doing justice (dâto-baêshaza), (3) one who cures by surgical instruments (karêto-baêshaza), (4) one who cures with drugs (urvara-baêshaza) and (5) one who cures by *mânthra* or recital of holy texts (mânthra-baêshaza). Of these five, the mânthra-baêshaza, *i.e.*, the physician who cures by *mânthra* (Sans. મંત્ર), is spoken of as the best. His way of curing is very efficacious. It is a kind of faith cure. This treatment

1 *Vide* my paper "Bombay, as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754, (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII, p. 279-80)." What Dr. Ives refers to in his account is the case of the recital of the Ardibehesht Yasht over a patient.

is spoken of as Ardibehest Yasht *ni pichi* (અર્દિબહેશ્ત યશ્તની પીછી). The word *pichi* comes from pichh (પીછ) *i.e.*, a feather. It seems that feathers of birds were used to make passes over the patients during the recital of incantations among other communities. When the custom of making passes was introduced among the Parsees, though the Parsee priest used his handkerchief for making passes over the patient, the foreign word ' pichhi,' (feather) came into use with the custom. I have more than once seen the Ardibehesht Yasht recited over a patient but have never seen the use of feathers.

Before giving the *nîrang* proper of the Ardibehesht Yasht, I will give here some of the passages of the Yasht itself, to give one an idea, as to how the recital of the Yasht is properly taken to be a kind of faith-cure. Many evils, both physical and mental, are mentioned, and their removal or exorcism is prayed for. The rythmical language itself of the Yasht is charming and is likely to work as a soothing ' charm ' on receptive minds. The translation cannot give a sufficiently good idea of the effect of the language as a *mânthra* or *mantra*. The whole of the Yasht is full of such language but I give here only a typical passage.

Yaçka apa-dvarata.

Mahrka apa-dvarata.

Daêva apa-dvarata.

Paityâr apa-dvarata.

Ashêmaogho anashava apa-dvarata, etc., etc.

Translation.

O Diseases ! May you be off.

O Death ! May you be off.

O Devs ! May you be off.

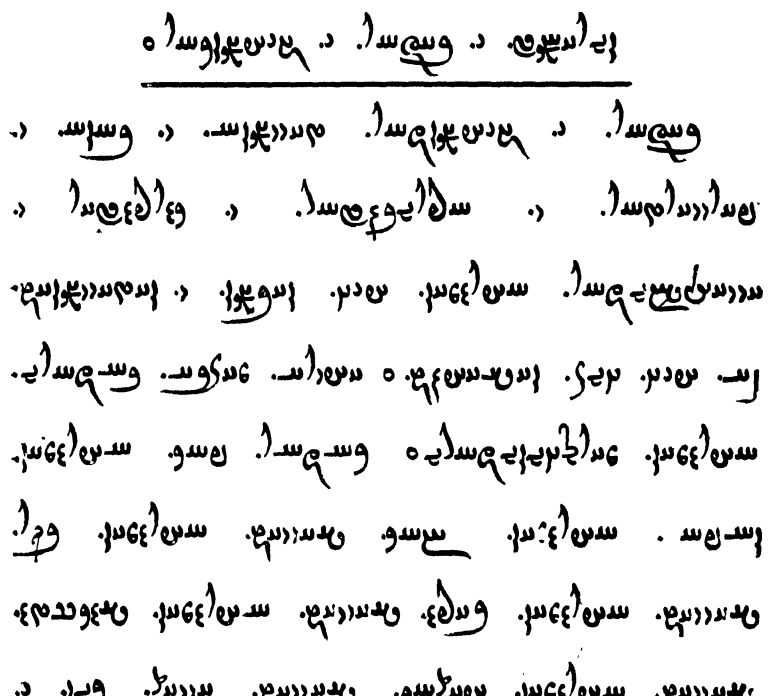
O Opponents ! May you be off.

O Unholy Ashmôg (quarrel-producer) ! May you be off.

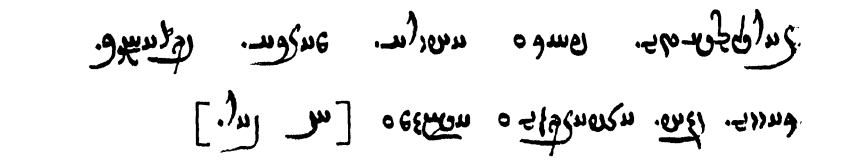
O Tyrants ! May you be off.

In the same strain of language, evils coming from snakes and wolves,[1] from unruly, arrogant, hot-tempered, backbiting enemies, evil-eyed and untruthful persons and magic-practising unglorious women and from sickly northern winds are prayed to be away. Then follow a repetition of a similar incantation where instead of the oft-repeated words "apa-dvarata" (may you be off), we have the word *jainti* (strike), meaning, that Ardibehesht strifles all the above complaints. Then again, the same kind of incantation is repeated with the word janât (will strike), meaning that Ardibehest will strike all the above evils.

Now, I will give here, the *nîrang* proper of the Ardibehesht Yasht.



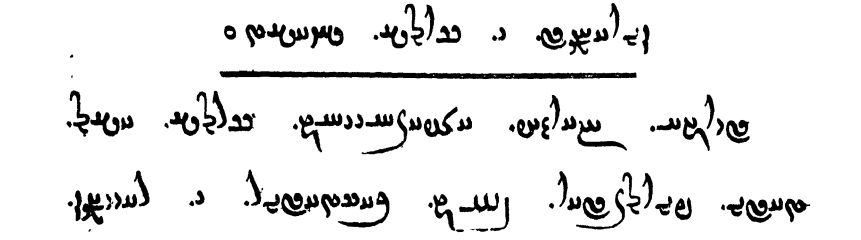
[1] Here snakes and wolves may be taken figuratively.



Translation.—Dâdâr (the Creator) is the Keeper of the World, is Powerful and Wise and Nourisher and Creator and Righteous and Protector. Âhriman is worthless, stupid and impotent to do anything. Ahura Mazda is Creator, Âhriman is destroyer. Dâdâr is Holy, Âhriman is unholy. May Âhriman be reduced to dust! May Âhriman be away! May Âhriman perish! May Âhriman be smitten! May Âhriman be harassed! The first religion is the Zoroastrian holy one. Ahura Mazda is Exalted, Powerful, Good, Increaser.

In Zoroastrian angelology, Sraosha stands as a protector of man's soul during the day and during the night, during one's life time and after one's death. He is, as it were, the guardian angel, especially during the dark hours of night and during the first unknown or unfathomed days after death. The Yasht in his honour is now-a-days spoken of as Sarosh Yasht *rât ni vadi, i.e.*, the larger (vadi) Sarosh Yasht specially recited at night (rât), to distinguish it from the Sarosh Yasht. Hâdokht, which is smaller in comparison and which can be recited during any part of the day. The *nîrang* runs as follows :—

Nîrang-i Sraosh Yasht vadi, *i. e.*, the larger Sraosh Yasht.[1]



[1] Spiegel. Khordeh Avesta, translated by Bleeck, p. 190 LXIV. Prayer after reading the Sarosh Yasht.

Translation.—May the splendour and the glory of the holy Sraosha, increase! May he be powerful and victorious! He is the helper of the souls (of men). He is the protector of the bodies (of men). He is holy among the holies and is a guardian. For days and nights and months, may there be the protection of Sraosha Yazad over all the Iranians, and the Paoiryôtakaêshâns of the worldly creation, and over the faithful followers of the religion, over the Tâzis who have put on the *kûsti*, the Zoroastrians, the virtuous, and the pious of all the seven regions. May there be the protection of Sarosh Yazata.

Nirangh-i Sarosh Hâdokht.

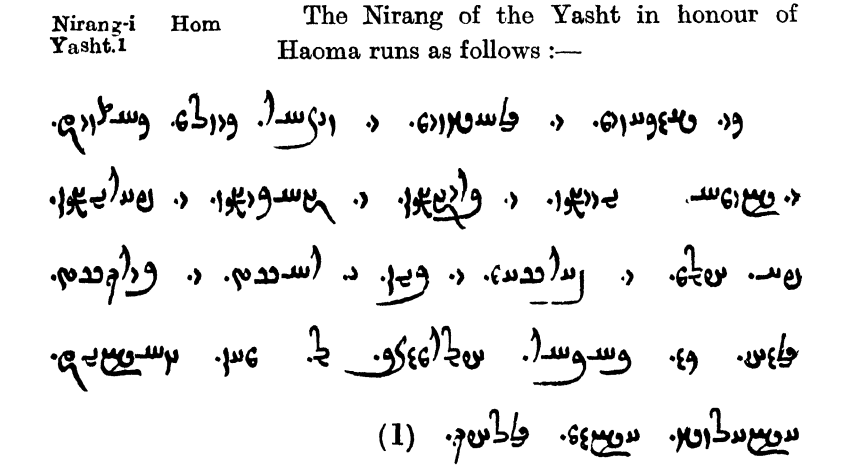
The Nîrang-i Sarosh Hâdokht run as follows :—



Translation.—May the splendour and the glory of Sraosha, (who is) Holy, powerful, controller of body, possessor of wonderful weapons, of victorious weapons, the guide of the creation of Dâdâr Ahura Mazda, increase! May he come to our help! May it be so!

Nirang-i Hom Yasht.[1]

The Nirang of the Yasht in honour of Haoma runs as follows :—



Translation.—O ye Devs, Drujs, Magicians, Fairies! May I destroy, may I smite,[2] may I subdue[3] your bodies, by means of the Haoma, and the Barsam and by means of the true, righteous and good religion which Dâdâr Ahura Mazda has taught to me.

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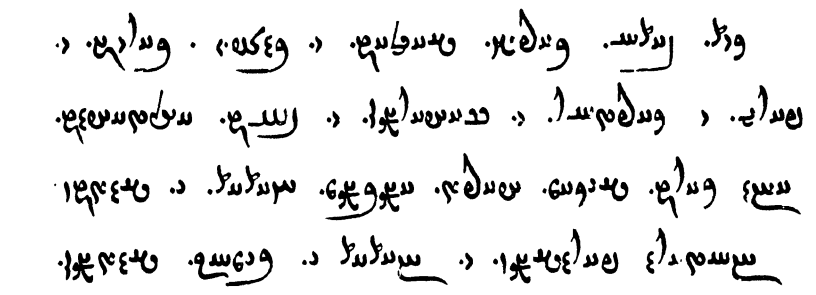
[1] Spiegel. Kordeh Avesta, translated by Bleeck, p. 190 LXV. Prayer for driving away the devil.

[2] From Av.  Pahl.  Sans. वन to win, to strike.

[3] Pers. نزار weak, distressed, emaciated.

Nirang-i Vanant Yasht.

The Nirang in honour of the Yazata presiding over the star Vanant, runs thus :—



Translation.—May there perish all calamities ; and may Devs, Drujs, Fairies, despoilers of the dead,[1] magicians,[2] injurious[3] winds, filths,[4] the pain in the belly and in the seven limbs of the body, the harm proceeding from Shaitân (Satan), distress of mind, the disease of the brain resulting from the mind of the Shaitân (may all this) be scattered away (*i.e.*, destroyed)[5] and the harm[6] in sight which results from an evil[7] eye and such other calamities may perish.

In the recital of the Vanant Yasht itself in some places, here the name of Ahriman has to be mentioned, the recital is emphasized by a clapping of hands, intended perhaps to emphasize his exorcism.

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1 Pers. کفتار 2 Arab. سحر magic. 3 Av. ·دروجه filthiness Pahl. ·دروج P. آزو 4 Arab. خ dust, filth.

5 P. پریشان 6 Av. ·وادهه San. विज to afflict, to do harm 7 Perhaps from Arab نجسی dirty.

OATHS AMONG THE ANCIENT IRANIANS AND THE PERSIAN SAOGAND-NAMEH.

By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

(*Read on 27th April* 1921.)

I

Introduction.

The subject of this paper has suggested itself to me in my recent study of the Parsee Rivâyets which contain miscellaneous matters on the subject of the religion, history, ritual, manners, and customs of the Parsees of what may be called the mediæval period of the History of the Parsees of India from the 14th to the 17th century A. C. In many subjects, these Rivâyets may be taken to reflect more the views of the Zoroastrians of Persia than those of the Zoroastrians of India. The Persian books of Rivâyets which contain replies to questions sent to Persia by the Zoroastrians of India on various matters, also contain various treatises or writings, small or large, upon particular topics. I have placed before this society some chips now and then from this great store of miscellaneous subjects, *e.g.*, the paper on the Mâr-nameh, *i.e.*, the Book of snakes, and papers on some incantations and amulets. The object of this paper is to place before the society, a short treatise, entitled Sogand-nâmeh or the Book of Oaths, with a few observations on the subject of oaths from an old Iranian point of view. I will give the text of the Sogand-nâmeh from a Rivâyet known as the Rivâyet of Herbad Hormazyâr, bin Herbad Frâmarz, bin Herbad Kâmdin, bin Herbad Kukâ, bin Herbad Padam, surnamed (*lakab*) Sanjanah, of Naossari. I am thankful to its owner, Mr. Pestonji Navroji Kapadia, for kindly placing it at my disposal for study. From the platform of this scientific Society, I beg to thank him, on behalf of the students of Iranian Literature, for kindly complying with my request and consenting to present this unique manuscript to

the Oriental Institute, founded in honour of one of our former Presidents, the late Mr. K. R. Cama. Students of Iranian Literature will now have it at their disposal for study. This Rivâyet has a number of colophons which give its dates, varying from roz 5 mah 8, year 1012 A.Y., to roz 27, Mah 3, year 1023, *i.e.*, 1643 to 1654 A.C. From these dates we see, that this scribe, Hormazyâr, flourished in the middle of the 17th Century. He belonged to a family, of learned scribes. From the colophon following the Sogand-nameh in this Rivâyet, we find, that the Sogand-nâmeh was written on roz 4 Shehrivar, Mah 12 Asfandarmad, year 1012 (1643 A.C.) (f. 370b). The copy of the Sogand-nâmeh brought from Persia, from which the compiler Hormazyâr entered it into his Rivâyet must have been written some time before. From the dates of the other Rivâyets or epistles brought from Persia and embodied by Hormazyâr in this Rivâyet, in the midst of the copies of which we find the text of the Sogand-nâmeh, it appears, that it was written in Persia at some time in the 10th century of Yazdazard, *i.e.*, in the 16th century A.C. We do not know, whether the Dasturs of Persia, who sent a copy to India in the 16th Century, had put it down in writing for the first time, or had some previous writing from which they copied it. However, whatever the date of its first being committed to writing may be, its contents show, that some of the views, or, at least, its object and aim were old. Now, before giving the Text and my translation of the Sogand-nameh, I beg to say a few words on the subject of the old Iranian view of oaths in general.

II.

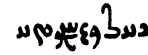
Oaths, general among all people. They form a religious function.

As defined by Beaton, oath "is a solemn act by which one calls God to witness the truth of an affirmation or the sincerity of a promise and imprecates divine vengeance if he be guilty of a falsehood or violate his promise." Almost all people practise a kind of oath. As we will see

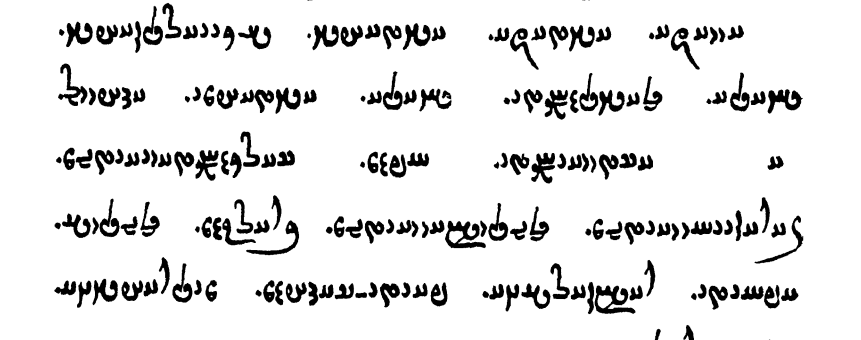
later on, the ancient Iranians had a general dislike for oaths and that was the result of their love for truth. But still they had their oaths.

Oaths are of two kinds, solemn and ordinary or greater and lesser. The Saogand-nâmeh which forms the subject of our paper treats of a kind of solemn or greater oath. The function of such solemn or great oaths becomes a religious matter. At times, they require a certain chosen place, such as a church or altar or an enclosed sanctified place. Again, they require certain requisites for ritual. They are taken in the name of the great God or in the names of the lesser gods or angels. Again, they require the production of certain requisites all of which are held to be, as it were, witnesses to the solemn act. Some swear by things which they esteem and hold dear *e.g.*, their swords, beards, holy books, etc. It is said of William the Conqueror, that before he asked Harold to swear fealty to him in order to aid him to gain the throne of England, he got secretly placed under the altar on which Harold was to take the oath, the relics of some martyrs, in order to secure greater solemnity and fidelity from him. After Harold took the oath, he showed him the relics and pointed out the greater responsibility of being true to his oath, taken over, and in the presence of, such sacred relics.

The Old Iranian word for Oath.

The ancient Iranian word for oath is Avesta *Saokenta*  (Vend. IV, 54) from which comes the Pahlavi word  and then the modern Persian word *saogand* سوگند. Though we trace the modern word *saogand* to the Avesta *saokenta*, we do not find the word so used in any writing of the Avesta, now extant. We find the Pahlavi word *Sogand* used in the sense of oath (Pand-nâmeh-i Âdarbâd-i Marespand, 41.)

The word Saokenta or Saokanta alone occurs only twice in the Avesta (Khorshed Nyâish 8, and an Avesta fragment, Westergaard V. 1 and 2 p. 333). There, it seems to be the name of a mountain.[1] Harlez does not take it to be a proper name but takes it to be an adjective in the sense of "shining and brilliant." The word occurs with the suffix *vant* once (saokent-avaitim) in the Vendidad (IV, 54, 55). There, the word with its suffix is used in the sense of 'burning or boiling.' The paras, where it occurs refer to false oaths. The para 55 is, to a certain extent, a repetition of para 54. So, I give below the para 54 with my translation. The fourth *pargard* (chapter) of the Vendidad, as a whole, treats of Duty (nemangha)—duty all round duty of not hurting others mentally or physically. This duty enjoins, that we must fulfil our contracts with, and stick to our promises to, others, and not do any bodily injury to them. In this kind of duty or obligation is included the question of oaths,



(Vendidad IV, 54.)

This is rather a difficult passage. Harlez says: "Ce passage est l'un des plus obscures de l'Avesta; aussi les interprétations ne peuvent être que conjtecurales,"[1] *i. e.*, "this passage is one of the most obscure of the Avesta; so, the interpretations can only be conjectural." It is variously translated. Dr. Spiegel translates it thus: "If they become

[1] *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names. p. 186. Geldner's text gives the word in the Khorshed Nyâish as Saokent.

aware of this deed in the corporeal world, (then it is as if) he were knowingly to approach the hot golden boiling water lyingly, as if speaking truth, (but) lying to Mithra.[2] "

Dr. Haug translates thus: "That such as are in this material world may here understand (the agony) of this exploit there, one knowing a lie should drink up the beneficial, golden, intelligent water with denial of the truth (Rashnu) and breach of promise (Mithra.)"[3] Dr. Haug adds the following note to this translation.

" This refers to an ordeal in which a cup of water is drunk after solemnly invoking curses upon one's head if one has not told the truth. The water is prepared with great solemnity, and contains various sacred substances, among them some Homa juice, which is referred to in the Pahlavi version by the epithet *gôkard hômand* for saokeñtavaitîm, 'beneficial;" and a little gold is added, which accounts for the second epithet in the text. See the Saugand-nâmah."

Prof. Darmesteter translates it thus : " Down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world : to wit, that deed which is done, when a man, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden,[4] truth-knowing[5] water with an appeal unto Rashnu[6] and a lie unto Mithra."[7]

Prof. Darmesteter varied his above translation a little, when he translated it later on again (in 1892) after about 12 years.

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1 Avesta, p. 50, n. 2.

2 Spiegel, translated by Bleeck, Vol. I., p. 37.

3 Haug's Essays of the Parsis, 2nd Ed., p. 322.

4 "The water before which the oath is taken contains some incense brimstone, and one danak of molten gold (Grand Ravayet 101).

5 "Doubtful. Possibly 'bright.'

6 "The God of truth. The formula is as follows: 'Before the Amshaspand Bahman, before the Amshaspand Ardibehesht, here lighted up .... etc., I swear that I have nothing of what is thine, N son of N, neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor clothes, nor any of the things created by Ormazd (l. 1, 96)." 7 S. B. E. Vol. IV., 1st Ed., p. 47.

"Son crime là-bas sera traité des pires peines connues ici bas, l'h omme qui, devant l'eau de soufre et d'or, devant. l'eau qui sait, vient, sachant son mensonge, se réclamer de Rashnu et mentir à Mithra."[1]

Mr. Framji Aspandiarji Rabadi translates thus:

"અને તેના તન ઉપર મોટી શક્તી પોહોચાડે. (એ રવેશે તે આશમોગને એ દુન્યામાં દીનની ખબરદારીથી બંધ તથા તોજેશ કરે). જે પાણી ગોકરનનું છે (યાને હોમનું) કે જે ઝરદ છે તથા ચશદ છે તથા પુર ફાએદા કારક છે તે કોઇને દીનની રાહે આપે, પણ તેમાં કાવતરૂં કરે (યાને ઘરમાંનું પાણી આપે ને હોમના પાણીનું નામ લીએ)" (વંદીદાદ, સને ૧૯૦૦ ની આવૃત્તિ, પા. ૫૪.)

Ervad Kavasji Edulji Kanga translates it thus:

"(અગરજો) અહિયાં (ઈઆને) આએ હાડમંદ દુનિયામાં તેએ આએ કામથી જાણીતા થાએ તો, (તે માણુસ) (કે જે) જાણીજોઇને રસ્ને ઇજદની શિખામણની સાંભે થએલો, તથા મેહેર ઇજદની સાંભે જુઠું બોલેલો (તે) બલતાં, સોનેરી (તથા) ઉકલતાં પાણીની નજદીક પોહોંચે. (૨)"

i. e., If a Person, who has spoken against Rashna (the angel presiding over truth), and has sinned against Mithra (the angel presiding over contracts), wants to know in this material world (the consequences of) his actions, he may go before water that is burning (*saokentvaitim*), golden-coloured and boiling water.

Harlez translates it thus: "Il invoque, sachant quill ment, l' eau du serment, l' eau doreé révélatrice, en affirmant un droit et mentant á une convention.[3]

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[1] Zend Avesta, Vol. II., p. 63.
[2] વંદીદાદ, 3rd Ed., Do. p. 105.
[3] Avesta, p. 50.

I take the substance of this passage to be this:

"If you want to know in this world what punishment you will receive for a breach of promise or perjury, go before a cauldron of boiling hot water and think of passing through it. That will give you an idea of what the punishment of perjury, &c., will be in the other world."

Most of the above translators, though they differ in their translations, suggest that the passage refers to perjury or false oath, or breach of promise. Now, though, as said above, the word *Saokent* is not used in the sense of oath in the 54th para of the 4th chapter of the Vendidad, which, with other adjoining paras, treats of false oaths, perjury, breach of promise, &c., the word seems to have given to us the Pahlavi and the Persian word *Saogand* or Sogand.

The word *Saokent*, itself, irrespective of its meaning in the sense of Saogand, *i. e.*, oath, but in its sense of "burning," is properly derived from *such* 𐬯𐬎𐬹 Sans. सूच् Pers. سوختن *sukhtan* to burn. I think, that in the sense of *Saogand* or oath also, it may be derived from the same root *such*, to burn. Though there is no direct connection between "to burn," which is the meaning of the word *such* and the word Saogand *i. e.*, oath, I think, it is the fact of the process of taking the oath referred to in the 54th para. of the 4th chapter of the Vendidad, that has given the word Saogand its meaning of oath. In the old Iranian process of oath, one had to stand before the sacred fire which is burning, and, I think that fact, that idea, has given the word Saokent its meaning of *Saogand* or oath.

Various words for oath have no direct connection with the meaning of their roots.

The words for oath in various languages seem to have no direct connection with the roots from which they are generally derived. The old Anglo-Saxon word, corresponding to English "*oath*," German *eid*, is *adh*. I will not be surprised if somebody traces it to a ritual. The etymology of these words is not ascertained. 'Serment,

the French word for oath, comes from Latin Sacramentum, sacrament, which itself comes from Latin *sacer* sacred and means a sacred thing. Sacrament was a holy ceremony, a sacred mysterious pledge. Thus, the French word for oath is traced to a ritual or ceremony.

Shapath शपथः, the Sanskrit word for oath, also suggests some similar idea. It comes from a root *Shap* शप, which first means 'to curse,' and then, to swear or to take an oath. The idea at the bottom seems to be, that one who takes a false oath, is cursed. I think, in the Avesta word *saokent* and the subsequent Pahlavi and Persian words *saogand*, the view similarly taken is, that one who takes a false oath is condemned to be burnt or thrown into boiling water. It is the word for some kind of ritual or ordeal or punishment for false oath, that has created or produced various words for oath.

Among the ancients, oaths had always some connection with religion. When one broke his oath, he was automatically believed to have been liable to punishment. In an article on "The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature," reviewed in the Journal Asiatique of May-June 1918 (p. 545), we find this matter referred to at some length.

III.

The Text and the Translation of the Sogand-Nâmeh.

Now, I will give the text and the translation of the Saogand-nâmeh, as given in the above-mentioned old Manuscript of Hormazyâr Framroz's Rivâyet (Folio 369a-370b), written (1643-1654 A.C.) about 275 years ago. (*Vide* my Introduction to Darab Hormuzdyâr's Rivayet p. 17).

زگستاخی بندهٔ نوشیروان ∴ بدارید معذور پیر و جوان

ډډاپې د وسوسۍ ډسو

بنام ایزد مهربان سوگند نامه مي نویسم

سوگندنامه بدان که عمل کنند بدانگه کسی را چیزي بکسی باید داد و منکرشود و سوگند خورد و ناچار این سوگند نامه باید خواند

باشد که بترسد وحق را جواب دهد سوگند نامه اینست وچند گونه سوگند بوده است یکي آنکه از آتشی گذر می باید کردن وگونه دیگر آنست که آهن گرم وسرخ کرده برزبان مي نهاده اند القصه سي و سه گونه سوگند است که میداده اند اکنون برین مختصر کرده اند که اگرکسی را چیزي بکسي باید داد و شیطان اورا از راه برده باشد و ناچار اورا سوگند باید دادن براین گونه می باید که آن کس که سوگند خواهد دادن وآنکس که خواهد سوگند خوردن هردو باید که از یک دیگر خوشنود شوند باید که این سوگند نامه بخوانند که شاید بترسند ومیانچي باید کرد تا زود زود سوگند ندهند و چند انکه توانند دفع افکندن و کوشیدن و یکشب رها کردن تا بخویش بازشوند دیگر روزهم بکوشیدن وچیزي بگذاردن تا سوگند نخورند و چون این قسم کنند و فایده دهند پس گفتن که ازین مثال بی گناهم و مزد و بزه بگردن شماست که سوگند میخوریده و میدهید سوگنده دهنده بی گناه باشد پس اگر خشنود نشوند بفرمودن تا آنکس که سوگند خورد سررا بآب فروبرد و جامهٔ شسته بپوشد پنام[1] بدماغ بیگرو ودستوریک دایره بگرد او کشیدن تا آن دایره کشند ایشاهو و یریو بباید خواندن و [2]مجمری آتش بخواستن و قدري عود و بوي خوش بر آتش نهادن و طاسی [3]بشستن و قدري آب اندر و کردن و نانی بیاوردن [4]بپهلوي آب نهادن یا در آب انداختن و آنکس که سوگند خواهد خوردن بفرمودن تانخست نیایش خورشید بکردن با ترس عظیم بر نشستن و دیگر باره بگفتن که سوگند خوردن را باقي کنید چرا که چون سوگند میخوري ازینجهان بیرون نشوی تا علامات زشت بر تو بدیدار نیاید چرا که بسیار کسان سوگند خورده اند و علامات زشت دیده اند و بر این جماعت علامات زشت بدیدار آمده چون فایده ندهد پس باید گفتن که بگو که من فلان بن فلانم سوگند میخورم براستي پیش دادار اورمزد ریومند خره- و منه پیش بهمن امشاسفند و پیش اردي بهشت امشاسفند که پیش فروخشر است و پیش شهریور امشاسفند درپیش من نهاده است و پیش اسفندار مد امشاسفند که من درو ایستاده ام و پیش خورداد امشاسفند که درپیش من نهاده است و پیش امرداد امشاسفند که درپیش من است و مرا مي باید خورد سوگند

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1 Panâm is for paitidâna; later padân, mouth-cover.

2 Mijmar, a censer for incense.

3 Mis written for Shustan to wash, clean.

4 Pahlu, side.

مي خورم بروان فروهر زرتشت اسفنتمان و بروان آذرباد مهر-
سفندان و بروان ۲۰۰ فروهر اشوان ۲۰۰ستان و بودان كه ۲۰۰چ چيز از تو كه
فلان بن فلان من ندارم نه از زرين نه از سيمين نه از آهنين و نه
جامهٔ تن نه از ۲۰۰ چيزى كه دادار اورمزد بيافريده است آگاه ندارم
و نميدانم كه كه دارد ۲۰۰چ جايى ننهاده ام و ۲۰۰چگونه خبر ندارم و اكو
چيزى ازين بابت مانده باشد كه نكفتم آنچه خواهد بايد فرمودن
تا بگويد و ۲۰۰ كه اين سوگند ميخورد ازين و روان خويش بيزراست
و از روان پدر و مادر و زن و فرزند و نياكان ۲۰۰زار باشد و از روان زرتشت
اسفنتمان بيزار باشم و او از من بيزار باشد و از گاه و از گوش اورمزد
بيزارم و از جملهٔ اوستا و زند بيزارم و از خرهٔ دين وه مازديسنان
و از خرهٔ آزر گشسپ و آور برزين مهره و ديكر آتشها بيزارم
و ابيشان از من بيزار باشند و اگر اين سوگند بدروغ خورم ۲۰۰رگناهى
كه ضحاك جادوگر كرده از روزى ۲۰۰شت سالم كرده بود تا آنگاه كه او
را در بند كردند كه ۲۰۰زار سال بود من بچنود پول باده فراه آن بكشم
و ۲۰۰رگاه سوگند بدروغ خورم هرگناهى كه افراسياب جادوگر از ان گاه
كه پانزده سال بود تا آنگاه كه او را بكشتند مرا باده فراه بايد گشيدن
و گر اين سوگند بدروغ خورم ۲۰۰ركرفه كه من كرده‌ام بتوي فلان بن فلان
دادم و ۲۰۰ر گناهي كه تو فلان بن فلان كرده بچنود پل پاد
فراه آن بكشم و مهر سروش رشن راست ميدانند كه من راست
ميگويم و ميذوي ره راست ميداند كه من راست ميگويم و امشاسفن دان
ميدانند كه من راست ميگويم و روان من ميداند كه من راست
ميگويم و دل و زبان من يكسانست و در دل چيزي ندارم و بزبان
چيزي ديگر نميگويم و ۲۰۰چ حيلت بدين سوگند نمي آرم و به ايزد كه
چنين است كه ميگويم و اشيم وهو را يكبار خواندن و آب و نان
كه در پيش او نهاده و بدو دادن تا بخورد ز سوگند خوردن دروغ
وز راست حذر كن كه سوگند يكسو خطاست

The substance of the Saogand-nameh is as follows :—

As far as possible, avoid the taking, or giving, of oaths. The two parties shall try to settle their case amicably. They must at first read this Saogand-nâmeh, because, possibly, the strict view indicated therein of the consequences of false oath may frighten them (be-tarsand) and prevent them from taking oaths, and bring them to some satisfactory terms. The *miânchi*, *i.e.*

the interceder, whose business is to give oaths, must not be hasty in giving oaths. He must try to avoid that necessity as much as possible. The matter may even be postponed for one night, even after meeting for the purpose, so that the matter may be amicably settled the next day. The next day also, all possible attempts shall be made to avoid resorting to oaths. If all this fails, then the defendant may say to the other party : "I am innocent of such and such a fault and the responsibility and the sin are on your shoulders; you take an oath or give me an oath." If, even after this, they do not come to a settlement, then the person taking the oath may go through the following ritual :—

1. He must have a bath.

2. Put on a new set of clothes.

3. Put on a panâm (paitidâna or padân), *i.e.*, the mouth-cover generally put on by priests while saying prayers, especially prayers before the fire.

4. Then a Dastur or Head priest may draw a circle round the person.

5. While this is being done, all others connected with the suit or matter, may recite the sacred formula of Yathâ Ahû Variyô.

6. They must also go on placing sandal wood and incense on fire which must be brought there.

7. Then a metallic dish, full of water, may be provided, with a bread placed in it.

8. Then the oath-taker shall recite the Khorshed *nyâish*, *i.e.*, the Hymn in honour of the Sun.

Then, before proceeding further, he may once more try to come to terms and to be saved from the consequences of a false oath.

9. If that last attempt also fails, then the oath may be given him as follows :—

" I swear for truth, in the presence of the Brilliant and Glorious Dadar Ormazd, in the presence of Bahman Ameshâspand in the presence of Ardibhesht Ameshâspand who (*i.e.*, whose fire is) is burning before me, in the presence of Shehrivar Ameshâspand who (*i.e.*, whose metal in the form of the metallic dish) is standing before me, in the presence of Aspendârmad Ameshâspand on whom (*i.e.*, on the ground of whom) I am standing, in the presence of the Khordâd Ameshâspand who (*i.e.*, whose water) is placed before me, (and) in the presence of Amerdâd Ameshâspand who (*i.e.*, the bread produced from whose vegetation) stands before me and which I have to eat; and (I swear) by the Ravân (soul) and Farohar (the guiding spirit) of Zartosht Asfantamân, by the soul of Âzarbad (Âdarbâd) Marespand, and by the Farohars of all the Righteous, whether living or dead, that I do not possess anything from you A,[1] the son of B[1] either of gold, or of silver, or of iron, or of a dress for body or of anything created by God. I am not in possession of these, nor do I know who possesses these. I have not placed (*i.e.*, concealed) these anywhere. I do not know anything of it. If in this matter there remains anything which I have not said, let it be ordered (*i.e.*, asked), so that it may be said. He who takes this oath is absolved (or free) from his body and soul and is absolved from (responsibility to) the soul of his father and mother and wife and children and ancestors, and is absolved from the soul of Zarthusht Asfantaman, and he (Zarthusht) absolved from me, and he (*i.e.*, the person who takes oath) is absolved from any kind of diminution (*kâh i.e.*, harm) and pains (*kosh*) from Ohrmazd, and absolved from all Avesta and Zand, and I am absolved from the splendour of the good Mazdayasnân religion and the Glory of (the fires), Âdarkhoreh

[1] Here, the name of the opponent with that of his father is mentioned.

and Âdar Goshasp and Âdar Burzin Meher and other fires, and all these are absolved from me. And if I take this false oath, I draw upon myself on my body and soul, the punishment of all sins which the magician Zohâk committed from the day of his eighth year till the day of his being imprisoned, which was a period of 1,000 years. Every time I take a false oath, I may draw upon myself the punishment of all the sins which the magician Afrâsiab committed from the age of 15 years till he was killed. If I take a false oath, I give up (the merit of) all the good actions that I may have done to you A, the son of B, and I take upon myself the punishment at the Chinvat Bridge of all the sins that you A, the son of B, may have committed. Meher, Sarosh and Rashna Râst know, that I speak the truth, and the Righteous Spirit knows that I speak the truth. The Ameshâspands know that I speak the truth and my soul knows that I speak the truth. My heart and my soul are uniform; I do not entertain one thing (thought) in my heart (mind) and say another thing by my tongue (*i.e.*, I say truly what I feel or think) and I have no trick (or deceit) in this oath; and by God (I say that), the matter is as I say."

10. After taking the oath, the person recites once the sacred formula of the Ashem Vohu prayer and eats the above bread and water which are before him.

IV.

A few important points referred to in the Saogand-Nâmeh.

I will now refer at some length to some important matters mentioned in the Saogand-nâmeh.

1. Dislike for Oaths.

First of all, we notice from this Persian Saogand-nâmeh, that there was apparently a great aversion for oaths. It is advised, that one must avoid, as much as he can, taking an oath. Parties shall come to terms and not drive themselves to the necessity of taking oaths. They may sleep over the question for one night. Even the *miânchi*, *i.e.*, the person who has to administer

the oath, is asked to do his best to avoid matters being driven to the extreme of oaths. The Saogand-nameh gives the advice at the end, that a person must avoid oaths whether true or false.

سوگند خوردن دروغ و ز راست ∴ حذر کن که سوگند یکسر خطاست

i.e., Be aware of taking (lit. eating) oaths, whether true or false, because oath is altogether wrong.

In this advice, the Sogand-nâmeh follows the Pahlavi Pand-nâmeh of Âdarbâd Mârespand (s. 41) which advises :

ud mê xwarišn ud dôšâk ud mê

Do not ta (lit. eat) oaths whether for truth or for falsehood.

Even now, Parsee priests who observe Bareshnûm for officiating at the inner liturgical services are prohibited to take oaths If unavoidably, they have to go to a Court of Justice in response to a summons and take oaths there, they have to cease officiating at the liturgical services until they went through the Bareshnûm purification, which qualified them to officiate. The Bareshnûm cannot be gone through during the wet season. So, I know cases of Parsee priests doing their best to avoid being approached by the person who serves summons, and even concealing themselves for that purpose, when they came to learn beforehand that they were to be summoned as witnesses in any case. That was so especially in the rainy season, when their Bareshnûm, once being vitiated by attendance at the Court and taking oath, could not be renewed till after the rains, and so they were to be disqualified for their inner sacerdotal work The idea seems to be, that one must take an Iranian priest by his word. If he is not so taken by his word and he has to take a formal oath, that was, as it were, a slur on his honour. If he takes the oath, he is, as it were, taken to be wanting in self-respect. So, he has to go through the Bareshnûm purification to be duly qualified again.

This Iranian dislike for oaths was not of later or recent growth. It comes down from very ancient times. We find this from what Herodotus and other classical writers speak about the beliefs and manners and customs of the ancient Iranians. They pre-eminently loved truth and hated falsehood. Herodotus said "Their sons are carefully instructed from their fifth to their twentieth year, in three things alone,—to ride, to draw the bow and to speak the truth."[1] As George Rawlinson says : "The special estimation in which truth was held among the Persians is evidenced in a remarkable manner by the inscription of Darius, where *lying* is taken, as the representative of all evil" (Behistun Inscription, col. I, para. 10. *Vide* also col. IV, pp. 4, 13, 14).

Herodotus further on says: "they held it unlawful to talk of anything which it is unlawful to do. The most disgraceful thing in the world, is to tell a lie ; the next worst, to owe a debt, because among others, the debtor is obliged to tell lies. If a person has a leprosy, he is not allowed to enter into a city or to have any dealings with the other Persians; he must, they say, have sinned against the Sun." This reference to "sinning against the sun" is the reference to, what is spoken of in old Parsee books as, Mithra Druji or Meherdruji, Mithra, the Angel of Light, who is aways associated with Khorshed, the Sun, has a whole yasht in his praise, where he is represented as presiding upon Truth, Promise, Contrast, Justice, &c. So, sinning against the Sun, is the sin of a breach of promise and of speaking untruth. The Avesta and Pahlavi books are replete with passages about extreme Love of Truth and Hatred of Lie.

It was this extreme love for truth that led the ancient Iranians to dislike anything like public markets or bazars. According to Herodotus (Bk. I, 153) Cyrus in his interview with a Spartan herald expressed his dislike against "a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other

[1] Bk. I, 136, Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 277.

and forswear themselves . . . . Cyrus uttered these words as a reproach against all the Greeks because of their having market places where they buy and sell, which is a custom unknown to the Persians, who never make purchases in open marts and indeed have not in their whole country a single market-place."[1]

We see from the above that the Iranian's love of truth led them (*a*) to hate debt, (*b*) dislike public markets, (*c*) to be much afraid of leprosy, taking it to be a punishment for lying.

What is said of the influence of solemn oaths upon the ancient Romans, by Mr. Fowler,[2] is true of similar influence upon the Iranians. Such oaths had a kind of civilizing power. They elevated the conception of truth and good faith. The solemnity and strictness of the oath made it prudential for men to speak the truth under all circumstances.

2. The oath-taking a religious rite.

The second point that draws our attention in the Saogandnâmch, is the religious importance given to this solemn oath-taking. The bath, the putting on of a new set of clothes and of the *padân* or the ceremonial mouth-veil, the drawing of a circle round the oath-taker by the Dastur or Head-priest, the recital of the sacred formula during the process by others present, all these show that oath-taking was a serious religious affair. Again, the wording of the oath, also points to the religious element in it. He swears in the name of God, his six Ameshaspands and by the name of the souls and spirits of some departed worthies like Zoroaster and Âdarbâd.

3. Requisites in the ritual.

We learn that certain things are required and referred to by name in the ritual. They are: (1) Fire which is under the special guardianship of the archangel or Ameshaspand Ardibehesht,

1 Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 291.

2 Roman Ideas of Duty, by W. Warde Fowler (1914), p. 43.

(2) a dish of metal, which is under the guardianship of Shehrivar, (3) the ground, over which the oath-taker stands and over which Spendârmad presides, (4) water, over which Khordad presides, and (5) bread, over the vegetable creation of which Amerdad presides. In the oath, the oath-taker refers to these as things before him and standing, as it were, as witnesses to his solemn act of swearing. I have referred above to various things, such as sword, beard, &c., required to be pointed out in the oaths of other people.

4. Eating the bread and drinking the water of the oath-ritual.

The bread and the water presented in the ritual are required to be eaten and drunk by the oath-taker. It is this "eating" which seems to have originated the Iranian word used with oath. The Pahlavi Pand-namch of Âdarbâd Mârespand speaks of taking the oath as "Saogand vasht-muntan," *i.e.*, eating the oath. Similarly our Saogand-nâmeh uses the words "saogand khurdan," *i.e.*, to eat the oath. The modern Guzrati words સોગંદ ખાવા have come down from the above phraseology.

The Prelate Adarbad Marespand, referred to in the Sogand-nâmeh.

There seems to be a special reason why the oath-taker has to mention the name of Âdarbâd. This divine flourished in the reign of Shapur II (309-379 A.C.). He is said to have gone through a Fire-ordeal, spoken of as "var-nirang," *i.e.*, the nirang or ritual on the breast (var). He is said to have thrown melted metal upon his breast to prove his purity. The Pahlavi Virâfnâmeh (Ch. I., 16) refers to this matter (Âtrôpât-î Maraspandan mûn patash pavan sâhkt-i pavan Dinkard ru-i vatâkhtô madam var rikht, *i.e.*, Âdarbâd Maraspand, on whose breast, according to the tale of the Dinkard, melted brass was poured). This ordeal is referred to in the Dinkard (Bk. VII, Chap. V, 5).

The Dinkard refers at length to various ordeals such as Barsam ordeal (Baresmok-varih), and Fire ordeal (garemok-varih).[1] Prof. Darmesteter compares the story of Aderbad's

ordeal with that of the Dominican monk Savanarola Guilame who flourished at Florence in the 15th Century.

Modern Parsee oath with the cap on.

The ritual of the Saogand-nâmeh shows, that the administration of an oath is a kind of religious function. It therefore involves the necessity of taking it with covered head and not bare-headed. A modern Parsee in European costume, when he has to take an oath in the Court, places his hand on the head and covers it for the time being to give sanctity to his oath.

V.

Prohibition of oaths among the Flamines, the Fire-priests of the ancient Romans.

The Flamines, who were the fire-priests of the ancient Romans, had many customs which were similar to those of the Âthravans, the fire-priests of the Iranians. For example, they held in their ritual a kind of metallic rods or wires or branches similar to the Barsam of the Iranians. They put on a mouth-cover over their faces when they went before the sacred fire to protect it from their saliva or breath. This mouth-cover was similar to the padân which Parsee priests still put on, when they go before the sacred fire. Similarly the ancient Flamines had, like the Âthravans of the Iranians, the prohibition of taking oaths. ("Roman Ideas of Duty" by W. W. Fowler, pp. 40-43).

We find some other points of similarity between the Roman and Irânian oaths. (*a*) According to the Saogand-nâmeh, the swearer takes an oath in the name of Dadar Ormazd, the Iranian God. Among the Romans, they connected the name of their Jupiter with the oath. There was a regular religious rite for such oath-taking. (*b*) According to the Saogand-nâmeh, the oath-taking was, as it were, an open affair in the presence of God, his angels, his principal objects of creation, such as Water,

[1] Dinkard Bk. VIII, Chap. XIX, 38; XX, 12. *Vide* also XX, 14, 16.

Fire, Earth, &c. So, among the Romans also, it was a public affair. In case of solemn swearing one had to go out of the house in the open. (*c*) Just as the Iranians united with Ahura Mazda the soul or the spirit of some departed worthies, the Romans united with their Jupiter, the Penates or household Gods.

An oath as described by Firdousi.

Firdousi describes at some length the oath which king Kâus gave to his grandson Kaikhosru to avenge the death of his father Siâvaksh at the hand of his (Siavakhsh's) maternal grandfather Afrasiâb. Kaus thus asked Kaikhosru to take an oath :

کنون از تو سوگند خواهم یکی ∴ نباید که پیچی ز داد اندکی
که پرکین کنی دل ز افراسیاب ∴ دم آتشی اندر نیاری بآب

* * * * *

بگرز و بتیغ و بتخت و کلاه ∴ بگفتار با او گردی ز راه
بگویم که بنیاد سوگند چیست ∴ خرد را و جان ترا بند چیست
بگوئی بداد ار خورشید و ماه ∴ بتاج و بتخت و بمهر و کلاه
بداد فریدون و آئین و راه ∴ بخون سیاوش بجان تو شاه
بفر و بنیک اختر ایزدی ∴ که هرگز نپیچی بسوی بدی

* * * * *

چو بشنید ازو شهریار جوان ∴ سوی آتش آورد روی و روان
بداداد دارنده سوگند خورد ∴ بروز سپید و شب لاجورد
بخورشید و ماه و بتخت و کلاه ∴ بمهر و بتیغ و بدیهیم شاه

* * * * *

یکی خط نوشتند برپهلوی ∴ بمشک از بر دفتر خسروی
گوا کرد دستان و رستم بران ∴ بزرگان لشکر همه همچنان
بزنها و بر دست رستم نهاد ∴ چنین عهد و سوگند و این رسم و داد

(Vuller's Edition, Vol. II, pp. 770-772).

We learn from this account of Firdousi, that at times (*a*) oath was taken in the name of God, and that of the heavenly luminaries, in the name of the good virtues of past worthies like Faredun, and in the name of all that was near and dear to the person, for example his own crown and throne and even his own

life ; (*b*) that it was taken before fire, (*c*) and duly endorsed in a document ; (*d*) which was duly attested by two witnesses, (in this case by Jal and Rustam) and (*e*) duly deposited with somebody (in this case with Rustam). Khusro Parviz asks his subjects to swear by Âzar Gustasp. In the mortal fight between Sohrab and Rustam, when Sohrab fallen and stabbed, declares himself to be the son of Rustam, Rustam doubts the statement. Thereupon Sohrab indignantly affirms his words saying : "Man ! Who art thou, who dost deny my words ? Truth sets upon the lips of dying man. And falsehood, while I lived was far from me," (Arnold's Sohrab and Rustam, p. 84).

Different forms of oath among different nations.

Different nations have different ways and forms of oaths. Herodotus thus describes how the ancient Scyths took their oaths : "Oaths among the Scyths are accompanied with the following ceremonies a large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wounding themselves slightly with a knife or an awl, drop some of their blood into the wine ; then they plunge into the mixture a scimitar, some arrows, a battle axe, and a javeline, all the while repeating prayers, lastly the two contracting parties drink each a draught from the bowl, as do also the chief men among their followers."[1] It is said of the ancient Scythians that when they wanted to take very serious oaths, they took them by the name of their king. They believed that if they took false oaths in the name of their king, that act of theirs would bring harm to their king. When the king fell ill, the priests enquired and investigated if any of the subjects recently took a false oath in the name of the king, because they thought that the illness of the king must be due to some one of his subjects taking a false oath in his name.

As said by Rawlinson, according to Dr. Livingstone, there exists a similar custom even now in South Africa. Dr. Living-

[1] Bk. IV, 70. Rawlinson's Herodotus IV, pp. 58-59.

stone says: "In the Kasendi, or contract of friendship, the hands of the parties are joined; small incisions are made in the clasped hands, on the parts of the stomachs of each, and on the right cheeks and foreheads. A small quantity of blood is taken from these points by means of a stalk of grass. The blood from one person is put into a pot of beer and that of the second into another; each then drinks the other's blood, and they are supposed to become perpetual friends and relations." (Livingstone's Travels, Chap. XXIV, p. 488).

Among the ancient Lydians also, there prevailed in the ritual of taking oaths, a kind of drinking. Herodotus (Bk. I, p. 74) says: "Oaths are taken by these people in the same way as by the Greeks, except that they make a slight flesh wound in their arms, from which each sucks a portion of the other's blood."

It is said that there were three forms of oath prevalent in China at one time. One was to break a cup or saucer or any other piece of porcelain. The second was to burn a piece of paper over which certain words referring to oaths were written. The third most binding oath was to cut the throat of a perfectly white cock which had not a single feather of any other colour.

Tacitus in his Annals (XII, 47) speaks of a similar custom among the ancient Armenians.

Mr. Boswell, in his "An Irish Precursor of Dante" (p. 21) says of the Irish oath: "This compact was solemnly sworn to by the contracting parties; the formula of the oath was founded upon that, whereby the kings in pagan times had been wont to bind themselves in matters of great moment, and which survived, with necessary modifications, for some centuries, after the introduction of Christianity. They took to witness the Sun and Moon and all the other elements of God, the apostles, Gregory, the two Patriarchs and other Irish saints. The terms of the oath explain the form of St. Patrick's famous hymn."

LEPROSY, AN OLD IRANIAN VIEW OF IT. THE LEGEND SUGGESTING COW-URINE AS ITS SUPPOSED PREVENTIVE.

(*Read on 29th June* 1921.)

I.

Introduction.

The subject of this paper has suggested itself to me, while studying the Persian Rivâyet of Dârâb Hormuzdyâr, a book of mediæval Persian Literature, wherein it is said, that cow's urine was discovered as a remedy in very remote old times by king Jamshed of the Peshdâdian dynasty of Persia, to whose reign is also attributed the discovery of wine. The subject of my paper is two-fold :—

I. To present the view of the ancient Iranians on the subject of Leprosy.

II. To relate a much later legend, which describes, how the Iranian custom of using urine for purification, and how the idea of the use of urine as a preventive against leprosy arose.

II.

The Ancient Iranian View of Leprosy.

Classical writers on the old Iranian view.

Herodotus (Bk. I., 138), as translated by Rawlinson, says "If a Persian has the leprosy, he is not allowed to enter into a city or to have any dealings with the other Persians ; he must, they say, have sinned against the sun. Foreigners attacked by this disorder, are forced to leave the country ; even white pigeons are often driven away, as guilty of the same offence."[1]

Henry Cary thus translates the passage : "Whosoever of the citizens has the leprosy or scrofula, is not permitted to stay within a town, nor to have communication with other

[1] The History of Herodotus, by George Rawlinson (1858). Vol. I., p. 278.

Persians; and they say that from having committed some offence against the sun, a man is afflicted with these diseases. Every stranger that is seized with these distempers, many of them even drive out of the country; and they do the same to white pigeons making the same charge against them."[1]

Rawlinson, giving a footnote, says, that "in the original (Greek of Herodotus) two kinds of leprosy are mentioned, the λέπρα and the λεύκη. There does not appear by the description which Aristotle gives of the latter (Hist. Animal III, II) to have been any essential difference between them. λεύκη was merely a mild form of leprosy." Cary translates these two Greek words, 'lepra' and 'leukh,' separately as "leprosy or scrofula."

Ctésias says: "A leper was called by the Persians *pisâga* (paésaka) and nobody can approach him."[2] The Persians were so much afraid of the contagion of leprosy, that according to this Greek author, Mégabyzus, escaped on pretending to be a leper, as no Persian dared to touch him.

Leprosy is referred to in several places in the Avesta. The first two principal references are (*a*) in the Vendidad, Chap. II, 29 and 37 and (*b*) in the Âban Yasht (Yt. V., 92). We learn from these two passages, that, as referred to by Herodotus and Ctésias, leprosy was believed from very ancient times in Iran to be a contagious disease, the sufferers from which were kept apart from the healthy. The Avesta word for leprosy in these passages is paesa (𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀) Pahl. *pis* (𐭯𐭩𐭮) Pers. پیس. The Iranian word *pisâga*, given, as mentioned above, by Ctésias, for a leper,

Leprosy as referred to in the Avesta.

1 Herodotus, literally translated by Henry Cary (1889), p. 62.

2 As quoted by Prof. Darmesteter in his Zend Avesta, Vol. II, p. 27, n. 51.

would come from the word *paêsa* by the addition of the suffix *aka* (𐬀𐬑), as *dahâka*, one who stings or hurts, from 𐬎𐬀𐬎. The word *pisâga*, given by Ctesias may be *paêsâka* 𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎. a leprous. This word comes from the Avesta root pis (𐬎𐬀𐬎) Sans. पिस or पिष to prick, to hurt, to injure. This word occurs as *paêsa* in three places in the Avesta (*a*) Vendidad, Ch. II, 29, (*b*) Ibid 37, and (*c*) Âbân Ysaht (Yt. V, 92).

There is another word also in the Avesta, which is taken by some scholars, *e.g.*, Darmesteter and Harlez, to mean leprosy. It is pâman (𐬐𐬀𐬨𐬀). It is the same as Sans. पामन which, according to Mr. Apte, means a skin disease. It occurs in Tîr Yasht (Yt. VIII, 56) and Behrâm Yasht (Yt. XIV, 48)

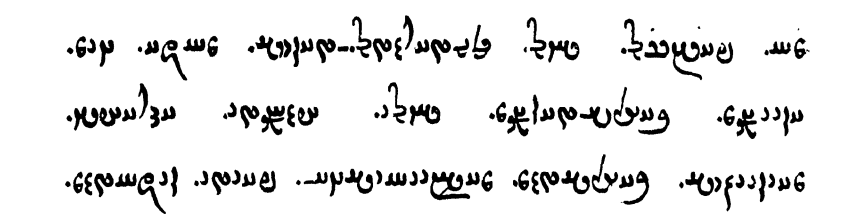
Of these two words, the first is important, as there is no doubt about its meaning. Again, the Pâhlavi translator of the Vendidad makes its signification clear, and confirms the view that it was a contagious disease. We will briefly examine these passages. I will give the text and translation of one of the passages which with its Pahlavi rendering is important.

(*a*) In the Vendidad (Chap. II, 29), where God asks Jamshed, the Yima of the Avesta, to so construct and rule his new *var* or colony, as to render it free from various physical and mental or moral deformities, one of the physical deformities is leprosy. We read (Vend. II, 29) :

𐬀𐬵. 𐬐𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵. 𐬐𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵.

𐬐𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵. 𐬐𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵.

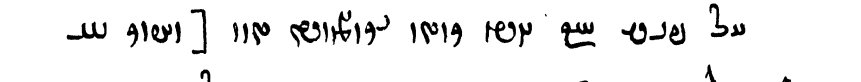
𐬀𐬵 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵. 𐬀𐬵.



Translation.—Let there be here neither (in the new var or colony, the following :) one whose hump[1] is pushed forward nor whose hump is set back (*i.e.*, hump-backed), nor the impure,[2] nor a bad fellow,[3] nor beggary nor deceit, nor meanness, nor dishonesty, nor decayed[4] teeth, nor leprosy which has spread over the body, nor any other marks with which Âhriman marks (or taints) mankind.

The most important part of this Vêndidad passage is the last wherein Ahura Mazda asks Yima to keep away from his new *var* or colony "leprosy which has spread over the body nor any other marks with which Ahriman marks (or taints) mankind."

The Pahlavi rendering of this part reads[5] :—



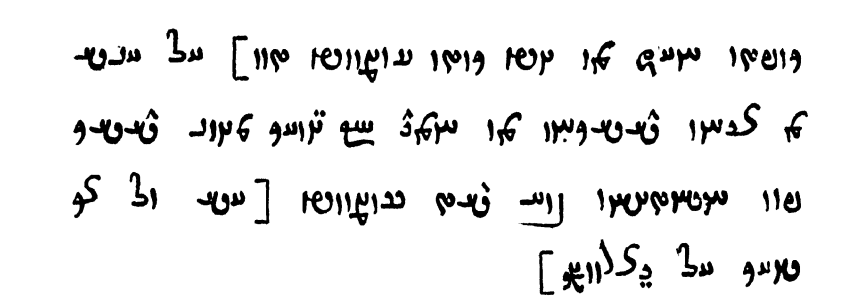
1 Kava, Pahl. kuzê, Pers. کوز hump.

2 *A-pâva* cf. modern Parsi *a-pâv* or *a-vâv* (અપાવ or અવાવ, impure.)

3 Harêdha, Pahl. *haleh*, Pers. هاله hâla, a bad fellow, a destroyer. The Pahlavi commentator explains this word as "one who does not obey the Dastur or the head priest" (âigh Dastobar la yekhsunet).

4 Vîmito dantâna. The Pahl. commentator explains these words according to some, as, kakash pûtak yekvimunet," *i.e.*, his teeth (kakâ, that have decayed.

5 Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana's text of the Pahlavi Vendidad p. 22. *Vide* (*a*) Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp's text, p. 43 (*b*). Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji's Gujarati text, p. 10 (*c*). The Pahlavi Vendidad by Mr. Novrojee Manockji Kanga (1900), p. 25. (*d*). Spiegal's p. 17.



Transliteration.—Al pîs âigh javit kard yekvîmûnet tan nâzûk aê dinik-kâr. Aîtô mûn aêtûn yemallûnêt aê al pîs i kôftê, hanâch mûn javît kard yekvîmûnêt tan) Al aîsh min zakân dakhshagân mûn humand âigh Gûnâk-mînôi dakhshak pavan anshûtâân bara dâd yekvîmûnet (Ash val zak zinâk al yezlunân).

Translation.—Nor a leper, whose body shall be separated He is weak (nâzuk,[1] *i.e.*, unfit) for religious functions. There are some who say this that a leper who has marks[2] on his body must also be separated; nor anybody (who has some) of such marks which are the marks which the Evil spirit has given to men. (They should not carry him to such a place.)

In this Pahlavi passage, we find that a kind of isolation (javît kardan) is referred to. The Pahlavi translator says, that there are some who are over-cautious and they want to keep away even those who, though free from contagious leprosy, have leprosy-like marks over their body.

I have translated the Avesta word "vitarétô-tanush" applied to leprosy in the above Avesta passage of the Vendidad, as "(leprosy which has) spread over the body." Ervad Kavsaji Edalji Kanga, in the footnote of his translation, translates similarly (તમામ તન ઉપર પથરાએલો જે કોઢોર).[3]

1 نازک tender, fragile.

کوفتہ a blemish, a bruise from کوفتن to strike to, bruise

3 Vendidad, 3rd Ed., p. 70.

Haug and other Gujarati translators have given similar rendering, but Darmesteter, following the Pahlavi rendering, has translated the word as "(leprous) to be confined," thus associating with it the idea of "isolation." His point of view, as argued by him (S. B. E. IV, Vendidad Introduction, V, 14-15); is, that the Avesta, which aims at cleanliness and generally enjoins a kind of isolation for many kinds of sickness, must necessarily enjoin isolation for leprosy.

(*b*) The second passage of the Vendidad (II, 37) throws no further light on the subject. It merely says that Yima (Jamshed) carried out the injunctions of Ahura Mazda and took care that there were no lepers in his *var* or colony.

(*c*) The third passage, *viz.*, that of the Âban Yasht (Yt, V. 92) contains words similar to those of the Vendidad about leprosy. There, Abân Ardviçura Anâhita tells Zoroaster, that only the physically healthy should celebrate, and participate in, the ceremonies in her honour. Among the unfit are mentioned the leprous.

(*d* and *e*) Coming to the passages of the Tir and Behrâm Yashts above referred to, wherein the word for leprosy is *pâman*, Ahura Mazda says to Zoroaster, that when the Iranian territories paid due homage to the star Tishtrya (Sirius) and to Behrâm, with the necessary ritual, the territories remained free from various physical and mental deformities, and among them, from leprosy.

The modern Practice among the Parsees.

The original idea of the uncleanliness and contagiousness of the leper has continued to survive among the Parsees. Of course, it is quite natural, that lepers who have the complaint in, what one may call, a living form, in which matter flows from the wounds, are asked to be kept aloof. But, in the case of priesthood, priests with white or coloured marks over the skin, showing suspicious signs of even a dry kind of leprosy, are also prohibited from officiating in the liturgical services.

In the Old Testament also, we read in the Leviticus (Chaps. XIII and XIV) various injunctions, as to how a priest should examine a suspected person as clean or unclean, and as to the ways of curing him. Among the Parsees also, even now, it is thought to be the function of a priest to examine a suspected priest, whether the spot that may have developed on his body are leprous or not. I remember more than one case referred to me, to determine whether the priest who was asked to see me can officiate as a priest or not. I always took the sanitary or health point of view, whether the spots were of a contagious or infectious kind. I remember one case, in which a Parsee lady consulted Dr. H. Masina and myself to determine, whether a priest officiating in a temple under her charge may be allowed to continue to officiate or not. However, whether contagious or not, the appearance of white spots, indicating a kind of leprosy, however uncontagious or innocent, is held to indicate that the priest should cease officiating in the inner liturgical services, though he may officiate in the outer liturgical services held to be of a lesser importance.

III.

THE LEGEND DESCRIBING THE ORIGIN OF THE USE OF COW'S URINE AS A PREVENTIVE. TEHMURAS IN THE AVESTA AND PAHLAVI BOOKS.

The story ending with the discovery of the use of cow's urine as a remedy for all kinds of uncleanliness in general and for leprosy in special, is found in Darâb Hormazdyar's Persian Rivâyet. The Rivâyet is not published as yet, but a lithographed text of it will shortly be out. It was while studying for writing an Introduction for this coming book that the subject of this day's paper has suggested itself to me. I follow in my account of the legend, an old manuscript of the Rivâyet which has kindly been lent to me by Prof. S. H. Hodiwâlâ of Junâgadh. As far as I saw, only three manuscripts of the Rivâyet written by the learned scribe himself exist. One is in the Library of our Bombay University

which I have named B. U. Another, at one time, belonged to the library of the late Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwâlâ and belongs to Ervad Meherjibhoy Nowrojee Kutar, the head priest of the Manockjee Seth's Fire-temple in the Fort, Bombay. This I have named as M. U. in one of my previous papers before the B. B. R. A. Society. The third is the one which I have followed in my present paper. From the name of its present owner, I have named it S. H. It is the oldest of the three. The story begins on folio 103a. The first portion of the story is headed as

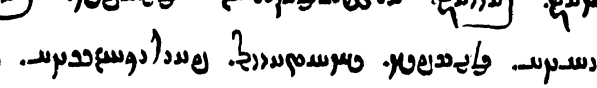
گفتار اندر قید داشتن طهمورث ابلیس را و حکایت او با زن خیش

i.e., A narrative about Tehmuras keeping the Iblis (Âhriman) under his custody and the story of himself with his wife. Before proceeding with the story as given in this Rivayet, I will like to describe briefly, what is said of this king in the old Avesta and Pahlavi books, the allusions in which have been worked upon as a new story by the writer of the present story.

The Tehmuras of our story is the Takhma-urupa of the Avesta.

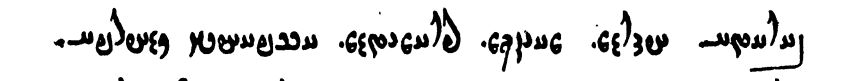
The story of Tehmuras in Avesta and Pahlavi books.

This king Takhma-urupa is said to have prayed to Râma Khâstra, that he may be endowed with the power of overcoming Devs, evil-minded persons, magicians and *paris* or fairies, and of riding for thirty years in the form of a horse (aspahê kehrpa) Âhriman round the whole world.[1] Speaking in plain language, instead of in the figurative, he prayed to subdue all evil powers and even their chief, Âhriman. The period of thirty years is the period of his reign.[2] Ram Yazata granted his request. We read a similar statement in the Zamyâd Yasht (Yt. XIX 29). We thus read :—



1 Ram yasht, Yt. XV, 12.

2 The Bundehesh ch. XXXIV, 4, The Shâh nâmeh.



Translation.—By virtue of the Royal Glory, Takhma-urupa came the suppressor of all the Daêvas, and evil-minded persons, all the magicians, and *paris* (fairies). He, subduing the Âhriman, carried (or rode over) him in the form of (*i.e.*, as if on) a horse for 30 years round the two extremes of the earth.

In the Âfrin-i-Spitamân Zarthosht (s, 2), the prophet blesses his patron king Gushtasp, that he may be as well-armed (Zenaghhutem) as Tahhma-urupa.

The Pahlavi books also speak of Takhma-urupa controlling Âhriman. The Minokherad (Chap. XXVII, 22) says that the accursed Âhriman was kept by him for 30 years as a horse (pavan barah dasht). The Minokherad (Chap. XXVII, Ques. XXVI 32) while speaking of the four good things which Jamshed did for the world, says : " Se dîgar denman sûd aîgh patmân-i getâic i valman dûsh-dânâk darvand i Âhriman aûpârd yek-v îmnêt ash min askkum lakhvâr yâitiyûnt." *i.e.*, The third advantage was this, that the portion of the earth (gêti), which the evil knowing wicked, *i.e.*, Âhriman had swallowed,[1] he brought out back from his belly.

To enable my Hindu brethren to follow this Pahlavi clearly I give the Sanskrit rendering of Neryosang ;—

यत प्रमाणं यत पृथ्वीभुवां अनेन दृष्टदातिना दुर्गतिमता आहर्म्मनेन गिलितमासीत असौ च अस्योदरात् व्याहृत्य समानयत् (*Vide* Ervad Tehmuras' Ed. for the Pahlavi and Sanskrit text p, 88.)

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[1] Aupârdan to swallow, to devour. Pers. اوباریدن or اوبردن or اوباشتن to swallow. I think the Pahlavi  or Pers. اوبردن comes from Av.  water and bar  (P. burdan) to carry. So, literally, carried down by water.

Swallowing the Earth in a figurative sense.

Now the question is : What is it that is meant here, by saying that Âhriman swallowed a portion of the earth. Dr. West, in his translation of the Minokherad (S. B. E. Vol. XXIV, 60), translates this portion as Âhriman swallowing "the proportion of the worldly *existences*." He adds the word "existences" himself. I think, his interpretation, which itself is not clear, is not proper. I think, that what is meant is, "Reclamation of ground that was flooded by water." The Pahlavi writing that precedes this passage refers to Jamshed's new *vara* or new colony and to the heavy rain of Malkosh, a word traced by West (Ibid p. 59, n. 7), to a Chaldic word for "autumnal rain." Some connect this with the event of the Great Deluge. Whether you connect it with the Great Deluge or not, this passage in question refers to Jamshed's building a new colony and providing more ground for the increasing population of his country. We learn from the second chapter of the Vendidad which treats of Jamshed's *vara* or newly populated country that he thrice increased the available space for habitation. In the first attempt, he added one-third to what it was, and then did the same again for the second time and then for the third time. So, I think that when the Minokherad speaks of Jamshed bringing back from the womb or belly of Âhriman a portion of the earth, it refers to some kind of reclamation whereby he reclaimed land which was covered over by some flood, that flooding being the work of Âhriman whose work is always the work of destruction.

Now, it seems that the Avesta and Pahlavi books express in a figurative way that Takhma-urupa overpowered the work of destruction by Âhriman. But some later writers have worked upon this figurative writing and worked out further figurative stories about Takhma-urupa as a rider and Âhriman as his horse.

IV.

The source of the story. The Mobad of Delhi, Âzar Kaiwân

The writer of the story says that he took it from "that Mobad of Dahlui."

ز گفتار آن موبد دهلوی
بگویم یکی داستان پهلوی
بر آورد او رازهای نهان
ره راست آراست اندرجهان
ز هریک بدی بود پرهیزگار
و هرراه پیشه بود آموزگار
مر اورا بپازند بود دست رس
خردمند دل بود و نیکو نفس
به هندوستان او یکی بود و بس

Translation.—I give a Pahlavi story from what is said by that Mobad of Dehli (Delhi). He described concealed secrets (*i.e* mysteries). He adorned the path of truthfulness in the world. He abstained from every kind of evil and he was the teacher of every way (of virtue). He had access to Pazend (books). He was wise and good-souled . . . . . .[1] He was one in Hindustan and that was sufficient (*i.e.*, he was all in all).

Now, who was this Mobad of Delhi who is spoken of as the only man of his kind in India. I think the reference is to Dastur Âzar Kaivân bin Âzar Gushasp, a mystic from Persia. He is said to have passed 28 years of his life in meditation and prayer in retirement. Then, he came to India and settled in Patna. He was accompanied by a few Zoroastrian disciples like Mobads Farhâd, Hosh and Sarosh. He gathered round him a large number of Hindu and Mahomedan disciples. His teachings were of a mystic and Sufist kind. His work known as "Mukâshafat-i-Âzar Kaivân," *i.e.*, Revelation or ecstatic contemplations of God by Azar Kaivan, is well-known. He

[1] The writer has left this line blank.

died in 1614, at the age of 85. The Persian book known as Jâm-i-Kaikhosru, written by a Parsee, Khudajui Nâmdâr, was based on the writings of this Dastur Âzar Kaivan.[1]

The name of this book, Jâm-i-Kaikhosru, *i.e.*, the cup of Kaikhosru, is in reference to the mystic cup referred to in the Shâh-nâmêh, as the cup into which King Kaikhoshru looked on the Jamshedi Naoroz day, the day of the Vernal Equinox, about the 21st of March, and predicted events and saw what happened in other parts of the world. This cup reminds us of the Holy grail of the Christians, the thoughts of which have inspired the celebrated German composer Wagner in his world-known opera Parsifal, and Tennyson in his "Sir Galahad." This cup or (jam) mirror, which is also known as the *jâm* of Jamshed, reminds us also of the Cup of Joseph of the Genesis, of the cup of Nestor of the ancient Greeks, and of the mystic cup of the Indian king Kaid, referred to by Firdousi in his account of the Invasion of India by Alexander.

This is rather a digression, but my object in this, is to say, that the story I am going to describe may not be taken literally in all its details some of which are rather filthy, but may be taken in an allegorical, figurative or mystic sense, as Dastur Azar Kaivan, to whom it refers as an authority, was a mystic and his writings reflected by the Jam-i-Kaikhosru were mystical. The Dabistan thus traces the ancestry of Azar Kaivan to the Tehmuras of our legend: Azar Kaivân—Âzar Zerdusht—Azar Barzin—Azar Khurin—Azar Ayin—Azar Bahram—Azar Nosh—Azar Mihtar—Azar Sâsân the fifth—Azar Sâsân

[1] *Vide* the Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 87 et seq. for an account of his life and saying. *Vide* the Gujarati Dabistan published in 1262 Hijri, pp. 208 et seq. *Vide* Parsee Prakash, Vol. I, pp. 10 and 516. This Jâm-i-Kaikhosru was translated into Gujarâti by Munshi Abdul Fattah *alias* Munshi Ashraf Ali, at the direction of the first Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy and published in 1848 from the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund, which is now administered by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayat and which was founded in honour of the event of the Knighthood—the first Knighthood in India—conferred upon Sir Jamsetji.

IV—Azar Sasân III—Azar Sâsân II—Azar Sasan I—Darab junior-Darab senior—Bahmah Isfandiar—Gushtasp—Lohrasp —Arvand—Kai Nishin—Kai Kobad—Zâb—Nauder—Minu-chehr—Iraj—Feridun—Abtin of the line of Jamshid—*Tah-muras*—Hosheng—Siamak—Kaiomars—Yâsân Ajam of the neage of Yâsân,—Shai Mohbul—of the lineage of Sha Giliv —Jai Alad— of the lineage of Jai Afram—Abad Azad— of the family of Mah Abâd " who appeared with splendour in the beginning of the great cycle," (Shea's Dabistan Vol. I. pp. 87-88).

V.

The story itself.

Coming to the story itself, it runs thus (f. 103 a):—Tehmuras, having subdued Âhriman or the Devil, rode upon him as upon a horse and went over all parts of the earth for a period of 3 years. He began his ride early in the morning, rode over mountains like the lofty Elbruz and in valleys. On returning home, he stabled the horse (the Âhriman) and gave him no food or water. In spite of this want of food and water for days together, the horse (Âhriman) lived and thrived. One day, his wife expressed to him her surprise, as to how a horse can live without food and water for days together and asked for an explanation. Tehmuras said to her: "I also was wondering as to how he lived without food and water; so, I once asked him for an explanation and he replied:

خورش مرا دان تو اندر جهان
بدی گندگی و گنر مردمان
حرام و پلیدی و جرم و گناه
خورش مرا دان تو ای پادشاه

Translation.—Know as my food in the world, the evil, the dirty tricks and the sin of men. O King! Know unlawfulness, filth, sin and crime to be my food.

One day, Âhriman thought of getting rid of the daily trouble and annoyance of being ridden by Tehmuras and of going over mountains and valleys. So, he saw the wife of Tehmuras and

persuaded her to make one night some inquiries from her husband, whether, when he went riding over him (Âhriman) over mountains and valleys, he ever got afraid. He promised her many gifts (nazl نزل) and presents (hadiah), if she made that inquiry. She was deceived and consented. She accordingly once made inquiries from her husband. Tehmuras said, he was afraid nowhere, but at a place of turning on the Elburz mountain, where the horse (Âhriman) gets a little restive. Then, he has to use his big mace (gerân gurz) and to shout (bâng-i-buland) and to beat him, so that he may run fast over this place.

Tehemuras's wife told all this to Ahriman, who was much pleased to learn the secret of Tehmuras. He rewarded the woman with gifts. Among the gifts given to womankind on that day were lying with a woman ('asl), fornication (Zanâ') [1]....and menstruation.

The next day, when Tehmuras rode over Âhriman and went towards Chinvad on the Elbruz, the latter, having learnt the secret as to where Tehmuras used to get nervous, became very restive on the spot which made Tehmuras nervous. He began to turn a somersault (lit. sat on his head and two front feet). Tehmuras coaxed him and struck him with his mace ('amûd). Âhriman overthrew him from the saddle, and, emitting a bad smell (zafr), swallowed him and ran away like a horse.

The writer of the poem here dilates upon the weakness of womankind and the wickedness of a bad wife. "Hell (saqr) is better than a bad wife. Prison and confinement are better than to have a bad wife. It is better to die than to have her. Even if you are as wise as the philosopher Lukmân, as strong as Rustam, as efficient in charms and incantations as Faridun,

1 This word seems to be پسر pasar son. But then the meaning does not harmonize with that of the other preceding and succeeding words.

as resourceful as Tehmuras who rode over the Iblis, you will not be able to know the deceits of women. Even God himself becomes confounded (khireh gardad) by the deceit of a woman."

The Genesis story of the Fall and Tehmuras's story.

This legend reminds us of the Genesis story (Chaps. II-III) of the Fall of Adam and Eve at the hand of Satan. The very first result of the fall was, that Adam and Eve, who were, upto then, "both naked, the man and his wife and were not ashamed," began to feel ashamed and "the eyes of them both were opened and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons.....Unto the woman he (God) said, I will greatly multiply the sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee (Gen. III, 7 and 16). Something similar is the result of the fall of woman according to our story. *'Asl, i.e.*, lying in with women then came in and other womanly complaints also. Again as the result of the fall of woman, came in also adultery and menstruation in the world.

Now, just as in the Genesis story, there appears on the scene, after the Fall of Adam through the fault of Eve, God, who curses Satan for his evil conduct, so, in the Persian legend, there appears on the scene, after the fall of Tehmuras through the fault of the woman, Sarosh, an angel of God, who tries to punish Ahriman and make him disgorge the body of Tehmuras whom he had swallowed.

The Sequel of the story.

Jamshed, of whom the writer speaks as the son of Tehmuras, not finding his father return home, made all possible inquiries to trace his whereabouts but failed. Thereupon, Sarosh, the angel appeared before him and informed him of the death of Tehmuras and of all that had happened. Thereupon, Jamshed asked for advice as to how to regain the body of his father. Sarosh said, that not violence or sharpness (tundi), but tact

was required in this case. Ahriman was fond of two things; unnatural lust (luti)[1] and oral music (sarûd). These must be held as temptations and his secrets drawn from him.

Jamshed followed the advice of Sarosh, went to a desert and began to sing. Âhriman was allured by the singing and went there and sat by the side of Jamshed. Then Âhriman was allured to unnatural lust. Jamshed demanded the deed first, before he submitted his body (azav اعضو). Âhriman exposed himself. Thereupon Jamshed at once passed his hand into the stomach of Âhriman through his podex and drew out the body of his father Tehmuras from his stomach, and, throwing the dead body on the ground, ran away. Âhriman ran after him but could not overtake him. So, he retired to his hell. Thereupon, Jamshed returning to the place removed his father's body; and washing it placed it in a *satudân*,[2] *i.e.*, an ossuary or bone-receptacle. The writer of the metrical composition says that the custom of making astodâns for the dead came into existence from that day. He says:

و لیکن چمان دست جمشید را
کر انداختر بود بعضو گنا
بدان دست یکی زخمی شد پدید
کر هرگز بگیتی ندید و شنید
بدان دست شد برص و قجل
بترسید جمشید شر زان خلل
کر گر بوی زین دست با مردمان
رسد زان تنش نیز گردد چنان
وزین بوي درد هم از یکدگر
بگردد تبر آدمي سربسر

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1 لوتی miswritten for لوطي

2 Satudân is the Pahlavi "astodân," *Vide* my paper on "Astodân or Persian coffin said to be 3,000 years old, sent to the Museum of the Anthropological Society of Bombay by Mr. Malcolm of Bushire" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 426-41. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 7-22).

بدین فکر جم گشت با دل ستوه
برون شد همی از میان گروه
بکوه و بیابان کردش وطن
بسي درد افزود اورا بتن

Translation.—But on that hand of Jamshed, which was put into the body of the Ganâ (*i.e.*, Ganâ minô or Ahriman) there appeared a wound which no body had ever seen or heard of in the world. On that hand appeared leprosy[1] and *kajal*.[2] King Jamshed got alarmed by this complaint, because (even) if the smell of this hand reached (other) men, their bodies also would turn thus (*i.e.*, leprous). Even from the smell of this disease from one another a man gets hurt or sick altogether. With this anxiety Jamshed got stupified in his heart and went out from the midst of people. He made his abode in mountains and deserts and much pain increased in his body.

This passage then shows how intense was the fear of the ancient Iranians for leprosy, as mentioned by Herodotus. It also describes the legendary origin of the disease and says that it was the consequence of a kind of filth.

Jamshed roamed about in distress from place to place as his hand was all rotten (busideh)[3] through the disease. He

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[1] برص baras also seems to have come from *paêsa*, the Avesta word for leprosy.

[2] Kajal seems to be a disease similar to leprosy. Steingass does not give the word. In Persian, there is a word کچل Kachal which is the name of a bird called magpie. It is said to be "all snowy white below." Its scientific name is *pica caudata*. I suspect that the word magpie is another form of *marga* (bird) *paêsa* (Av. leprosy) *i.e.*, of the bird of leprosy. Can the Latin name *pica* be connected with Av. paêsa, Pers. pis. leprosy? It is possible that *kajal or kajala*, the white magpie, may have derived the meaning of leprosy from the fact that this white bird, like what is said by Herodotus (*vide* above) of some white birds, was taken to symbolize leprosy.

[3] بوسیدن from پوشیدن from Lat. *pu-trere*, Fr. *pu*-tréfier, to putrify. The Parsee Gujarati word બોસરું *bosru*, stinking, seems to be a corruption of Pers. busidah بوسیدہ

wandered here and there like distracted men (bî-hushân). He lamented and prayed to God, that he may be cured of his disease. One night, he slept at a place which was an abode of several cows. One of the cows[1] passed there, and, standing near his hand, passed urine[2] over that (part) of pain (alam). We read:—

[3] بجائی کہ افتاد آن ﷺ ریخون
بشد بر طرف درد اندر زمانش
بجائی‌کہ ﷺ آن دستشوی
چکیدند قطرہ بران دست اوی
بدان جای شد بر طرف درد او
چون آن درد کم شد زشاہ اشو

Translation.—From that place (*i.e.*, part of the hand) where the urine of the cow fell, the pain at once disappeared. On that part of his hand where drops of that cow's urine fell, his pain disappeared. When the pain of the pious king subsided

. . . . .

The writer says that the king was pleased at this unexpected cure and he gave money in charity. Once, he saw that very cow in a dream, and he prayed to God and thanked Him for the cure. He wondered at the power of God (zû'l-minan lit. Lord of bounty), at that dream, at that cow, and at that pouring[3] of the urine. Then the angel Sarosh again appeared before him, and said that the whole of his wound would be

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1 The word gâo is written in Avesta characters. I do not understand why it is so. Is it out of respect?

2 The word is written in Avesta characters as 𐬯𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬯 shashâv. Pers. شاش urine and آو water. *cf.* پیشاب pîsh and âb.

3 The word rikhtan is written in Avesta characters as 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬙𐬀𐬥

cured, if he rubbed âb-i-zar[1] *i.e.*, urine over it. He then asked Jamshed to instruct all mankind to use cow's urine as a protection and remedy. They may rub it immensely (bi-quiâs) over their body when they get up from Bushyâs[2] *i.e.*, from sleep. When they find their head (*i.e.*, whole body) unclean (nâ-pak) they may rub it over the whole body. Jamshed accordingly instructed all mankind to use cow's urine.

Facts to be gathered from the Legend.

We thus see in this legend the following matters :—

1. From very ancient times, the Iranians took Leprosy to be both contagious and infectious. Even the smell (bu) of its fluid was believed to spread infection.

2. It is the result of some internal filth or impurity within the body of a man.

3. Cow's urine, which is spoken of under various names, was supposed to be a preventive and curative of some skin diseases.

VI.

Recent Parsee practice.

Upto about a few years ago, the Parsees generally used cow's urine, and, failing that, goat's urine, every morning on rising from bed. The practice has, owing to various circumstances, mostly died out in Bombay, though it is still prevalent to a certain extent among the Parsee priesthood. It seems to be still more prevalent in the mofussil Parsee centres. They have a *nirang*, *i.e.*, a short prayer or incantation to be recited during the application.[3]

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1 Urine is spoken of as âb-i zar, *i.e.*, golden-coloured water, on account of its little yellowish colour.

2 According to the Vendidad, Bushyâs was the demon of sleep, who kept men sleeping idly in the morning. So, here, sleep is spoken of as bushyâs.

3 I have given this nirang in my paper on "A Few Parsee Nirangs." Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XI, No. 7, pp. 843-863.

Cow's urine is known among the Parsees by various names.

(*a*) It is called gao-miz (Avesta gao-maêza), from Av. gao Sans. ગૌ cow, and Av. miz. Sans. મિહ્, Lat. ming-ere to sprinkle to make water. So, gao-miz is the urine of the cow. It is the same as ગૌમૂત્ર.

(*b*) It is spoken of as âb-i-zar, *i.e.*, golden water, from its goldlike yellowish colour.

(*c*) It is called dast-shûi, because it was used every day early in the morning to clear or purify (shustan) hands before a wash.

(*d*) It is called *nirang*, because its application in the morning is accompanied with the recital of a short *nirang* or incantation.

Dr. Wilhelm on the Use of Urine.

There is an interesting paper on the subject of urine, by Dr. Wilhelm, Professor of Iranian languages in the University of Jena, under the title of "On the Use of Beef's urine, according to the precepts of the Avesta, and on similar customs with other Nations." Dr. Wilhelm dwells herein at some length on the various injunctions about its use as a purifier,—purifier of man and of various polluted articles. He then refers to its use by various nations both ancient and modern, beginning with the Hindus. He then refers to its use, sometimes even to-day, by the people of Bretagne "that province of France, which holds its name from the Celtic Britons who sought refuge there, and which, preserving its independence longer than the other French provinces, shows still many traces of ancient Celtic manners and customs" (p. 21). He describes on the authority of Mr. F. Luzel, the story of an old woman named Gillette in a Breton manor. "One morning, when Gillette had stayed in the stables for the night, she lingered with going out, although the cow-herd told her that the bell for break-fast had done with ringing for some time already. She murmured

prayers which would not end and seemed to wait or to pray for something. But suddenly when a cow urined, the old woman rushed upon her, caught the urine into her hand and rubbed her face with it several times. The cow-herd, seeing that, treated her as a dirty and foolish old woman. But Gillette told him quietly: 'there is nothing better, my son, than to wash in the morning when rising one's face with the urine of cows, or even with one's own urine,[1] if one cannot get cow's urine. When you have performed this ablution in the morning, you are safe for the whole day from the snares and malice of the devil, for you become invisible to him.' The cow-herd, in the evening, related us the strange practice and words of Gillette, and an old man who was with us, told us, that he had often heard that although it was not clean, what Gillette had done was an excellent preservative against the evil spirit."

Dr. Wilhelm thinks that possibly the people of Bas-Britagne had derived it from Druidism, which had gone to the West from the East. He speaks of its use also among the Scandinavians of Iceland who belonged to the Indo-Germanic race. Dr. Wilhelm then speaks at some length on the question, how urine was employed in medicine from the most ancient times, in Egypt and Greece.

We read in the Old Testament (II Kings 5), that Elisha cured Naaman of leprosy by directing him to bathe in the Jordan seven times. "There is a legend of a son of Krishna being cured of leprosy by the Magas,"[2] the Iranian *magis* who were in India.

The statement of Herodotus.

I will conclude my paper with a brief examination of the statement of Herodotus. We saw above that Herodotus says, that, the ancient Persians believed that a leper "must have sinned against the sun." We do not find anything correspond-

[1] We have a reference to the use of man's urine for some alleged cure in the Pahlavi Zadsparam (Chap. XVII 5. S. B. E. Vol. 47, p. 149).

[2] J. B. A. S. Vol. XVI. 1920, No.3, p. 74.

ing to this belief in connection with the sun in Parsee books. But, we may trace a distant indirect connection. Perhaps, by the Sun, Herodotus meant Mithra, the God of Light, who is generally associated with the Sun in the Avesta. We learn from the *yasht* in honour of Mithra, that Mithra, who presides over Light,—both physical and mental or moral light—blesses those who are truthful and honest, but punishes, those who are dishonest and who break their promises, with sickness (yasht X, 110). So, leprosy being a sickness was possibly considered as a punishment for the sin of Mithra-drûji, *i.e.*, of offending Mithra by dishonesty.

THE INDIAN CUSTOM OF A HUSBAND OR WIFE NOT NAMING HIS WIFE OR HER HUSBAND.

(Read on 31st August 1921.)

Introduction.

The subject of this paper has been suggested to me by Mr. Edward Clodd's recent interesting book entitled "Magic in Names and other things" (1920). We in India are familiar with the custom, whereby it is considered improper for a husband to call his wife by her name or to name her before others and for a wife to call her husband by his name or to name him. This custom, though it has died out now among the educated higher classes, is still prevalent to a great extent. When a husband or wife had to call one another, they did so by names other than her or his own name. Mr. Clodd thus refers to the Hindu custom: "The Hindu wife is never, under any circumstances, to mention her husband's name, so she calls him "He," "The Master, "Swamy," etc."[1]

[1] p. 57.

The custom, generally prevalent.

Now India is not the only country where one finds this custom. It is prevalent in other countries also. Among some tribes, there is a prohibition, not only against naming one's wife or husband, but also against naming particular relatives, *e.g.*, against naming one's mother-in-law, or son-in-law, or father-in-law, or even a sister. Hence, Mr. Clodd has named his section on the prohibition of uttering names, as "Mana[1] in names of Relatives." In some cases, there is an aversion against even mentioning or uttering names that have fallen into disapprobation. For example, Mr. Clodd says: "As further showing how barbaric ideas prevail in the heart of civilization, there is an overwhelming feeling against having men bearing the reprobated names as hands for the boats in the herring fishing season, and when they have been hired before their names were known, their wages have been refused if the season has been a failure . . . . In some of the villages on the eas coast of Aberdeenshire it was accounted unlucky to meet anyone of the name of Whyte when going to sea, lives would be lost, or the catch of fish would be poor."

What is in a Name?

We generally say: "What is in a name?" But it seems there is a good deal in a name. A name can do many a thing and a name can undo many a thing. As an example for what a name can do, we may refer to the case of the name of God. It is held to be efficacious in various ways. The name of Ahura Mazda or Brahma, the name of Alla or Jehovah, is held to be auspicious and to be efficacious for the fulfilment of many an object. At times, simply the mention of a name—the name of God or the name of a person or even the name of a day or month—is held to be *mubârak* or auspicious. Among us Parsees, the

[1] "Magic, for the present purpose, is defined as the *mana* by which the sorcerer pretends to (in some cases honestly believes that he can) obtain control over persons and their belongings to their help or harm, and also control over invisible beings and the occult powers of nature." (p. 10).

daily prayers of Nyâishes or hymns in honour of the grand objects of Nature—the Sun, the Moon, Light in general, Fire and Water—have at the end a formula of prayer spoken of as "Roz nek-nâm," *i.e.*, "the day of good name." Therein the worshipper names the particular day and month in which he offers his prayer, and speaks of that day and month as *mubârak* or auspicious. He says: "Roz nek nâm, roz pâk nâm, roz mubârak roz. . . . (Here he names the particular day on which he says his prayer) . . . mah mubârak mâh . . . (Here he names the month) . . . "

In the Hormazd Yasht, it is said that the mere mention of the name of God is efficacious to keep off all possible difficulties. Zoroaster says to Ahura Mazda: "O Righteous Ahura Mazda! tell me that name of yours which is the greatest, the most excellent, the best, the most efficacious, the most victorious the most health-giving, the most efficacious in counter-acting evils from the demons and evil-minded persons; tell me certainly that name, so that (by means of that name), I may master all the demons, all bad persons, so that I may overcome all magicians, all fairies, so that nobody, neither a demon nor a bad man, neither a magician nor a fairy, may do me any harm."

Now, though, on the one hand, it is held to be auspicious to begin a work with the name of God, on the other hand, at times, and among some people, it is thought advisable not to mention the name of God every now and then. It is held to be disrespectful to God, to name him everywhere and anywhere, at every time and at any time. For example, the Jews are very chary about the name of their God, Jehova, which name is believed to "be the sacred unpronounceable name of the Eternal." As said by Rev. A. J. Maclean, the name "Jawieh (Jehovah) was so sacred that it was not in later Jewish times, pronounced at all."[1] Similarly, I have come across a Mogul

[1] Rev. Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, p. 32.

document of the reign of Jehangir, wherein, wherever the words 'Gaz ilahi,' *i.e.*, "divine Gaz" occur, the word *ilahi* (divine) is omitted, and, from what we know of the words and of the standard of measurement in the time of Akbar and his successors, we are led to infer, that the word "*ilahi*" is understood in the place in the document, where a small space is kept blank or unwritten after the word *gaz*.

This is not only in the case of God (Khudâ), but also in the case of kings (Khudâvands), who are, as it were, the representatives of God on this earth. In some Mogul documents of Jehangir, in some places, where the name of Jehangir has to be written, the space is kept blank, and we are led to infer the name from the context, where, though not the name, all his honorific titles or designations are given.

Thus we see, that there is among some people, a kind of prohibition to mention the name of God or the king, whose names are otherwise, or among other people, held to be very auspicious. Sir James Frazer in one of the volumes of his series of the Golden Bough, the volume entitled "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul" gives an interesting chapter under the head of "Tabooed Words" wherein he speaks of "Personal names tabooed" "Names of relatives tabooed," "Names of the Dead tabooed", "Names of kings and other sacred persons tabooed," "Names of Gods tabooed" and "Common words tabooed."[1] From this chapter, we see that the tabooing of names is common, to some extent, among several civilized people.

Now, the above cases of not mentioning the name of God or king, referred to by me, fall under one of the above sections of Frazer's "Tabooed Words." As a very recent case of a certain kind of tabooing words, I may mention the case of Plague. I do not know, what was the case among other communities, but I speak of what I know of my Parsee

[1] Edition of 1911, Chap. VI, Tabooed Word.

Community. Though Bubonic Plague was prevalent in India in former times, even in the time of the Mogul king Jehangir, as we learn from his Memoirs (tuzuk-i-Jehangir), when it overtook Bombay, it came to us as a surprize, and spread panic, the like of which I have never seen. Nearly half of Bombay was empty. Our people were so much terrified, that they dared not even to mention the word મરકી (plague). When they spoke of a case of plague having occurred in a friend's or relative's family, they did not say મરકી થાય છે, *i.e.*, plague has occurred, but simply એક કેસ બન્યો છે, *i.e.*, "a case has occurred", and people understood what was meant. A striking instance of this, you see in the name of the Plague Hospital of our Community. The Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet, properly measuring the thoughts and feelings of the Community, did not name the Hospital "Parsee Plague Hospital" but "Parsee Fever Hospital," and the name has continued upto now. Had it been called Plague Hospital, the name would have frightened many a patient and his or her relatives.

All this shows, that in reply to the question "What is in a name ?" we can say, from our present point of view, that "there is a good deal in the name." We know that Shakespear asks :

"What's in a name ? That which we call a rose.

By any other name would smell as sweet ?"

But we find, that, if not from a general point of view, from the point of view of anthropology there is a good deal in a name. Why, take the very word name, which is common in sound in all Aryan languages. Some derive the word name from 'nehmen' to take; others derive it from 'an' to breathe and take the word to be a form of *animus*, soul. Some fancifully connect the word with Aum or Om. Sir James Frazer, thus sums up, as it were, the idea connected with the word name : "If we may judge from the evidence

of language, this crude conception of the relation of names to persons was widely prevalent, if not universal, among the forefathers of the Aryan race. For, an analysis of the words for 'name' in the various languages of that great family of speech points to the conclusion that 'Celts and certain other widely separated Aryans, unless we should say the whole Aryan family, believed at one time not only that the name was a part of the man, but it was that part of him which is termed the soul, the breath of life, or whatever you may choose to define it as being" [1]. Here, Sir James Frazer speaks of "the relation of names to persons." Now, speaking of the Iranian branch of the Aryan race, we find a close relation between the name and the person. A name is essentially necessary for the performance of all ceremonies of one's living soul (zindeh ravân) and of his soul after death (anousthe-ravân). If you want to perform any religious ceremony or prayer for the good of a child, the child must be named and all possible care is taken to select a good name. In all the ceremonies of one's life, the name of the person is important. The very ceremony of betrothal which begins marriage is spoken of as نام زد شدن nâm zad shudan, *i.e.*, "to be struck with a name." Even if the husband dies after betrothal and before marriage, the name of that betrothed husband is recited with that of the wife in all ceremonies. That is the case even after a re-marriage.

As said by Mr. F. M. Conford, the author of "from Religion to Philosophy" (p. 141), as quoted by Mr. Clodd on his title page, "the name of a thing, or of a group of things, is its soul; to know their names is to have power over their soul." So, to have one's name in our possession, is, as it ever, to have his soul in our possession. In an old orthodox Indian household this primitive idea or belief seems to have been carried a little further. An Indian mother took it to be her privilege to rule over her sons. She would not like her new daughters-

[1] The Golden Bough, Part II, "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul," Edition of 1911, p. 319.

in-law to participate in her privilege. She could rule over her son by her having his name which was as it were his very soul. So, she would not like the new daughter-in-law to name her husband and thus exert some power over his soul. As said by the reviewer of Mr. Clodd's book in the Athenæum of 4th June 1921, Mr. Clodd in his above book, "selects for treatment the tendency to impute to the name as such that capacity for action or passion which, in the eyes of modern matter-of-fact folk, belongs only to the person or thing named.'

Circumlocutory way of naming a person.

Now, coming to the case of wife and husband, Mr. Clodd says, as said above, of the custom of India: "The Hindu wife is never under any circumstances, to mention her husband's name; so she calls him "He," "the Master," "Swamy," etc.

Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, in her recent work, "the Rites of the Twice-born," thus speaks of the Hindu custom (p. 15): 'A taboo on names is still observed, and is universal throughout India. The wife never mentions her husband's name, and a husband never mentions his wife's, save on the wedding day. The correct way for a husband to send a message to his wife is to say, not 'tell to my wife,' but 'tell that in my house', and in the same manner he announces any message he may have received from his wife as 'from inside my house one says. Similarly the polite way to ask after the health of a man's wife is to say 'are the ladies of your house well?' not 'is Mrs. Bhat well?' In some castes until the mother and father are about fifty, they do not as a rule mention their children's names; after that the husband might allude to his wife as 'the mother of my son so-and-so'; until the father is about fifty, he never speaks to his children in the presence of his elders, an would never call to his son if his own father were at hand."

[1] During the wedding ceremonial, the husband "mentioning his wife's name for the one and only time in his life," says: "May the god Hiranyaparna (an epithet of Vishnu) make Târâ (or whatever the wife's name is) devoted to me" (Ibid p. 84).

Mr. Clodd gives similar instances from his own country "An old-fashioned Midland cottager's wife rarely speaks of her husband by name, the pronoun "he". supplemented by "my man" or "my master" is sufficient distinction." This old-fashioned Englander's circumlocutary language reminds us of some similar language we hear in Gujarat; for example, a Hindu lady and even a Parsi lady would say, if the husband is not at home: મારો માણીડો ઘરમાં નથી *i.e.*, My man is not at home.

Mr. Clodd also refers to some "circumlocutory phrases" which were used in some tribes by a husband or wife instead of calling the wife or husband by name. For example, he says that in the Amazulu tribe, the woman calls her husband by "Father of so and so." This reminds me of my boyhood, when I heard an old relative calling his wife, not by her name, but by the name "Melloo," which was the contracted or another form of Meherwan or Meherwanjee, as Tehmul is that of Tehmuras. He had a son named Meherwanjee, so he called his wife by his son's name. The circumlocutary phrase, once prevalent at Naosari, for the husband to call his wife was સાંભલેચકે, *i.e.*, "Do you hear?" and for the wife સાંભલોચકે also, meaning "Do you hear?" the only difference being, that the husband addressed his wife in second person singular, and the wife in second person plural, the latter being considered, in some respects, a more respectable form of address.

The fear of uttering tabooed or prohibited names has been so much prevalent among some tribes and persons, that they would not only not mention the prohibited names, but not even utter ordinary words in which the prohibited names occur as a part of the word. Mr. Bertrand Russel, in his first article on "Dreams and Facts" in the Athenæum[1], thus illustrates this: "Many of them (*i.e.*, the tribes) believe that to pronounce the name of their chief is such sacrilege as to bring instant death; they even go so far as to alter all words in which his name occurs as one of the syllables; for example, if we had a king named John, we should speak of a Janquil as (say) a

George-quill, and of a dun *geon* as dun-George." If I may illustrate this in our own way I would say: suppose a lady has her husband's name as Sinh (સીંહ), which name, as a common word, means a "lion." So, if a lion were to come to her door, she would not say સીંહ આવ્યો *i.e.*, "the lion has come", but would use some other word for the animal or some circumlocutary phrase.

What is this custom due to? Magic through names.

Now, the question is: "What is this custom due to?" Mr. Clodd's book, among other matters, gives to the question the answer, given also, ere this, by others, that it is due to the fear, that magic is exercised over one through his or her name.

There is a difference of opinion among Anthropologists and others about Magic. Some say that Magic preceded Religion, and others say that Religion preceded Magic. I think, Magic was preceded by Religion and is succeeded by Religion. In the very early primitive ages, when Man was in frequent contact with Nature, Nature led him to Nature's God. His religion was simple and he believed in a Higher Power or Powers which ruled over Nature. Then Magic is a degeneration. When Man fell from his simple pure life, Religion fell with him and Magic began to step in. Then, with advanced time, Magic again began to be dethroned from its assumed place and Religion was enthroned to a greater extent. But we will not enter into the subject here.

Magic is a kind of individuality which certain persons possessed as a class of leaders and exercised over others. In Pacific regions it is spoken of generally as *mana*. Clodd defines Magic as "the Mana by which the sorcerer pretends to (in some cases he honestly believes that he can) obtain control over persons and their belongings to their help or harm, and also control over invisible beings and the occult powers of nature. Magic

18th April 1919, p. 198.

is White or Beneficent when it helps. It is Black or Maleficient when it harms." But, in considering the question of Magic, we must guard against the tendency of taking at times real religious beliefs as magic. The word magic coming from the Magis, the old Iranian Mobads or priests, who are still known by that name, suggest a kind of caution. In my paper on "Iranian Incantations for burying hair and nails," I referred to one set or class of tangible things, *viz.*, hair and nail. In that paper, I quoted the following passage from Mr. R. Campbell Thomson's "Semitic Magic: Its Origin and Development:" "In all magic, three things are necessary for the perfect exorcism First the word, the Word of Power, by which the sorcerer invokes d vine or supernatural aid to influence the object of his undertaking. Secondly, the knowledge of the name or description of the person or demon he is working his charm against, with something more tangible, be it nail-parings or hair, in the human case. Thirdly, some drug, to which was originally ascribed a power vouchsafed by the gods for the welfare of mankind, some charm or amulet, or in the broadest sense something ma erial, even a wax figure or 'atonement' sacrifice, to aid the physician in his final effort."

The Second of the three things referred to in the above passage, forms the subject of Mr. Clodd's above book. On this second thing or component of exorcive magic, Mr. Thompson said: "The second component of the perfect charm was that the magician should know something, even if only the name, of the person or demon, whom he hoped to bring into subjection . . . . . The name alone will be enough for want of anything better."[1]

Magic works through (1) things that are Tangible and (2) things that are Intangible. Among the tangible things, through which a magician can work, are a man's blood, hair and nails,

[1] "Semitic Magic" by R. C. Thompson (Introduction, pp. XLVI-LI.).

saliva, sweat, excreta, *i.e.*, in short, what passes from or out of his body. A man's clothings also comes under that head. These all are *vehicles* of magic. Among the intangible things through which magic can be exercised are : shadows, reflections, echoes and names.

As to shadows and reflections, I have not heard anything to show the belief that magic was exercised through them. But I know, that children are at times prohibited from playing with their shadows or reflections in water or mirror. It is believed that such a play is likely to bring soon some illness for the children. But it is possible, that the origin of this belief may be the above belief of magic being exercised through them. Mr. Clodd refers to some folk-lore connecting shadows with illness.

The Gujerati word for shadow is ઓરો, and we, at times, hear of a person, who has quarrelled with another, saying to the latter, "તારે ઓરે પણ નહિ આવીશ" *i.e.*, "I will not come even within your shadow." What is meant is: "Not only will I avoid your company, but will not even come so much near you as to let your shadow fall upon me," signifying that, even the shadow of an evil-minded person is bad.

On the subject of reflections, Mr. Clodd says: "In rustic superstition, the breaking of a looking-glass is a portent of death, and the mirrors are covered up or turned to the wall when a death takes place in the house. 'It is feared that the soul, projected out of the person in the shape of his reflection in the mirror, may be carried off by the ghost of the departed which is commonly supposed to linger about the house till the burial.'" I have seen this covering of mirrors on occasions of death in several Parsee houses in Bombay.

Magic through names.

Now as to the question of Magic through names, Mr. Clodd says: "Taboo is the dread tyrant of savage life. Among civilized peoples, under the guise of customs whose force is stronger than law, it rules in larger degree than most persons

care to admit. But among barbaric communities it puts a ring fence round the simplest acts, regulates all intercourse by the minutes codes, and secures obedience to its manifold prohibitions by threats of punishment to be inflicted by magic and other apparatus of the invisible. It may be called the Inquisition of the lower culture, because it is as terrible and effective as was the infamous Holy Office. Nowhere, perhaps, does it exert more constant sway than in the series of customs associated with Names."[1]

Among the uncivilized men, one's name is taken to be "an integral part of himself." To disclose one's name is to put him "in the power of another whereby magic can be wrought of another." That view has unwittingly come down even among the civilized as illustrated by various words given by Mr. Clodd. For example, to "apprehend" a thing (from prehandere) is to "sieze" or "lay hold of" a thing; to "possess" a thing is (from sedare to sit), "sitting by a thing." Again, words like '*lunatic*' (luna the moon), 'disaster' (aster a star) and 'consideration' "embalm the old belief in the influence of the heavenly bodies on man's fate." Mr. Clodd further points to the verb "to be" as a word "which once had a physical significance." This is better illustrated by the Indian word for ghost, *bhût* (ભૂત), which literally means "one that was or existed at one time." The word is nothing but the *past* tense of *bû* (bhû) "to be."

Mr. Clodd mentions a number of tribes among whom people were "unwilling to tell their *real* names. This reluctance is due to the fear of putting themselves at the mercy of sorcerers." This dislike of telling one's name has passed unwittingly through various phases even among some civilized people. One would not tell to another his own name but let it be told by others. Our author refers to the experience of a lady in North Wales, where she met five girls and when one of them was asked her

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1 *Ibid*, pp. 36-87.

name, she "simpered and, pointing to the girl standing next to her, said, 'Her name is Jenny Ower,' and not one of them would tell her own name. The children were not shy on other topics, but they were not to be beguiled over this." Even now-a-days, in modern society, it is considered to be rude, to ask some body at once his name. We politely ask it in some begging form like this : "May I ask your name." Perhaps this comes down from the above old idea of not telling one's name to others.

When asked at present, "What is the cause of this custom of not naming one another"? The reply generally is a little vague. They say that it is the result of an idea of some kind of shyness (*lâj* લાજ)

According to some, the real origin of this practice is to be traced to the above belief which is prevalent in many parts of the world, that a magician can perform his magic on a person by knowing his name. So, one's name must be spoken as little as possible. The nearest and the dearest must be careful not to mention it. A wife or a husband is the nearest and dearest relative of a person. So, of all others, she or he must be the last person to speak the other's name, so that an enemy may catch it and practise, or get practised, magic through that name over that person.

I will refer in this connection, to the modern practice among civilized people who name their wives or husbands, but not in their usual forms. A husband or wife calls his wife or her husband by, what they call, "pet names." I beg to ask, if this practice also is not a relic of the old belief. They call each other by their names but not their real names but abbreviated or corrupted or changed names. That practice seems to have some connection with the belief to avoid uttering the real name falling on the ears of an evil-doer.

According to Herodotus, Carian women also did not name their husbands; but the reason was different. He says of the

first settlers in Caria, that they "brought no wives with them when they came to settle in this country, but seized a number of Carian women, after they had killed their men: and on account of this massacre these women established a law and imposed on themselves an oath, and transmitted it to their daughters, that they would never eat with their husbands, nor ever call them by the name of husband, because they had killed their fathers, their husbands and their children, and they after so doing had forced them to become their wives. This was done in Mitetus."[1]

Another view of the custom.

But there is another view with reference to this question of the custom of not naming one's husband or wife, which I like to discuss here. May not this custom be the result of holding one's name very dear and well nigh sacred, too dear and sacred to be often mentioned and spoken? Or may not the custom be the joint result of both these views? Perhaps this custom has arisen from the point of view of respect for the opposite party, as in the case of God's name or the King's name not being mentioned.

This brings us to the question of not naming royal personages or dignitaries of the court. While talking to a king or to members of his family you must always use some set forms like Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Your Highness. In conversations with Governors or High ambassadors you are to say "Your Excellency." Similarly in Courts of Justice, you have to use words like "Your Lordship, Your Honour, Your Worship," etc. It will be wrong to use their individual names. All these restrictions are attributed to a sense of honour.

Some tangible things through which magic is exerted.

I will conclude my paper with a brief reference to some of the tangible things referred to by Clodd as the means through which magic is exercised over a person.

1 Bke I, 146, Clary's translation.

From what little I have heard and learnt of the practice of magic in our country, I do not know much of the influence of magic through blood, though we often hear of one's vomiting blood as the result of somebody's magic. I have heard about its influence through nails and hair, especially the latter. I have occasionally heard of the hair of children being clandestinely clipped for the purposes of magic. When a child's hair are thus inclandestinely clipped by somebody, the mother gets anxious. Here, the enemy, whoever he be, tries to harm the mother through her dear child. The harm to her dear child is more than harm to herself. Sometimes, the hair and the nails are said to have been clipped or cut forcibly so that the child bled. In that case, perhaps the blood as well as the hair and the nail are intended as vehicles of magic.

In my paper on "Two Iranian Incantations for burying Hair and Nails" [1] I have dwelt upon the old Iranian view about these. The custom of burying these probably arose at first from this fear of magic being worked through them.

Teeth also serve as means for magic. According to Mr. Clodd some tribes do not throw away fallen teeth, lest magic be worked through them. The Parsees also at one time buried the fallen teeth. Some tribes preserved fallen teeth, "so that the owner may not lack them at the resurrection and they do not throw them away lest "magic be worked through them."
"In Yorkshire when a child's tooth comes out it must be dropped in the fire and the following rhyme repeated: otherwise the child will have to hunt for the teeth after death—

"Fire, fire, tah' a becon,

An send our Johnny a good teeth ageean."

This idea of preserving the droppings of the body for resurrection, reminds me of the old Iranian custom of preserv-

1 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII., No. 8, pp. 557-72. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 340-354.

ing, for the purpose of resurrection, the bones of a dead person in, what are called, *astodans* or ossuaries, some of which we had received from Persia for our Museum.

Mr. Clodd refers to lucky and unlucky days for hair-cutting or nail-pairing. Among the Parsees; the Gâhambâr festival days and the Muktâd or Farvardegan days were the days on which it was considered irreligious to cut hair or pair nails.

Mr. Clodd quotes Sir James Frazer to say, that there were some tribes among whom there were "priests on whose head no razor has come through their life." That was so, and is so, even now, among Parsee priests. They never shave but simply clip the hair. When a Parsee priest got his head shaved, he was spoken of as relinquishing the profession of priesthood.[1]

Mr. Clodd refers to several instances of saliva-magic and refers to the Bible for some instances. I know nothing of this kind of magic here on our side.

Magic through Portrait.

The portrait or his "Counterfeit presentment" is taken by some persons as "a part of his vulnerable self put at the mercy of a wonder-worker." I have heard of some Parsees of the last century, who objected to being photographed under a belief that persons photographed or portrayed soon died. Mr. Clodd refers to a similar belief among some in Scotland. The belief of portraits having some elements of the living self of the persons whom they represented, is illustrated by what Lady Blunt says of her visit of some part of India. There, while showing to some purdah ladies her album, on turning the pages one after another, they came across the portraits of men. The ladies at once drew their *purdahs* or veils over their faces to prevent their being seen by the self or selves of the portraits.

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1 *Vide* my above paper on "Two Iranian Incantations for burying hair and nails."

THE MONASTIC INSTITUTION OF BURMA AND ITS PHONGYS, THE BUDDHIST PRIESTS.

(*Read on 28th June* 1922.)

I.

Introduction.

After attending, from the 28th January to the 1st of February 1922, the second Oriental Conference at Calcutta, to which I was nominated a Delegate by our Society and by the University of Bombay and some other Literary Societies, I had the pleasure of visiting the Oriental countries of Burma, the Malay Peninsula ruled over by England as Strait Settlements, Indo-China, including Cochin-China and Tonquin ruled over by the French, and China and Japan. My visit was a flying visit to some of the principal cities and towns of these countries. Though it was a visit of a globe trotter, it was undertaken with an eye to study with pencil and note-book in hand. I propose submitting before this and other societies some papers on my Notes of what I have seen, heard and read. This paper is one of such papers. The object of this brief paper is to submit a few notes on the Pongys or Phongys, the Buddhist priests of Burma. These Phongys are generally connected with the monasteries. So, before speaking of them, I will first speak briefly on the Monastic Institution in general and the Monasteries of Burma in particular.

II.

Monasticism.

Monasticism or monachism (from monos, alone) literally means "living alone." It is an inclination in the mind of man to live alone, away from others, either temporarily or for a long time. When we say "alone, away from others," it may be in the midst

of towns and cities, or far away from cities, in desert solitude. Thus, we see that the monasteries, the seats or homes for persons of this kind of inclination, are both in the midst of cities as well as out of cities, in less frequented places. As said by Dr. Herbert B. Workman[1], the root or the basic idea is that of a kind of "a yearning for self-surrender." He says: "In every human heart, except, possibly, the utterly depraved, we find a yearning for self-surrender rising at times to a passion. Even in the worldling, buried deep beneath the deposits of self, there is an instinct he cannot explain, the power of which he may attempt to laugh away, that leads him, in spite of himself, in a moment of heroic decision to give his life a ransom for others. Few there are to whom there do not come at times visions of a nobler life." Rev. A. F. Littledale says similarly: "The root-idea of monachism in all its varieties of age, creed, and country, is the same—namely, retirement from society in search of some ideal of life which society cannot supply, but which is thought attainable by abnegation of self and withdrawal from the world. This definition applies to all the forms of monachism which have left their mark on history, whether among Brâhmans, Buddhists, Jews, Christians or Moslems.[2]"

III.

Monasticism absent from Zoroastrianism.

Rev. Littledale does not name among the people which had, or have, some forms of monasticism, the ancient Iranians or Zoroastrians. The idea of a kind of "self-surrender" is not absent from Zoroastrianism; nay, it is more than prevalent. A Zoroastrian is asked not to think much of 'self.' In the good of the community in general, he is to drown, his 'self.' Herodotus refers to this teaching when he says of the ancient Persians: "He that sacrifices is not

1 The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal (Chap. I. Historic Survey of the Ideas of Monasticism), p. 3.

2 Encyclopædia Britanica, 9th ed., Vol. XVI, p. 698, "Monachism."

permitted to pray for blessings for himself alone; but he is obliged to offer prayers for the prosperity of all the Persians, and the king, for he is himself included in the Persians."[1] He is to pray for all men.[2] But the idea of "retirement from society" is foreign to his mind. He is to seek a kind of "self-surrender," but that not for his 'self' but for the 'self' of 'society.' So, in order to do so, he must remain in the midst of society. If that kind of "self-surrender," self-surrender in the midst of society, was the basic root of monasticism, Zoroastrianism had no objection to it. To try to be "unworldly" in the midst of the "world" is one thing; to be "unworldly" out of the world is another thing. Like the king Janaka[3] of the Indian story, one can lead such a life of self-surrender, remaining at the same time in the midst of society. Such a self-surrender can be displayed in the midst of an active life. Again, this question of monasticism in relation to Zoroastrianism may be looked at from a general point of view. It leaves a broad field for views. It permits no extremes, no faddism of any kind, *e.g.*, it does not enjoin fasting from any religious point of view, though it teaches moderation. Again, another reason why ancient Iran had no monastic institution, is, that the Zoroastrian religion of the country advocated marriage and prohibited celibacy.

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1 Herodotus, Bk. I, 132. H. Cary's Translation (1889), p. 60.

2 *Vide* my "Moral Extracts from Zoroastrian books," p. 27.

3 It is said of this king, that he led a monk's life and declared himself to be a monk. Some monks asserted that a king, living in the midst of all temptations of pleasure, &c., cannot live as a monk and cannot be a monk. King Janaka heard this and he once invited all the monks to his city as his guests. But he stipulated, that they all may come to the outskirts of his city and then enter the city, holding on their heads pitchers, full of water. They must reach his palace without spilling any water on their shoulders out of the brimful pitchers. If their shoulders were found wet with water spilt from the pitchers, they would subject themselves to punishment. The monks accepted the invitation, and collected themselves at the city gate. Then, they were given on their heads pitchers full of water upto the very brim. They all entered into the city and, looking straight before them, walked very slowly, steadily

Celibacy is enjoined for a monastic life. We know of cases of marriage, or, what may be called, half-marriage among monks in spite of this injunction. For example, Dr. Workman speaks of "married monks living in 'outer cells' with their wives and children,"[1] at the monastery of Beth Abbé in 594 and of their being driven out. Dr. P. Smith[2], while speaking of the clergy before the Reformation, says: "The vow of celibacy was too hard to keep for most men and some women; that many priests, monks and nuns, broke it cannot be doubted. A large proportion of the clergy was both woefully ignorant and morally unworthy. Besides the priests who had concubines, there were many given to drink and some who kept taverns, gaming rooms and worse places. Plunged in gross ignorance and superstition, these blind leaders of the blind who won great reputation as exorcists or as wizards were unable to understand the Latin Service or creed in any language." But in spite of such occasional breaches of discipline, celibacy was a general rule and injunction in the monastic institution of the West.

In the East also, there were occasional breaches. I remember seeing a woman in one of the three Tibetan *gumpâs* or monas-

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and carefully, so as not to spill any water on their shoulders from the pitchers over their heads. They looked straight, lest any attempt to see the city on the right or the left may spill the water. Thus, they all reached the royal palace, and were welcomed by Janaka, who then asked them how they liked his city. They all replied: "Sire! We have seen nothing of your city. We looked straight and walked, lest looking either to the right or to the left may cause any spilling of water, which, you said, should not be the case." The king was pleased with the answer and said: "I had made that stipulation, to show to you that just as, while walking through a crowded city where people and assembled to see you coming to the palace in procession, you looked straight and did not look to the right or to the left to avoid a mishap, so I, as a king, though I live in a city and in a palace in the midst of a number of temptations, always try to look straight, and, unmoved by worldly things here and there, lead a true monk's pious life."

1 "Evolution of Monastic Idea," by Dr. Workman, p. 55, n. 4.

2 "The age of the Reformation," by Dr. P. Smith, p. 25.

teries round Darjeeling, and was surprised to learn, that she was kept by one of the Lamas. On speaking to them of the injunction of celibacy, I was told: "Buddha said: 'Do not marry.' So, we do not marry, but keep." But, in spite of such cases, celibacy is the general rule. But, in Zoroastrianism, according to the Vendidad, married life is held generally to be a virtuous life. All the clergy and the laity are required to marry. Ahura Mazda himself is spoken of as preferring a married man to an unmarried one, a man with children to one without children. So monasticism, which enjoins celibacy, can have no room in Zoroastrianism. Though we read of Christian monasteries being tolerated in Persia,—*e.g.*, Firdousi in his account of the reign of Yazdazard, speaks of a Christian monastery whose good monks saw the dead body of the murdered king and bemoaned his loss—we read nowhere, either in Parsee books or in other books, of a Zoroastrian monastery in Persia.

IV.

Monasticism in Christianity.

Monasteries, though mostly dissolved in Protestant countries, still exist in many parts of Europe,[1] and Western Asia. Mr. Harry Charles Lukach,[2] in his chapter on "the Monasteries of the Levant," gives us an interesting account of the Monasteries of St. Luke in Stiris, Meteora and Mount Athos. What he says of some monasteries reminds us of what we read and know of some Lamesaries of Tibet, and monasteries of Burmah. His mention of the following facts principally reminds us of the similarity:

1. Some monasteries had a few monks, and some had a very large number.

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[1] I had the pleasure of visiting the great monastery of Chartreuse at Naples in July 1889.

[2] The Fringe of the East. A Journey through Past and Present provinces of Turkey (1913), pp. 6-32.

2. Some were situated in some sequestered places. Some were situated on the tops of such inaccessible cliffs that one can go to them only by seating himself in a rope basket which is let down by the monks above. When you shout out from below, a monk in the cliff monastery comes out and looks below as to who shouts. At times, you fire a shot and then it is the sound of the shot that draws his attention. In some places, there are "perilous step-ladders that swing loosely away from the overhanging cliff", and these take you up. Some of the abbots there, are illiterate in our sense of the word. They do not know how to read and write, though they possess traditional lore of their order and religion.

3. Some of them indulge in drinks. Mr. Lukach says: "With every circuit of the bottle the ecclesiastical character of their songs was becoming less apparent." I saw at Darjeeling that some of the Lamas drank the country liquor prepared at the monasteries known as *marwâ*. It looked like *toddy* in colour and was drunk like it in large quantities.

4. They had simple, but copious or full meals over which they spent a long time.

5. Prohibition of the entrance of women in the monasteries.

We have no regular statistics about the number of monasteries, their wealth, classes, etc., of other creeds, but from what we have of the Christian creed, we find, that, at one time monasticism was much prevalent in Christendom. According to Beeton,[1] in England alone, there were, at the time of the Reformation, about 3,182 monasteries—Greater and Lesser and including those belonging to the Hospitallers, Colleges, Hospitals, Chantries and Free Chapels,—and their wealth amounted to £140,784. "Taking into account the value of money at the time—at least six times as much as at present, and considering that the estimate of land is generally supposed to have been

1 Dictionary of Universal Information, Science, Art and Literature Vol. II, p. 450.

much under the real value, and making some allowance for omissions, the entire revenues of these houses must have been enormous." Rev. Littledale, at the end of his above article on Monachism, gives a table, naming in chronological order from 250 to 1870 A.C., " the more remarkable foundations " of the monastic order which prevailed at one time or another in various countries of Christendom. The table contains about 194 names of the different monastic or semi-monastic orders which prevailed at one time or another. They were founded not only by cardinals and bishops, and abbots and monks, but also by other pious men and women, married and unmarried.

V.

Religious Institutions of Burma. The Pagodas.

Monasteries stand second in the list of the religious institutions of Burma, which are of three classes : 1. The Zedi or the Pagoda. 2. Kyaung or the Monastery, and 3. The Temples. The Pagodas are to the Buddhists of Burmah what the stupas or dagobas were to the Buddhists of India and Ceylon. It is said[1] that the word pagoda is the same as dagoba uncorrectly pronounced by old voyagers, who are said to have changed at times the Indian word *rajah* into *rodger*, *upayaza* into *upper rodger* and the word *mantri* into *mandarin*. The pagodas are like Indian *Stupas*, topas which enshrine sacred relics of Gautama Buddha or some other Buddha or Saint, and are solid brickwork structure of various heights varying from ten to hundreds of feet in height. They are seen from a distance before you enter the port of Rangoon, and you see them by hundreds on your way from Rangoon to Mandalay. I remember well the fine morning of 14th February 1922, when, sailing from Mandalay to Mingon to see the great bell there, I had, on both sides of the river Irrawadi, a charming view of the country studded with a number of pagodas, here and there, near and distant. As said by Sir George Scott, the pagodas and the monasteries " usually monopolise the best

[1] Burma, by Sir G. Scott, p. 329.

sites of the country." Of all the pagodas of Burma, though that of Pegu is a little larger, that of Shwe Dagôn at Rangoon is most interesting, attractive, grand and rich. You see it from miles afar when entering and leaving the port of Rangoon. On leaving Rangoon, during my two visits of the city—one on the way to China and Japan and the other on the way back—the sight of the great pagoda reminded me of the sight of the great Acropolis of Athens which you continue to see for a long time on leaving Pirœus, the port of Athens.

VI.

Monasteries of Burma.

The monasteries of Burma form, next to the pagodas, the second class of its religious institutions. Wood being very cheap in the country, they are generally built of wood and Sir George Scott thinks that its style "resembles that of the wooden temples of Nepaul."[1] He adds that "there is little reason to doubt that they reproduce the traditional forms of ancient wooden architecture in India, Assyria, and elsewhere. They may represent to us the wooden palaces of Nineveh, and hint at the architecture of king Solomon's Temple, built of the cedars of Lebanon."[2]

In my papers, before this Society, on the subjects of Rosaries Prayer-wheels, religious Processions, &c., I have referred to the Buddhist monasteries of the Tibetans, known as *gumpas* and seen round about Darjeeling. Burma is the next Buddhist country where we see such monastic institutions. I had the pleasure of visiting a monastery at Rangoon on 11th February 1922 in the company of Mr. Mg. Tun Tin (of 16 A. Phayre street), an intelligent young Buddhist who had taken his education in St. Paul's High School at Rangoon. The monastery was called Aletawyu, *i.e.*, the middle monastery, because it was situated in the middle of the inhabited portion of the city. It is situated about half or three-fourth of a mile from

[1] Burma by Sir J. George Scott (1906), p. 334. [2] Ibid.

the Royal Lake and is to be approached by a road passing by the side of the Fish-pond containing sacred fishes.[1] I spent an interesting hour and a half there in inspecting the institution and having a talk with the Phongys there. These monasteries form a very important institution among the Burmese, not only from a religious point of view, but even from a secular point of view. Just as every Christian child must once go through Baptism, and then, through confirmation, and just as every Zoroastrian child must once be initiated and invested with Sudreh and Kusti, the sacred shirt and thread, so every Burmese child must go through a kind of monastic initiation. Otherwise the child will not be taken to be a good human being. The initiation consists in living in a monastery for some time, at least for a few days, and do all monastic work, even that of sweeping the monasteries fetching water for the monks and going out a-begging for food for them. This initiation in a monastery is not required for women, who, though otherwise occupying a tolerably good position in society, are held in such matters to be somewhat out of the human pale—a view not unlike that of some Christian priests of the mediæval times who held that women had no souls.

All male children of Buddhist Burma must enter a Buddhist monastery and stay there for at least seven days. Generally, they stay longer. Besides learning discipline and living in discipline there, they attain some literary education, at least that of the three Rs (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic). Again, by doing all the domestic work of the monastery, such as sweeping, fetching water, watering the trees of the monastery, etc., and by going a-begging, they are expected to learn

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1 This pond is called Wingaba Kein, *i.e.*, Labyrinth pond, because there is a labyrinth there. It is a sacred pond wherein worshippers let loose, as an act of atonement, living fish purchased from the Bazar.

a deep lesson of humility and public service, however humble.[1]

VII.

The Phongys and the Monasteries.

Burmese priests are known as Pongys or Phongys. They are generally connected with some monasteries. It is after a long stay, at least of 10 years, in a monastery that they acquired this position. Like the monks of mediæval Europe, the Phongys of Burma had, and still have, a great hand in the teaching work of the country. As said by Sir George Scott, "it is the teaching of the youths of the country that is the chief credit of the Pôngyi, and it is this that binds the people to the support of the monastic system."[2] Those boys who intend to be Phongys remain longer in the monasteries. Their first stage of the stay and initiation there, is that of *koyns* or novices. Those who stay longer, after passing through the period of novices, observe all monastic rules and regulations and qualify themselves with some higher literary attainments to become phongys. One may become and live as a phongy for some time, and then, if he likes, revert to laymanship. Thus, the Buddhist priesthood is not hereditary. Sir J. George Scott[3] says: "The longest stayer has the greatest honour. A visitor mendicant who has passed the greater number of Lents (*wa*) in the order will receive the salutations of the head of the monastery, even though he be a local abbot and the stranger no more than a wandering friar. It is this republican tendency of Buddhism which gives it so great a hold on the people. Rank does not confer upon the mendicant greater honour, nor does it release him from any of his obligations. The

[1] This reminds us of what we read of Mediæval England of the 15th Century in "The Pastors and their England" by Mr. H. St. Bennett. The parents generally kept their children, at least for some time at the houses of friends or acquaintances, where they did all humble household work of sweeping, washing, fetching water, &c.

[2] Burma. A handbook of Practical Commercial and Political Information, p. 365. [3] Ibid pp. 364-65.

most learned and famous Sadaw[1] must go forth every morning to beg his daily food. If he is very aged, and broken with ailments, he may be excused from the daily round, but every now and again he must totter forth to preserve the letter of the law and to show a proper example of humility. His dress is the same as that of the most recently admitted novice, and he holds honour, not because he controls the affairs of the assembly, but because he is so close to the attaining of Neikban, the Burmese form of Nirvana."

It is no wonder that, as the monasteries and their monks, the phongys, have a large and principal hand in the education of the people, there were, according to the census of 1891, about 15,371 monasteries in Burma. We may say there were so many schools. The total number of the inmates of the monasteries —phongys, novices, accolytes came to 91,000. It is the founder of a monastery who appoints a phongy as the head of the institution. When that is not done, the monks themselves appoint one of them as the head.

The daily life of a Phongy.

The ceremonial day of a Phongy begins with that part of the early morning, when there is light enough to see the veins in the hand. They are awakened by the ringing of a bell which may be of metal or wood. They then wash and dress and, going before the image of Buddha, say their morning prayers. The prayer-room, which I saw in the monastery of Aletawyen at Rangoon, contained a number of things presented by laymen. A part of their prayers consists of confession and penitence. They repent for any omissions in the observance of the 257 precepts which they are enjoined to observe. It is their prayers known as *Patimauk* which contains a list of all the precepts which they have to observe.[2] This prayer book is known as

1 Sâdhu or monk.

2 The Patimauk of the Buddhist is something like the Patet of the Parsees, which contains a kind of enumeration of sins and faults which a Parsee has to avoid. Just as the Patimauk contains a list of precepts

the Book of Enfranchisement. After the morning prayers, all the members of the monastery attend to their respective domestic work. The new members and novices sweep the monasteries, fetch water and do such household work as is required for the domestic purposes of the monastery. Then, there is the reading and learning of new lessons[1] by the novices and a little of meditation by the superior phongys. Then follows the work of going a-begging for food referred to above. A part of the food collected is placed as an offering before the image of Buddha in the monastery and the rest partaken by the phongys. The phongys, according to the strict letter of their laws, are prohibited from igniting fire in their monasteries for cooking, but the injunction is not strictly observed now by all.

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which enjoin that such and such an act shall be done and such and such an act avoided, so the Patet of the Parsees contains a long list of acts which are considered as sinful and which must be avoided. At one time, a Parsee child, on being initiated into the fold, had to know and recite by heart the Patet containing the list of wrongful actions to be avoided. The recital is now replaced by the recital of a number of Ahunavars.

1 The learning of new lessons by heart and the mechanical repetitions of the old ones, so that they may be permanently remembered, as described by Sir G. Scott, remind us of the Indian way of learning lessons. It reminds me specially of the Parsee method of old as learnt from my elders. The school of Hormasji Kamâl at Naosari was often referred to by men of the older generation as a typical school of that kind. The following is an amusing story of such a school. It is said, that Mr. Hormasji Kamâl held his classes in a building opposite to his dwelling house. Once, his wife shouted from the house when he was at the school : સાંભળોચ કે ? આજે શું રાંધું ? "Do you hear ? (That was the way of calling a husband whose name was not to be mentioned.) What am I to prepare for the meals to-day ? " The school master was at the time giving a new lesson to his pupils and reciting certain parts of the prayer to be prepared by heart by the pupils. So, on hearing the question from his wife in the midst of his giving the lesson, he replied : ઓરીઆં રાંધજે *i.e.*, prepare *oriân* (a kind of dish). The pupils took these words to be the part of the lesson, and so all shouted ઓરીઆં રાંધજે, ઓરીઆં રાંધજે. (It is the usual practice of the pupils to repeat each sentence of the new lesson twice, so that it may be better committed to memory), *i.e.*, " Prepare *oriân*, prepare *oriân*." The teacher Mr. Hormasji Kamâl

A short prayer follows the meal and is followed by rest for some time. Then follows the work of teaching lessons to the boys and novices. The afternoon hours after four o'clock are spent in various ways according to their fancies. Some go out for a walk, others read or talk. But all must return to the monastery by sunset. The boarders, *i.e.*, the school-boys who live in the monastery and the novices or the would-be phongys recite the lessons they have learnt upto then by heart from the very beginning. They all go before the image of Buddha and say the evening prayer before going to bed. These prayers end with the mention of the period of the day, the day, the month, and the year by a member of the monastery.[1]

Celibacy.

The Phongys lead a life of celibacy. We read the following in Sir George Scott's Burma (p. 375) about the strictness of their relations with women: "They may not take anything from a woman's hand; they may not travel in the same cart or boat with her; they must not even remain temporarily under the same roof with a woman, unless in the company of other members of the monastery; they may not so much as look upon the face of a woman. When portions of the Law are read in the monastery or the rest-house on Duty days—every seventh day during the month—the monks must hold their large fans before the eyes, to guard against unwitting sin; and the same must be done when they walk abroad, lest haply they should see a female face. The Book of the Law says that, even if a Phongy's mother should fall in the ditch, he must not give her his hand to pull her out. He may hold out a stick or let her seize the

got enraged at this misunderstanding on the part of his pupil and abused him saying "ચપરે તુંને નહીં કહેતો." *i.e.*, Shut up (Here followed an abusive epithet. I do not say these words (*viz.*, the words for giving instructions for meals) to you." The pupils again taking these words to be a part of the lessons, repeated the words of abuse. This further irritated the teacher.

1 This recital of the hour, day and month remind us of the prayer among the Parsees of *roz nek nâm* which ends all Parsee prayers.

hem of his robe—and even then, he must figure to himself that he is pulling at a log of wood."

All these restrictions and prohibitions remind us of what we read of some of the Christian monasteries of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. They prohibited the entrance of women within their precincts. They prohibited the entrance, not only of women, but also of all animals of the female sex. They would permit cocks or bulls or dogs or goats to come in, but not hens or cows or bitches or she-goats. It is said of a Christian monk, that he thought himself polluted and unclean, if he, even accidentally, happened to touch a woman. Even touching the fringe of her dress was pollution. It is said of a monk Abba Paulus, that he would not even look at the clothes of women. At one time, he had to cross a stream with his mother on his shoulder. So, he covered her with a number of pieces of cloth to avoid direct contact with her dress. It is said of a Christian monk of Egypt, named Prior, that for 50 years, he had seen no woman, not even the women of his family. Once, when he, at the orders of his superiors, went to his sister, he kept his eyes shut, so that he may not see a woman and be unclean.

Though such a strict abstinence from women is enjoined, there is a separate class of women who have taken themselves to a religious life without resorting to all the requisites of a monastic institution. They are somewhat like Christian nuns. We do not know much of any restrictions of the above kind among Buddhist nuns to avoid being seen by men, but we know, that among Christian nuns, there were such restrictions. For example, it is said of a Christian nun, that when she fell ill and her brother wanted to go and see her, she prevented him from coming before her, saying, that she did not like the soul of her brother being any way polluted or made unclean by the sight of a woman. It is said of a young nun of Alexandria, that she had very beautiful brilliant eyes which were very much admired by a young man, who, like a madman, went after

her, wherever she went, to see her. Taking the view, that she must not be the cause of making unclean the soul of the young man, she rather blinded her own eyes, thinking that thereby, she saved the soul of the man who would then no longer care to look to her.

VIII.

Commandments to be observed by Phongys.

All true Buddhists had to observe some necessary commandments, which, as it were, formed the cardinal virtues of Buddhism. The five commandments which the phongys have to observe most strictly with all the Burmese Buddhists are :—

1. Thou shalt not kill.
2. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
3. Thou shalt not steal.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating drink.

Besides these five general commandments to be observed by all Buddhists, the phongys have to observe the following five :—

1. Not to eat after midday.
2. Not to dance or sing.
3. Not to apply powder on the face, or put on any decorations of that kind, such as flowers, etc., on the head, etc.
4. Not to sit, stand or sleep over seats higher than about 3 feet.
5. Not to touch money.

Besides these, there are about 227 precepts to be observed by phongys. The greater the number observed, the better the phongy. Some of these are the following :—

1. Not to sit on soft carpets.
2. Not to put on slippers in towns or villages. Exception is made in case of illness.

3. Not to hold an umbrella. But if some laymen hold it over them, that is permissible.

4. Not to live with parents, and to give up all worldly things

They are required to avoid luxuries as much as possible. I will speak here at some length about some of these restrictions.

(*a*) The Phongys are required to avoid all luxuries. They must not sleep over cots which are higher than three feet. The cots lesser than three feet in height are presented to them by laymen. The laymen who can afford, are required to perform the funeral ceremonies, before the disposal of the body of their dead dear ones, on a new cot. This cot, they never keep at home for any use, but reject it and present it to the adjoining monasteries, where the phongys use them.[1] I saw several fine cots in a temple, pointed out to me as a Confession temple where the laymen confessed their sins. This temple is attached to the above said monastery of Aletawyen in Rangoon. When the monasteries have more such cots than the phongys require for their use, the latter barter them in the market for other things which they require for their use, the use of money being prohibited.

(*b*) They must not touch money. At times, when unavoidably required to be given, it may be given in the hands of the monastery servants.[2] When the phongys require some

1 Compare with this, the custom, which though very rare, is now creeping in among some rich Parsees, wherein some people use marble slabs from over the tables of their drawing rooms for placing upon them the bodies of their dead dear ones, before the removal to the Towers. Some use the slabs again after washing them, but some reject them.

2 Cf. The custom among the Sadhus of a particular class, who never receive money as alms from us in their own hands, but ask us to place it before them on the ground from where their disciples lift it up. *Vide* my Paper on the Pilgrimage of Nasik read before the Society (to be published in Vol. XII, No. 4). Cf. Also the ritual of the Freemasons wherein the new initiate is required to part with all his money in coin before being initiated into the craft.

necessities for their own use, they purchase them from the Bazar, not by giving money but by barter. They give to the sellers things which they have received as alms from laymen.

(*c*) They must not have their meals at any hour of the day. They must have their one or two meals, only between sunrise and midday. Only the drinking of water is permitted during the other hours of the day. The offerings of food, etc., to be made before the image of Buddha in houses and monasteries must be also made between these two hours, the sunrise and midday; only an offering of water can be made in the evening.[1]

(*d*) The use of money being prohibited, they are required to live only on alms. They must not cook any food in the monasteries. Their disciples or the novices in the monasteries go a-begging for food in the streets. It is not an ordinary begging but a respectable way of begging. The disciples or novices go and stand before the houses of laymen with their begging bowls or rather a particular kind of begging-utensils and the faithful know what they have come for. They give some cooked food. Such dumb or implied visits to some few houses, suffice for the morning or forenoon meals of the phongys attached to the monasteries. Sufficient is given to them for the day. We see such disciples or novices with their begging bowls in the early forenoon hours in the streets of Rangoon or Mandalay. At times, devout laymen send, of their own accord, such cooked food to the monasteries for the phongys. When I visited at Rangoon, in the morning of 11th February 1922, the above-said monastery of Aletawyen, I had the pleasure

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1 Cf. The custom among the Parsee priesthood, whereby the Nâvars or the new initiates into priesthood are required to eat only during the day hours, between the sunrise and sunset. Even the priests who officiated in some higher Liturgical services, such as the Nirang-din, were required to eat only during these day hours. Even the drinking of water was prohibited during the night hours.

of seeing three phongys having a very sumptuous meal at about 11-30 a.m. The meal seemed to have come from a well-to-do man. It was made up of many dishes which the phongys had spread before them on the floor. They served themselves in their own plates with spoons. The phongys finished their meals with fruit and fine tea without milk and sugar. The quantity was more than enough for them, and I was told, that the remainder was to be partaken afterwards by the disciples and novices. They say, that at times, the Burmese, send for and feed the phongys on particular solemn occasions at their own houses.[1] The phongys are not only fed by the laymen but are also presented or supplied with various kinds of utensils. We saw in the above monastery some beautiful bowls which, we were told, were presented by devout Burmese on solemn occasions of commemoration in honour of the dead.

Food-begging is considered to be "the most conspicuous duty of the day" for the members of a monastery. Sir G. Scott thus speaks of the duty: "With the superior at their head, the whole brotherhood sets forth in Indian file to beg the daily food. The manner of walking is prescribed. They must walk down the middle of the street, through all the village or quarter of the town, slowly, with measured steps, looking neither to right nor to left, their hands clasped under the begging-bowl, and their eyes fixed on the ground 6 feet in front of them. No halt is made, except when some one comes out to pour an offering of rice or vegetables or fruit into the alms-bowl. No

1 Cf. The feeding of Brahmins among the Hindus and that of Mobads among the Parsees. The feeding of Parsee priests is spoken of as *naniâ* Khavâdvâ, *i.e.*, to feed the naniâs—naniâs being generally those priests who observe the nân (Sans. Snân) or Bareshnûm and officiate at the inner or higher liturgical services of the Fire-temple.

2 Cf. The similar custom in India among the Hindus and Parsees. Among the latter, such vessels are spoken of as *siâv nâ vâsan*, *i.e.* vessels accompanying the *siâv* or the suit of dress consecrated in honour of the dead.

word or look rewards the most generous giver. No thanks are needed, for it is the religious who confer the favour. The charitable gain merit according to their giving, and if the monks did not come, an opportunity of gaining merit towards a future existence would be lost. The begging round usually lasts for an hour or an hour and a half. Some of the more austere return after enough has been put into their *thabeik* to sustain life. Others go on so as to give the quickest possible opportunities of gaining merit to those plodding along the upward path. If their begging bowls are filled too soon, they empty them carefully at the side of the road. No merit is lost to the giver in this way. Their charity has been proved, and the dogs and birds of the air, who may be the human beings of future centuries, eat the offering" (p. 369).

Their ways of interdining.

The phongys eat food cooked by anybody, whether a phongy or a layman, whether a Buddhist or Christian, Mahomedan or Hindu, but they do not interdine, *i.e.*, dine with non phongys. They may go as guests to anybody's house, but, even when there, they must dine only between sunrise and midday. Even as guests, they do not dine on the same table with non-phongys or laymen.

In upper Burma, there are two *gaings* or classes of phongys, one Shwegyin *gaing* and other Thudama *gaing*. My informant Mg.[1] Po Lok of Pegu (Pension quarter) told me, that they were like the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Christianity. The former never smoke. They may chew betel nuts in the morning upto midday. The latter smoke and chew betel nuts during the whole of the day. The former do not carry umbrellas and do not put on slippers in the towns. The latter do not observe this restriction. Both these classes do not eat with each other but eat food cooked by each other. They may eat on the same table.

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1 Mg. is the contracted form of Maug and corresponds to M. (Monsier) of the French and Mr. of the English.

In Lower Burma also, there are two classes of Phongys like those of the upper Burma. One is known as Dwaya and the other as Kan. The Dwayas of Lower Burma correspond to the Shwegyin of upper Burma and the Kan to the Thudama gaing. Those of the Upper classes in both Burmas, *viz.*, the Shwegyin and the Dwaya, when they go to the houses of laymen, do not pray together with the Phongys of the other classes—the Thudama gaing and the Kan, whom they consider to be somewhat inferior.

Their frequent or ordinary sacred prayer-formula.

Like the Pater noster of the Christians or the Ahunavar of the Zoroastrians, they have a short prayer formula which is considered very sacred and often repeated. Mr. Po Lok thus rendered it for me :

" I promise that I will not kill and I will keep that precept (or promise).

I promise that I will not steal and I will keep that precept.

I promise that I will not commit adultery and I will keep that precept.

I promise that I will not have any liquid or solid that is an intoxicant and I will keep that promise."

A VISIT TO NASIK ON THE OPENING DAYS OF THE PRESENT SINHAST PILGRIMAGE.[1]

(*Read on 27th August*, 1920.)

I.

Introduction.

At times, I like to be in the midst of crowds, because crowds give us good opportunities of studying Human Nature and the different phases of

[1] This paper was unavoidably kept back from publication at the proper time.

that nature. The largest crowd, in which I remember having ever been, was that at Paris on 6th November 1889, the closing day of the great Exhibition of that year which had lasted for more than six months.[2]

Sir Walter Scott thus speaks of the gaiety and folly of crowds :— "It was that gay and splendid confusion, in which the eye of youth sees all that is brave and brilliant, and that of experience much that is doubtful, deceitful, false, and hollow ; hopes that will never be gratified, promises that will never be fulfilled ; pride in the disguise of humility ; and insolence in that of frank and generous bounty." It was with the eye of youth, that I saw and moved about in the great crowds that met at the Paris Exhibition on Sundays and especially in the great crowd referred to above ; but it was with the eye of experience of a man of advanced years, that I saw the crowd at Nasik,—though not at all as great as that at Paris—on the 15th of July 1920, the second opening day of the great twelve-yearly pilgrimage of the river Godavari at Nasik.

Pilgrimage of Shrines and Pilgrimage of Life.

It is in a beautiful way that a poetess, Mary Howell describes the thoughts, with which, and the ways in which, both the young and the old pilgrims of Christendom went to the Holy Land of Palestine for a holy pilgrimage.

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[2] I find in my note book the following note of that day's crowd:—

"ઓહો ! આજના જેવી ભીડ હું ધારૂં છું કે હું કોઈ દહાડે જોઇશ નહીં. ટ્રોકેડેરો તરફ જવાના રસ્તાના પુલના દાદર ઉપરથી ભીડનો ગંજાવર દેખાવ મોજ મારફક આવી અઠે. ત્યાંથી રોશનીનો ઘણો ગંજાવર દેખાવ.....કદાચ એવી આજના જેવી સુંદર રોશની પણ હું કદી જોઇશ નહીં. આટલી ભીડ છતાં સર્વ ખુશ મીજાજી."

i.e., "Ah ! Perhaps I will never see a crowd like that of to-day's. A grand sight of the crowd from the top of the steps of the bridge leading to the Trocodero. Waves after waves coming and striking; a good sight of the illumination also..... Perhaps I will never see again such grand illuminations like those of to-day. Notwithstanding such a great crowd and rush, all where in good humour."

"With hoary hair, and bowed by age,
He goes forth on his pilgrimage,
An old man, from his forest-cell,
With sandalled feet, and scallop-shell;
His sight is dim, his steps are slow,
And pain and hardship must he know—
An old wayfaring man, alone,—
And yet his spirit bears him on:
For what? The holy place to see?
To kneel upon mount Calvary;
Golgotha's dreary bound to trace;
To traverse every desert-place
In which the Saviour trod of yore;
For this he beareth travel sore,
Hunger, and weariness, and pain:
Nor longeth for his home again."

Though the times are changed and the ways of travelling are, for the majority, more convenient than before, both in Palestine and in India, we are reminded of the above picture of old Pilgrims, when we are moving about among the present day Pilgrims of the sacred Godavari, especially on the road leading to the sacred hill of Trimbak, about 18 miles from Nasik.

The same poetess gives us a picture of young pilgrims.

"Now see another pilgrim, gay
And heartsome as a moon in May;
Young, beautiful, and brave, and strong,
Like a wild stag he bounds along;
* * * *
He kneels at cross and altar stone
And where dark pagan rites were done;
In groves, by springs, on mountains hoar
In classic vale by classic shore
* * * *

Oh ! ' tis a fond and ardent quest ;
Yet leaves its pilgrim ill at rest ! "

You see all this at Godavari also. The poetess seems to refer only to male pilgrims, but, at Nasik, you see old and young pilgrims of both the sexes. Even in these days of railways and automobiles, thousands of pilgrims,—and these mostly of the Sâdhu or monastic class,—whose number during the first two or three days of the pilgrimage was, as said by a Police Officer, about 50,000, came yb toot from long distances. One of my frequent questions to some of these pilgrims was : " From which part of the country you come ? " The replies showed, that pilgrims came from all the four corners of India, from the Himalayas in the North to the furthest end of the Madras Presidency in the South, from Sindh and Punjab in the West to Bengal in the East.

But why all this trouble ? Why these long journeys and the accompanying discomforts and worries ? The reply is " To prepare ourselves for the great pilgrimage." The above Poetess draws the lesson

" Behold once more—from youth to age
Man goeth on a pilgrimage ;
Or rich or poor, unwise or wise,
Before each one this journey lies ;
' Tis to a land remote, unknown,
Yet where the great of old are gone—
Poet and patriot, sage and seer :
All men we worship or revere
This awful pilgrimage have made,
Have gone to the dim land of shade."

I have enjoyed my visit to Nasik during this period of the great pilgrimage from all these points of view ; in short, I learnt and I pondered. I left Bombay at one o'clock on

the 15th of July, arrived at Nasik at about 5 p.m., went immediately to the river and wandered for about two hours among the pilgrims on the left bank of the river. Then, I spent about four hours, the next morning, first on its right bank and then on the left, among the pilgrims both on the banks and in the temples. The most interesting time I spent was that of about three hours in the afternoon and evening of the 16th and about four hours in the morning of the 17th among the Sâdhus or Monks who had encamped in different camp at Panchvati, about a mile from the banks of the river. I spent the 18th of July at Trimbak, about 18 miles from Nasik, and returned to Bombay by midday on the 19th. Before speaking of the pilgrimage of Nasik, I will say here a few words on the original idea of a pilgrimage among different people.

II.

The origin of the practice of Pilgrimage.

The English word 'Pilgrimage' seems to be another form of 'peregrinage,' meaning "going abroad," from 'per' through or over and 'ager' or 'agri' a territory. Literally, it is going over from your country to another country. In that sense, it differs very little from travelling; but latterly, it is restricted to, or specialized for, travelling to sacred places. The Sanscrit word Yâtra यात्रा which comes from the root *yâ* या to go, also has the notion of going abroad. The practice of pilgrimage is very old and exists among various nations, the Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Hebrews, Buddhists. The idea grew with the idea of the attachment of the life traditions of a great or pious man of a tribe or people to, or round, a certain place. The birth-place or the death-place of a great hero or a holy man of a tribe or people, or the place with which his feats of bravery or holiness were connected, became dear to the men of that tribe. What is dear, is, to a certain extent, held to be sacred. Thus, these places began to be held as dear and sacred. The thoughts and the deeds of

these heroes and pious men inspired many a man and woman who visited these places and led them to success in their undertakings. Thus, the sanctity of the places grew in estimation. A number of such heroes and pious men have been deified—instances of which kind are not wanting in our own times of the twentieth year of the twentieth century—and thus, the places latterly began to be connected with gods and goddesses.

We said above, that the practice of pilgrimage existed from old times among many nations. Looking to human nature, the Parsees should not be any exception. But, we do not find in the extant Iranian Literature the mention of any town or towns, as being held as a place or places of pilgrimage for the sake of their being associated with the names and deeds of great heroes or pious men.

The ancient Iranians and Pilgrimage.

Rev. Dr. Littledale, while speaking on the subject of pilgrimage, says : "The ancient Zend creed of the Medes and Persians, having no temples for worship, had no pilgrimage." But, even in later times, when they had great fire-temples, they had no pilgrimage in the sense in which we understand the word now. People visited fire temples on grand occasions for worship. Some Sassanian kings are represented as visiting the great fire-temple of Azer-Goushap before and after great wars. But they had no other places of pilgrimage or monasteries.

But, in one of the Rivâyats from Persia which form the mediæval religious literature of the Parsees, a place is referred to in Persia as a place of Pilgrimage for the Parsees of Persia of later times after the Arab conquest. This Rivâyat is known as the Rivâyat of Bahman Asfandyâr. It was written in the time of Shâh Âbbâs the Great of Persia (1567-1628) in the year 996 A.Y. (1036 Hijri, 1627 A.C.). In the letter headed as "Ketâbat az

Turkâbâd," *i.e.*, the letter from Turkâbâd, we read as follows :[1]

معلوم دستوران و پیربدان و موبدان و بهدینان کشور هندوستان بوده باشد کر بهدین بهمن بن اسفندیار در ایران شهر در ولایت ترکاباد تشریف آورده و چند روزی بخدمت بود و چون براه کشتي و توان دریا آمده بود اورا توجشن لازم بود و آنچه دین قاعدهٔ دین زرتشتي بود اورا توجشن فرمودیم قبول کرد و تمام بجای رسانید و اورا برشنوم کردیم و نر شوه داشت و خدمت آب و آتشها و آتش بهرام آنچه قواعد دین بود کرده تا واضع بوده باشد

و دیگر معلوم بوده باشد کر خدمت خاتون بانو پارس کر زیارت گاهست هم کرد و آنچه کر قاعده بود در هر باب کرد

Translation :—Let it be known to the Dasturs and Herbads and Mobads and Laymen of the country of Hindustan, that Behdin Bahman bin Asfandyâr had come to (our) native town of Turkabad in the country of Iran and was busy for some days; and, as he had come by the way of ships and boats[2] of sea, he had to go through penitence (tojesh). We ordered penitence, as it was (enjoined) in[3] the law of the Zoroastrian Religion. He accepted all that and did all that (ba jâî-rasânîd). And we gave (Lit. did) him the Bareshnûm (purification) and he kept (the subsequent) ten nights (nêh shaveh, *i.e.*, the ten nights' retreat) and he performed the necessary services of Water and Fire and Fire temple, as were the rules of the religion, so that, what is legislated (vâzaâ) may be done. Again, let it be known, that he also did the service (*i.e.*, the pilgrimage) of Khâtûn Bânu of Pars which is a place of

[1] I quote from Hormazdiar Framroz's Manuscript Rivâyat, belonging to Mr. Pestonji Navrojee Kapadia, but now presented to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, f. 346, l. 6.

[2] تران from *tar*, moist, wet. In India also, the word *tar* तार is still used for a platform-like boat which works only in small creeks. It is used only for crossing small shallow creeks and is worked by means of long poles pressing the ground below water.

[3] The word is written as دُیْن, so it seems to be the Persian reading of the Pahalavi word 𐭣𐭩𐭭 din, dayan, dar.

pîlgrimage (Ziârat-gâh), and he performed all that was required by rules.

Thus, we see, that we find no case of pilgrimage in older Avesta or Pahlavi Literature, but we find one case of pîlgrimage in the mediæval Persian Literature.

As to the Khâtûn Bânû (*i.e.*, the lady Khâtûn), the tradition in Persia is this[1]: She was a daughter of the last Parsee king Yazdagard. On the defeat of her father, she, with other members of her royal family, left Madâyan (Ctesiphon) to have refuge in the fortress of Haft Âzar. The army of the enemy prevented her from doing so. So, she directed herself to a Burz (tower) on another adjoining mountain. On her way thither, she became very thirsty, and so went to the cottage of a *burzigar* (agriculturist) in the neighbourhood, and asked for water. Unfortunately, there was no drinking water with him. So, he milked his cow to supply her with milk. To add to her misfortune, no sooner was the milk gathered in a vessel, than the cow kicked the earthen vessel and broke it. Thus disappointed, she went to a mountain two miles farther and prayed to God to save her from the pursuing enemy. God accepted her prayer ; the ground on which she stood, cleaved into two parts and she was buried. Her followers were bemoaning her loss, when there came up the agriculturist with a pot full of water, but, finding what had happened, he also mourned her loss, and, bringing there the particular cow which had disappointed him and the lady, sacrificed her on the spot. He also asked her followers and others to hold the spot sacred and to sacrifice cows now and then there, in honour of the lady. Hence arose the practice among the Persian Zoroastrians of sacrificing cows and of going to pilgrimage there. They called the place Dar-i-Din. They say, that unexpectedly, there issued forth, a spring of water on the spot and made the pilgrimage of the visitors comfortable.

[1] *Vide* my Introduction to Darab Hormuzdyâr's Rivâyat, p. 35, Banu of Pars."

Places of Pilgrimage in India.

In India, in the case of Hindus, pilgrimages are connected with places which are associated generally with gods or deified heroes. Among the Mahomedans, as among the Christians to a certain extent, pilgrimages are associated with the tombs of saints. The people of different places are anxious to have in their neighbourhood some place which can be a convenient place of pilgrimage. It is said of Richard Burton, the well-known traveller, who travelled under disguise, that in a Mahomedan village where he had made a long stay, he had become very popular for his piety. One day, a friend told him to leave the village, as he had come to be held in very great esteem for his piety and was therefore likely to be killed. He was told, that the people of the village got anxious, lest he may go to some other place and die there. In that case, they would lose the good fortune of having the tomb of a great pious saint in their midst. To avoid missing that good fortune, they thought of killing him, so that he may die in their village and the village may have the honour of possessing the tomb of a great saint, which may attract pilgrims from different countries.

It is believed, that if one performs the pilgrimage of the following four places which are on the four sides of India, that is sufficient to secure to him all the meritoriousness of a good life. These places are : Bidrinâth in the North, Râmeshwar in the South, Jaganâth in the East, and Dwârkâ in the West. If one performs the Shrâdh ceremony at Benares, that is sufficient and no other Shrâdh ceremonies are necessary.

III

The special significance of the Sinhast period of pilgrimage for the Godavari. Proverbs connected with it.

Coming to the subject proper of our paper, our Vice-President, Rao Bahadur P. B. Joshi, has given an interesting article in the *Times of India* of 10th August 1920, pointing out the significance of the Sinhast period of the pilgrimage at Nasik. Godavari is one of the seven sacred rivers of India, the other six being Indus,

Ganges, Jamnâ, Sarasvati, Narbuddâ and Câveri. The period, when at the end of every twelve years, the Brahaspati or Jupiter enters into the sign of Sinh, *i.e.*, the Lion, is held to be especially sacred for the pilgrimage to Godavari, because it is believed, that during this period, even the other six sister-rivers or the goddesses presiding over them, come to the pilgrimage of Godavari and have a sacred bath in its waters.

The twelve-yearly pilgrimage of the Godavery has given us one or two proverbs. From the fact of the Sinhast pilgrimage occurring every twelve years, we have the proverb બાર વર્ષે ગોદાવરી *i.e.*, Godavari after twelve years. It is used when the rarity of an event is intended to be expressed. Again, the word Godavari is used for the number 12. For example, ગોદાવરી રૂપ્યા *i.e.*, "Godavari Rupees" means "twelve Rupees." The pilgrims speak of the rivers as ગંગા માતા *i.e.*, the Mother Ganges. The Ganges which is the most sacred of all the Indian rivers, gives its name for colloquial sacred phraseology to the Godavari and to other sacred rivers. This has given rise to the proverb મન ચંગા તો કેથળી ગંગા *i.e.*, if the mind is good or inclined towards faith, any place (*i.e.*, any source of water) may be Gangâ or Ganges. The proverb has a variant, *viz.*, મન ચંગા તો કથરોટમાં ગંગા *i.e.*, If the mind is good, water even in a tray, serves as Ganges.

The special signification of Nasik as a sacred place of Pilgrimage.

Nasik is one of the five places held in India to be very sacred. The other four are the following :—(1) Prayâg or Allahabad on the confluence of the Ganges, the Jamnâ, and the Saraswati which is not visible, because, leaving the Himalayas to the west of the Jamnâ and passing Thaneshwar in the Punjab, it loses itself in the sands near Sirhind about 400 miles from Allahabad.[1] (2) Gaya in the

1 It is believed by the Hindus that, though the Saraswati loses itself in the sand far away from Allahabad, still it joins the Ganges and the Jamna under the ground at Allahabad. Some water trickling from the rocky walls of a place near the fort is taken to be the water of the lost Saraswati. The place is also known as Tri-veni, *i.e.*, the triple spring.

Patna district, the residence of Sakya Muni, the founder of Buddhism, where an old tree is pointed out as the fig tree under which Buddha meditated for about 5 years. (3) The tank or lake of Pushkara (*lit.*, blue lotus) about five miles from Ajmer, held to be one (the last) of the seven Dwîpas or insular continents stretching out from the mythical mount Meru and supposed to be surrounded by oceans.[1] (4) Naimisha or Naimishâranya, a forest on the Gomati or Gumti river in Oudh, where the Mahabharata was recited before an assembly of Rishis by the sage Sauti.

The reasons, why, of all the other places on the bank of Godavari, Nasik is especially chosen for a place of pilgrimage to the river, are several. (1) Firstly, some of the events of the lives of the heroes of the great Ramayana are connected with Nasik. Here, on the left bank of the river are pointed out to us pools, where the great Rama and his consort Sita and his brother Laxman bathed. The pools are named after them and known as Rama kund, Sita kund and Laxman kund respectively. Some other *kunds* also are pointed out to us, but they are connected with some heroes or deities of less renown and sanctity. During the monsoons, when the Godavery flows at times in torrents, the pools are all covered over with mass of running water, but in dry seasons, the pools appear distinct. (2) Again, about two miles from Nasik, on the bank of the river, they point out to us a site whence the great demon Ravana carried away Sita. (3) The vicinity of Kushavarta as a sacred place, situated, about 18 miles from Nasik, where the Godavari takes its rise, adds to the sanctity of Nasik. (4) Again, it is held that as the Ganges is more sacred when it flows northwards and the Jamna when it flows westward, so the Godavari is more sacred when it flows southward. It is at Nasik that the river

1 Jala, *i.e.*, fresh water, is said to be the circumambient ocean round Pushkara, the oceans round the other six being full of salt water, sugar-cane juice, wine, *ghee* or clarified butter, *dahi* or curds and *dudh* or milk.

flows southward. So, that fact adds to the sanctity of Nasik.[1] (5) Again, the fact, that other 7 streams join the Godavari near Nasik adds to its sanctity. This being the case, the occasion of the pilgrimage drew to Nasik thousands of pilgrims from all the four quarters of India. Even some Cuchi Mahomedans were seen as pilgrims. There are in all about 60 temples at Nasik, and so, it is spoken of as the Benares of Western India.

IV

The Brahmin hosts at Nasik.

The first thing we notice on entering into Nasik, is the fact, that on the outskirts of the town, we find a number of Brahman priests waiting to welcome the coming pilgrims and to take them to their houses. They have in their hands, what may be called, their visitors' books, in which they have been writing, or get written by the visitors themselves, the names of the visitors who had at one time or another taken board and lodging with them. If your fathers or grandfathers or other ancestors and relatives have at any time visited Nasik on a pilgrimage, their names are well nigh sure to be found in the books of some one of these Brahmin hosts. On your arrival at Nasik, at a certain place on the road from the station on the outskirts of the city, they wait and ask from the coming visitors, the names of their districts and their *gotras*, and then looking into their books point out the names of their fathers or other relatives, who may have formerly visited Nasik and taken board and lodging with them. In that case, it is as it were, your filial pious duty to take your board and lodging at the house of the same Brahmin or of his heir and successor. This Brahmin then, during your stay at Nasik, acts as your host and as your guide, friend and philosopher. You are to pay all the usual fees for the various ceremonies you want to go

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1 Before the introduction of the Railway at Nasik, it was held essential that the pilgrims should enter Nasik from the East or the West and not from the North or South.

through. As to the boarding and lodging charges, it is left to your discretion. Disputes arise rarely, and the pilgrims, who, at times, spend hundreds and thousands over these pilgrimages, do not grudge to pay well their Brahmin hosts who are generally spoken of here as Pandas, *i.e.*, persons possessing wisdom, learning (पंडा). The word seems to be the same as *pandits.*

The Pandas of Nasik and the Pandits of Kashmir.

The above practice of keeping the visitors' books and of inviting the pilgrims to their houses as paid guests, reminds me of a similar practice I observed in Kashmir at the famous temple of Martand. There, not only the Hindu visitors or pilgrims, but even non-Hindu visitors, whether Mahomedans, Christians or Parsis, form as it were the clientele of the Pandits, whose hostship extends generally to the work of being the guides of visitors. The Pandits there have their visitors' books, in which they make you enter your names, if you have put yourselves under their guidance. On observing the approach of visitors, they present themselves with their books, and press you, Hindus or non-Hindus, to place yourselves under their guidance on the ground, that such and such distinguished visitors had their names in their visitors' book. I was in Kashmir, at first, in 1895 ; and then, I and my three sons and two friends had placed ourselves under the guidance of a pandit, Pandit Lachiram, when visiting Martand on 21st May 1895. Then, on my second visit to Kashmir, when I went to Martand again, the Pandit, asking my name, soon remembered my first visit, and pointed out from his book my and my party's names written in our own hands, and took me and my party again under his guidance. In the books of some leading Pandits of the place, we find entries as old as those of 1827 and 1829. Again, we find the names of distinguished visitors like Elphinstone and Hardinge, Wedderburn and Roberts. I saw the name of General Roberts both as a Lieutenant and as Commander-in-Chief. He had visited the place three times. The

modern Pandits preserve with scrupulous care these visitors' books of their fathers and grandfathers.

During the first two days of the Nasik *Jâtrâ*, theremust have come about 50,000 pilgrims from different parts of India. Of these, some took their residence with the Pandâs or priests. For some others, there were provided various Dharamsalas. For example, a Madras rich man had provided a separate Dharamsala for the Madrasis. There were some *Sadâvarts* where the very poor were provided with free board and lodging for a certain number of days.

A stroll among the pilgrims.

Morning is the best time to have a leisurely stroll, with pen and note-book in your hand, among the thousands of visitors, some getting themselves shaved, some bathing, some performing, under the guidance of their Brahmin Pandâs, funeral ceremonies in honour of their dead dear ones, some saying their little prayers alone, some visiting the temples and ringing the temple-bells, some crowding round a half-naked *sâdhu*, and some going several times round sacred places. With open eyes and ears and a thinking mind, you learn a good deal, not only of religious rites and observances but of the different phases of human nature. O ! What crowded hours of interest you pass among these thousands of pilgrims—pilgrims perhaps from a thousand different villages and towns from all the districts of India and of all Hindu castes and creeds, old and young, men, women and children, literate and illiterate, rich and poor, healthy and ill, well-clad and well-nigh naked. We all are Indians, but very few of us know the various beliefs and manners and customs of nearly ninety per cent. of our sister communities, castes, sects and creeds. It is a Hindu gathering, but a gathering of Hindus of a number of types. Such occasions of great pilgrimages are, as it were, grand Exhibitions of Humanity, but still not of all Humanity.

From talks with various pilgrims, I learnt that their expenses varied from a few rupees to thousands. With a few, pilgrimage was as it were the profession of their life. They travelled on foot from one place of pilgrimage to another. They spent not a pie of their own but travelled and lived on the charity of others in various *sadâvarts*. The rich spent hundreds and thousands. A merchant of Sind Hyderabad, staying in the Dharamsala of the Maharaja of Kupurthala, who travelled with his daughter and son-in-law, told me that the pilgrimage would cost him about Rs. 2,000, of which Rs. 500 will be the cost of train and other fares and Rs. 1,500 for food and offerings. Wherever they went they stayed in Dharamsalas and cooked their own food. They travelled leisurely seeing some places of interest on their way.

V.

1. Shaving, the first function of a pilgrim.

The first function in the pilgrimage of Nasik is that of a complete shave of beard, moustache and the head with the exception of a cluster of hair on the top. So, the first functionary one even preceding the priest, is a barber. When you go to the banks of the Godavari, you see a number of barbers doing good business. The barbers play a certain part in the religious ritual and ceremony of a Hindu household. They have rights and privileges. We know, that at one time, in Europe, they had their guilds in common with the surgeons. France had, at one time, its barber-surgeons. In India, almost all social events have a religious bearing. The first hair of children are cut off with a hair-cutting ceremony in which a barber plays an important part. I remember having learnt at Kashmir, that among the Pandits there, the barbers had their own rights and privileges in some domestic events such as that of cutting the first hair of a child. I remember that upto a few years ago, Parsee mothers took a vow that the first hair of their children shall be cut only at Udwârâ, where they can immediately afterwards be taken to the old sacred Fire-temple of Irân Shâh.

As said above, the whole of the face and head was shaved except the small curl (ચોટલી) on the top of the head. What is the object of this preliminary shaving by a pilgrim ? Some take it as a kind of sacrifice. The pilgrim offers a sacrifice of his best bodily possessions, his beard and moustaches, which give beauty or dignity to his features. Hindus get themselves shaved on occasions of deep mourning. In that case there cannot be any idea of cleanliness. It is that of a kind of sacrifice in honour or memory of the deceased.

Some take the object to be a step towards cleanliness. The fact of being clean-shaved may be connected with perfect purification. When we take the signification to be an idea of cleanliness or purification, then we are reminded of the present fashion in which males get their beards and moustaches all clean-shaved. Some attribute this fashion to cleanliness, saying that the moustaches harbinge some impurities, which, with drink or food, are likely to be swallowed.

In some old tribes, the custom of shaving off the hair of early boyhood, like the custom of pulling off a tooth, was a part of the ceremony of Initiation into Manhood. In the Old Testament (Ezekiel V, 1–5), the Judgment of Jerusalem for their rebellion is shown under the type of hair which are directed to be cut and burnt in a peculiar manner. I have spoken at some length on the subject of the Iranian ideas connected with hair in my paper before the Society, entitled "Two Iranian Incantations for burying Hair and Nails."[1]

We see in the huge gathering at Nasik a variety of customs about the keeping or cutting of hair. We see the pilgrims all clean shaved on the banks of the Godavary. But, when we go to the camps of thousands of monks, a little away from the bank of the river, at Panchvati, we find

1 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII, No. 8 pp. 557-72. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 340-352.

a number of *Sâdhus* with unusually long hair. I will refer to this matter later on when I speak of the Sadhus.

2. Sacred Bath.

A kind of sacred bath is observed among all religious communities, the Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsees. The ancients also had their baths, and these especially on the occasions of special social events in one's life, *e.g.*, initiation, marriage, etc. Similarly, a bath in the sacred river was, after shaving, the next principal function at the pilgrimage of Nasik. The pilgrims removed what was "old" on their body, what was, as it were, a centre of some kinds of impurities and then purified themselves. Before entering into the river for a bath, they gave to the river, what they called "Ganga bhet (ગંગા ભેટ) *i.e.*, a gift, to the Ganges river, for the service which the river was going to do them by purifying them. For such a gift they threw a coin in the river. At some places on the ghauts, there were close by, a number of swimmers who dived and picked up the coins mixed up with mud. The *kunds* of Ram, Sita and Laxman were the principal places where coins were thrown as gifts to the river. Flowers also formed a kind of gift.

After the bath, the pilgrim generally drinks a handful or two of the sacred water. At the time when I visited Nasik, it was raining and the Godavari was running in torrents. The water was renewed every minute or every second at one place. So, perhaps, there was little danger to health. But when the current is very slow and pilgrims drink water from partly confined places where it has got impure by the washings of hundreds and thousands, it is no wonder if some epidemics like cholera follow. I was surprised to see pilgrims drinking from a small and shallow reservoir at Trimbak, the source of the Godavari, 18 miles upwards, wherein a number of people took a dip with a view of getting a purification at the very source of the river which gave purification. But the faith of the pilgrims was, as it were, a preventive in itself.

We speak of faith-cures, but here, to a certain extent, were cases of faith-preventives.

3. The *Shrâdh.*

Some bathers performed, after the bath, the Shrâdh, a funeral ceremony in honour of their deceased relatives. Those who wanted to do so, had, first, a bath in the river and then they came to the banks of the river and sat shivering before a priest. They did not dry their wet body with a towel. The ritual of the Shrâdh as seen on the occasion, was interesting, because a number of people, some of them strangers to one another sat down—not on any mat or carpet but on their feet as some do during their meals—in a line and the priest dictated the ritual. Each had the offering before him placed on a leaf. It consisted of what they called *pindas* which were small balls made of flour. For each deceased relative, in whose honour the pilgrim wished the ceremony to be performed, there was a separate *pinda.* These *pindas* were placed on large leaves of trees (*patrâvar*). Besides the *pindas,* which the pilgrims themselves prepared from a small quantity of flour supplied to them and with the water before them in their *lotas,* they had as offerings some *kunkun* (pigment), *halad* (turmeric) and a *pâvitri* [1] (પવીત્રી). Again, each had a *lotâ* or water pot before him. The recital was dictated by the Brahmin priest in his Marathi vernacular. After dictating the recital of the prayer which was common for all, when the priest came to that part of the ritual, where each celebrant pilgrim had to mention the names of his deceased relatives, in whose honour he desired to perform the Shradh and for whom he had prepared a separate *pinda,* he halted, and asked each celebrant to mention the name of their deceased relatives. He said બાપાચા નામ ગેવા, આઇચા નામ ગેવા, કાકાચા નામ ગેવા, બાપાચા બાપાચા નામ ગેવા, etc., *i.e.,* each may now recite the name of his deceased father

1 पवित्र pavitra "two blades of kusa grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee; a ring of kusa grass worn on the fourth finger on certain religious occasions." (Apte).

or mother or uncle or grandfather. In case the above relatives were living, their names were not to be recited. So, he warned them, saying, if any of the above relatives were living, they were not to mention his or her name. Wherever in the ritual, the celebrants had to pour water from the water-pots on the offerings, he told them so. His long instructions ended with the words, પૈસા મેલુન દેવા *i.e.*, Lay down the fees. One anna was generally the fee. Then, all laid down on the ground the fees of the priests. All the celebrants then made a *tillâ* (a red pigment mark) on the forehead of the priest, and the priest in his turn made *tillâs* on the foreheads of the celebrants. They all put on the *pâvitri* ring on their right hands.

During the celebration, he placed a *pavitri* ring on a finger of the right hand of each celebrant and said : " Pray, that God may give you prosperity (*barkat*) in your profession and work (*dhandhâ*)." At the end of the whole ritual, he said with a loud voice : " Remember Balkrishna Mahadev," *i.e.*, he asked them to remember his name, so that, in case they came some other time on a pilgrimage, or sent their children or relatives they may try to find him out and become his clients. I saw a boy-priest of the age of about seven dictating the Shrâdh prayer to a poor pilgrim. A few pice formed his fee.

In addition to the above fee for the Shradh, all paid according to their choice, some *dakshina* to the priest. They then went into the river again and threw the *pindas* therein. They also offered some flowers to the river. Some offered milk also. They then had another bath. They took a drink of a handful of water, returned to the bank, clothed themselves and then went to visit the sacred shrines. The two peculiarities which I marked in this Shrâdh ceremony were that it was performed in the language which they understood, and that it was performed by themselves under the guidance of the priests. These two good elements are wanting in the similar ritual of the Parsees.

Just as the Hindus have their *snâns* or religious baths, the Parsees have their *nâns*, which is the same Indian word with the first letter 's' dropped. All that I saw at, and after, the *snâns* on the banks of the Godavari reminded me of what I had seen as a boy and as a young man at the Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy Fire-temple at Colaba, during the Farvardègân or Muktâd holidays, when pious Parsees thought it desirable to go through the *nân* bath or purification. When there was a large number of applicants, they were made to sit in one row, and the priest, with a loud voice, gave the necessary directions for chewing the pomegranate leaf and drinking the nirang.[1] Again boy-priests of the age of 11 or 12 were not rare among the Parsees in those days.

VI.

The sacred Water of the River serving as a charm or cure.

I observed, that during the pilgrimage, some tin smiths, on the banks of the river, were doing some roaring business in preparing and sealing various kinds of tin-boxes. Not only did the pilgrims bathe in and drink the sacred water of the river but they carried it home in such tin-boxes. They purchased tin-boxes of various sizes from the tinmen, took them to the banks of the river, filled them with the water of the sacred river and returned with the boxes to the tinsmiths who then sealed them, so that water may be securely kept in them. I learnt on inquiry that such water, on being taken to their homes, was drunk with pious thoughts by those members of the family who could not go to the place of pilgrimage. This water was preserved by the family for 8 or 10 years and it was much sought after by neighbours and others of the village or town, in cases of extreme difficulties and illness, as a kind of charm or cure. Some drink it on death-bed to secure meritoriousness.

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1 *Vide* my Paper on the Purification Ceremonies among the Parsees before this Society (Vol. XI pp. 169-85. *Vide* my book on the religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, pp. 95-102).

When on a short visit a few years ago to the banks of the sacred Narbudda, to see the famous grand Banian tree, known as *Kabir vad* from the name of Kabir, the great devotional poet of Gujarat of the Bhakti School of belief, whose devotion to the Deity was associated with that place, I had heard, that there was a kind of regular traffic in such holy waters. There were some professional carriers of such water. They at times travelled on foot hundreds of miles from the place of pilgrimage carrying waters of the sacred streams or rivers. It was thought improper to carry such sacred water by Railways and such other ways of transit. The water is believed to preserve its religious efficacy if carried by a Hindu on foot without coming into contact with any non-Hindu.

It is not rare, even now, to see a Parsee man or woman carry small pots of water—the sacred water of Avân Ardvi-çura Anâhita from the shore of the great sea at Back-bay, to their homes—where others apply it to their eyes, and then the water is sprinkled in all parts of the house with a pious hope that it may bring good luck to the house. I fully well remember the days of my boyhood, when I accompanied my good mother to the seashore at Colaba. After our prayers, we brought home a small potful of the sea water and sprinkled it in all parts of our house. The efficacy attributed to the water reminds a Parsee of the efficacy, which was at one time attributed, and is even now attributed to some extent, by some to the *rakhyâ* or the ash of the sacred Fire of an Âtash Behrâm. When carried home, this ash was not drunk or eaten, but applied by the absent worshippers to their foreheads and even kept in their cupboards as something that may bring good luck.

VII.

The Sadhus or Hindu Monks.

Among the various classes of people who attended the Nasik pilgrimage, it were the Sadhus who interested me most, because I had never seen this fraternity in such a large number anywhere as I saw there. Very few had made their own arrangements.

They did not care much for comforts. Some lived under the shelter of very small temporary huts which could give them only a little sleeping accommodation. Some had an umbrella-like tent-covering of their own. There were about three to four thousands of them at the pilgrimage, and most of them had camps of their own on the other bank of the river near Panchavati. The camps consisted of a variety of small tents or tent-like coverings. Various provinces had their own camps. The Baroda monks had even put up a sign-board of their own at the centre of their camp. Some of the monks were rich. They had estates and money of their own, but, for some reason or other, or with one thought or another, they took to monastic life and spent their money for their monk-brothers. I was told of one Sadhu from Upper India, that he had set apart a sum of about Rs. 20,000 to make all provisions for the monks of his district during this pilgrimage. In these camps, they had regular commissariat arrangement of their own. All the four great Hindu castes had Sadhus of their own. The Brahmin and Khshatri Sadhus put on *janoi*. The Sudra Sadhus had none.

During my college days I had studied the subject of the Christian monasteries as I had competed at the Elphinstone College for an Essay on "The Dissolution of the Monasteries in England." It was the interest created by that study, that had led me to visit some monasteries in Italy during my visit of Europe in 1887, and it was the same interest that had led me to spend long hours for some days together, at the three *gumpâs* or monasteries of the Tibetan Lamas in and around the hill station of Darjeeling. I have submitted before the Society some of my impressions of what I saw and studied there in the form of three papers. It was with some interest that I had read some years ago Mr. J. C. Oman's "The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India," wherein the author has dwelt on the question of the influence of the monastic life of these classes on the religious, social,

intellectual, industrial and political life of India. According to this writer, nearly one-fourth of the population of the provinces of Bengal and Behar led an unproductive life like that of the above classes. In the North-Western provinces nearly one-tenth of the people led such a life. According to him, a handful of Englishmen ruled peacefully over the vast continent of India, because of the mildness of the great mass of the Hindu people, a mildness generated and influenced by the above ascetic classes. So, what interested me most at Nasik were the Sadhus in whose various camps on the other side of the Godavari, I spent an evening and a long morning, and in whose company on the hill of Nil-parvat near Trimbak I spent a few interesting hours. I will speak here at some length about what I saw of them in these camps, and of the various thoughts suggested to me by what I saw of them and what I heard from them.

The growth of Monastic orders.

The monastic orders seem to have grown as follows :— At first, a person here and a person there thought of retiring from the world for one reason or another. He did so and passed his time in a kind of meditation. Then two or three such individuals happened to meet. They exchanged views and formed a small group at first. The group increased in numbers, and they formed a particular panth (પંથ) or order. Then, with the idea of disassociating themselves from worldly affairs, there came an idea of being of some use to the world. So, the group or the individual members of the group took to some kind of work *e.g.*, to teach. In the West, they began to teach as well as to attend the sick. Then they began to form larger groups and to live in one common place, the *math* or the monastery. The panths [1] or the groups so formed then chose one of themselves as a leader. Here, at the Nasik pilgrimage

[1] The word *panth* has given to the Parsees their words, *panthak* and *panthaki*. Panthak is the group of laymen to whose religious and spiritual wants a Parsee priest, called *panthaki*, attends.

most of the Sadhus belonged to some particular group or groups. Most of the groups were according to the districts or provinces from which they come.

In the East as well as in the West, the groups or *panths* of monks, headed by their leader have, at times, gone to war, mainly for what they took to be religious purposes. In the West, such groups of monks went as Crusaders to fight the Crusades for protecting the right of Christian pilgrims in Palestine. They thus founded the Military orders of monks. Some of the groups took to attending the wounded in the war in their war-hospitals. From there, they extended their sphere of usefulness to other hospitals and other fields for relieving distress. Thus, we see the rise of several orders like the Hospitallers, Friars, etc. The early Knights of Christendom were, to a certain extent, connected with such Hospitallers and other groups of monks. In the East, we find that the Tibetan monks, like their confrères of the West, take to fighting. The Tibetan chief Lamas, the Delai Lama and his colleague the Tashai Lama, are both the temporal and the spiritual heads of their monastic orders, and in their wars, with China and India, the Lama fraternity had taken to arms and formed large Lama armies.

The Eccentricities or Austerities of some Sadhus.

Here, there were some Sadhus who drew our particular attention. (*a*) I saw a Sadhu, who had taken a vow not to speak a word for 17 or 19 years. He was spoken of there as a "mugo mûni," *i.e.*, the dumb ascetic. He lived with a disciple in a small wretched hut on the left bank of the river. He took the above vow about five years ago. He expressed his thoughts by signs or wrote on a piece of paper or slate. In reply to my question, he wrote in Hindustani in beautiful hand in my note-book, that he came from پریاگ Prayag or Allahabad and had proposed to keep the above vow for بارہ برس یا چودا برس *i.e.*, for 12 or 14 years. (*b*) I saw another Sadhu who sat and slept over

a board with pointed nails. The *kharâu* or the sandal which he put on, also had pointed nails. (*c*) A third Sadhu slept on a bed made up of *babul* thorns. (*d*) I saw a Sadhu at Tapvan, *i.e.*, the jungle (van) where Ram had gone through a long religious retreat (tap), who had hung himself head downwards from a tree, and, turning a rosary with one hand, was rocking himself by pulling with the other hand a string tied to a stone. There was a piece of cloth spread before all these Sadhus and the passing pilgrims laid their gifts of money, fruit, etc., on it.

Naked Sadhus.

The most peculiar kind of Sadhus whom I saw were the naked Sadhus at Trimbak, about 18 miles from Nasik, where the Godavari takes its rise. A large number of the pilgrims of Nasik go to this place also. It is no uncommon thing to see Sadhus and even others in India almost all naked with simply a *langoti*, covering the private part. But some Sadhus whom I saw at Trimbak on the hill of Nil-parvat (*i.e.*, the mountain (parvat) of sapphire (nil), so called, because they say that at one time sapphires were found there,) were stark naked. Their number was small. I saw about three or four. They moved about listlessly before the pilgrims of both sexes. The Sadhus who have taken this vow of going naked are spoken of as those of the class (*panth*) of the Digambars. There were many more on the hill at the time, who liked to come down the hill naked, to have their bath at the sacred stream which was the source of the Godavari, but they were prevented by the Police to come down the hill naked. This hill of Nil-parvat is a solitary hill and there are very few pilgrims who visit it. So nakedness is permitted, or rather winked at, upon this hill. It happened, that at the time when I visited the hill, there came up also the Inspector General of Police and other Government officials, and all the Sadhus on the hill grouped round them, soliciting permission to go down the hill naked. But it was firmly, though very politely, refused. I suggested, that the Sadhus

can raise a fund from among the pilgrims and put up a continuous screen of *kanât* on both the sides of the road of steps leading down from the hill to the bank of the stream down below, where they wanted to go naked for a bath. If they would do that, there would be no objection on the part of Government who had to look to the question of decency from the point of view of the public. They objected to this suggestion on the ground of expense as the screen may very likely cost about Rs. 3,000.

A Graduate Sadhu.

I was surprised to find among the above Sadhus, who pleaded for permission to go down the hill naked, one who was a graduate of an Indian University. In his way of dressing and living, he was like all the other Sadhus. The only difference which I could see was, that he put on his hand a wrist watch and had some Persian books with him. I had a long talk with him. He read pretty fluently from a book which was a Persian translation of the Gita. As it was several years since he had forsaken the world and was moving about among the Sadhus, he had parted with his command, whatever it was, over English and spoke it very incorrectly. I discussed with him the question of nakedness and expressed my surprise that an educated man like him, a graduate of an University, should ask for permission to move about naked. He said that he himself was not keen but a little indifferent on the subject, but he must preserve *ésprit de corps* and plead for his *panth*. It is no wonder that it was so, when we find, that, even in advanced Christendom at present, we find, here and there, a distinct desire to stick to old forms, and observances. In a recent book named "Archaic England" we read: "Even to-day, after 2,000 years of Christian discipline, the clergy dare not in some districts interfere with the time-honoured tenets of their parishioners. In Normandy and Brittany the priests, against their inclination, are compelled to take part in pagan ceremonials, and in Spain, quite recently, an

archbishop has been nearly killed by his congregation for interdicting old customs."

Crooke on the question of Nudity in India in Custom and Ritual.

One of our former Ex-presidents, a distinguished anthropologist, Mr. W. Crooke, has, in an issue of the last year of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, written an interesting article entitled "Nudity in India in Custom and Ritual." Therein, he shows, that it is believed that some religious ceremonies and rites, if performed in a state of nudity have greater and better efficacy. Hence it is then, that the Sadhus on the Nil-parvat were anxious to be allowed to go down the hill naked to perform their *snân* or religious bath in the sacred waters of the river.

Castes among Sadhus.

The Sadhus had their own castes and their own customs and manners. (*a*) The four principal Hindu castes had Sadhus of their own. The Brahmins and Kshatriya Sadhus only could put on *janoi*, not the Sudra Sadhus. Some for example, the Baishnu or Vishnu Sadhus kept beard but the Khâki Sadhus did not. The latter were so called, because they applied *khâk*, *i.e.*, ashes or dust to their bodies. (*b*) They all had regular hours of meals. The principal dinner was spoken of by some as Râj-bhog,[1] *i.e.*, kingly or big dinner. The breakfast or small dinner was called Bâl-bhog, *i.e.*, small dinner, dinner of a *bâl* or bâlak, *i.e.*, child. Some Sadhus were Falâdi Sadhus, *i.e.*, they lived only on *fals* or fruits. They never ate any grain. (*c*) They had a variety in their dress and in their *âsans* or seats. (*d*) With some, a *chakra*, *i.e.*, a metallic circlet, formed a part of their dress. They put it round their neck. (*e*) Various kinds of *dhajâ* or flags were seen in different camps. Every group spoken of as *akhâdâ* by some had its own *dhajâ*. (*f*) In one place I saw a Sadhu with a *chakki*, *i.e.*, a grinding stone before him. People laid

[1] The word *bhog* means : "A feast, repast, banquet." This word and the word *bhoj* for *bhojan* (ભોજન), dinner, come from the same root *bhuj*, to eat.

offerings on it. When asked, why a grinding-stone should be an object of worship, I was told, that, as a grinding stone pounded flour for all, for the prince and the poor, so it was a worthy object of worship. Pride should be the last thing to be expected from the priestly class, but I observed the "pride of piety" in some of the chief Sadhus.

Free meals to the Sadhus from the Pilgrims.

In various camps, the chief Sadhu of that camp, had a better class of tent where he made his *âsan* or priestly seat. The pilgrims paid their homages and laid offerings. Some rich pilgrims arranged with these heads, to give to the whole fraternity of that camp, or, in some cases, of more than one camp, free meals for one day. They made various inquiries and then settled the sum to be given to the head of that fraternity for that purpose. The amount varied by hundreds, according to the desire of the rich pilgrims to give a feast of ordinary meals or meals with sweets. I had the pleasure of watching the monks at one of their ordinary meals in the evening. Their general rule is that they should take their evening meal before it is dark.[1] They permitted none with shoes on, within their tents and at the place where they took their meals. So I had to observe them from some distance from their place of meals. They had their meals in an open space. They had no seats but they sat as it were on their own legs, in long rows. Each had his own *lotâ* or waterpot with him. They brought their own trays on which the cooks served them with rice and dâl, which were prepared in large cauldrons close by. When the rich pilgrims gave them free meals, they had extras like *puri* and other sweets according to the sums of money given by the pilgrims for the purpose. "Sitârâm, Sitârâm" was their word of grace before meals. The whole assembly shouted the word before beginning their meals.

[1] That seems to be the custom of the priestly classes in other communities also. It is so in the case of Parsee priests engaged in particular long religious ceremonies. For example, those who are in the Ten

Sadhus and Intoxicants.

The Sadhus abstain from wine, but they indulge in other intoxicants like *bhâng* and *gânjâ*. On seeing *bhâng* being prepared near a respectable looking Sadhu with a large number of followers, I entered into some conversation with him, as to why they indulged in these drugs when they abstained from wine. The reason assigned was, that wine was prepared by other hands, while *bhâng* was prepared by their own hands. I questioned: "Why should a religious order like that of the Sadhus indulge in such intoxicating drugs?" The answer was that *gânjâ* produced a kind of soothing cheerful intoxication which made them indulge in good and pious thoughts about God. From what I knew of the old Parsi point of view, the reply did not seem to me to be strange. When, according to the Pahlavi Viraf-nameh, Ardai Viraf, the Iranian Dante of the Sassanian times, was proposed to be asked to have a vision of Heaven and Hell, he was given to drink *mang*, which was a drink like that of *bhâng*. Zoroastrian writings do not speak of prohibition. A moderate drink of wine is permitted. It is said in a Pahlavi book, that if one drinks a little wine with *humata*, *hukhta* and *hvrashta*, *i.e.*, with a view to indulge in good thoughts, good words and good deeds, that is permissible.[1] As among the Christians, so among the Parsees, wine is used as a symbol in religious ritual.

Sadhvis or Female monks.

The order of female monks or nuns does not seem to be as large in the East as in the West. We have some female monks of this kind. I saw two such with two Sadhus, who lived in detached huts separated from the camps of the monks. On having asked who they were, I was told that they were their *chelis*, *i.e.*, disciples. Besides the above two, I saw two other Sadhvis or

Nights' Ritual of the Bareshnûm or those who are engaged in the long Nirangdin Ceremony lasting for about 18 days, and even the boy-initiates who go through their Navarhood for being initiated as priests, are all required to take their evening meal before it is dark.

1 *Vide* my Paper on "Wine among the Ancient Persians."

female monks, all alone, as pilgrims. They were peculiarly dressed and talked very intelligently. In some monastic institutions of the West, women were kept out altogether, to keep away temptation. But there were, and even now there are, some institutions where male and female (nun) monks lived together in the same monastery in the holy bonds of chastity.

This subject of the female monks reminds me of what I saw in the Buddhist monasteries near Darjeeling some years ago. It is expected that the Lamas should lead a life of celibacy. Seeing women in the company of some chief Lamas in two of the monasteries there, I was told, that they were female monks and were called *annas*. They lived as wives with the monks. On being asked why was that, as they were enjoined to lead a life of celibacy, their reply was: "We are asked not to marry. We are not married but we have kept them." Another instance of observing religious precepts in their letter but not in their spirit, was what I observed in the monastery below Lebang in Darjeeling. Moving about at the back of the *gumpâ*, I was startled to see a meat-safe and a piece of beef in it. Buddhist books have forbidden to kill animals. So, asking the reason of their eating beef, I was told: "We are told: 'Do not kill.' We do not kill, but eat what is killed by others."

Sadhus and their long Hair.

One of the things that struck me most among several *Sadhus* was their extraordinary long hair. An old Sadhu, who said he was about 100 years of age, had his long hair twisted into 12 rows or curls which were from 8 to 10 feet long. These they wound round their heads forming something like a turban. Some ladies take special care of their hair and take pride in their length, but one would never see their hair so long. On being asked the reason, the monks said that they never combed the hair. Then in that case they should produce filth

and insects! The reply was, No. They applied ash on the head and that kept off insects

It seems that to keep hair is a custom for the priestly class among many religious communities. It is so among the Parsees. A Parsee initiate for Nâvarhood, the first grade of priesthood, is required to let his hair grow long for some months before his initiation. Shaving is prohibited among Parsee priests. They may occasionally cut the hair but never shave. They must keep beards. When they cut the hair, they do it themselves. They do not get them cut by barbers. When one who had entered into priesthood, left his profession, he got his head shaved by a barber and that was taken to be a signification of his having left his sacerdotal profession. Upto a few years ago, to say of a priest, ફલાણાએ માથુ ઓરાવી નાખ્યું છે, *i.e.*, "such and such a priest has got his head shaved," meant: "He has given up priesthood."

Sadhus and Gymnastics.

I was surprised to see in the tent of two or three Sadhus Indian gymnastic instruments of various kinds. I enquired why should they be so much careful for their *body*? There was an appropriate reply, that they preserved good health by gymnastics and good health was necessary for a religious life so that they may always be in a fit condition to pray to their God. I was at once reminded of one of the principal teachings of Zoroastrianism, about which Rev. Dr. Casartelli very properly said: "La maxime *mens sana in corpore sano* a tojours été un des dictions favoris du Mazdéisme" *i.e.*, "the maxim 'mens sana in corpore sano' has always been one of the favourite sayings of Mazdaism."

The possession of gymnastic instruments by some *sadhus*, and what, later on, I saw led me to the thought, that in the midst of their so-called unworldliness, there was a good deal of worldliness, not often of the best type. One morning, I was surprised to see a number of men of an Ambulance corps treating a number of wounded *sadhus* in one of the camps.

It was a result of a free fight among some who went from words to blows. In such conflicts, perhaps, the gymnastics of those who practised them helped them much. Worldliness and unworldliness may, at times, become relative words. If one likes, he can become one of the most unworldly men in the midst of all apparent worldliness and pomp. Such was the case with Janaka, a great king, who, in the midst of the so-called pomp of a royal court, led a pious unworldly life.

Sadhus and their Rosaries.

Almost all Sadhus had some rosaries of one kind or another in their hands. Some of the rosaries were unusually long, as they contained 1,000 beads of the wood of the sacred Tulsi plant. I have spoken at some length before this Society on the subject in my paper [1] on Rosaries, suggested by what I saw in the *Gumpâs* or monasteries of the Tibetan Lamas round about Darjeeling.

Sadhus and their Mirrors.

I saw mirrors of different sizes on the *âsans, i.e.*, seats of various monks. Mirrors play a prominent part in the ritual of the Japanese, Chinese and Hindus. The Sadhus look into the mirrors after their bath and during a part of the ritual. They say, that by looking their *svarup* (स्वरूप), their own features in the mirror, they think, as it were, of the features of God, of his characteristics and powers. On the bathing *ghats* on the banks of the Hugli at Calcutta, and, at times on the ghats of our Back Bay, on holidays, I have seen Brahmins showing mirrors to their worshippers after the application of the usual required things on their forehead. It seems, that at first, from being a requisite for bath purposes, the mirror has latterly become an article of religious apparatus. It is said that the religious signification of a mirror among some Japanese is something like this : " If on looking into a mirror, you find your face wanting in physical beauty, try to make up for the deficiency by intellectual and spiritual beauty. If you find it

[1] Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay of 1913. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp. 92-109.

to your satisfaction as possessing some beauty, try to see that the impression created by that physical beauty is no way spoilt by some defects in the beauty of your mind, the beauty of your head and heart."

The ways of courtesy among the Sadhus.

The ways in which people of different communities *salâm* one another, *i.e.*, show courtesy and respect to one another, present many a thought to students of cultural Anthropology. Many such thoughts leaped into my mind, when I visited the monks in their various camps at Nasik and on the above-mentioned hill of Nil-parvat. These ways differed in degree from the use of hands in various ways to the various gestures of head and to the prostration at full length on the ground. The procedure at Nil-parvat was very peculiar. They laid down their head at the feet of the superior five times in a peculiar way. At first, they sat on their knees, then stooped down and then touched the feet of the superior. Dr. Sven Hedin tells us in one of his books of travels in the Himalayas, that some pilgrims to the shrines of Man Sarovar take a vow to go round the lake in a prostrating position. The pilgrim at first lies down, then gets up and walks up only upto the place which his head or his extended hands after prostration reach and lies down again. In this way, the pilgrim takes a number of days to finish his round. I remember seeing a Hindu lady coming from the Colaba village to the seashore at Cuffe parade in this way of prostrating posture. I learnt, that she had taken a vow to give offering to the sea, advancing in this posture, if her son recovered from an attack of small-pox. The son recovered and she fulfilled her vow and went to the seashore, in a procession with Indian music, going all the way in the above lying posture.

Alms to the Sadhus.

The higher class of Sadhus do not receive alms or gifts from us personally in kind. When at the end of a long interesting talk with a Sadhu, I extended my hand to give him some money gift it was not accepted, and I was told, that I must

not hand it in his hand but place it down on the ground before him. It is considered *infra dig* by them to accept it in their hands. This explains, why I saw a piece of cloth placed before many Sadhus. The pilgrims placed on the cloth their offerings in cash and kind.

This custom suggests to us many a thought as to how several social manners and customs pass on from the dignitaries of the Church to the dignitaries of the Court and Society. The Oriental Court-custom of holding *nazars* before Royal princes and personages, is an example of this kind. These *nazars* are not handed but held before them. I had observed in the Court of H. H. the Maharaja of Cashmere, that those who were accorded the honour of an interview had to hold a *nazar* before His Highness, and that on a piece of cloth, *e.g.*, an handkerchief held in one hand. When a Parsee priest placed on the Sacred fire of an Atash Behram the offering of sandalwood presented by the worshippers, he is required to do so with a covered hand. He puts on gloves in his hand before doing so. The Sacred Fire also is spoken of as Atash Behram *pâdshah*, *i.e.*, Atash Behram the King. From the Church and the State, the practice has crept into Society. The domestics in well-conducted hotels or houses are expected to hand you money or small things not in your hands but on a piece of plate, etc.

It is not only pilgrims that offer gifts of money to the Sadhus, but the Sadhus of a lower grade, when they go to see the Sadhus of higher grades, offer their *nazars* or gifts. I saw at Nil-parvat, that when a number of Sadhus came to pay their homage to the head of their order, they placed before him gifts according to their means. They speak of three kinds of Durbars or Courts in this order:—1. Râj-darbâr, *i.e.*, the court of Kings. 2. Dev-darbar or the court or the seats of their gods and goddesses, *i.e.*, their temples and shrines, and 3. Guru-darbars, *i.e.*, the courts or seats of their gûrûs or spiritual leaders. All these courts require some gifts when you visit them. So, when you go to the Court of your ruler,

to your temple or shrine or to your spiritual leader, you must present a *nazar* or gift.

Christian monastic Institutions.

I have described above some of the customs and eccentricities of the Sadhus as observed in their camps at Nasik. This reminds us of the monastic institutions of the West, which also have their own customs. Mr. Workmann's "Evolution of the Monastic ideal" gives us an interesting and instructive idea of these. The final aim or ideal which we see at the bottom is, that of an "yearning of self-surrender." We find, that with that idea before them, some of the monastic institutions of the West try to keep off temptation as far as possible. In this case, there seems to lie some difference between the East and the West. Here in the East, the Sadhus move about freely in the world even in the midst of temptations. At Nil-parvat near Trimbak, where there lived some naked monks, there went some female pilgrims also, and the naked monks moved about as if there was nothing extraordinary. They seemed to have commanded complete control over themselves in the midst of temptations. On the other hand, we read that in some of the monasteries of the West, in order to keep off all temptations from before the monks, the entrance of women within the limits of the monasteries is altogether prohibited. Not only women, but also animals of the female sex. For example, one can take in, he-goats, cocks, dogs and such other animals of the male sex but not she-goats, hens, bitches and such other animals of the female sex. That is an attempt to keep off temptation with, as it were, a vengeance. They say, that some monks there take themselves as polluted if they touch a woman, even by an accident. It is said of a monk there, that he had not seen a woman for 50 years. When at the end of 50 years, he visited, with the permission of the head of his institution, his sister, he did so with bandages upon his eyes. He talked with her but did not see her. Such are some of the extreme eccentricities of the Christian monastic institutions of the West.

THE *AGHUKHOH* OF SEMA NAGAS OF THE ASSAM HILLS AND THE *CHAH* OF THE KABULIS.

(*Read on 25th October 1922.*)

I

Introduction.

The weapons of warfare of the ancients and of various modern tribes, living far away from seats of civilization, and the methods of their warfare present several aspects worth studying from an Anthropological point of view. The present Paper treats, not of weapons, but of a particular method of fight, observed among a hill tribe of India, and of its comparison with a similar method of the people of Kabul in older times, described by Firdousi in his Shâh-nâmeh. The subject of the paper is suggested to me by an interesting monograph by Mr. J. H. Hutton on "The Sema Nagas,"[1] one of the several Naga tribes of the hills on the North-Eastern Frontiers of India between Assam and Burmah. The monograph is interesting from several points of view. One of these points is, that it shows, what important part is played by migration in the formation of tribes in various parts of the country, especially in the hills. This particular tribe was the result of three migrations from the North-East, the North-West and the South. What the author says in his preface, confirms what we find from some of the papers in our Journal, that many of our judicial courts are places, where occasionally many a tribal question comes for discussion, and judicial officers have opportunities to study many questions of anthropological interest. The author says: "There is hardly any part of tribal custom which is not sooner or later somehow drawn into one of the innumerable disputes, which the local officer in the Naga Hill is called upon to settle."

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1 "The Sema Nagas" by Mr. J. H. Hutton, I.C.S., with a Foreword by Mr. Henry Balfour.

The Foreword of Mr. Henry Balfour claims the attention of a society like ours. It urges early work in the matter of inquiry in the case of all tribes and castes. He says: "The rapid changes which the culture of the 'unrisen' races is undergoing renders urgent the work of the field anthropologist. It is of the utmost importance, not only to the Science of Man, but also to responsible officialdom, since a just and enlightened administration of native affairs cannot be established and pursued without an intimate knowledge of, and sympathetic interest in the natives themselves, their customs and their point of view. Lack of ethnographic knowledge has been responsible for many of the misunderstandings and fatal errors which have tarnished our well-meant endeavours to control wisely and equitably the affairs of those whose culture has been evolved under environments which differ widely from those of civilized peoples." The last great war has, as it were, affected many a nook and corner of the wide world. It may have affected—and one must wait for the results—the distant hilly tract of this tribe, because a large number of the people of this tribe had gone to Europe during the war as men of the labour-corps of the British Army. The French authorities, as reported by Mr. Balfour, described them as having "self-possession and absence of fear when they were landed in France after experiencing shipwreck in the Mediterranean—a truly novel experience for those primitive inland hill-dwellers."

II

The Aghukhohs of the Tribe.

Coming to the subject proper of the paper, we find, that in the third part of his monograph, treating of the Laws and Customs of the tribe, Mr. Hutton speaks of their settlement of disputes and war—war in general, whether genuine war or mere head-hunting. Describing the methods or tactics of warfare and head-hunting, he speaks of their Aghukhohs or war-pits, and thus describes them: "This is contrived by choosing a place where the path goes along the side of a hill and excavating a deep and long pit

under the path perhaps as much as 6 feet long by 8 feet deep, without disturbing the surface which is left intact for a considerable thickness. The bottom of the pit is filled with double rows of *panjis*, say 4 feet and 2 feet in length respectively, and the excavation is concealed. The *aghukhoh* may then just be left for the enemy to walk into, or the enemy may be lured to rush into it by a warrior on the far side, who apparently risks his head to wait about and shout insulting challenges. In this way, with good luck, sometimes even three of one's foes at a fall may be caused to go down together well perforated into the pit. The *aghukhoh* or " leg-pit " is usually made by taking advantage of a depression in the ground, and this depression, or a shallow pit made for the purpose, is planted with short *panjis* in the ordinary way and filled up with bits of sticks, moss, grass, leaves, and earth, so that, it lames people before they realise that the ground is *panjied*. The stone-chute (Zhüka, " flattenner ") is known to the Semas, but apparently not put into practice by them in warfare. Stones and sticks and sharpened bamboos are also used."[1]

The pitfalls of the primitive man to catch tigers, etc.

From what we read of the old Stone Age, it seems that the idea of these Aghukhohs or war-pits may have been taken by this and other similar tribes from the " pitfalls, " whereby early primitive man caught tigers and such other ferocious animals. These pits were pits with pointed wooden spikes, etc.[2] One of the Asiatic methods still prevalent for capturing elephants is that of such pitfalls.

III

Parallels from the Shâh-nâmeh.

Now, we find a parallel of this mode of warfare in the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi, whereby Rustam was killed by his half-brother Schogâd on the frontiers of Cabul. We read of this subject in the Shâh-nâmeh under the heading of

1 *Ibid*, page 171.

2 *Vide* "Every day life in the Old Stone Age" by Marjorie and Quennels, page 29, Figure 16.

چاه کندن شاه کابل در شکارگاه و فتادن رستم و زواره در آن

i.e., the Digging of a *châh* (a pit) by the Shâh of Kâbul in the Hunting ground and the falling of Rustam and Zavâreh into it.[1] The subject forms a part of the Episode, entitled داستان رستم و شغاد *i.e.*, the Narrative of Rustam and Shoghâd. Firdousi describes the story on the authority of an old book (daftar) in the possession of one Âzâd Sarv,[2] who lived at Merv in the house of Ahmed of Sahl. This Azad Sarv was descended from the family of Sam Nariman, the ancestor of Rustam, and knew much of the battles (razm) of Rustam. This Âzâd Sarv had a book about (ancient) kings (nâmeh-i-Khusravân). Firdousi's story, given on the authority of this book, runs thus:

The story about the Death of Rustam by a Fall in a *châh*.

Zâl, the father of Rustam, had, by a slave woman (bandahi kanizah), a son, named Shoghâd. On the birth of the child, the astrologers of Kâbul and Kashmir, on being consulted, predicted, that the child would bring all infamy on the family and would be the cause of ruining it. Zâl was much distressed to learn that, and he prayed to God to avert that misfortune. When the child grew up, Zâl sent him to the King of Kâbul to be brought up by him. The Shâh of Kâbul brought him up like a fresh apple (tâzah seb) and gave him his daughter in marriage. Rustam was the Feudal Lord of Kâbul and the Shâh of Kâbul was his feudal vassal. Rustam received every year from the Shâh of Kâbul, as a token of this vassalage, the tribute of a skin of a cow[3] (*yak charm-i gav*). Now, the King of Kâbul thought that Shoghâd, the step-brother of Rustam, having become his son-in-law, out of regard for the new relationship, Rustam would forego the usual tribute of the skin of a cow hardly worth

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1 Vullers's Text of the Shâh-nâmeh, Vol. III, page 1735. M. Mohl's Le Livre des Rois, Vol. IV, small edition, p. 573. The Gujarati Shâh-nâmeh of the Kutâr Brothers, Vol. VI, p. 250.

2 Mohl's Text gives the name as Azadeh Sarv.

3 چنان بدکه هرسال یک چرم گاو ∴ ز کابل بمي خواستی باژو ساو

a *diram*. But when the proper time came, the officers of Rustam demanded the usual tribute. This enraged the King and his people of Kâbul. Shoghâd also was much distressed at his step-brother not entertaining any regard (*sharm*) for him. So, he thought of injuring him. He submitted the following stratagem to entrap his brother: He proposed, that the King of Kâbul may give a grand feast or entertainment (*sûr*) to all the grandees of the city. Therein, he may show coldness to him and speak cold words to him (*marâ sard gûi*) and call him a coward (*nâ javân mard*). Thus insulted, he would leave Kâbul and go to his brother Rustam to complain. Rustam would come to revenge the insult to his brother. Then, on the road towards Kâbul, he may get a hunting-ground (nakhchir-gâh) prepared. I will describe what follows, in the very words of Firdousi, to enable us to see what kind of pitfall was aimed at: "You prepare a hunting ground on the road (to Kâbul) and prepare several pits in that hunting ground. Prepare those pits (*chah*) of the size of Rustam and his horse (rakhsh), and fix in them long (pointed) swords (tîghhâ-e darâz) and also water-coloured (âb-gun, *i.e.*, clean or brilliant) spears and daggers, in such a way, that the pointed edges may point upwards and the handles may be downwards. Better prepare ten of such pits than five, if you wish to be free from any anxiety (of failure by a smaller number). Employ one hundred artificers (for the purpose) and prepare the pits, and do not let even the wind know the secret. Then shut up the openings of the pits and keep even your lips ignorant (*i.e.*, do not let even your lips know this secret)." Having suggested this stratagem, Shoghâd went to Seistan, the feuderal seat of his brother, and complained bitterly to his father Zâl and brother Rustam about the insulting conduct of the King of Kâbul. Zâl and Rustam got angry. Rustam consoled his brother Shoghâd, and keeping him with him, treated him kindly. He prepared an army to march from Kâbul, and proceeding from the District of Zâbul in Seistân, encamped within the territories of the King of Kâbul.

Then Shoghâd went to Rustam and dissuaded him from marching with such a large army. He said: "If I would write your name on water [1] (and send it) to Kâbul, nobody would get rest and sleep. Who will dare to come before you to fight? And who will stand long, when you will move to fight? I think, that, by this time, he must be repenting and must be thinking to make amends for my departure (from his court). (Perhaps) there will come soon from Kâbul distinguished chiefs asking for forgiveness." Shoghâd thereby dissuaded Rustam to march upon Kâbul with a large army. So, Rustam resolved to go there with 100 horsemen and his brother Zahvâreh.

In the meantime, the King of Kâbul chose a certain place in the hunting ground and got several pits dug there. He got swords, spears, daggers and lances fixed in the ground with their points upward, and covered the openings in such a way that nobody could discover the fraud. When Rustam commenced to march, Shoghâd sent a messenger in advance to Kâbul to inform the King of his approach. The King came out of his city to meet Rustam and, on seeing him from a distance, got down from his horse, took off his Indian hat from his head, and went before him with bare head and folded hands. He took off his shoes, and prostrating himself on the ground, apologized for his conduct. Rustam pardoned him and asked him to cover his head and to ride on his horse. The King then entertained Rustam right royally in a beautiful tract of country near Kâbul. He then proposed a hunt which Rustam accepted with great pleasure. The hunting party departed in various directions and Rustam and his brother Zavâreh were induced to go over the place which was dug from underneath and concealed. The Rakhsh, the noble steed of Rustam, coming just near the place where the pits were dug, stopped at once, having

[1] Writing or marking something on water is the weakest way of writing. It is immediately effaced. So, what is meant is this: "Even the slightest possible intimation that you are marching upon Kâbul will make the King and people of Kâbul sleepless."

a strange odour from the newly dug ground. He, as it were, saw some danger and walked very slowly and cautiously, feeling his ground. Rustam did not like this, and so whipped him. Being much pressed to go on, he proceeded, not at the usual pace, but leaped over that portion of the ground where he suspected there was something wrong with the ground. In his jump, he leapt over the pit, but the pit being extensive in length, in spite of all his effort, his hind legs fell in the pit and he fell with his rider into the pit. Both, the rider and the horse, were mortally wounded by the pointed weapons, fixed point upwards in the pit. Notwithstanding being greatly wounded, Rustam made a noble effort and, extricating himself from the pointed weapons, looked over the pit, and from the look and demeanour of Shoghâd, who was watching all this from over the pit, soon found that all this was the result of a stratagem on the part of Shoghâd. He cursed Shoghâd, who returned the curse by abuse and taunt. Rustam thus caught in the death-trap, asked Shoghâd to help him in one way at the last dying moment. He asked him to untie his bow from his wounded side and to put in two arrows in it, so that, in case, at night, a lion came in and tried to harm him further, he may try to save himself from further injury by means of the bow. Shoghâd did so, little suspecting that the bow was asked to be drawn to kill him. Thereupon, Rustam aimed his bow at his treacherous brother and killed him, and thanked God for enabling him to revenge his death with his own hands. He and his brother Zahvâreh, who also had met a similar fate, both expired soon after.

The Fall of Mardâs.

We find, from an earlier part of the Shâh-nâmeh, that Zohak, the parricide, killed his pious father Mardâs in a similar way, by digging a pit in his garden over the way by which he went at night for his prayers. Zohâk got a deep pit (*zarf châh*) dug in the way and got its mouth covered over by leaves and grass (khashâk). Mardâs fell into it and died.

It seems that this method of killing or entrapping enemies in hidden pits was prevalent among many people, and from olden times, because we have proverbs among different people referring to this method. Some of these proverbs are the following[1] :—

Proverbs indicating the generality of the Method.

1. ખાડો ખોડે તે પડે (Gujarati), *i.e.*, one who digs a pit falls into it.

2. Who so diggeth a pit shall fall therein (Old Testament, proverbs XXVI, 27).

3. Wer Andern eine Grube grabt, fallt selbst hinein (whoever digs a pit for others, falls himself therein).

4 (*a*) چاہ کن ہمیشہ در چاہ است

(The digger of a pit is always in a pit.)

(*b*) چاہ کن را چاہ در پیش

For the digger of a pit, a pit is (always) before him.

"THE KHUTBA-(خطبہ) OF THE MAHOMEDANS AND THE DASTÛRI OF THE PARSEES."

(*Read on 29th November 1922.*)

Our attention to the Khutba of our Mahomedan brethren has been drawn at present by the telegrams we have received of the election of a new Khalifa. It is said, that now the Khutbas will be recited in the name of the new Khalifa. The object of this paper is to show, that there is, among the Parsees, as among the Mahomedans, a custom, whereby the name of the Dastur or the High Priest is recited in certain rituals. The recital is spoken of as Dasturi.

Introduction.

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(1) *Vide* the કેહેવત માળા, by Mr. J. N. Petit, edited by Mr Jijibhoy P. Mistri, Vol. I, page 151.

I

What is a Khûtbâ ?

The word Khutba ordinarily means any "Speech, harangue, address or sermon," but it has come to be specialised for the "sermon preached in the mosques on a Friday."[1] Dr. Hughes[2] thus speaks of a Khutba. It is "the sermon or oration delivered on Fridays at the time of Zuhr or meridian prayer. It is also recited on the two great festivals in the morning, after sunrise." The injunction for the Khutba is said to have been based on the 62nd Sûrah of Koran where we read: "O true believers, when ye are called to prayers, on the day of the assembly,[3] hasten to the commemoration of God and leave merchandising. This will be better for you, if you know it."[4] The preacher who delivers the Khutba, is called Khatib. On Fridays, the congregation first performs the ablutions and then says the four sunnah prayers. Then, the Khatib sits above on the *mimbar* (منبر) or pulpit. The Mu'azzin then calls out azân (اذان) or announcement, *i.e.*, he calls people to prayers. After the call, the Khatib descends on a lower step of the pulpit and delivers the Khutba. In the *Khutba*, which must be in Arabic, the prayers for the Prophet, his companions and the king are essential. In India, as they have to live under a non-Mahomedan king, the name of the reigning monarch is omitted. But, we learn from a Khutba published at Lucknow, and as given by Hughes,[5] that the ruler is thus referred to: "O God! Bless the ruler of the Age and make him kind and favourable to the people." The Khatib is at liberty to vary his sermon as he likes in the latter part, but he must mention the name of the prophet and his companions. On the close of the sermon, he sits down, and he and all the members of the congregation say their own extempore prayers, *i.e.*, petition God as they like and submit

1 Steingass. 2 A Dictionary of Islam, by Thomas Patrick-Hughes (1885), p. 274.

3 Friday is the day of assembly. It is called *yum al Jumâ*, *i.e.*, The day of assembly.

4 Sale's Koran (1891), pp. 450-51.

5 Op Cit., p. 275.

before Him their homage, praise, desires and wishes. During these private prayers, they hold forth their hands and palm inwards, and draw them down their face. Then follows the finishing portion of the Khutba. Mr. Hughes says: "According to the best tradition, the name of the reigning Khalifa ought to be recited in the Khutba. . . . . In India, the name of the king is omitted and the expression 'Ruler of the Age' is used." Mr. Hughes then adds. "In India, the recital of the Khutba serves to remind every Mahomedan priest, at least once a week, that he is in a Dâru'-l Harb 'a land of enmity.' Still the fact that he can recite his Khutba at all in a country not under Muslim rule, must also assure him that he is in a Dâru'-l Amân or "land of protection."

We see from this account of the Khutba, as given by Mr. Hughes, that, in it, there is always a mention of the name of the Khalifa or the spiritual head of Islamism and of that of the king, if he be a Mahomedan ruler, but as "Ruler of the Age" if he be a non-Mahomedan. We find from the history of the Mahomedan rulers of India, that in their time, the recital of the Khutba in the name of the king was held to be essential to establish one's right to the throne and to declare his ascension to it. Invaders hastened to get the Khutba recited in their names in the Musjids. For example, we read in Vincent Smith's Life of Akbar, that Muhammad Hakim, the Prince of Kabul, invaded the Punjab and Khân Zaman, who supported him "went so far as to recite the *khutba* or prayer for the king in his name."[1] We learn that more than once Akbar himself recited the Khutba in place of the regular preacher. We read the following in Smith's Life of Akbar.[2]

Akbar as preacher.

"At the end of June 1579 Akbar had introduced a startling innovation by displacing the regular preacher at the chief mosque in Fathepur-Sikri and himself taking his place in the pulpit, on the first Friday in the fifth month of the Muhammadan

1 "Akbar, the Great Moghul," by Vincent Smith, 1917, f. 77.
2 *Ibid*, pp. 176-77.

year. The address (*khutbah*) usually given on a Friday is composed somewhat on the lines of the "bidding prayer,"[1] used in English Universities, and always includes a prayer for the reigning sovereign. Akbar, in order to emphasize the position of spiritual leader of the nation (Imām-i-âdil) to which he laid claim, availed himself of certain alleged ancient precedents and resolved to recite the *khutbah* himself. Faizi, brother of Abu-l Fazl and Poet Laureate, produced a sort of *khutbah* in verse, as follows, which the emperor recited.

"In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity;—
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts,
Exalted be His Majetsy—"Allâhu Akbar!" (Great is God!)

To those eloquent lines he added some verses of the Koran, expressing thanks for mercies and favours, and having repeated the *fātiha*, or opening section of the Koran, came down from the pulpit, and said his prayers. According to Badāoni, he lost his nerve and broke down, but the other historians do not support that statement. He repeated the experiment several times."[2]

II

The practice among the Parsees.

Now, among the Parsees also, there is the practice of remembering both the ruler of the land and the spiritual head of the town, though both not in the same prayer or ritual. As to the Dastur or the spiritual head of the city, his name is mentioned in three religious ceremonies. The first is in that of the Bareshnûm purification;[3] the second that of the funeral ceremony,[4] when the body of the deceased

[1] For the "Bidding Prayer" at Oxford, *vide* my "Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the Parsees," p. 81 n. 1.

[2] "Akbar the Great Moghul" by V. A. Smith, pp. 176-77.

[3] *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 128

[4] *Ibid*, p. 64.

is washed and placed in a corner of the house before being carriedtothe Tower of Silence; the third is that of the purification of the sacred fire.[1] In the Bareshnûm the recital is by the Mobad or priest who purifies or gives the Bareshnûm to another person; and in the second by the Nasasalârs or corpse-bearers; in the third by the purifying priest.

The Dasturi. The words of the recital run as follows:

Ba dasturi-i Dâdâr Ahura Mazda.
ba dasturi-i Ameshâspandân.
ba dasturi-i Sraosha ashô.
ba dasturi-i Âdarbâd Mârespand,
ba dasturi-i Dastur-i in Zamân.

Translation.—"(We do this) according to the commandments of God, according to the commandments of the Ameshâspentas or Archangels, according to the commandments of the holy Sraosha, according to the commandments of Adarbâd Marespand, according to the commandments of the 'Dastur of the Age.'"

In this recital Sraosha is the angel who (from çru to hear) hears the commandments of God and conveys them to Man on earth. Adarbâd was a famous High priest of Sassanian times. As to the "Dastur-i in Zamân," *i.e.*, the commandments of the Dastur of the Age, the priest or the Nasasalârs of a town mention, after the words, the name of the Head priest of their town. For example, during the recital at Naosari, the head-quarters of the Parsee priesthood, they recite, at the end, the name of the present Dastur, as "Dasturi-i-Dastur Kaikobad Dastur Mâhyâr." In Bombay, as there are two Dasturs or High priests, the practice is not the same everywhere, but generally, the recital has taken the same form as that of the Mahomedans in India in the case of a king. The recital ends with the words "Dastur-i in Zamân," *i.e.*, "the Dastur of the Time or Age," corresponding to the Mahomedan expression "the Ruler of the Age." Some

1 *Ibid*, p. 216.

priests who originally belonged and still belong to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Naosari, recite, even in Bombay, the name of the Dastur of Naosari.

We thus see that the Dasturi among the Parsees corresponds, to some extent, to the Khutba among the Mahomedans.

The name of the Ruler of the Land.

We saw above that the Mahomedans in their Khutba pray for the king as follows: "O God! Bless the ruler of the age and make him kind and favourable to the people." The Parsees also have a recital, and that a special and long recital in their prayers, known as the Afringâns. That prayer forms the 60th chapter of the Yaçna. Whenever and wherever the Afringân is recited, whether in a house or in a fire-temple, in honour of the living or in commemoration of the dead, this prayer is recited. It asks for the blessings of God upon the ruler of the land and prays that he may rule well to protect the righteous and punish the unrighteous. The prayer runs as follows[1]:—

"O Ahura Mazda! I pray for great courage, grand victory and superb majestic sovereignty for my king.

I pray for his rule, for allegiance to his throne, for a long period of his reign, for his long life, and for strength to his body.

I pray that he may have powerful beautiful courage, God-granted victory, and victorious superiority, that he may suppress those who are evil-minded, overpower the hostile, and quell the evil-disposed and quarrelsome.

I pray that our king may be victorious over all those who are revengeful enemies and malicious persons and who entertain evil thoughts, utter evil words and do evil actions.

I pray that our king may be victorious, through his good thoughts, good words and good actions. May he smite all the enemies, all the evil-doers. May he be gifted with all these boons in return for his good life. May that bring all glory to him and may all that enhance the piety of his soul.

1 *Vide* my "Moral Extracts from Zoroastrian Books," pp. 8-9.

O Ruler! May you live long. May you live happy to help the righteous and to punish the unrighteous. May the best brilliant life of the righteous and pious be your lot (Afringân)."

The ancient Persians always included their king in their prayers. Herodotus (Book I, 132) says: "He that sacrifices is not permitted to pray for blessings for himself alone; but he is obliged to offer prayers for the prosperity of all the Persians and the king, for he is himself included in the Persians." In his daily prayer, every Parsee prays for his king in his final benedictary prayer, known as the Tan-darusti. He first asks for God's blessings upon the king, then upon the Anjuman, *i.e.*, the whole community, and then upon himself and his kith and kin.

A FEW NOTES ON A FLYING VISIT TO JAPAN FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW.

Paper I.—History and Origin of the People.

(*Read on 27th September 1922.*)

Introduction.

I had the pleasure of paying a flying visit to Japan, in April this year. As said in my last paper before this society,[1] I visited Burma, Penang and Singapore in the Strait Settlements, French Indo-China, China and Japan in turn. I entered Japan on 6th April 1922 from its port of Simonoseky and left it on 25th April at Mogi, *via* the beautiful inland sea, again paying a longer visit to Simonoseky, while our steamer S.S. Japan waited in the harbour for a day. Thus, my flying visit lasted for about 19 days, during which I had the pleasure of seeing

[1] The Phongys of Burmah (Journal No. 4, vol. XII, pp. 458-477).

several cities and places.[1] I repeat what I said in my previous paper on the Phongys of Burma, that my short visit was a flying visit, as that of a globe-trotter, but made with pencil and note-book in hand whole throughout. This and the other papers that may follow are the result of what I have seen, heard and read. This paper is, rather, a preliminary paper, treating mostly of a brief account of the country and its history.

Japan, a Wonderful country.

Japan is, as often said, really a wonderful land. Both, the hand of God and the art of Man have made it wonderful to behold. Again, its people, who, in the midst of new ideas, still preserve, to a great extent, its old views and ideas, add to the charm of

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1 I give below my itinerary from Calcutta to the Furthest East and back, hoping, that it may interest our members, who may think of visiting this beautiful country :—

" 7th February, left Calcutta. 10th February, arrived at Rangoon. 13th February, arrived Mandalay. 14th February, arrived Mingu. 15th, returned to Rangoon. 16th, left Rangoon. 19th, arrived at Penang. 20th, left Penang. 22nd, arrived at Singapore. 26th, left Singapore. 28th, arrived at Saigon (French Indo-China). 2nd March, left Saigon. 5th March, arrived at Hyphon. 6th March, went to Hanoui from Hyphon. 7th March, left Hyphon. 10th March, arrived at Hongkong. 12th March, went to Macao. 13th March, arrived at Canton. 15th March, went to Wampu. 16th March, returned to Hongkong. 18th March, left Hongkong. 19th March, touched Amoy for a few hours. 22nd March, arrived at Shanghai. 24th March, arrived at Hangchow. 25th March, returned to Shanghai. 26th March, left Shanghai in the morning. 27th March, arrived at Pekin late at night. 31st, arrived at Nankou for the Ming Emperors' tombs. 1st April visited the great Wall of China. 3rd April, left Pekin for Japan, *via* Mukden and the frontiers of Korea. 6th April, taking boat at Fuschen, landed in Japan at the port of Simonoseky in the morning. Arrived at Kobe at night. 8th April, visited Osaka. 10th April, went to Kyoto. 11th April, returned to Kobe. 13th April, arrived at Ama-na-Hashidate. 15th April, arrived at Yokohama. 16th April, visited Tokyo. 17th April, Nekko. 18th April, Chuzenzi. 19th April, back to Yokohama. 20th April, returned to Kobe. 24th April, left Kobe for return journey. 25th April, arrived at Moji in the morning and left it at night. 29th April, visited Amoy. 30th April, second visit to Hongkong. 3rd May, left Hongkong. 9th May, arrived at Singapore. 13th May, arrived at Penang. 16th May, arrived at Rangoon. 17th, visited Pegu. 18th May, left Rangoon. 20th, returned to Calcutta."

the land. From the facts, that Japan won the great war against the colossal power of Russia, that it is considered to be one of the great Powers in the Councils of the West, and that it has advanced in modern Arts and Sciences, we all think that Japan is Europeanized. Yes, it is Europeanized and is still being Europeanized, but that Europeanization is more of the outside than of the inside. In its Army and its Navy, its Railways and Tramways, its Electric wires of telegraphs and light, in its Administration and Rule, we do see a good deal of Europeanization. But still, in its beliefs and religious views, in its manners and customs, it is still, to a great extent, the Japan of Old; and it is this, what we may call, its oldness, that adds to the pleasure of visiting the country. We do not know, how long will this *Old* of the East, pressed and pushed here and there by the *New* of the West, will continue. As a writer says: "Modern Japan is a mystery. There is an undying magic of Japan..... Japan is faithfully old and insistently new." It is spoken of as a kind of "fascinating mystery," as being the "Hermit of the East." Just as a beautiful person, male or female, looking his or her face into a mirror, is self-pleased, and falls, as it were, in love with himself or herself, so, it is said of some of the Japanese writers, that they, enamoured of its beauty, are overjoyed in their description of the beauties of their country. It is said of one of the old poets, Hitomaro, who lived in the 8th century A.C., and who had a Shinto temple built in his honour near Kobe at Akashi which the Japanese take as the place of their time meredian for the whole of Japan, that, enamoured of the beauty of his country, he said, "Japan is not a land where men need pray, for it is itself divine." Well, from my visit of a number of Japanese Shinto temples, I find, at least, this to be true, that the people, as a rule, do not pray long. When they go to the temple, they make a deep Japanese bow, clap their hands about three times, throw one or two coins in the temple-box, and mutter or rather utter in their minds, hardly for a minute or two, their prayers, and finish

They have much of devotion towards the unseen Higher Powers and, at the same time, they take a great zest in life. They enjoy life.

Sir Edwin Arnold speaks of its scenes and customs as being "as old as the beginning of the Christian Era, and older still. Under the thickest lacquer of new ways, the antique manners and primitive Asiatic beliefs survive of this curious and delightful people in whose veins Mongol and Malay blood has mingled to form an utterly special and unique race."[1] Thus, it is the hand of God, the art of Man and the peculiar manners and customs of the People which both God and man may be said to have moulded, all three, that make Japan "the happy hunting ground of the lover of the picturesque."[2] Its beautiful sea coast, its beautiful mountains and valleys, "its tiny shrines and quaint hostelries evidently placed so as to command vistas that delight the eye" make this beautiful land "a fitting abode for the most æsthetic of modern peoples."[3] Japan is spoken of as "the land of the Gods" and "a real fairyland in the Far East." The country is "pretty and quaint" and the people are more pretty and quaint.[4] Pierre Loti rapturously says "What a country of verdure and shade is Japan; what an unlooked-for Eden."[5] As very well said by Sir Edwin Arnold, Japan is "a country which surprises and fascinates every body who visits it."[6] As almost all visitors of Cashmere are overjoyed with the beauty of the country, so, almost all the travellers are more than pleased with their visit to picturesque Japan. Another writer says: "Japan is the delight of tourists; its arts, its customs, its scenery, its people have a charm to which all but the exceptionally unresponsive traveller yield. When after its long

1 "Seas and Lands," by Sir Edwin Arnold (1891), pp. 161-62.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 11. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
4 Myths and Legends of Japan, by F. Hadland Davis, p. XI.
5 Japan (Madame Chrysanthème), by Pierre Loti, translated from the French, by Laura Ensor, p. 14.
6 "Seas and Lands," by Sir Edwin Arnold (1891), p. 159.

seclusion it was once more accessible it was like the apparition of another world. Even now, when so much is changed, the novelty remains, and besides, the very transformation affects us like a fairy tale."[1]

Japan, susceptible to Foreign Influence. Iranian influence on its art.

Japan, though, as said above, it is conservative and old in the midst of the new, is susceptible to foreign influences, and it is these foreign influences that have made it what it is now. From a brief sketch of its history, which we will see later on, we find that America had and has a great hand in its working up of its own destiny. America forced Japan to open its doors to the outer world. By that hostile act, it has, to a certain extent, befriended it. As is often said, at times, our foes serve better the place of friends than friends themselves. We find that in the case of Japan. Some people say that the next great war of the world will be between America and Japan. Whatever may be the case in the future, Japan is certainly influenced by America first, and next by some European countries. But we find, that Japan was susceptible to foreign influences from olden times. It was influenced by Korea, China, Mongolia, India and even Persia. Japan presents many features of civilization and advancement from the times of the early cave-dwellers, referred to by some Archæological anthropologists, up to the most modern times. Of the influence of Iran or ancient Persia on its arts, we read in "The Arts of Japan" by Dillon, that some of its arts were influenced by those of Iran. Speaking of the arts of Nara, he says: "Nothing is more remarkable than the undoubted presence of Persian, more especially Sassanian motives in a considerable number of cases." Speaking of the art of painting of Kose-no-Kanaoka, a well-known painter, he says: "It is considered possible that the beginnings of Japanese art were strongly affected by Persian influences, which are discernible in Kanaoka's pictures."

[1] Imperial Japan, by George William Knox, 1905, p. 2.

This Persian influence came via China, which was first affected by it.

According to the History of China, its ancient civilization began about 3000 years before Christ. The best and glorious period of Chinese history was the latter period of the Chou Dynasty—(1122-249 B.C.) During the next dynasty, the Chin dynasty, China had its great stone monuments. The greatest monument of the period was its Chang-Cheng or Great wall. Then came the Western Han dynasty, and with it, the arts of Western Asia, which after Alexander's conquest of Persia, Bactria and India, were influenced by Greek art, entered into China, preparing the way for the entrance of Indian arts later on. Then came the time of Emperor Ming-ti (58-75 A.C.) of the Eastern Han dynasty. This Emperor had sent a special Embassy to India for familiarizing China with Buddhism. This was the time when Kanishka was believed to be ruling in North-Western India and when the Gandhara arts entered into India. At this time, Bactrian arts also entered into India. On the downfall of the Eastern Han dynasty, after a brief period of some divided kingdoms, there followed the period, known as the South and North Dynasty periods (221-589 A.C.), when some Central Asian tribes entered into China and brought with them the above referred to Gandhara arts and Sassanian arts. It was these Sassanian arts which entered Japan *via* China.

The old name of Japan.

It is said that in very early times, the Japanese called their country Yamato from a province of that name. Then they called it Nippon, in which name the first part Ni meant the Sun and the second part meant the "source." Thus the word meant "the source or the place whence came the Sun." This derivation points to the fact of its being in the furthest East. This explains why the Japanese have adopted the figure of the

1 Japan to-day, by Dr. J. A. B. Scherer, p. 28.

Sun as an emblem on their flag. The Chinese called the country Dschipon[1] or Jiepan, which name, in the Chinese, gave the same meaning, *i.e.*, the source of the Sun. It is from the Chinese name Jie-pan that Europe has taken its modern name Japan. Possibly, Marco Polo, who was in China in the 13th century A.D. and who is deified in China as a great saint,[1] introduced the name in Europe, or, perhaps, the Portuguese, who were the first to come into contact with the East, or the Dutch may have introduced it into Europe.

The Pre-historic history of Japan.

The Pre-historic history of Japan is shrouded in mystery. Anthropology appeals to Geology and Archæology for its very early pre-historic history. The appeal to Geology tells us, that this island, with its beautiful inland sea, containing hundreds and thousands of islands, varying from a few square yards in area to several square miles, and from a few feet in height to more than a thousand feet, and with its beautiful mountains and valleys, is the gradual result of the work of volcanic eruptions. The existence of the volcanic activity of the island is still testified by the great volcanic mountain of Fuji, held sacred and spoken of respectfully as Fuji San, and by its hot springs and occasional earthquake shocks. Next to the Geologists, our *gurus* of Anthropology ask us to turn to Archæologists, the "pick-and-shovel historians." On turning to them, we learn various things about the pre-historic history of the country. When the geologists begin with all life-endowed beings, of whom man forms only one part, the archæologists begin with man himself. They say, that the very earliest inhabitants of Japan were cave-dwellers. Some ancient cave-dwellings of its early people are traced by them at some distance from Tokyo.

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1 I saw Marco Polo's image in two temples of China in the midst of the images of the Saints of China.

The origin of the People.

It looks strange, but still it is a fact, that the history of many a country—both its history proper, as given by its literature and its pre-historic history as given by its archæological remains and its traditions—shows, that its modern people are not the descendants of its original inhabitants. They are mostly people of other countries who, driving the aborigines of those countries, have made them their homes. In the East, we find this to be the fact in the case of Iran, Hindustan, Burma, China, etc. In the West, this is the case with England, France, Germany, Russia, etc. It is the case even with Egypt in Africa. We know, that in our own country, the Aryans from the East, drove away the Dravidians to the South and made Northern India their home. Some scholars seem to believe, that even the Dravidians are not the aborigines of India, but were preceded by other aborigines. The same is the case with Japan. The ancestors of the modern Japanese are said to have come here from some place in Central Asia *via* China and Korea. Driving away the aborigines, known as the Ainos, to mountain-recesses, they settled and flourished here. Of these aborigines, the Ainos, it is believed that they themselves also had settled here in remote ages, after driving away an earlier people known as Koropok-guru. These earlier primitive aborigines are all gone, but the Ainos still live in groups in some distant parts, away from the cities of the modern Japanese. I was fortunate to see one of these Aino aborigines on 8th April at Osaka. His distinct physiognomy and peculiar dress in the midst of the present day Japanese, drew my attention from a distance, and learning, on inquiry, that he was an Aino aborigine, I actually ran after him to have a closer view of him, when he was about to go into an adjoining house. The Ainos or Ainus, the later aboriginal inhabitants of Japan, are believed to be Aryan and to have come from some part of Asia, *via* China, at a time, when the island of Japan was not so much distant from the mainland of Asia

as now. Yezo is their headquarters, where, out of 14 lacs of people, 18,000 are Ainos. Piratori is said to be the largest settlement of the Ainos of the South. The Ainos, who in the 9th century A.C. lived in the Northern part of Japan as far as at Sendai, were subdued at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century.

The next people who came to Japan from the North after the Ainos were the Mongols who easily subdued the Ainos A fanciful tradition says that Chengizkhan, the great Mongol conqueror, was himself a Japanese, whose original name was Yoshitsune (born 1159), a younger half-brother of the first Shogan Yoritomo (1147—1199). He helped his brother Yoritomo against the Tiara family and wore laurels which made the elder brother jealous of him. So he ran away from Japan and re-appeared on the continent of Asia as Chengizkhan.[1]

After the Mongols, came the Malays from the Philippine islands. They drove the Mongols to the North. By the beginning of the sixth century A.C., these three elements—the Ainos, the Mongols and the Malays—are believed to have combined and formed one nation. It is said[2] that "the Ainu contributed the power of resistance, the Mongols the intellectual qualities, and the Malay that handiness and adaptability which are the heritage of sailor-men." Chamberlain does not believe in any combination, and says that, though the Japanese who are Mongols have intermarried with the Ainos, they are two distinct people "as distinct as the Whites and Reds in North America." Mr. Davis says that "in spite of the fact that the Ainu is looked down upon in Japan, and regarded as a hairy aboriginal of interest to the anthropologist and the showman, a poor despised creature, who worships the bear as the emblem of strength and fierceness, he has,

1 Chamberlain's Japan (1913, 9th edition), p. 87.

2 "The Full Recognition of Japan," by Robert P. Porter, quoted by F. H. Davis in his Myths and Legends of Japan, p. XIII.

nevertheless, left his mark on Japan."[1] Fuji, the great volcano of Japan, is said to have taken its name from Fuchi, the Aino Goddess of Fire.[2] These people have given names to a number of places in Japan. They have also given a number of their superstitions to the modern Japanese.

A Brief Sketch of the History of Japan.

The Japanese take pleasure in their country being called the Land of the Rising Sun, because it is situated in the furthest East. For this reason they have the picture of the Sun on their national flag. There seems to be another reason for the Sun being the emblem on their banner. Just as some Rajput lines of king in India call themselves Surya-vanci (સુર્યવંશી) and trace their descent from the Sun-god, the Japanese trace their early descent from Ama-Terasu, the Sun-goddess. The early Mikados, thus tracing their descent, believed themselves to possess a kind of Divine Power. They were absolute rulers. Latterly, a kind of Feudalism, somewhat similar to that which was prevalent at one time in old England, prevailed in Japan. Now and then and here and there, there arose chiefs who usurped great powers. Yoritomo (1147-1199), one of such chiefs, who had newly risen to power after an arduous fight with other chiefs, established himself as a dual power over the country, and, assuming the title of Shogun or generalissimo, founded a kind of military feudalism. He was the founder of the Shogunate, which formed a kind of Diarchy in Japan. The Shoguns were, as it were, real rulers and the Mikados, kings in name. Some time after, there arose from the Shogunate, a third power; and for some time, there was, as it were, a kind of Triarchy. It was a powerful family of the retainers of the feudal lord, the Hojo family, that founded the triarchy. The family was called by that name as they first founded at Hojo a kind of military regency from 1205 to 1333 under the nominal military rule of the Shoguns. It was a

1 Myths and Legends of Japan, p. XIII.

2 *Ibid.*

member of this Hojo family, Hojo Tokimune, who ruled as a military regent from 1261-1284, that defeated the Mongol fleet of Kublai Khan who had invaded Japan. This defeat is as well-known in the history of Japan as that of the Spanish Armada in the reign of Elizabeth in the history of England. The memory of this great event is kept green in the minds of the modern Japanese by shows and pageants. I saw a lively picture of that event at Osaka. From amongst the Shogun rulers, the name of Hideyoshi who is spoken of as the Napoleon of Japan, or the Augustus of Japanese history (1536-1598), is well-known, as he had thought of becoming, as it were, Alexander the Great of the Furthest East. He had thought of being the conqueror of the East, but his ambition was cut short after a temporary conquest of Korea. His death brought another general in power, General Ieyasu (1542-1616). His family continued the Shogunate peacefully for about 250 years, when in the end the arrival of the well-known Embassy of Commodore Perry from America in 1853 shook from the very bottom the rule of the Shoguns, and a revolution in 1868 put an end to both, feudalism and dualism or diarchy, and restored the Mikados, who were upto then only nominal kings, to real royal power—an event often spoken now as the Restoration. The present Mikado is the second of such restored Mikados.

The Restoration of the power of the Mikados, led, by leaps and jumps, to the present exalted position of Japan among Western powers. America, by its above embassy, opened the doors of Japan. But these doors were once open ere this.

It seems, that some countries of Asia were more open to foreigners about two centuries ago than now. For example, Tibet was at one time open to occasional travellers from the West. So was China and so was Japan. But, later events led these countries to close their doors strongly against foreigners. In 1542, *i.e.*, about 50 years after Columbus discovered

America, the Portuguese had gone to Japan. St. Francis Xavier was the first to go to Japan, where he preached Christianity. After a few difficulties after his advent, the doors of Japan were opened to foreigners. But in 1600 A.C., the Shogun ruler shut the doors again and prevented the spread of Christianity. These doors were again opened as said above, at the instance of Commodore Perry.

This brief sketch of the history of the rulers of Japan helps us to understand better some of the institutions and customs of Japan. I will now speak of these:

Japanese Courtesy in Salutation and in Language.

As Dr. George Barton says:—"Salutations have in all parts of the world been an index of ethics and frequently have had religious significance. They vary from elaborate ceremonies . . to informal greetings."[1] Now, the first thing that strikes us, foreigners, on entering Japan, is their peculiar way of courtesy or what we, in our Indian language, say of their mode of *salâming*. When two persons meet, they bow towards each other. Generally, the one who is inferior in age or position, begins the bowing. The bowing is very low from the waist. When one bows, the other replies by bowing. Then the former bows again, and the second replies again by another bow. This process of bowing is repeated thrice. We began seeing this method of courtesy even before we entered Japan, in China itself, when we entered the frontiers of Korea where the Japanese had established themselves. There, we observed this method on Railway stations. When a person leaving a particular station by train exchanges his respects with friends and others who have come to bid him good-bye we spectators get nervous, lest he may miss the train by the dilatory process of three bows one after another by both the parties. Once we saw a number of ladies who had come to bid good-bye to a lady friend, who was leaving a place by a

1. Hasting's Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 11, p. 104.

steamor. It was a sight to see the numerous ladies all bowing together and the lady on the steamer bowing in reply from the deck and all repeating the process three times.

When you go to a Japanese inn, which is a kind of Japanese Hotel, you are received by such bowings and the maids in waiting sit kneeling before you when they wait upon you. In the case of some of their extreme ways of courtesy, we are reminded of what we read in Herodotus about the methods of courtesy of the Iranians of the Achaemenian times.

Courtesy of Language.

They extend their courtesy of outward manners even to their language which is full of a kind of sweetness of expression and respect. This sweetness of expression and respect extended from persons even to important inanimate things of constant use. We Indians are not unfamiliar with such expressions. I will remember my boyhood and my youth, when expressions of too much courtesy were common. Even upto about 20 years ago, I received letters from a relative at Naosari, the first half or nearly three-fourths of the first page of which, I could easily leave off, knowing fully well, that it contained nothing about the subject proper of the letter, but epistolary forms of courtesy—courtesy not only towards myself but also to my city and to my deceased father. The style of some of the Persian epistles from the Parsee Dasturs of Persia to those of India, as given in our Persian Rivâyats is full of such courteous expressions. But the Japanese are, as it were, experts in this matter. They are courteous in their language, not only to persons but even to places and things of daily use. For example *châ* is their word for tea, but they would speak of it as O-cha where o is an honorific prefix for *châ* or tea. Their word for hot water is *yu*, but they will speak of it as O yu, *i.e.*, honourable hot water. Their word of soup is *tsuyu*, but they would speak of it as O Tsuyu, *i.e.*, the honourable soup. The word *san* is an honorific word which you have to apply even to the boys and maids of your house.

The English word 'boy' for a household servant is used even among the French and the Japanese. I heard the word used on the French steamer Ambroise and then in Japan. In Japan, when you have to call your Japanese boy or house maid, you have to say boy-san or amma-san. Even inanimate objects like the sacred mountains are spoken of with that epithet. For example, the mountain Fuji is spoken of as Fuji-san.

Children carried on backs.

The second particular custom which strikes us on entering Japan is that of the Japanese babies being carried about by the mothers on their backs. We, here, speak of children being carried on કેડે *i.e.*, in our arms in the front. For example, we have our proverb કેડે છોકરું ને ગામમાં ખોરે *i.e.*, "The child is in her arms, but still the mother obliviously goes out in search for it in the whole village." In the case of a Japanese mother, such a proverb may better fit in, because she carries her baby generally on her back. In the train or in the tram, in public roads or in houses, in gardens or in fields, you see them carried by mothers on their backs. Even when others carry them, they carry them on backs. I have seen men and grown up children carrying them on their backs. In Japan, this seems to be the general practice for the rich as well as the poor.

Sir Edwin Arnold says that[1] "Japan is evidently a Paradise for babies and boys and girls. The babies are one and all slung upon the back in a deep fold of the *kimano*.[2] There they sleep, eat, drink and wobble their little slaven pates to and fro, with jolly little beaming visages, and fat brown hands and arms." We read further on (p. 187) "Everywhere too are visible the delightful Japanese babies—most placid and most plump of all known infants hood-rocking and blinking in the fold of the mother's *kimano*, but just as frequently tied

1 "Seas and Lands," p. 166.

2 The upper dress of a Japanese woman, serving the same purpose as our Indian *sâri*.

on the backs of old men, boys and little maidens ; for as soon as a Japanese child can even toddle about, a smaller one, who cannot yet run alone, is swaddled tightly upon its shoulders. The babies thus see everything, share everything, take part in agriculture, kite-flying, shipping, cooking, gossiping, washing and all that goes forward and onward, which perhaps give them, their extraordinary gravity and worldly wisdom, mingled with gladness as soon as they reach the mature age of four or five." I have seen on Railway and Tram stations mothers lulling their children to sleep on their backs, by little dancing movements, moving on their feet to and fro as if they were rocking them in a cradle.

I do not know what is the rate of mortality, among Japanese children. But I will not be surprised if it is less than that among other people, because the above custom of carrying their children out with them on their backs, sleeping or waking, keeps them long in open air. This outdoor life makes them intelligent also. Again, the question that strikes me in this matter is " What has led to this custom ? " I have not come across any writing treating of this subject, but my view is this : Japan is a mountainous country. Nearly seven-eighths of it is mountainous and only one-eighth is plain. So, it is natural, that most of the people have to come into contact with hills and mountains, valleys and dales. They have to go up and down. In this movement, it is very convenient to carry all kinds of loads—and among them babies—on the back. We see in the Himalayas that all porters carry their loads, not on heads, as we see here, but on their backs, some even supporting these loads by a strap passing across their foreheads.

A FEW NOTES ON A FLYING VISIT TO JAPAN, FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW.

Paper II.—Religion.

(*Read on 25th of October* 1922.)

Introduction.

This is my second paper on my "Few Notes on a Flying Visit to Japan." For one, who wants to understand Japan well, a little knowledge of its religion and its religious places and customs is necessary. Japan has two religions—Shintoism and Buddhism—the one older and the other, though old, later. They are two separate religions, but, by long usage, they are mixed up together. The elements of one have, as it were, entered into another. Most people may be said to be Shintoist Buddhists or Buddhist Shintoists. So, I will speak to-day generally on both these forms of the religion of Japan.

New religions based on the old.

We find in the case of almost all prevalent religions, that, when first founded, they were not, what one may call, brand new religions. New they were, but they were founded on much that was old. As there is no spontaneous generation in Nature, there is no spontaneous new religion. A new religion rests upon, or takes a few elements from, the old. Otherwise, it will make no influence. (*a*) In Iran, Zoroaster founded his new religion, basing it on some of the old elements of the previous Mazdayasnian religion, otherwise vaguely spoken of as the Paoiryotkaêshi religion. It is for this, that even now, a Parsee declares himself in his Creed or Confession of Faith as "a Zoroastrian, a Mazdayasnân Zoroastrian (Mazdayasno ahmi, Mazdayasno Zarathushtrish—Yasna XII). (*b*) Similarly Christianity was based upon older Hebrewism, and it had also incorporated some elements of other prevalent religions, spoken

of by its early fathers as Paganism. In Europe, for example, to meet the competition of the rival religion of Mithraism, an offshoot of the Zoroastrianism of Persia, it had embodied some views and even holidays of the Mithraic faith. As a typical example, we may point to the 25th of December, which begins the Christmas holidays, which is spoken of as the day of the Nativity of Christ and which is therefore known among us as Nâtâl (natal) holidays. Many a Christian Divine has shown that the birthday of Christ was another day and not the 25th of December, which was a Zoroastrian holiday connected with Mithra and was therefore a Mithraic holiday. The Christian fathers, in order to withstand the rival influence of Mithraism, adopted, with many other Mithraic customs,[1] this Mithraic holiday. Some time after America was discovered by Columbus, news continually came to Europe from there, that the Christian priests converted the people of America by thousands every month. The reason was, that these priests tried to wink at the old customs and manners of the people, and only saw that they took baptism. We know that some of our Indian Christians, converted in our Salsette, even after several centuries of their holding Christianity, are somewhat Hindu in some of their beliefs and customs. (c) The early Arabs, however intolerant of the Zoroastrianism of the country of Iran which it conquered, had many elements of old Zoroastrianism in their new religion. The Arabs, among whom it first rose, were for a number of years under the direct influence and rule of the Zoroastrians of Persia under Noshirwan, the

1 The word Mitre, the head-dress of the Christian bishop, is connected by some with Zoroastrian Mithra. Rev. Kennedy in his article on Mitre, in Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, says: "On the now common assumption that the Priests' Code originated in Babylonia, it is probable that the mitre was intended to have the conical form characteristic of the tiara of the Babylonian king." As to its making, the same writer says: "The mitre was an elaborate species of turban composed of a long swathe of fine linen, 16 cubits in length, according to the Talmud," thus reminding us of the turban of a Parsee Mobad of the present day.

Just (Chosroes I), of whom Mahomed is said to have mentioned, that he was proud that he was born in the reign of an *adal* or just king like Noshirwan. Again, on the frontiers, and even out of Arabia, the Arabs had come into contact with the Zoroastrians of Persia. Some tribes of Arabs were under the direct rule of the Persians and some under that of the Romans, and these rival tribes, at times, fanned the fire of hostility between the Romans and the Iranians, who, fighting with each other, weakened themselves so much, that they latterly soon fell victims to the powerful Arabs.

Now, what has occurred in the case of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Mahomedanism, has also occurred in the case of Buddhism which was born and which flourished in India for a number of years and was then driven out of it to the South, North and the East—to Ceylon and Tibet, and to Burma, China and Japan. In India itself, it had rested itself, to a great extent, upon the previous Brahmanism. When driven out of India, it preserved or took in itself the elements of the older religions of the countries in which it spread. It was so in Tibet, in China and Japan. In Tibet, it rested upon the old Bon religion of the country. The Tibetan Buddhism has some traces of that Bon religion in itself. The Buddhism of China has many elements of the previous teachings of Confucius. So, in Japan, its Buddhism is not free from the elements of the old Shintoism.

Shintoism.

Dr. Aston[1] gives us an interesting account of the Shinto religion of Japan. In Prof. Anasaki's French book on the religion of Japan, we have a learned and authoritative account of the Buddhist religion of Japan,[2] from the pen of one of the country's own learned sons, *fils de ce pays*, as he himself says. One may also read with advantage Dr. Knox's book on the general subject of

1 Shinto, the ancient religion of Japan, by W. G. Aston, C.M.G., D.Lit., 1907.

2 Quelque pages de l' Histoire Religieuse du Japan, par Prof. Masaharu Anesaki (1921).

Religion.[1] In Shintoism (*a*) Nature worship and (*b*) Ancestral worship play a prominent part.

(*a*) Nature worship embodies a kind of belief which takes it, that some supernatural powers preside over grand objects of Nature, like the Sun, Fire, Water, Air, etc.: With this belief, the early Shinto religion took Ama-terasu, a Sun-goddess, to preside over the great luminary, and the Japanese, like the Surya-vansi Rajputs of India, have their descent from this Sun-goddess. The temple of this goddess at Ise in Japan is spoken of as the Mecca of the Japanese. I could not go to the place to see the great shrine there, but had the pleasure of seeing, at Yokohama, one which is known as its branch or miniature. The doors of Shintoism are always open for the admission of the worship of new gods and goddesses.

(*b*) The second principal element of Shintoism being ancestral worship, the worship of many distinguished kings and heroes is admitted into it, and there are various Shinto temples, here and there, in honour of such great men. Among such, I particularly remember the one I saw at Shimonoseky, on 25th April 1922, in honour of General Nogi. I looked to my visit of the temple as a kind of pilgrimage, and left the temple a little wiser than when I went in. This General had drawn the attention of the whole world by practising *harakiri*, a peculiar kind of suicide, on the death of his royal master, the first Mikado after the Restoration. Monuments raised in honour of such great men, who are, as it were, deified, and in commemoration of some great events, even recent in the history of the country, are looked at with veneration and visited as places of worship with offerings.

As an instance of such monuments in honour of historical events, I may mention the monument near the Shinto temple of Ise on a hill adjoining Yokohama. It has been erected to commemorate the Russo-Japanese War. I visited it on the 19th of April. People visit the monument and venerate it with religious patriotic feelings. The Japanese Government

[1] The Development of Religion in Japan, by Dr. George William Knox (1907).

tries to connect Patriotism with Religion. Patriotism is taken to be a religious duty. With such a view, more than one place of worship are now presented with guns captured by the Japanese in the late war with Russia. It is a kind of attempt to associate the Church closely with the State—an attempt made in one form or another by Akbar in India, Ardeshir Bâbegân in Persia, and Ptolemy Sauter in Egypt. In Tokio, there is a Shinto temple of Yasukuni Jinja also known as Shokonsha or Spirit-invoking Shrine, which was erected in 1869 for the worship of the spirits of the Japanese who were killed in the civil revolutionary war, which ended the dual power of the Shogans and brought about the Restoration of the former power of the Mikados. Latterly, the worship of the spirits of those who fell during more recent troubles, like the Soga troubles of 1873, the rebellion of 1877 known as the Satsuma rebellion, and of those who fell in later wars with China and Russia, has been associated with this temple. So, it has become, as it were, a general spirit-invoking shrine of the country. Our Prince of Wales, who visited Japan at the time, when we were there, when at Tokio, visited this temple, and I was pleased to find from the newspapers of Japan, which gave a glowing account of a right royal and hearty welcome of him by the Japanese, that, with commendable tact and wisdom, which he seemed to have inherited from his royal grandfather, King Edward, he paid respects at the temple to the spirits of the fallen Japanese with three respectful bows in right Japanese manner.[1]

1 In connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales to Japan, I beg to take a note here of an event, which I like to consider as an event of my life. I had the pleasure of being associated as the Secretary of the Parsee Panchayet in the work of preparing the Royal addresses, presented to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, on her Diamond Jubilee, and to His Majesty King Edward on the occasion of his accession to the throne, but that association was small. But, in Japan, the Parsee Anjuman at Kobe, the headquarters of the Parsee merchants of Japan, entrusted to me the work of framing the address to be presented to His Royal Highness on his coming visit of Kobe. I had the pleasure of framing it, and of finding that the Consular authorities of Japan wholly approved of it.

Buddhism.

It is Buddhism that is said to have worked wonders in bringing about the early civilization of Japan. Prof. Anesaki speaks of it as having magical power (la puvoir magique). Buddhism was first introduced into Japan from Korea in 538 A.C. by a special Buddhist mission. Prince Shotoku Saishi (572-621 A.C.) helped its progress greatly. In 592, being appointed regent by a reigning princess, he, a young man of only about 20, patronized its spread in the country. One of the main, if not the main, characteristics of Buddhism is, that it taught unity as the fundamental and essential element of all kinds of existences, *i.e.*, it preached, that there was, as it were, one universal existence or life pervading the whole universe. Now, during the time of this Prince's regency, Japan was divided into several parties which fought among themselves now and then and weakened the country. As Prof. Anesaki says, there were many "adverse currents (courants adverses)",[1] to stand against which an united force was necessary. Prince Shotoku found that force in the newly introduced Buddhism which taught and preached unity in all existences. So, with a view to strengthen his power and to strengthen and exalt the country, he made Buddhism the national religion of the country, and, in connection with that movement, founded Shi-Tenno-ji, the temple of four celestial guardians. This temple comprised the following four institutions :—(1) A College of Monks, where they performed Buddhist ceremonies, gave monastic teaching, spread scientific culture and gave musical instruction. (2) An Asylum for the old and the poor. (3) An Hospital for the sick which also served the purpose of a place for the study of medicine. (4) A Medical Dispensary equipped with all medical requisites.

The Temple or Institution was founded on the shore of the Inland Sea which formed the route of communication between

1 Quelque pages de l'Histoire Religieuse du Japan, p. 12.

Western Japan and China and Korea. So, it was also utilized as a place of disembarkment of all Asiatic travellers. Thus, it always came into contact with the culture of other Asiatic countries. This institution became the principal Buddhist Trinity, spoken of as "Three Treasures," *viz.* (1) The Buddha, (2) Dharma or the Law founded by him, and (3) the Sangha or the Community of the Buddhists. The Prince issued a proclamation in 604 A.C. on this subject, which is known as the Constitution of Sixteen Articles. The constitution preached a kind of Law of Casualty. It is in the power of anybody to follow Buddha and, following him, to be in spiritual communion with all the past Buddhas[1] and even with all the future Buddhas. He may himself thus become a future Buddha, a Buddhi-satva. For all that Prince Shotoku did for Buddhism in Japan, he is spoken of as "the Constantine of Japanese Buddhism.[2]

On the death of Prince Shotoku, there was some stagnation in the active spread of Buddhism, but that was removed and there was a revival at the hands of two personages Dengyô Daishi (about 800 A.C.) and Kobo Daishi (774-834). Dengyô Daishi had travelled in China. Having stayed and studied there long, he returned with a knowledge of esoteric Buddhism and of the doctrines of the Tendai sect. He is spoken of as the first Buddhist abbot in Japan and was, with Kobo, the founder of Buddhist Hierarchy in Japan.

Kobo Daishi (774-834 A.C.) helped in the foundation of the Buddhist Hierarchy. A number of miracles are associated with him. Like some of the Christian Monks of the Middle Ages, he combined in himself the work of a preacher, painter, sculptor, calligraphist and traveller. In the last capacity, he went to China and studied Buddhism further. He brought with him many Buddhist books. Like the saintly king Kai-

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[1] Cf. Avesta: From Gaya-marethana to Soshyôs.

[2] Chamberlain's Handbook of Japan, p. 84.

khosru of Iran, he is believed, not to have died, but to live still in a vaulted tomb.

Honen was the next reviver of Buddhism. After the time of the above abbots, the observation of true Buddhism was on the decline. As in the case of the Christian Bishops in Europe, luxury and pleasure had crept in among the priestly classes of Japan. Honen relieved Japan of this growing tendency of luxury and pleasure. His name and work are associated with the Japanese goddess Amida,[1] who was, as a serene goddess of meditation, represented as sitting Buddha-like in meditation with her folded hands on her laps. Honen as it were, befriended, or rather, he himself was befriended by, this goddess. He instructed the people to worship that goddess and be meditative, and, turning away from pleasure and luxury, to resort to meditation with the remembrance of this Goddess of Meditation. This view of meditation led to a certain extent, to the belief in a Redeemer like Amida, though from the purely Buddhist point of view, there was nothing like a Redeemer, and everyone was his own Redeemer or Saviour. However, that was the pivot on which the attention of the people was turned from a luxurious life to a better life of piety. The pith of this new teaching in the name of Amida was, that "The Way of Wisdom is the way of salvation for one's self." This is something like the Avesta teaching of "Aêvô pantâo yo Ashahê; vispê anyaeshâm a-pantâm," *i.e.*, "There is only one path of virtue; all other paths are no paths." Amida was, as it were, the Mino-i-Kherad of the Iranians.

However, the doctrine of meditation of this saintly teacher, who flourished in the second half of the 12th century A.C., though simple, was misinterpreted and not stated properly

[1] This Amida, Maida, or Amita (Sans. Amitâbha) was a deity presiding on Boundless Light. She was, as it were, the Anirân of the Iranians who also presided on Boundless Light (anaghra raochâo). She is represented with a round mark on her forehead, like that which we see here on the forehead of Hindu ladies and which we saw, till about 40 years ago also, on the forehead of Parsee ladies—a mark "emblematic of wisdom."

by some of his disciples who overstated the case for meditation. Honen had a good successor in Shinran Shonin (1173-1262) who declared, that the mere frequent repetition of Buddha's name was not necessary. He also preached against the celibacy of priests and taught a close contact between Religion and Family. In this sense of Marriage, he was as it were an Iranian, who was taught to see Religion and good pure life, wherever there existed a good pious family. For this teaching, Shinran and his followers formed what is termed, "the Protestantism of Japan."[1] The splendid temples of this sect are known as Hon-gwan-ji (The Monastery of the Real Vow).

I had the pleasure of seeing, on 11th April 1922, a grand temple of one of the offshoots of this sect, the Higashi Hongwanji, at Kyoto. The original temple is said to have been burnt by fire and the present one was built in 1895 by public subscriptions—gifts in money and gifts in kind. The gifts in kind consisted of building materials like timber, etc. One of such gifts in kind was by the women of Japan, 4,000 of whom are said to have cut off their hair as a holy sacrifice and offered them for the preparation of ropes to lift up heavy loads of timber required in the construction of the temple. Japanese women have very long hair, and the ropes woven from the long hair of 4,000 pious self-sacrificing daughters of Japan were many. When moving about in the temple, I was struck by its grandeur but more so by the sights of four—out of many, which were, as I was told, in the godowns—huge rolls of such hair-ropes which were placed there to inspire pious thoughts among the worshippers. Women often make noble sacrifices for their country and their religion and here was an example of that kind. Four thousand Japanese women sacrificed what was more valuable than jewellery, their hair which added to their natural beauty. I was tempted to take a few hair out of these ropes, to present them to my daughters and daughters-in-law,

[1] Chamberlain's Hand book of Japan, p. 83.

as momentoes of my journey, to a country whose women were all masters of courtesy and such self-sacrificing piety.

Reverting to the link of our subject, we find that, when the ancient Buddhism of Japan taught that Marriage was a vice, "un veritable vice" as Prof. Anesaki puts it,[1] Honen and his true disciples taught, that it was not so. Again, they who were all married and had children, advocated a kind of hereditary priesthood. All these innovations were, after some time, run down by Nichiren.

Nichiren (born 1222 A.C.) was another Buddhist saint whose name is connected with the spread of Buddhism in Japan. His mother's conception of him was somewhat miraculous like that of Jesus Christ. His mother saw in a dream the sun on a lotus flower and she immediately conceived. He declared, as miraculously efficacious, the religious formula "Namu Myôhô Renge Kyô," *i.e.*, "Oh! the scripture of the Lotus Wonderful Law." It is still recited as an invocation by his followers. It is like the Ahunavar of the Parsees, the Pater-noster of the Christians, the "Om mani padmeom," of the Tibetans. This formula is continuously repeated by his followers in a chanting tone for hours together, playing on a drum at the same time. Nichiren reverted to the doctrine of the above-mentioned abbot Dengyo with some modification required to suit his time. He met with various vicissitudes of fortune. He was more than once exiled by the government for his new teachings. At one time, he was condemned to death. At the very time when he was to be executed, there appeared in the heavens a globe of fire, a kind of electrical phenomenon, which alarmed all and even the government. The fear saved him from death. The executors dared not to kill him, owing to the appearance of this strange unheard of phenomenon. He was again sent into exile. He modified his views at times and was taken to be a visionary.

Prof. Anesaki, op. cit., p. 117.

[1] Prof. Anesaki, op. cit., p. 83.

Then, lastly, in the history of the spread of Buddhism in Japan, comes the spread of Zen, which was a simple intuitive method of spiritual exercise.[1] All must seek the purity of their souls. That will save them from all human troubles. It is said of Buddha, that, one day, he took in his hand a flower and smiled. Nobody could understand why he smiled, but Mahâ-Kaçyapa, his great disciple, responded by a similar smile, which implied that, what Buddha and he meant was, that there was a kind of transmission of mysteries. As the proverb says "Stones preach sermons"; so flowers can preach sermons and explain mysteries of this world. All rests on the question of the purity of your thoughts.

A few points of distinction between the Shinto and the Buddhist Temples.

The following points distinguish the two religions: (*a*) The names of Shinto temples generally end in *gu*, *e.g.*, Toshogu in Nikko. Those of the Buddhist temples end in *ji*, *e.g.*, Zogoji near Tokyo. (*b*) The priests of the Shinto temples are known as Kannushi; those of the Buddhist as Bozu. These are generally known by their shaven heads. (*c*) The Buddhist temples have images, but Shinto temples have generally no images, but instead, contain mirrors as representing the feminine deities, and swords as representing male deities. (*d*) In Buddhist temples, among other offerings, there are offerings of cloth, but in the Shinto, there are *gohei* which are strips of white paper. There is a great percentage of Buddhists among the town people and that of Shintoists among the country people.

Travelling Pilgrims.

During our visit of the temples of Japan, the travelling pilgrims drew our particular attention. Though Shintoism and Buddhism have their different shrines and temples, both enjoy, as it were equal veneration from the people. With the majority of the people, both are "Houses of God" of the same standing. Hundreds and thousands of pilgrims, villagers from different parts of the country, visit both the shrines and the temples, and it is a pleasure

to see them moving about reverently within and without these places of worship, under the leadership and flag of an intelligent guide, who, at the top of his voice, explained to them interesting matters about the places. The guide carried his flag on a high pole so that it can be seen from a distance by the pilgrims forming his group, who were careful not to lose their way and continued to be under his flag.

Educative Influence working upon the Pilgrims and others.

This way of pilgrimage was a peculiarity among the Japanese, and it reminded me of Cook's parties of tourists, under one of which I had the pleasure of seeing Paris in 1889. The loud voice of the Japanese guide reminded me of the voice of Cook's guide, who, standing on the front or the rear of a coach, explained to travellers what was interesting. These Japanese pilgrim parties under the flags of guides served a good educational purpose and led to make the people more intelligent.

In this connection I may say, that one finds educative influences working in Japan in various directions. I have seen and heard, as interpreted to me here and there, shopkeepers, both those on permanent shops and those moving about with their small stalls, drawing the attention of the passers-by to their goods for sale, and, while so doing, giving some useful information about the things they sold. I saw a shop of medical requisites at Kobe, where a person was delivering, as it were, a small lecture on Anatomy, illustrating what he said with a pointer on an anatomical chart.[1]

The Matsuri or annual Religious Festivals.

Their annual religious festivals give us some idea of the gay side of their religious life. I was fortunate to see three such festivals. One was at Osaka, on 8th April 1923, in honour of the Birthday of Buddha. The other was at Nikko and the

[1] The itinerant sellers with their explanatory speeches reminded me of the itinerant Tibetan monk bhikshuks at Darjeeling and in the hill villages round-about, who, with a painted chart in their possession, described to an inquisitive group the religious stories and views of Tibetan gods and goddesses and of abodes of bliss or the reverse.

third at Shimonoseki. I was especially struck with the public observation of the Birthday of Buddha, wherein all proper solemnity and dignity were observed. These festivals are, like the Jashans of the Parsees, held for various purposes. Some are a kind of harvest festivals, some are in honour of their great departed worthies, well-known princes, heroes and scholars, and some in honour of great events.

Mitford [1] describes a festival of this kind at Nagasaki which lasted for three days (7th to 9th October), this being the usual period of great festivals. There are opening and concluding processions in which even the Yoshiwara are represented by *geisha*. They carry the images of gods in rich lacquered palanquins. Dances by children are held in the presence of the city officials. At the end, the celebration is of "a Bacchanalian order." "The spirits of the dead, who at this season return to visit their loved ones, are believed to come over-sea. And when they come, they are hungry. Food is, therefore, the chief of the votive offerings placed on their last resting-place by those of the loved ones who are still in the flesh. Kind hands decorate the graves and tender hearts linger beside them in devotion. At night not only is every hill-side cemetery gay with coloured lanterns, but lights are placed along the winding way to guide the returning spirits. As midnight of the 15th [2] approaches, the spirits' time is up. .....The whole city turns out to give them a pleasant send off. Thousands of little boats of straw and bamboo, containing food for the journey and lanterns to light the way, are sent afloat from the harbour strand, to drift with their ghostly freight out to sea, while friends left behind wave farewells from the shore. In the case of towns situated on or near estuaries, the illuminated spirit-fleet is launched upon their current, to be carried out to sea. Hence the *kawa-baraki* ('river opening') festival, which for the nonce transforms the strictly utilitarian

[1] Japan's Inheritance, by E. Bruce Mitford, p. 232.

[2] In coast towns the festival is held in the middle of July.

Sumidagawa of Tokyo into a fairy scene. In the country districts, dances by *geisha* take the place of the acquatic *fête*. It is a pretty idea these Matsuri embody, helping to rob death of some of the terrors with which Western civilization has enwrapped it. But it is more. It keeps alive the belief in ancestor-worship—one of the corner-stones of the Japanese polity. It will be a bad day for Japan when the iron of 'rationalism' will so far have entered into her soul as to render these festivities things of the buried past.....That the worship of ancestors is, for the Japanese, no empty form may be gathered from the unvarying custom of paying public homage to those who have fallen in battle. Immediately after the capture of Port Arthur, the entire army attended a service of this kind, in which the Commander-in-Chief took a leading part." General Nogi invoked "the spirits of those who had fallen whether by land or on water during the siege."

Temples as places of Worship and as resorts of Pleasure.

Their religion and religious feasts bring us to the question of their temples. Among many people, Prayer and Pleasure go together. In fact, one may safely say, that men pray for pleasure. All men pray to their God to be happy, *i.e.*, to be always in a mood of pleasure. Perhaps, it may be said, that this is the case for worldly men and that the unworldly men do not pray to ask for their own pleasure, but pray to be able to do good to others, to be in a position to give pleasure to others. But, even that altruistic aim gives pleasure. It is not only our own enjoyment that gives us pleasure, but it is also the enjoyment of others that gives us pleasure. It is a pleasure to see others enjoy pleasure. Take an extreme case. You go to a temple or a masjid, a church or a synagogue, to a *gumpa* or a pagoda, to a shrine or sanctuary, to pray for a dead dear relative or to commemorate the event of his death by performing some religious obsequies or saying prayers. There also, finally, it is pleasure that you derive. The

very idea of having done some duty towards those to whom duty is due gives us pleasure. So Prayer and Pleasure go together to a great extent. It is for this reason, that we see feasts and fairs connected with Holidays and Places of Worship. Hindus and Mahomedans, Christians and Jews, Chinese and Japanese, Parsees and others, all have feasts and fairs associated with their holidays and places of worship. Even the most solemn of solemn occasions have, and must have, what we should call, their pleasant side. It is so everywhere, but more so in the East than in the West. But in Japan, we see this on a large scale and to a great extent in its own peculiar way. They have always a gay aspect by the side of its solemn aspect. So, within the precincts of their shrines and their temples, you always see some resorts or places of enjoyment. You have there, close by, small theatres and shows, tea-houses and eating-houses. The Tea-houses seem to be to Japan what the restaurants are to France. From this point of view, one is inclined to agree with Mr. Sladen when he says in his "Queer Things in Japan" that in Japan temples are like play grounds.

Indian Gods in Buddhist Japan.

We know that Brahmanism has given many of its gods to Buddhism. We find, that some of these Brahmin gods have been carried to Japan with Buddhism. I give two instances of this kind: (*a*) The Japanese deity of Amida (Sans. Amitâbha), who is taken as "the ideal of boundless light" has his images in the temples marked with a spot on the forehead, corresponding to the mark made by a Brahmin on his forehead, which a Hindu sees in a mirror offered to him by his Brahmin. Chamberlain and Mason take that spot on the forehead to be "emblematical of wisdom."[1] I do not know what authority these authors have for this statement. But I think the spot represents sun, especially as the deity is the god of light. (*b*) Anan is Sanskrit Ânanda. We know, that in Indian literature Ânanda (आनंद)

[1] Hand-book of Japan, 9th Ed., p, 43.

appears in various aspects : (1) Ânanda is the supreme spirit. (2) It is the name of Siva and also of Vishnu. (3) It is also the name of Balaram of Jain Scriptures. (4) It is "the name of a cousin and follower and favourite disciple of Buddha Sakyamuni." Now, of all these, in Japan, Ânanda appears in the last form as a cousin and follower of Buddha.

Popularizing of Gods.

As said above, the Japanese let prayers and pleasure go together. In fact, they, as it were, popularize religion and popularize their gods. We find, among many, the following instances of such popularization.

(*a*) Daikoku is the Japanese God of Wealth and good Fortune. He is to the Japanese, what Luxmi is to the Hindus and Ashi to Parsees. It is said, that there is a special temple at Tokyo, dedicated to this god near Ikegami, *i.e.*, "the Upper Lake." This god is portrayed upon the Japanese notes of currency of one yen and five yens. He is represented as a gay comic person sitting on rice-bags which are being gnawed by rats.

(*b*) Jizo is the God of Travellers in Japan. He is said to be the same as Sanskrit Kshitigarbha (क्षितिगर्भ) *i.e.*, the Womb of the earth. He is the god of women that are *enceinte* and of children. Being the god of travellers, I saw a number of mile-stones on my way from Kobe to the mountain of Futatabi-Sen with his figure on them. He is, as it were, the Pantha (pathâm, lit. road) Yazata of the Parsees.[1]

The Scroll in the hands of the Buddhist priests of Japan.

I had opportunities to see the religious services of Buddhist priests in Japan at two places : (1) One a Nikko[2] in the evening of 17th April 1922, when I saw the whole of the service. (2) Another at Shimonoseki on the morning of the 25th April, when I saw only the latter part, as the

1 *Vide* my Paper on the Kitâb-i-Darun Yasht in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 1, p. 28.

2 Nikko is spoken of as a place of "double glory," because, both God and Man have made it beautiful, God having given it magnificent scenery, to be seen, both from the town itself and from the adjoining

service had commenced some time before I went there. Both were occasions of festivals. The first was the feast of the temple of Futa-ara Jinja (Futa-ara shrine), dedicated to the god Onamuji or Okuni-Nushi, also known as Sannô and Hie, who is believed to have been an original ruler and to have abdicated the throne in favour of the first ancestor of the Mikados when he came down from Heaven to this Earth in Japan. As to the second, I do not know what the particular feast was. The shrine was that of Akama-gu dedicated to the infant emperor (Mikado Antoku Tenno, six years old, with whom in her hand his grandmother, Dowager Empress Kenrei Mon-in, drowned herself in disappointment in 1185 on the occasion of the naval battle of Dan-no-ura near Shimonoseki), when the Taira family of rulers, to which the Mikados belonged, received a great defeat at the hands of the rival family of Mina-nioto. On both the occasions, I saw the priests holding before their face a scroll in the form of a well-formed flat piece of polished wood. This scroll seems to be a symbol of priestly authority and work.

It seems, that at first, such scrolls were pieces of wood on which the sins or offences of people were written. Emma-ô, who is the Yama of the Vedas, Yima of the Avesta, the god of Death, and who rules over Buddhist hells, is represented in Japanese art, as sitting with folded feet with a cap like that of judges on his head and with two assistants by his side, one reading the faults, offences or sins of a person from

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hill of Chuzenzi, and Man having built magnificent temples, the magnificence of which has been added to by a forest of gigantic, stately, tall cryptomerias. The Japanese have a saying in praise of this beautiful place, which says :

Nikkô wo minai uchi wa,

' Kekko ' to in na !

which means that " Do not use the word ' magnificent ' till you have seen Nikko." This reminds us of the admiration of the Neopolitans for their Naples and of their saying :

" Vide Naples et poi mori," *i.e.*, " See Naples and then die."

a long scroll in his hand, and another writing down with a pen his (Emma-o's) Judgment.[1] I think, that like many other things, this idea of a judge with assistants, some reading the sins of the offender from scrolls in the form of flat pieces of wood, and others holding pens to take down the decision of the presiding judge, has also gone to Japan from China, because I saw similar scenes on a larger scale in China in a temple, which is spoken of as the East temple and which I had the pleasure of visiting on 30th March 1922. In a number of rooms in this temple, there were images depicting a council scene or a judgment scene with a presiding judge and a number of other councillors or assistants, some holding scrolls in the form of the above kind of a flat piece of wood and others holding pens in their hands. We thus see that such scrolls have then come to be the insignia of some high functionaries, assisting the cause of Justice. They have passed into the Church as emblems of priestly authority.

Rinzo or the Revolving library of some Buddhist temples in Japan.

Some Buddhist temples possess *rinzos* or revolving libraries. In my paper on "The Praying wheels" of the Tibetans as seen by me in three Tibetan gumpas or monasteries around Darjeeling, read before this Society,[2] I have spoken at some length on what I have called, "a shortening process,"

[1] Messrs. Chamberlain and Mason, in their hand-book of Japan (9th ed., p. 45), speak of this second assistant as holding "a pen to write down the sins of human beings." I think that this assistant's function is not to write down the sins, which are already on the scroll in the hand of the other assistant, and which function, therefore, it is unnecessary to repeat but to write down the decision of the Judge. The scene is like that of Mithra (Meher Dâvar or Meher the Judge) of the Avesta, the like of which we see among the Egyptians and also among other nations. (*Vide* my paper on "The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the ancient Egyptians and Iranians. Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 156-190." *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 137-46.)

[2] Journal, Vol. X, pp. 88-94. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp. 85-91.

adopted by some religious communities in their prayers. The Tibetan wheels of prayer have their counterpart in the Rinzos or Revolving Libraries of some Buddhist temples of Japan. This is a wooden box, containing Buddhist scriptures, which is so constructed with a pivot, that you can easily turn it with a push. Just as in the case of the praying-wheel, a Tibetan worshipper is believed to say all the prayers written on the scroll of paper, put round the wheel and to acquire all the meritoriousness which can be derived by actually reading all the prayers, so a Japanese Buddhist is believed to derive the meritoriousness of reciting all the Buddhist Scriptures placed in the revolving box, by turning it on its pivot three times. The Revolving library of Japan goes a step further than the Tibetan wheel, because, generally, in the case of the wheel, it is only a few prayers from the scriptures that are written, but in the case of the Japanese library, it is a large part of the scriptures that are written. Suppose, that the whole of the Talmud, the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas or the Zend-Avesta is written on rolls of paper, put round a roller, and suppose that the roller is turned round thrice, and suppose that it is believed that thereby, a Jew or a Christian or a Mahomedan or a Hindu or a Parsee has recited all his respective scriptures. This supposition will give you an idea of the Tibetan Prayer-wheel and a Japanese Revolving box of Buddhist scriptures. Such revolving boxes are not common in all the Buddhist temples of Japan. They are rare. One Fu-Daishi, a canonized or deified Buddhist priest of China, who flourished in the 6th century A.C., is said to have introduced it into Japan from China, where it may have entered in a modified form from Tibet.

Rice as offering.

As in many nations, rice, which forms the staple food of the Japanese, is held to be an appropriate thing for offerings. Daikoku, their god of Wealth, is represented with rice bales. In the gift-boxes placed in the temples, some people throw rice as well as money. On

the *torii* which are gateways forming a special feature of Japanese architecture, ropes made of dried rice plants are put up as offerings.

Cure of illness by touching an image.

Futatabi-san is the name of a temple on a hill, about 1,600 feet high, situated in the row of mountains which form a beautiful background to the city of Kobe and about three miles from Kobe. I had the pleasure of seeing it in the morning of 23rd April. A walk of gradual ascent by a beautiful valley on the side of the Suwa-yama hill (one mile from Kobe) takes us there within two hours and the descent *via* what is known as Hunter's gap, so called from a resi dent Mr. Hunter's property there, brings us to the foot of the hill within an hour. The temple is dedicated to Kobo Daishi [1] and commands a good view of all the surrounding hills, and, among them, the hill known as "Aden," so named by Europeans on account of its giving from a distance the appearance of the contour of Aden and on account of its treeless condition. In that temple, we saw an image of Binzuru or Binduru, who was, at first, one of the 16 *rakans* (Sans. Arhân or Arhat) or the 16 disciples of Buddha, who are represented in various postures in Japanese painting and sculpture. He was a fallen angel like Satan, his fall being due to his violation of the vow of chastity by criticising the beauty of a woman. Owing to his fall, his image is not placed within the *sanctum sanctorum* of a temple but always outside. So, we saw it in the above temple also outside the *sanctum*, on our right when we stood facing the temple. Though thus fallen, he was conferred by Buddha the power of curing physical illness

[1] Kobo Daishi (774-834 A.C.) was a known Buddhist Saint with whom Japanese tradition has connected a number of miracles. He is believed not to have been dead, but like Yudhishtira of India and Kaikhosru of Iran, to have retired from the world and is expected to reappear on the coming of Miroku, the Buddhist Messiah (Sans. Mâitrêya) who will come about 5000 years after Buddha's entry into Nirvâna.

of men. So, the pilgrims or worshippers touched with their hands that portion of the body of this image, which corresponded to those parts of their body which suffered pain, and then rubbed their hands over their aching parts. If one had a pain in the foot, he touched the foot of the image; if he suffered in the hand, he touched the hand of the image, and so on. The constant touch of suffering pilgrims has worn out or polished particular portions of the image. We found that the forehead was the most often touched part of the image.[1]

Mirror as a sacred implement.

Mirror plays an important part in the religious belief of the Japanese. So, many temples have mirrors, generally of polished metals. I saw such a mirror in the temple of Futatabi-san at Kobe. The use of mirror in temples is associated with a story of Ama-terasu, lit. the "Heaven-shiner," who is the Sun-goddess of the Japanese. She is believed to be the ancestress of the Mikados of Japan. The story is, that her brother, Susa-no-o, (lit. the impetuous male) having once insulted her, she retired into a cavern, thus throwing darkness upon the whole world. A number of gods and goddesses went to the entrance of her cavern and entreated her to come out and illuminate the world again. They added music and dancing to their entreaties to entice her out of the cave. These drew her to the entrance to see what the whole show was about, but still she did not come out. Then, one of the gods presented before her a mirror, and, seeing her own beautiful face in it, she was tempted to come out to show that face again to the world. The sacred dances of Japanese girls in the temples are said to have originated

[1] This cure by touch reminds us of the supposed cure of leprosy by touching the garment of a king, believed in, even by men like the great Johnson. In China, in a temple, spoken of as the East temple, visited by me on 30th April 1922, two horse statues were pointed out to me, as possessing such power of cure. If you have a pain in your hand you are to touch the front legs of the horses; if you have a pain in your feet, you are to touch the hind legs, and so on.

from this story, wherein we see the dance and the music alluring the goddess out of her retirement. The sacred dance and music in the temples are believed to be a symbolic repetition of the entreaties to the goddess to favour the world with her gift of light.

Moralists thus explain the symbolic use of mirrors. If a man or woman, looking into a mirror, finds his or her face ugly, he or she must try to make up for the physical ugliness by mental or moral beauty. If she or he finds it beautiful, she or he must resolve, not to mar the beauty by any mental or moral ugliness.

Mirror plays some part in the Hindu rituals also. It is shown to the images of gods and goddesses. I think that its religious use of this kind began first with its use at the *Snân* or bath. On the bathing *ghats* of many cities, even in Bombay, you find the Brahmins keeping a mirror among the paraphernalia of their ceremonial requisites. The worshipper, after bathing and combing his hair, looks into the mirror handed by the Brahmin, to see, if he was properly dressed and combed, and if he had the religious mark or *tillâ* properly made on the forehead. So, the showing of a mirror became, as it were, a part of the ritual. Then, from man to god was a further step. It began to be shown by the Brahmin to the image of a god which was marked, washed, dressed, flowered and scented for worship.

A FEW NOTES ON A FLYING VISIT TO JAPAN.

Paper III.—The Tea-Cult of the Japanese.

(Read on 29th November 1922.)

In my last paper on Japan, I dwelt upon its religion. The subject of this day's paper also may be said to be semi-religious. Tea, Flower and Landscape-gardening form the cults of the Japanese.

Tea is said to have been introduced into Japan from China in 805 A.C., by a Buddhist Abbot named Dengyô Daishi, who was the abbot of the temple of Hiei-Zan near Kyoto. He went to China for studying the esoteric side of Buddhism, stayed there long, and, on his return, introduced the plantation and use of tea. China and Japan were the two first well-known countries for producing tea. In China itself, there are two traditions about the introduction of tea there. The later tradition says, that a Buddhist ascetic from India, named Bodhidharma, introduced tea from India in about 543 A.C. Another well-supported tradition is, that tea was known there earlier than the sixth century A.C. A mythical Emperor, Chinnung (about 2737 B.C.), who was to China, what Thraetaona (તૈતન of the Hindus, Faredun of the Shahnâmeh) was to ancient Iran, was skilled in medical knowledge, and, with that knowledge, he discovered the virtues of tea. The Chinese and Japanese word for tea is *cha*. Hence the word *chadai, i.e.*, tea-money is used in Japan for petty gifts to domestics in hotels, inns, &c. The word corresponds in its use, to the French *pour-boir* and our Indian *pân-supâri*. Our Indian word *châhe* (ચાહે Persian *châi* چاے) comes from the Chinese. But the English word tea comes from its Amoy dialect where *cha* is pronounced *tè*.

Tea introduced from China.

What draws our special attention in Japan is the people's way of life associated with tea-drinking. The Tea-houses (chaya) of Japan form an important institution of the country. In China and Japan, one of the best ways of expressing geniality and courtesy to visitors, both for the high and the low, is the offer of a cup of tea. They drink, what they call, green tea in large quantities without milk or sugar. In Japan, Tea plays a very prominent part in social functions, and the proper observation of certain manners and customs, regarding the offering of tea by hosts and the drinking of it by guests,

Tea-Ceremony as seen by me.

has been carried to such a state of ceremonial, that it has, as it were, a code of etiquette of its own, and has risen to the rank of a cult, and we hear and read of a tea-cult. A writer speaks of all etiquette in Japan, including the tea-etiquette, as the "Kaisar of Japan.[1]"

A globe-trotter like myself, who, as it were, flew from place to place, had no special opportunities to see the cha-no-yu (*i.e.*, the ceremony of serving and drinking tea with all the prescribed rules and regulations) in higher circles, where it is to be seen in its best form; but there are certain places where such tea-ceremonies are held as a kind of show, where you are admitted by the payment of a fee. I had the pleasure of seeing at Kyoto, on 10th April 1922, such a tea-ceremony. It was all along, as it were, a dumb show, some of the details of which could not be immediately understood. But, what I found at the bottom of the tea-ceremony was, that it was a particular kind of observation of the rules of society in the matter of tea-gatherings, or, what we may call, tea-parties. The higher circles of society in the West, and here in India also, have their particular manners and etiquette to be observed in modern tea-parties. Here, in Japan, that manner of observation has been carried to a great extreme, amounting to a kind of cult. The above referred to tea-ceremony, which we had the pleasure of seeing on the payment of an entrance fee, was held in a large beautifully decorated room, wherein we had to enter by taking off our shoes. We were given slippers in their place and had to take our seats on beautifully white clean mattings. The tea party, if I may be permitted to use the word, or rather the assembly of tea-drinkers, consisted, besides four of us, myself and three friends, of about 15 European and American ladies and gentlemen and two Japanese. A handsome richly-dressed Japanese lady, the Tea-fairy of the occasion, prepared tea with certain decorum and

[1] Queer Things about Japan, by Douglas Sladen (1903), p. 151.

grace. The first cup was served to the principal guest, in this case the first comer, who, on the principle of "First come, first served," had taken his seat by the side of the Tea-fairy. Then we, other guests, were served with tea in beautiful Japanese cups by other young girls who brought us our cups from the Tea-fairy and handed them to us. The tea was accompanied with a kind of dainty, which to me appeared in taste to be something like our Indian *dâlni puri* which we Parsees speak of as માનની દાલની પોરી. The tea-maids were dressed in beautiful fancy dresses. The whole was a dumb show and I wished somebody could have explained to us there and then the details. It seemed, as if we had entered into a house of silence rather than into a house of pleasure. I learnt more of the true aim of the tea-ceremony or the tea-cult latterly by reading of it in books and by hearing about it than by the dumb sight-seeing. But, however dumb, it was a sight worth-seeing which illustrated all that I read and heard about it.

The Tea-ceremony as observed in a house of rank.

Owing to my very short stay, I had not the opportunity of seeing this ceremony in a family of rank. So, I will quote here what Mr. Knox, a writer who had come into some closer contact with the Japanese, says [1]—"The tea-room opens to the garden, and its exposure is carefully adjusted to the view, everything common or unclean being hidden from our eyes....An iron kettle hangs from a bamboo crane, and the ashes in the fire-box have been curiously heaped and delicately pressed in figures. When we are seated the servant places the utensils for the tea at his master's side—each article a treasure—We are to drink 'true tea', and ever since the days of the luxurious Shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, its preparation has followed in detail the strictest rules. But to day we have the function in its simplest form,

1 Imperial Japan. The Country and its people, by George William Knox (1905), pp. 172—73.

with some relaxation of its severity in consideration of our foreign weakness. A silken napkin is taken from the girdle and each immaculate implement is wiped again; every motion of the hand, the very expression of the face follows precedent: a mite of tea is put into the cup and, after cooling, a little water is poured on the tea, then with the bamboo brush it is beaten to a foam and handed to the most honoured guest, who receives it, lifts it to his forehead, looks his admiration of the cup, and, then drinks off the draught. Turning the cup partly round, he wipes it off and hands it to the host again, for the guest's part, like the host's, is according to strict rule. Again the cup is cleansed and the same ceremony is repeated for the second guest, and then the guests beseech the host to prepare a cup for himself and when he drinks his tea the function is complete.

"In Tokyo there are professionals who gain their livelihood by this art. At tea houses and clubs, they act the part of host for pay, and go to private families to instruct in the ceremonial. The room itself must be constructed especially and the garden must conform to rules that leave nothing to chance or individual taste. There are various schools that differ somewhat in details, but the main features are the same in all. When the full ceremony is performed an elaborate feast comes first, then the guests solemnly retire into the garden and take their seats in a prescribed place while the room is re-arranged for the making of the tea.....When the gong sounds, they solemnly file in again to the same room. .....After the host has drunk his tea the utensils are examined and each one praised in turn, and the festivity concludes with the exhibition of some artistic treasures."

The Wine-parties of the Ancient Iranians and the Tea-parties of the Japanese.

One Kobori (1577-1645) has been taken to be the founder of this Tea-ceremony and tea-cult and of the accompanying flower-cult and the cult of Landscape-gardening, all forming a set of æsthetic pursuits. There are several schools of this tea-ceremony. One Sen-no-Rikyu (1521-1591) was known

as the Master of ceremonies in the Court of Hideyoshi, referred to in the sketch of the History of Japan given by me in my first paper on Japan. He had a successful æsthetic career in Hideyoshi's Court. We read in the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi that the ancient Iranian kings and generals had, in the intervals of their battles, wine-parties or drinking-parties, wherein the *sâkî* or cup-bearer moved about and filled the goblets of the guests. Here, in Japan, they had, instead of wine-parties, their tea-parties in the intervals of battles. This Sen-no-Rikyu accompanied his king Hideyoshi, spoken of as the Augustus of Japanese History, in his battles and served as a kind of principal *sâkî* or cup-bearer, serving tea to the king's tea-parties. It is said that, one day, his royal master asked his beautiful daughter in marriage. He refused, because she was already betrothed, and he was directed to end his life by *harakiri*. He committed *harakiri* in the midst of his favourite tea-ceremony. He went to his tea-room, made tea ceremoniously, arranged flowers and killed himself.

The tea-bearers of the early kings of Japan were men of influence like the cup-bearers of the Kings of Iran, *e.g.*, Nahemiah (Nehemiah Bk. II) in the Court of the Achaemenian Artaxerxes.[1]

The use of Tea in Japan. Its social influence.

Sir Edwin Arnold, speaking of the use of tea and of all the etiquette and ceremony accompanying the drinking of tea at a party, speaks of the whole process as an "apotheosis (*i.e.*, deification, consecration) of tea-drinking." He speaks of it as a ceremony "delightful, mysterious, archaic, profound," and says, that "without such experience (*i.e.*, the experience that one gets at a tea-ceremony in Japan), every tea-drinker in the world remains little aware of the

1 Nehemiah's sadness at the time of serving wine to his royal master in the month Nisan, drew the attention of the king, and on his telling the cause of his sadness, he was sent with letters to repair his Jewish city.

sublimity, the antiquity, the grace, the art and, I had almost added, the religion which may attach to the tea-cup." [1] He describes "the origin of the tea-cup and the tea-tray, what immense social and historical effects their (ladies') favourite beverage has produced, and with how much grace and ceremony the simple art of tea-drinking may be, and is, in this gentle land of Japan constantly invested." He adds: "For my own part, a perfectly new sentiment has been kindled in my breast towards the whole mystery of the tea-pot since I had the honour of being entertained at the *Cha-no-yu*, in the 'Hall of Clouds.' Over the spirit of every one who arrives as a stranger in Japan, whether or not, by habit or by taste, a votary of the tea-leaf, a change in his respect slowly and surely steals. The importance and dignity of tea reveal themselves in an entirely new light when he finds a whole population of some forty millions concentrated, so to speak, round the tea-pot, and all the dwelling houses, all the habits, all the tastes, the very language, the meals, the diurnal duties and associations of town and country folk alike, circling, as it were, about the tiny cup. Insensibly you also fall into the gentle passion. You learn on your road while journeying, or when arriving at its end, or in entering a friend's house, or while shopping in the 'Ginza,'[2] to expect and to accept with pleasure the proferred draught of pale yellow, fragrant liquid; which at first you only tolerate, appearing as it does without milk or sugar, but afterwards begin to like, and lastly to find indispensable. Insensibly the little porcelain cup becomes pleasantly linked in the mind with the snow-pure mats, the pretty prostrate *musumës*,[3] the spotless joinery of the lowly walls, the exquisite proprieties of the latticed *shojis*, adding

[1] Seas and Lands, by Sir Edwin Arnold, 1891, pp. 256-57.

[2] Ginza is a very important thoroughfare in Tokyo near the Station. It is always worth seeing; but, when it was decorated and illuminated at night, during the visit of our Prince of Wales in April 1922, it was an impressive sight.

[3] Musumës are the Japanese maid-attendants.

to all these a charm, a refinement, a delicate sobriety and distinguished simplicity found alike amid high and low, emanating, as it were, from the inner spirit of the glossy green leaf and silvery blossom of the tea-plant—in one word, belonging essentially to and half constituting beautiful, wonderful, quiet and sweet Japan."[1] I have quoted Sir Edwin Arnold, who was well-known in our Presidency during the latter half of the last century as an Educationist, at great length, because at the above referred to tea ceremony which I saw, and at various tea-houses and at the Japanese inn at Ama-no-Hashidate, one of the three best known beautiful places of Japan, I have personally felt, enjoyed and admired something of what is said above.[2]

A few principal points considered necessary in the Tea Ceremony.

The following are the principal points required to be attended to at a ceremonial tea drinking party :—

1. A separate room in the house, at times bearing on its door the words 'Hospitality, Courtesy, Purity and Tranquillity.' The room must have a spotless white matting with cushions. The room is to be very simple. According to the orthodox fashion, the tea-room must be small so as to be covered by 4½ mats.

2. Antique tea-cups and other tea equipage.

3. All must wash their hands at first with water with a wooden ladle out of a wooden tub.

4. The guests to be showed their respective places on the matting on the floor, by a respectable looking servitor.

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[1] Seas and Lands, pp. 258-59.

[2] The afternoon and the evening of the 13th and the morning of the 14th April 1922, which I passed at the fine little Inn of Ama-no-Hashidate, will not be easily forgotten by me. Ama-no-Hashidate is a corner of Japan where gods would like to live and roam in the midst of its beautiful surroundings.

5. When the tea-drinking ceremony is accompanied with a feast or meal, every body must be absolutely temperate in eating and drinking. No body must eat more than one bowl of rice.

6. When *sakè* (the Japanese liquor made from rice and taken hot) is drunk, no body should drink more than three times.[1]

7. The guests are to be called to the tea-room by wooden clappers.

8. The host himself must see to the generalities as well as details of the ceremony. He should "mend the fire, light the incense, brush the mats, fill the white-pine ewer and lay the ladle of red-pine, as well as see that the single picture is hung and the single flower pot fairly set in its place."[2]

Sir Edward Arnold thus speaks of the process of tea-making.

Particulars observed in tea-making.

"The tea should be of the finest green powder, from a beautiful but common little jar; placed in a cup of ancient design holding, perhaps, half a pint. The 'honourable' hot water is poured upon it, and then stirred in with a small bamboo whisk, which article itself, like the tiny spoon of the same material used for taking out the tea powder, must be of a certain form, and, if possible, ancient, and famous for its artistic origin. Even about the boiling of the water there is orthodox tradition, there is solemnity, I had almost said, there is religion. The *sumi* in the brazier must be piled up in the outline of a glowing Fuji-San. The kettle of beaten iron must have no touch of modern vulgarity in its shape, the water must be drawn from the purest source, and—at the

1 Compare the old Iranian method of "Wine-drinking" wherein more than three cups are prohibited. *Vide* my paper on "Wine in ancient Persia."

2 Seas and Lands, by Sir Edwin Arnold, p. 267.

moment of use—in the third state of boiling. The first state is known by its low murmuring, and the appearance on the surface of the large slow bubbles distinguished as 'fish eyes,' *gyo-moku;* the second is when the steam comes with quickly rising foam; the third is when the steam disappears in a tranquil, steady simmer, and the fluid is now 'honourable old hot water.' This is the propitious moment for the admixture, which being compounded appears in the guise of a light green frothy compound, delicately fragrant and invigoratingly hot, contained in the antique cup, which, neatly folded in a fair cloth, should be handed now to the principal guest." [1]

Ceremonial drinking.

The drinking of the tea also has its own ceremonial. Just as there are in the West several schools of Music, Painting, etc., so in Japan, there are several schools of tea-ceremony. I was told that, according to one school, the guest must quaff the whole cup in three and a half sips. Sir Edwin Arnold thus speaks of the ceremonial as he observed it: "Drinking reverently from it, he should tenderly wipe the rim at the spot where he has quaffed, but the next guest must drink at the very same place, for such is the 'Kiss of brotherhood' in harmony with the friendly inspirations of this ceremony. The last guest must be heedful to drain the bowl to its dregs; then he passes it round to be examined, criticised, and made the subject of pleasant talk about the old days, the canons of true art in pottery, or any other topic lightly arising from the graceful moment, as the tender fragrance of the tea-leaf wafts itself about the air of the little spotless chamber and among the kneeling, happy, tranquil companions of the occasion." [2]

The Cha-no-you or the ceremonial tea-drinking has done much, says Sir Edward Arnold, "not only for Japanese art, manners, and national life, but, if any body reflects rightly,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 267-68. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

for the whole civilized world. It is really to Buddhism that civilisation owes the tea-leaf and its immense place at the present day in the affections and the commerce of mankind. The plant is indigenous to Japan, but the 'calm brethren of the yellow robe' brought with them into Japan, along with their gentle religion, the art of using it."[1] .... Nor is it too much to declare that to Buddhism, which brought in her religious ideas and the tea-leaf, and to Hidêyoshi, who taught her how to honour, enjoy, and infuse it, is due much, if not most, of the existing aspect of social and civic Japan."[2]

Two views about the Tea-ceremonies.

There are two views about the Tea-ceremony. One view is, as said by Chamberlain,[1] that "the Tea-ceremonies are essentially paltry and effeminate.....Their influence has cramped the genius of Japanese art, by confusing beauty with archaism and making goals of characteristics worthy only to be starting-points."[3] The other or opposite view "sees in these same ceremonies, a profoundly beneficial influence—an influence which has kept Japanese art from leaving the narrow path of purity and simplicity for the broad road of a meretricious gaudiness."[4] Laying aside the question of art, for which I am not in a position to speak with any authority, I beg to say from what I have seen, heard and read, that tea and the tea-ceremonies seem to have much moulded the social and even the religious life of the Japanese.

The History of the Tea-Ceremony.

According to Mr. Basil H. Chamberlain,[5] the Tea-ceremony has gone through three stages, *viz.*, 1 Medico-religious, 2 Luxurious and 3 Æsthetic. 1. In the first stage, the ceremony "originated in tea drinking, pure and simple, on

1 Seas and Lands, by Sir Edwin Arnold, pp. 264-65.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.
3 "Things Japanese" (1890), p. 333.
4 *Ibid.*
5 "Things Japanese," p. 334 *et seq.*

the part of certain Buddhist priests of the Zen sect[1] who found the infusion useful in keeping them awake during the performance of their midnight devotions."[2] This first stage, or the very first tea-ceremony, began in the time of the Shogun, Minamoto-no Sanctomo (1203-1219). He was addicted too much to wine-drinking, and so it is said, his Buddhist abbot, in order to withdraw him from that, led him to drink tea as a milder beverage. The abbot is said to have written a tract entitled "The Salutary Influence of Tea-drinking," containing rules as to how to make tea and how to drink it, and explaining, how it expelled evil spirits. To make his introduction of tea in place of intoxicating wine, more effective, he made tea-drinking a religious ceremony which included a Buddhist religious service in honour of the ancestors and which was accompanied with the beating of drums and the burning of incense. Since this very first stage, the ceremony is tinged with a religious element. It was accompanied by a simple dinner. Those who want to acquire proficiency in the ceremony join the Zen Sect of Buddhism and acquire diplomas from the abbot of Daitokuji near Kyoto.

2. The second stage, *viz.*, that of Luxury was reached in 1330 A.C.; when tea-drinking assumed the form of what Chamberlain calls *jeu de société*.[3] Luxurious couches, gold and silver vessels, rich meals, variety in the different brands of tea from different parts of the country, singing, dancing girls, all these stepped in in course of time. Dissipation followed as in some cases of wine-drinking. Even some pleasure-loving abbots joined luxurious tea-parties. Just as the first stage had its

1 The Zen sect is one of the several sects—the other being the Tendai, Shingon and Jode—of the Japanese Buddhism which follows Mahâyana or the Great Vehicle division of Northern Buddhism, prevalent in Burma, China and Japan, which contains many accretions foreign to the original pure southern Buddhism prevalent in Ceylon and Siam.

2 "Things Japanese," by Chamberlain, p. 334.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 335.

rules and regulations framed from the point of religion and abstention, this second stage framed rules and regulations from the point of view of luxury. The rules, that the tea-room must be a small room that could be covered by 4½ mats and that there must be special kinds of tea-spoons are the relics of this stage. Fanciful tea-sets valued more than other gifts were the outcome of this stage. Just as one may occasionally hear, even now, of disregard of duty on the part of soldiers or officers in war time, due to the vicious habit of wine-drinking, so, there were cases of Japanese warriors missing their opportunities of duty in their addiction to tea-drinking and its accompanying luxurious vices. Yoshimasa (1436-90), the eighth Shogan of the Ashikaga dynasty, was known for his luxurious tastes in tea-drinking. He is spoken[1] of "as a munificent patron of the arts." His patronage of art may be due to his luxurious taste for tea-drinking which required tea curios and tea sets of various varieties of beauty. He is even said to have abdicated his throne to have a free hand in the enjoyment of the pleasures of tea-drinking. Chamberlain[2] compares him, I think rather unjustly, with Lorenzo de Medici of the great Italian family, who flourished in the 16th century and was the friend of that great debaucher, Duke Allesandro, whom he Brutus-like killed in 1537.

3. The third stage may be said to have begun with that great Hideyoshi (1536-1598), who is spoken of as the Napoleon of Japan, and whose name we often hear in Japan. He is said to have invited, by a general open invitation in 1587, the largest tea-party ever known. All who had some curios, connected with tea, its preparation, ceremony, drink, etc., were invited to attend with their curios. If they failed to attend as required, they were to be kept out from future royal tea-parties. This tea-party assumed, as it were, the form of a tea-fair with various booths of tea-curios, lasting for 10

[1] Chamberlain's Hand Book for Japan, p. 86.

[2] "Things Japanese," p. 335.

days! King Hideyoshi is said to have drunk tea at the booth of every guest, whether a noble man, a trader, or a peasant, who had set up his booth with his variety of brands of tea and of the curios. According to Chamberlain[1] "all were invited regardless of birth, a proof that the custom had begun to filter down into the lower strata of society."[2]

By this time, there had arisen various schools of the tea-drinking ceremonies. So, in 1594, he called, as it were, a tea-conference, where the heads or experts of the various schools attended. Among these, was Sen-no Rikyu, who was a kind of tea-Editor. Just as the Editor of a new book collates various texts and codifies his text, he is said to have "collated, purified, and (so to say) codified the tea-ceremonies, stamping them with the character which they have borne ever since. Simplicity had long been commanded by the poverty of the country, exhausted as it was by ages of warfare. He took this simplicity up, and raised it into a canon of taste as imperative as the respect for antiquity itself. The worship of simplicity and of the antique in objects of art, together with the observance of an elaborate code of etiquette—such are the doctrine and discipline of the tea-ceremonies in their modern form, which has never varied since Sen-no-Rikyû's day. Though not the St. Paul of the tea-cult, he was thus its Luther."[3]

I will conclude this review of the history of the Tea-ceremony as given by Chamberlain with his brief account of the etiquette to be observed at the ceremony: "The tea is made and drunk in a preternaturally slow and formal manner, each action, each gesture being fixed by an elaborate code of rules.

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1 "Things Japanese," p. 337.

2 This great tea-party of Hideyoshi reminds us of the great religious Gâhambâr dinner-party of King Noshirwan of Persia, who had invited all, the rich and the poor.

3 "Things Japanese," by Chamberlain, p. 337.

Every article connected with the ceremony, such as the tea-canister, the incense-burner, the hanging scroll, and the bouquet of flowers in the alcove, is either handled, or else admired at a distance, in ways and with phrases which unalterable usage prescribes. Even the hands are washed, the room is swept, a little bell is rung, and the guests walk from the house to the garden and from the garden back into the house, at stated times and in a stated manner which never varies, except in so far as certain schools, as rigidly conservative as monkish confraternities, obey slightly varying rules of their own, handled down from their ancestors who interpreted Sen-no-Rikyu's ordinances according to slightly varying canons of exegesis."[1]

The Tea-Ceremony of the Japanese and the Haoma ceremony of the Parsees.

After seeing the ceremony at Kyoto performed in solemn silence, and on reading of it afterwards and thinking over the whole, I am reminded of the Haoma ceremony of the Parsees. The Parsee Haoma, like the Vedic Soma, was supposed by some scholars to be an intoxicating drink. I remember that, when I read a Paper on the Haoma of the Avesta at the Oriental Conference at Stockholm in 1889, a German scholar at an evening entertainment on the day of the paper, held up his glass of beer and said to me in a festive way: "Here is your Haoma." From his and some other German scholars' remarks at the close of my Paper, and from his above remark, it was clear that they took Haoma to be an intoxicating drink. I leave it to Hindu scholars to speak of their Soma, but I beg to submit that the Haoma juice as drunk by the old Iranian priests was not an intoxicating drink. It is probable, that just as wine is made from grapes and just as here, in some parts of India, a kind of strong drink is made from rice after fermentation, the ancients made some kind of strong drink from Haoma after

1 "Things Japanese," by Chamberlain, p. 338.

fermentation. But, just as grapes and rice are innocent in themselves, so was the Haoma plant and its twigs.

It was used as a kind of medicinal drug. A kind of Haoma is still used by the Afghans as a household medicinal decoction. The drink was healthy and invigorating.[1] Such a drink, when drunk ceremoniously and reverently after its preparation in a particular way with a particular ritual by a qualified priest, may influence the drinkers with good sociable pious thoughts. " Hospitality, Courtesy, Purity and Tranquillity " may flow from such reverent drink. The Haoma juice thus pounded ceremoniously by a qualified expert priest, was then passed round among the congregation that had met to witness the Haoma Ceremony. Just as we can speak of the guests at the Tea-ceremony of Japan as forming a Tea-party, so we can speak of the devotees attending the Haoma Ceremony as Haoma-party. Just as in Japan it may be said that a Japanese began his life with tea-drinking and ended it with tea-drinking, so, we can say the same thing of an ancient Iranian. The relic of that observance was seen even among the modern Parsees upto a few years ago. A Parsee child on its birth was given, as its first drink, a few drops of the Haoma juice and a Parsee was given on death-bed also a few drops of that juice.

In both, the first thing that recommended the use of the drugs, the Tea or the Haoma, was their medicinal property. Both were stimulant and health-giving. They kept away their drinkers from strong beverages. Again, the introduction of various rules and regulations about the etiquette pertaining to their preparations and drink, gave to the drinking a dignified religious form. The religious view attached to them added to their efficacy. Faith added its influence to the medical or health-giving effects.

1. For its medicinal use among Afghan families in Afghanistan, *vide* Dr. Atkinson's letter to me in my paper on " Haoma in the Avesta " (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII, pp. 203-21. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 225-243).

A FEW NOTES ON A FLYING VISIT TO JAPAN.

Paper IV.—The Torii of Japan and the Torans of India.

(Read on 31st January 1923.)

Introduction.

The Torii play an important part in the architecture of the Houses of Worship of Japan, where they are generally seen in the shrines of the Shinto religion. On my way back from Lucknow, where I had gone to preside at the Anthropological section of the 10th Indian Science Congress, which had met there from the 8th to the 13th January, I got down for about 12 hours at Sânchi in the State of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopâl, to visit the well-known Buddhist Sânchi Topes. The visit was made very interesting by the excellent guide book prepared for the Buddhist monuments there, by Sir John Marshall, whose great and good work in the field of Indian Archæology will be long remembered. We students of Anthropology, who have to do something with archæology, not only prehistoric archæology, but later archæology, have to express our gratitude to him for all that he has done by his excavations and explorations. My visits to two places, with which his name will be more than ordinarily associated, *viz.*, Taxala and Sânchi, have impressed me much with the good work of this great archæological scholar of modern India.

I visited Sânchi on the 12th of January 1923, and, among all things that I saw there, it were the beautiful stone torans which drew my special attention. There were three following reasons for this: (1) They reminded me of the *Torii* of the Japanese and the *pilou* of the Chinese, the forms of both of which were fresh in my mind, having visited their countries in the spring of the last year. (2) They reminded me of our household torans with which we Indians are familiar,

We Parsees are especially familiarised with them, because no joyful occasion in a Parsee house, like a birthday, a Naojote, a marriage, or a great Holiday begins without a fresh flower toran, sometimes more than one, being put up in the morning, at the gateway or door of the house. (3) Again, the carved stone torans at Sânchi, present, as said by a writer, something like a carved Bible of Buddhist scriptures. So, the object of this paper is threefold :

I. To speak of the Torii of Japan.

II. To speak of the torans in Indian architecture. While speaking on this subject, I will speak briefly of the Buddhist stupas at Sânchi, of which the torans there form the gateways.

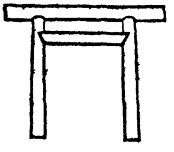
III. To speak of the *torans*, that have, as it were, entered from Church into Society and have adorned our Indian households.

I.

THE TORII OF JAPAN.

What is the Torii ?

In my second paper before the Society, on " A few notes on a flying visit to Japan from an Anthropological point of view," I have referred to the religions of Japan and have spoken of the country's old Shinto religion. The Torii play an important part in the shrines of this Shinto religion. The Torii are the peculiar gateways at the entrance of the compounds of these Shinto shrines. The following figures will give one an idea of what a Japanese Torii is :—





As said by Messrs. Chamberlain and Mason,[1] the first of the above two figures is the form of the gateway of a pure Shinto

[1] A Handbook for Travellers in Japan, by Basil Hall Chamberlain and W. B. Mason (1913), page 95.

kind and the second of the Ryôbu Shinto kind. "The presence of the Torii is the easiest sign whereby to distinguish a Shinto from a Buddhist temple."[1] These authors thus distinguish between a Pure Shinto temple and Ryôbu Shinto which had some elements of Chinese Buddhism in it. "The distinction between what are termed respectively Ryôbu and Pure Shintô arose from the fact that the doctrines of metempsychosis and universal perfectibility taught by Buddhism naturally made it tolerant of other creeds, and willing to afford hospitality to their gods in its own pantheon. Hence the early Buddhist teachers of the Japanese nation were led to regard the aboriginal Shintô gods and goddesses as incarnations or *avtârs*—the Japanese term is *gongen* signifying literally 'temporary manifestations'—of some of the many myriads of Buddhas. Thus with an added tincture of Chinese philosophy, was formed a mixed system, known as Ryôbu Shinto.[2]"

We see from the above figures, that a *Torii* is a kind of archway formed by a projecting cross piece of wood laid on the top of two upright posts, with a small horizontal bar of wood below, which does not project at the ends. Such archways generally became the symbol of Shintoism and pointed out that the religious building behind was a Shinto temple. But they are seen on some Buddhist temples also. From the fact, that we see a number of such gateways in China where they are known as *pilou*, it appears that the Torii of Japan are not, what we may call, aboriginal, but have come from China and Korea.

These Toriis are numerous at some temples. I remember having visited on 23rd April 1922, at Kobe, a temple known as the Fox-temple, situated on a hill, where there were a number of Toriis erected one after another. When placed at equal distances, one after another, they present a good show, but where they are put at unequal distances, they spoil the harmony of the sight. It seems, that just as a pious Hindu worshipper adds, on auspicious or inauspicious occasions, a sacred

1 *Ibid*, page 37. 2 *Ibid*, page 38.

idol to a number of idols in a temple, and just as a pious Christian erects a cross on the roadside in memory of somebody or some event of his life, so a pious Japanese adds a Torii to his temple. It is said, that at the entrance of the Shinto temple at Inari, there are about 400 torii of this kind. Imagine, that on the whole road from the Churchgate Street to our Town Hall, where we have met, there are a number of such high gateways, say 50, of the type in the figures given above, all standing at equal distances from one another, and then you will form an idea of the grand view presented to you from the other end of the Churchgate Street.

These torii are generally of wood and painted red, but, in several rich temples, you have stone Torii presenting a commanding sight. They cost from a few hundred rupees to several thousand. You see some of these huge beautiful stone Torii at Nikkô where, with the beautiful grand temple behind, they present a commanding sight.[1]

Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, in his "Things Japanese,"[2] thus speaks of the *Torii*: "Torii is the name of the archways, formed of two upright and two horizontal beams, which stand in front of Shintô Temples. As almost all visitors to this country seek for information concerning these characteristically Japanese structure, it may be well to quote what Mr. Satow says concerning them in his essay on 'The Shinto Temples of Ise,' printed in volume II of the Asiatic Transactions: 'The Torii,' writes Mr. Satow, 'was originally a perch for the fowls offered

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1 Mr. G. W. Knox, in his "Imperial Japan" (page 68), gives a beautiful illustration of "The Approach to the shrine, Nikko." Nikko is a beautiful place, from the point of view of its natural scenery and of its beautiful grand temples surrounded by handsome large majestic trees and having grand beautiful Torii or stone gateways. It is therefore well said by the Japanese that

"Nikkô wo minai uchi wa
Kekkô to in na"

—"Do not use the word 'Magnificent' till you have seen Nikkô" (Hand-book of Japan by Chamberlain, p. 191).

2 Things Japanese being Notes on various subjects connected with Japan, by Basil Hall Chamberlain (1890)," page 356.

up to the gods, not as food, but to give warning of daybreak. It was erected on any side of the temple indifferently. In later times, not improbably after the introduction of Buddhism, its original meaning was forgotten; it was placed in front only and supposed to be a gateway.' "

Of all the Torii in various places of Japan, that at Miya-jima (Shrine Island), one of the three "San-kei or three chief sights of Japan" (the other two being Matsushima, *i.e.*, Pine Island and Ama-no-Hashidate, *i.e.*, Ladder of Heaven), is believed to be of "singular, if substantial, beauty, which at flood-tide stands out of the water."[1]

Meaning of the word Torii.

Dr. G. William Knox says, that "the meaning of torii is still a topic of learned discussion."[2] Mr. H. Davis says about the torii, that "though authorities agree to differ in regard to its use and origin, the theme is a fascinating one and well worthy of study."[3] What we find from the above referred to discussions and fascinating study is, that (1) some take the meaning of the word Torii to be a seat for a bird, (2) and others as merely a kind of gateway.

(1) As to the first meaning, Dr. Knox himself speaks of the Torii as "Bird-perch."[4] Mr. H. Davis says, that, "according to a popular account, the word *Torii* means 'fowl-dwelling' or 'bird-rest.' On the top-beam of this imposing gateway, the fowls heralded the approach of the dawn and in their cry, bade the priests attend to their early morning prayers. In one Legend, we are informed that the sun descends to earth in the form of the Ho-Ho bird, messenger of love, peace and goodwill and rests upon one of the torri."[5] Thus, if we take the word torii to be

1 Japan's Inheritance, by E. Bruce Mitford, p. 71. Of the above three finest sights of Japan, I had the pleasure of seeing the one at Ama-no-Hashidate.

2 The Development of religion in Japan, by Dr. George William Knox (1907), p. 80 n. I.

3 "Myths and Legends of Japan," by H. Davis (1912), p. 225

4 The Development of religion in Japan, p. 80.

5 "Myths and Legends of Japan," p. 226.

"a seat for birds," we may derive it from Japanese *tori*, which, according to Chamberlain's glossary,[1] means a "fowl." In this case, the bird heralding the approach of the dawn may be the cock, which, for this purpose, was held to be a sacred bird by many nations.[2] Shakespear speaks of the cock as "the trumpet to the morn."[3]

(2) As to the second meaning, whereby some take the word torii to mean simply 'a gateway,' if we accept it, we may derive it from the Japanese word *Tori*, which, according to Chamberlain, also means 'street.'[4] In this case, the derivation receives support from two facts. (*a*) Firstly, the Indian toran (तोरण) to which it resembles, as we will see later on, means 'a gateway, an archway,' (*b*) secondly, in China, *via* which country the torii is believed to have entered with Buddhism into Japan, the *pilou*, to which it resembles, stands as a gateway before many streets, houses, and sacred places. Mr. Chamberlain[5] himself takes the etymology of the word to be bird-rest, but adds, that it has been disputed. He then says: "Mr. Aston, in his Japanese grammar, derives *torii* not from *tori*, a bird, and *iru*, to dwell, to perch, but from *toru* 'to pass through' and the same *iru*."[6]

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1 Hand-book for travellers in Japan by Basil Hall Chamberlain and W. B. Mason (1913), p. 20, col. I.

2 *Vide* my paper entitled "The Cock as a Sacred Bird (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. V., pp. 346-62; *vide* my Anthropological papers, part I, pp. 104-121).

3 Hamlet, Act I, Sc. 1.

4 Handbook for travellers in Japan (1913), p. 21, col. 2.

5 "Things Japanese" by Basil Hall Chamberlain (1890), p. 356.

6 Dr. D. B. Spooner, in his letter dated Agra, 26th January 1923, draws my attention to a bird figuring on an Indian torana. He writes: "A Torana, rather strikingly like the Japanese Torii in form, occurs on the facade of a stupa plinth in the upper stratum at Sirkan which Sir John Marshall excavated some years ago at Taxilla, a monument presumably dating from the first century. It is noticeable that on this particular Torana, a bird is perching, but it is probably a mere coincidence that the Japanese write the word for Torii with two Chinese characters meaning 'bird' and 'to dwell.'"

According to Davis,[1] Professor B. H. Chamberlain regards the "bird-rest" etymology and the theories derived from it as erroneous, and believes that the Torii came originally from Asia. He writes in "Things Japanese"[2]: "The Koreans erect somewhat similar gateways at the approach of their royal palaces. The Chinese *pai lou*, serving to record the virtue of male and female worthies, seem related in shape as well as in use; and the occurrence of the word *turan* in Northern India and of the word tori in Central India to denote gateways of strikingly cognate appearance gives matter for reflection."

Mr. Davis quotes Mr. C. M. Salwey saying: "The oldest torii of Japan . . . were constructed of plain unvarnished wood. In fact, they were built of straight upright trunks of trees in their natural state though sometimes bereft of the outer bark. Later on the wood was painted a deep rich vermilion, possibly to heighten the effect when the background was densely wooded."[3] He adds that "though the torii was originally associated with Shintoism, it was later on adopted by the Buddhists, who considerably altered its simple but beautiful construction by turning up the corners of the horizontal beams, supplying inscriptions and ornaments of various kinds."[4] He further adds: "Whatever the origin and significance of the Shinto torii may be, no one will deny its exquisite beauty, and many will agree in believing it to be the most perfect gateway in the world. Perhaps the most wonderful torii is the one that stands before the Itsukushima shrine on the Island of Myajima, and it is called 'The Footstool of the King,' 'The Gateway of Light,' or 'The Water Gate of the sacred Island.' Mr. Salwey

1 "Myths and Legends of Japan" by F. Hadland Davis, p. 226.

2 I give the quotation as given by Mr. F. H. Hadland Davis but am not able to trace it in Chamberlain's "Things Japanese" of the edition of 1890. Perhaps, the quotation is from a later edition. Mr Davis does not give the year of the edition nor the page for reference to show that he has changed his view quoted above.

3 "Myths and Legends of Japan" by F. H. Davis (1912), p. 226.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 226-27.

writes : 'Is not this gateway the symbol of the Right Direction according to the dogmas of the Shinto cult, the goal towards which the face should be turned—'The way of the Gods.' Are they not monitors writing their mystic message as an ideographic sign over the Lord of the Gods before the rising and setting sun, enhancing by their presence the dense luxuriance of cryptomerian avenue, reflecting within dark, still rivers or the silver ripples of the Inland sea? We must be content with this pleasing interpretation of the symbolism of the torii, for it takes us through the gate of conflicting theories, and gives us something more satisfying than the ramifications of etymology." [1]

Japanese Torii fronting volcanoes.

Mr. Mitford says that "at the present day, the main approach to every Japanese volcano is marked by a torii, or Shinto gateway, indicating holy ground; and, until well on in the Meiji era, the rule forbidding women to proceed beyond it was enforced."[2] We read in this author, that "in the very heart of Hondo, midway on the Mid-mountain road, one of Japan's most famous passes is crowned by a sacred gateway of imposing size. Men call it, therefore, the Torii-togê."[3]

The original home of the Torii.

We saw above, that one writer traces the torii to Korea and Japan, to Northern and Central India, and even to further Western Asia. As to the reference to Northern and Central India, we know, that the torii, in its Indian form of *toran*, has been found among Buddhist monument of Taxala near Rawalpindi in the North, and among those of Sânchi near Bhopal in the Centre. Before I read of Mr. Davis' reference to the Indian toran, I had, in one of my letters to the *Jame-i-Jamshed* of Bombay, compared it to

1 *Ibid*, p. 227.

2 Japan's Inheritance by Bruce Mitford, p. 136.

3 *Ibia.*, p. 83.

the Indian household *toran*, and the architectual *toran* which I saw at Sânchi has confirmed my view.[1]

Some of the above referred to writers, have spoken of the Torii only from a Japanese point of view, and so, they seem to have thought Japan to be the cradle of them and Shinto the religion to which they first belonged. But travellers going to Japan from inside the China, from Pekin, like myself, would at once see that the Torii, under the name of *p' ai lou* or *pailu*, are a well-nigh common feature of Pekin and its surroundings and are associated with many old buildings. For example, I saw beautiful stone *pailu* (Torii) at the tombs of the Mingu Kings, when I went in that direction to see the Great wall of China. So, I think Sir John Marshall is quite right in attributing their spread from the West to the East with the spread of Buddhism. In his Guide to Taxila, while speaking on Art and while speaking of a *torana* at Taxila, he says (Chap. III, p. 29, n. 1): "The finest and indeed the only complete examples of ancient Indian *toraṇas* (gateways) are those at Sânchi in Bhopal State. The Indian Toraṇa is the prototype of the Chinese '*pailu*' and the Japanese 'torii.' No doubt it was introduced into those countries with the spread of Buddhism to the East."

From all that is said above, I think, that the use of the Torii may have begun in Japan itself, but that its architectural form as we see it nowadays in its old buildings went from India via China. The early Japanese may have thought of presenting as offerings to their places of worship fowls, like the cocks, to serve the purpose of heralding the approach of the Sun in this Land of the Sun. With this offering of birds, they also offered bird-perches, which at first were placed in any part of the compound of the temple. We see in Bombay, such well-formed bird-perches for the *kabutars* (doves) here and there, and the erection of these perches for doves, is considered

[1] My letter on "Nara" dated S.S. Japan, 5th May 1922, and published in the issue of the *Jam-e-Jamshed* of 11th July 1922.

a meritorious act. Then in Japan the thought arose of having these bird-perches at the gates of the temples. The birds heralded the approach of the sun ; so it was thought it advisable or auspicious to have their bird-perches at the approaches of the temples. When these Torii or bird-perches began to be placed at the approaches to the temples, they began to take the form of gateways.

I think that one must not even stop at India as the cradle of the Chinese *pailu*, Japanese torii and Indian *toraña*. The discovery of toraṇa at the Sirkah excavations at Taxila by Sir John Marshall points to further West also as the place of the use of such gateways. Mr. Douglas Sladen says : "Recent explorers in Asia have found arches resembling the Japanese torii in countries as far west as Sir George Robertson's Kafiristan and at various points in Central Asia."[1] *Tâq* is the old Persian word for arch, and so, I think that the arches at places like Tâq-i Bostan, and other great arched monuments in ancient Persia point to similar construction in Persia. The *idea* of these arches and domes (gumbads) seems to have first arisen from the dome of the Heavens, spoken of as the Tâq-i *azrak* which carries with it an idea of religion and worship. So, my view of the evolution of the torii or torans, from the very beginning up to the time of the use of the toraṇs in our Indian household, of which I will speak later on, is as follows :—

1. The Taq-i-*azrak*, *i.e.*, the azure gumbad or dome of Heaven suggested religious and pious thoughts about God.

2. Then these thoughts were associated with the ordinary *tâqs* or arches of great religious and royal buildings.

3. Then these thoughts began to be associated with the smaller archways or gateways, known in India as *torans*, in China as *pailus*, and in Japan as *torii*.

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1 Queer things about Japan, by Douglas Sladen (1903), p. 255.

4. Then came the torans of beads and silver plates, etc., hung at the doorways or places of worship like the Parsee Fire Temples.

5. Then came the torans of fresh flowers hung at the gates or doors of houses on religious holidays or occasions of joy, as birthdays, marriages, holidays, etc.

We further see that these arches or gateways, etc., are associated with almost all religions in one way or another. As torri or torans, they are associated, not only with the Shintoism of the Japanese and with the Buddhism of the Chinese and Japanese, but also with Jainism, as in the case of the torans of the Sirkap stupa at Taxila and in the case of the torans in the Jain temples of Mount Abu,—and also with Zorastrianism, as in the case of the household torans of Indian Parsees and the tâqs of Persia. In the case of the arches of the ancient Greek and Roman temples, they are associated with the religion of the Greeks and Romans and in the case of the great arches of some Christian Churches they are associated with Christianity.

The Chinese pailous or gateways.

The gateways in China are known as "pailous or pailows or pailus." It is said that foreigners generally speak of them as "Widow's arches,"[1] from the fact that some of them are erected in honour of virtuous widows. Of the large stone-arches erected in honour of great virtuous men Mr. Carl Crow says: "These are stone arches erected with official permission to commemorate some distinguished or virtuous residents."[2] They are "dedicated also to scholars, warriors and officials."

Mr. B. Laufer, in his brief monograph on these gateways,[3] thus speaks of them: "Large gateways of high architectural

1 "The Travellers' Hand-book for China" by Carl Crow, 3rd edition, p. 86.

2 *Ibid.*

3 "The Chinese gateways," Leaflet No. 1, of the Field Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology (Chicago, 1922).

order occupy a prominent place in the streets of Chinese cities, in the courtyards of temples, or on avenues leading to a tomb or mausoleum. As a type of architecture, they are based on the so-called Torana of India, plans of which were introduced into China and Japan as a sequel of Buddhism. In the Buddhistic art of ancient India, ornamental stone rails were built as enclosures around the topes (mounds or structures containing sacred relics), four gateways of highly decorated style being placed in these rails. The Chinese, however, did not slavishly imitate these monuments, but merely took them as models and lavished on them the wealth of their own decorative motives."

As to the connection of some of them with widows, which has gained for them among foreigners the name of "Widows' arches," Mr. Laufer says: "Widows, who did not remarry after their husband's death, and who faithfully nursed their parents-in-law, were entitled to this honour." Likewise children who do unusual acts of filial piety, persons who had reached the age of one hundred and statesmen for loyal devotion to the throne."[1]

The erection of the *pailous*, a kind of canonization.

Mr. Laufer takes this erection of gateways or archways in honour of some distinguished dead, as a kind of canonization. He says: "If such a canonization was recommended, the emperor, on receiving the petition issued 'a holy edict' which was chiselled in stone on the top of the monument and he contributed the sum of thirty ounces of silver. The balance of the cost was subscribed by the family of the honoured person or by the grateful community. The ideal purpose of these gateways, accordingly was to perpetuate to posterity the memory of excellent men and women and to act as an influence on the conduct of the following generations."[2]

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1 *Ibid.*

2 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

The symbolism on the *pâilous* of the Chinese.

Mr. Laufer gives us an interesting explanation of the symbolism on the gateways—symbolism connected with lions, dragons, phœnix, cranes, etc.,—and of the construction of the roofs of these gateways, and of their rafters. In this explanation of symbolism, that about the lion (the *shir* شیر of the Persians, the *Sinh* सिंह of the Indians, the *shi* of the Chinese), which plays an important part in the architecture of Persia, India and China, draws our special attention. The Chinese not only recognize him as the king of the beasts but believe that his "roaring dispels phantoms" and his representation in architecture as intimating a wish: "May you obtain the position of the first and second dignitary at the Imperial Court,"[1] the good wishes expressed in the inscription, *e. g.*,

"Your merit shine like sun and moon?

"Your good deeds vie in extent with streams and mountains,"[2] remind us of similar good wishes in ancient Iran based on the characteristics of some grand objects of Nature (*vide* the Pazend Afrins).

II

THE TORANS OF INDIA.

Now, I will speak of the torans of India, of which, as said above, I was reminded on seeing the torii of Japan, both from the similarity of the word and from the sight of its structure.

Buddhist memorials in India.

India has numerous Buddhist monuments; but, out of these, the most important which can be pointed out as old Buddhist interesting monuments are: (*a*) the monuments at Sânchi in Bhopal, (*b*) at Bharhut in Bhagalkhand, (*c*) and at Buddha Gaya in Behar. All these are about 2,000 years old. The Buddhist monuments at Amarâvati in Southern India also are important,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

but they are of several centuries later than the above. The great Asoka himself is said to have visited the hill of Sânchi where the Buddhist monuments are erected. According to A. Cunningham, the Great Stupa was built on the hill (Chetya-giri or Chaitya hill, *i.e.*, the hill of the Chaitya or stupa) some time before Asoka's visit.[1]

Meaning of the word toran.

The word toran or torana (तोरणः) in Sanskrit means "an arched doorway, a portal, an outer door or gateway."[2] Among the secondary Vedas (Upa-Vedas), the fourth is Sthâpatya-veda, which is "the science of Architecture," including the Shilpa-Shâstra Mâna-sâra (lit. essence of measurement) spoken of as the principal work on architecture. It is said to have treated of "rules for the construction of buildings, temples, ornamental arches (toranas) etc.[3]

Toran in Indian literature.

Kalidas more than once, refers to the Indian Torana. He refers to it in his Kumârsambhava[4] (the birth of the Deity Kumara). Kalidas also uses *torana* in the sense of an "arching gate" in his Méga Dûta.[5] We read in Wilson's translation: "Northward from where Cuvera holds his state,

Where Indra's bow surrounds the arching gate;
Where on rich boughs, the clustering flower depends;
And low to earth, the tall Mandâra bends:
Pride of the grove, whose wants my fair supplies,
And nurtures like a child; my dwelling lies."[6]

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1 Sanchi and its remains by General F. C. Maisey, Alexander Cunningham's Introductory Note, p. XI, note p. II.

2 Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Apte.

3 Indian Wisdom, by Monier Williams, p. 194.

4 VII, 3 The Kumârsambhava of Kâlidâsa, with the commentary (1-8, Sargas) of Mahlinatha, edited by Kashinatha Pandurang Parab (1879).

5 75-3 The Mêgha Duta or Cloud Messenger: (v. 84) translated into English verse by Horace Hayman Wilson (1813), p. 81.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 81-82.

In Raghuvamsa (Bombay Ed. I, 41 ; VII. 4 ; XI, 5) also Kalidas refers to the Torana. The Sishupalavadha (XII, 1) also refers to it. [1]

Dr. Horrowitz in his short History of Indian Literature thus refers to the torans :—" Large number of Vehâras have been found east of Benares' in modern Behar, *i.e.*, the *vihar* or monastic country. The toranas or archways leading into the caves were frequently embellished with fine sculpture. Sacred history provided the artist with ample material. But the humour and pathos of life were too precious and real to be neglected by Buddhist genius." [2] Dr. Horrowitz then describes the various subjects that were sculptured in the toranas, including dying soldiers, triumphal entries, pompous musicians, drinking and gambling groups and rustic swains.

The torans of India the parents of the *pailus* and the Torii.

Fergusson speaks of the Indian torans as parents of the Chinese pailus and Japanese torii and says " In China and Japan their descendants are counted by thousands. The *pailus* in the former country, and the *toris* in the latter, are copies more or less correct of these Sânchi gateways and like their Indian prototypes are sometimes in stone, sometimes in wood, and frequently compounded of both materials in varying proportions. What is still more curious, a toran with five bars was erected in front of the Temple at Jerusalem to bear the sacred golden vine, some forty years before these Sânchi examples. It, however, was partly in wood, partly in stone, and was erected to replace one that adorned Solomon's Temple, which was wholly in bronze, and supported by the celebrated pillars Jachin and Boaz."[3] Fergusson adds,

[1] *Vide* Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary for the references (1890), p. 547.

[2] A short History of Indian Literature by Ernest Horrowitz, with an introduction by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids (1907), p. 72.

[3] History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by James Fergusson (1891), p. 99.

in a footnote, that they (the torans) must have been very common in India, for though only one representation of them has been detected among the sculptures at Sânchi, at least ten representations of them are found at Amrâvati. He identifies, or, as it were, brackets torans and the gateways, square or arched, of the places as far off from one another as Sânchi, Bijanagur, Janpore, Gaur, Futtepore Sikri, and Pekin.[1] These archways or torans belong to Hindu and Jain temples and Mahomedan mosques.

The Torans at Sânchi.

The grand stupa at Sânchi has four gateways or torans.[2] The second stupa has one torana standing. Their sight at once reminds us of the Torii of Japan. The broad feature is the same, though there are several following differences in the details :—

1. First of all, the Torii of Japan are simple, but the *toranas* of Sânchi are carved. Sir John Marshall very properly speaks of these elaborate and richly carved toranas or gateways as "the crowning glory" of the stupas.[3] They "front the entrances between the four quadrants of the rail (round the great stupa), and constitute a most striking contrast with the massive simplicity of the structure behind them."[4] He thus describes the gateways or toranas of the great stupa or tope : 'Each gateway was composed of two square pillars surmounted by capitals, which in their turn supported a superstructure of three architraves with volute ends. Separating the architraves from one another were four square blocks set in pairs vertically above the capitals, and between each pair of blocks were three short uprights, the open spaces between them being occupied by a variety of figures in the round. The capitals

1 Fergusson's History of Indian Architecture (1891), Index, p. 752.

2 In Sir John Marshall's Guide to Sânchi (1918) we find a photo-engraved picture of the Northern toran (Plate III).

3 A Guide to Sânchi by Sir John Marshall (1918), p. 37.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 37

were adorned with standing dwarfs or elephants or with the forefronts of lions set back to back in Persepolitan fashion."[1]

2. The above referred to figure and description point to another difference between the Japanese *Torii* and the Indian *Torana*, viz., that when the former has two architraves, the latter has three.

3. The Indian toranas or gateways had inscriptions naming the pious donors or guilds who contributed to their construction. The Japanese Torii at present bear no inscriptions. But, it seems, that formerly they did bear inscriptions, not on themselves but on tablets attached to them. We read in Chamberlain's "Things Japanese" (p. 356): "Tablets with inscriptions (*gaku*) were placed on the Torii with this belief, and one of the first things done after the restoration of the Mikado in 1868 in the course of the purification of the Shintô temples was the removal of these tablets."

The Bhopal State Gazetteer thus describes the Sânchi *torans*: "The carved gates are the most striking features of the edifice. They stand facing the four cardinal points and measure 28 feet 5 inches to the top of the third architrave, and with the ornamentation above, 32 feet 11 inches. They are cut in a white sandstone rather softer than the red stone used in the mound and are profusely carved with scenes from the Jâtaka stories, and other legends. It is noteworthy that Buddha himself is nowhere delineated, Bohi trees or footprints alone represent him; of the meditating or preaching figures common in later Buddhist sculpture there is no trace."[2]

Dr. James Fergusson says of the sculptures of these gateways that they "form a perfect picture Bible of Buddhism as it existed in India in the first century of the Christian era

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[2] The Central India State Gazetteer series, Bhopal State Gazetteer, Vol. III, Text and Tables, compiled by Captain C. E. Luard (1908), p. 117.

and as such are as important historically as they are interesting artistically."[1]

The great stupa at Sânchi and its torans after being long neglected were first discovered by General Taylor in 1818 and described by Captain Fell in 1819 and formed the ground work of "Bhilsa Topes" in 1854 and James Fergusson's "Tree and Worship" in 1868 and 1873. These books directed the attention of the learned world to the stupas and especially to the torans or gateways, and it is said, that Emperor Napoleon III of France, in 1868, requested the Begum Saheb of Bhopal to present her with one of the gates; but, on the representation of the Government of India, the request was refused, and, in its stead, plaster casts were taken and sent to Paris, and, later on, also to London for the South Kensington Museum and to Dublin, Edinburgh and other places.[2]

As said by General Maisey, the gateway or torans of Sânchi were of the same general style and similarly constructed, that is, like the enclosure, without cement and on the 'mortise and tenon' principle.[3] Fergusson speaks of this mode as "more like carpentering than stone-work" and takes it as a proof of his view, that all the Indian buildings before Asoka's time were mostly made of wood.[4]

The time of the Sânchi toranas.

The following brief notes, taken down during my study of Sir John Marshall's book on Sânchi, may be of some use, to give one an idea of the different periods of history, in which the Sânchi monuments were built and completed and its *toranas* were constructed. The periods were the following:

1 History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by James Fergusson (1891), p. 98.

2 The Bhopal State Gazetteer, pp. 118-19.

3 Tenon (from tenere to hold) is "the end of a piece of wood cut into form, for insertion into a cavity in another place called a *mortise* in order to unite the two pieces" (Webster). Mortise is "a cavity cut into a piece of timber, or other material, to receive the end of another piece, made to fit it, called a tenon."

4 Sânchi and its remains, p. 11

1. The Early period, when Sânchi, whose early name in inscriptions was Kâkanâda, was the same as the Chetiyagiri of the Mahâvamsha, the Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon. During this period, the great Asoka is reported to have visited this part of India, where Vidisa, the capital of Eastern Malwa, flourished as a centre of trade and of all other kinds of activity, leading to make this part of the country one of the centres of Buddhism.

2. The period of Asoka, who reigned from 273 to 232 B.C., and who, with all the enthusiasm and energy of a new convert, spread Buddhism, not only in a great part of India, but even in some parts of Afghanistan, Persia, Egypt and Albania. The inscribed *lât* or pillar at Sânchi, which we see fallen on the ground near the great stupa or tope, and the top of which we see in the adjoining museum, is a work of his time. Sir John Marshall says of it, that this pillar and some other monuments here "are Perso-Greek in style, not Indian, and there is every reason to believe that they were the handiwork of foreign, probably Bactrian, artists," the indigenous art being "still in the rudimentary state."[1] The great stupa—not as we see it now encased in stone but the inner hemispherial dome (anda)—seems to be Asoka's work.

3. The period of the Sungas, who, on the death of Asoka in 232 B.C., and on the subsequent fall of the Mauryas, came to power and to the throne at Magadha in 185 B.C. The stone casing of the first great stupa and its ground balustrade and the second and third stupas with their balustrades at Sânchi were the works of this period. Though the Hellenistic influence exerted by the Greek colonies at Panjab on the art of India was dying by this time and the indigenous art rising, still some Hellenic influence is said to have been exercised on these monuments of the period.

4. The period of the Andhras, who at the end of the power of the Sungas in about 70 B.C., spread their power from the

[1] Guide to Sânchi. p. 10.

West and the South northwards and became strong in Eastern Malwa, where the Sânchi monuments are situated. With their advent, the indigenous art of Indian architecture was at its height. The four *toranas* of the first great stupa and the only torana of the third stupa were the works of this period. Sir John Marshall speaks of these works, as being "manifestly the work of experienced artists."[1] Still, they were not free from the influence of the Hellenistic and Western Asiatic art. This is said to be evident "from the many extraneous motifs in these reliefs, *e.g.*, from the familiar bell capital of Persia, from the floral designs of Assyria, or from the winged monsters of Western Asia." But Sir John asks us to be careful in any exaggerated view of the influence of foreign art upon our Indian arts. He says: "The artists of early India were quick with the versatility of all true artists to profit by the lessons which others had to teach them; but there is no more reason in calling their creations Persian or Greek, than there would be in designating the modern fabric of St. Paul's Italian."[2]

5. The period of the Western Kshatrapas. The Kshaharâtas interrupted for a few decades the rule of the Andhras, at the end of the first century. But, the Andhras were again re-established in about 125 A. C. to be overthrown again by the great Rudradâman, one of the Western Kshatrapas, in whose hands passed the country round Vidisha (the capital of Eastern Malwa), and in that, Sânchi also. Kshaharâtas, the Western Kshatrapas and the later Satrapas were all of foreign origin.[3] They were the subordinates or feudatories, at first, of the Scytho-Parthian Kings on the Indian frontiers, and then, of the Kushan Kings who also had a Parthian connection. Their influence at Sânchi is said not to be very

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 13. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

3 The Indian word Kshatrapa is a form of the Iranian Khshathra paiti-i, *i.e.*, the master or ruler of a kingdom.

great. It consisted only of " a few sculptures in the Kushan style from Mathura, one of which bears an inscription of the year 28 and of the reign of the King Shâhi Vâsishka." Some of the monuments of the period at Sânchi show that " Buddhism was as flourishing at Sânchi under the Satraps as it was elsewhere under their overlords, the Kushan."[1]

6. The period of the Guptas under Chandragupta which followed that of the Western Kshatrapas, when Eastern and Western Malwa was annexed by the Gupta King. An inscription on the balustrade of the great stupa, dated 93 of the Gupta era (A.D. 412-13), is said to point to a gift by an officer of Chandragupta. The period of the Guptas was a period of Indian Renaissance, due to various causes : (1) The first was its contact with various civilizations, *e.g.*, with those of the Sassanians of Persia, of the Roman Empire, and of China. (2) The invasions of India by the foreigners in the North, *viz.*, the Kushans, the Parthians, and the Scythians, which brought in " new intellectual vitality."

7. The period of the Huns, who overthrew the Guptas of the 6th century, spoken of as the earlier mediæval period, and the period known as the late mediæval period, had not much influence on the sculptures of Sânchi except that on some " detached images."[2]

The toran in the Uparkot of Junaghadh.

During my visit of Kathiawar in 1909 to attend the second Guzarati Parishad at Rajkote, I had visited several interesting cities of Kathiawar, and among them, Palitana and Junaghadh, which have the beautiful hills of Shetrunja and Girnar in their

[1] Sânchi, by Sir John Marshal, p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22. I have spoken of these Huns, the Hunas of the Avesta, at some length, in my paper, entitled " The Hûnas in the Avesta and Pahlavi " in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume (pp. 65-80) and in my paper, entitled, " The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia " before the B. B. R. A. S. (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIV, pp. 539-595. Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 293-349).

neighbourhood, bearing on their top beautiful Jain temples or rather cities of temples. During my visit of Junaghadh, I had the pleasure of visiting Uparkot which is a citadel or ancient fortress, of the town and which has a number of interesting caves of the Buddhists. At the entrance of the Uparkot fortress, we see a large *toran*, of which the Kathiawar Gazetteer[1] speaks as "a fine specimen of the old Hindu *toran* or compromise for an arch."[2]

The Hindu torana, the compromise of an arch.

Mr. John W. Watson, the compiler of the Kathiawar Gazetteer, while speaking of the ancient archway at the entrance of the Uparkot at Junagadh, speaks of "the old Hindu toran" as "a compromise for an arch." This view strikes me as very correct. It suggests, that as traced by me above, the arch was, as it were, the predecessor of the Indian torana or gateway.[3]

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1 Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII, Kathiawar (1884), p. 487.

2 There are many things at Junaghadh, which direct the mind of a pilgrim student towards ancient Persia. For example, (*a*) the well-known stone inscription of Asoka on a large block of stone, spoken of by Tod in his travels in India (p. 369) as "the noblest monument of Saurashtra." The inscription covers a space of about 100 square feet and reminds us of the great inscription of Darius on the mountain of Behistun. (*b*) The rule of the Kshatrapa or Satrap Kings who were connected as feudatory vassals with their Parthian or Scytho-Parthian feudal lords on the frontiers of India. The name of the Kshatrapa Rudradâmana, one of the Satraps, is well-known. (*c*) The reparation of its ancient lake of Sudarshana is associated with the name of a Persian architect. (*d*) Of the several, about 14, old names of Junaghadh, one, *viz.*, Yavanghadh, is supposed to connect it with the ancient Persians. Lassen is said to have taken the name Junaghadh as a corruption of Yavan Gadh, *i.e.*, the Fortress of the Yavans. I would rather like to say, that the word Yavan here is the Avesta 𐬌𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 yavan, *i.e.*, young. This word Yavan has latterly become *Javan* جوان in Persian. Hence, it may be Javângadh or Junagadh.

3 Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII, Kathiawar (1884), p. 487.

General Maisey thought, that the great stupa at Sânchi was pre-Buddhist, and belonged to the old Sun, Fire and Element worship. He says: "It seems probable that the Buddhists who brought their relics to Sânchi, appropriated, as their relic shrines, buildings already ancient and sacred in connection with the older form of worship. We know that the earlier caves of India, which, it is generally allowed, were excavated by the followers of an old Mithraic religion, were appropriated successfully by the followers of Sâkya and by the Brahmanical pantheists who had preceded and who finally ousted them, and we have an instance of this Buddhist appropriation of pre-existing building in No. 1 stupa at Sânchi itself; which at a date, certainly long after its erection, was dedicated to the 'four Buddhas,' that is to Sâkya, and his three acknowledged predecessors, Kâsyapa, Kanaka, and Krakuchanda. Such appropriation of old shrines and 'holy places,' was, indeed, a common practice in India—as it was in other countries—and has often led to confusion and misconception."[1] Maisey has a separate chapter (Chap. XIV), entitled "The Mithraic nature of Primitive Buddhism."[2] Cunningham differs from his view,[3] and we know, that many differ from this view. I am not in a position to speak on this subject from an archæological point of view. His view of the appropriation by the Buddhists for their relic "buildings already ancient and sacred in connection with older form of worship" may not, and seems not to, be correct. But laying aside that view, we find, that the view of the influence of Iran or ancient Persia, upon India, has been recently strengthened. We find some Hindu scholars, who are capable to speak with some authority, are, as it were, "out spoonering Spooner."

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1 Sanchi and its remains, by General F. C. Maisey, with an Introduction by General Sir Alex Cunningham (1892), p. 114.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 123-33.

3 *Ibid.*, His Introductory note, p. XIII.

Arch, a successor of dome.

I think that an arch is the successor of a dome. General Maisey does not refer in his argument about the Mithraic influence of Persia upon India to places of Iranian fire-worship. Had he seen a Parsee Fire-temple, spoken of as Dar-i Meher, *i.e.*, the Gateway of Mithra, and its sanctum sanctorum spoken of as the *gumbad* (گنبد) or dome, wherein the Sacred Fire burns perpetually, perhaps, he would have based his view upon the further evidence, that the *gumbad* or the dome of the Parsees is much similar to the stupa or tope of the Buddhists, except that it is hollow and a little higher. The stupa had to hold under it the sacred relics of holy or pious personages, but the *gumbad* of the Parsees had to hold the Sacred Fire in it; and as the holding of the Sacred Fire and keeping it ever burning required more space, the Parsee or Persian *gumbad* had to be built a little higher. Were it not for this fact of the height required to be had to hold the Sacred Fire, a Persian *gumbad* without the lower walls required for the height, would seem something like a stupa.[1]

1 Foreigners or non-Parsees have not generally the opportunity or chance to see the gumbad of a Parsee Fire-temple, because the Parsees do not admit non-Parsees in their fire-temples, but they can see the *gumbad* when a new temple is under construction and before its consecration. The fire-temple of the first grade, *i.e.*, the Atash Behrâm at Naosari is now being rebuilt, and the authorities of the fire-temple have, out of sentiment, and I think a commendable sentiment, preserved the old *gumbad*, and so, a non-Parsee, interested in the matter from an architectural and anthropological point of view will shortly have an opportunity to see, both the old *gumbad* that is preserved intact and the new *gumbad* that will be built. As said in my paper on "Ancient Pataliputra, etc. (J. B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIV, pp. 457-532, *vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 211-286), the old Naosari fire-temple was the only Fire-temple in India, that gave one an idea of the ancient Chaldean Zikurrat, referred to by Sir John Marshall in his account of the "Temple at Jhandiala," in his paper on the "Taxala Excavations." (Lecture on the Taxala Excavations, delivered before the Punjab Historical Society on 29th August 1914, p. 7). The building which gave us an idea of the *Zikurrat* has been pulled down, and I think, it will be well if the Naosari Anjuman were to re-erect a structure like the old one, or a structure like the Chaldean Zikurrat.

Then from the *gumbad* to an arch called Tâq (طاق) in Iran, is one step. The arch (tâq) suggests a dome. Such tâqs are, as said above, known in Persia, for example Tâq-Bostan, Tâq-i-Khosru near Ctesiphon.

We know that even now temporary arches are erected when royal or great personages are welcomed in a city or a town at the entrance of great thoroughfares. We read of such arches, spoken of as "triumphal arches", erected by the Romans to welcome victorious generals. "Those monuments had their origin in the custom of adorning with the spoils of war, the gate by which a successful military leader entered Rome on his return from the battle-field." [1]

The Dome of Heaven, a prototype of the Dome of a place of worship.

The idea of a *gumbad* or dome of sacred places on earth, like the gumbad of a fire-temple or a mosque, seems to have been suggested by the gumbad or dome of heaven, the sight of which suggests thoughts of devotion to a pious man. The Gumbad of Heaven is, as it were, the prototype of the *gumbad* of a temple. An archway had its origin and prototype in a *gumbad*. These archways took the form of Indian torans, the Chinese pilous and the Japanese torii.

The toran on the threshold of an Indian house, of silver beads or fresh flowers is the final step.

III

THE TORANA IN SOCIETY.

The Toran passing from the Church to Society.

Many a ceremonial, etiquette or custom passes from the Church to Society. The Toran is an instance of this kind. It first belonged to the Church, say the Indian Church, and from there, it has passed into Indian society. Being the gateway through which a worshipper passes to his House of Worship, it has become, as it were, a symbol of beginning a good work and then of good auspices generally. So,

[1] Beaton.

it is that you see *torans* of fresh flowers on the gateways or thresholds of Indian houses on auspicious occasions, like those of birth, initiation into the fold, marriage, and holidays.

Toran in a Parsee household.

Being more familiar with the views of my community, I will speak of this subject from a Parsee point of view. If there is any good occasion in a Parsee family, like that of the birthday of a member of the family or like that of Naojote, *i.e.*, the initiation of a child into the fold, or marriage, or a great holiday like the New year's day, the first thing you see in the morning is the chôk (ચોક),[1] a kind of white calcium powder spread over the gateway or the threshold of a house, and a *toran* of fresh flowers hung over the gateway or the threshold. When you see this, you may most assuredly conclude, that there is some good joyful occasion in the family. The family also sends, at times, a toran of flowers to be so hung up on the gateway or threshold of a fire-temple in its neighbourhood. In some Parsee houses, there is a permanent *toran* made up of fine glass beads and on joyful occasions a flower toran is added to it. At times, a toran is put up, not only on the principal gateway or threshold, but on all the gates and doors of the house.

Toran in a Parsee song.

The following lines in a Guzarati song, sung by Parsee ladies on a joyful occasion like the Naojote, give us an idea of the joyful view of the Parsees about the toran.

1 નાહના ને નાહવા મારી ... ... [2] ... સધાવે.
2 ભરેમ્પોલો નાયા મારા ... ... [3] ... રે આવે.
3 નવજોતે બેસવા મારે ... ... [1] ... સધાવે.
4 મોતી સરખા ચોક મારી અગીઆરી પુરાવો.
5 મોતીના તોરણ મારી અગીઆરી બંધાવો.

1 *Vide* my paper before this Society on "The Wedding sand in Knutsford (Cheshire England) and the Wedding sand (ચોક) in India." (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay read on 26th June 1912. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, part II, pp. 31-39.)

2 Here the name of the child which is being initiated into the fold is mentioned.

3 Here the name of the father is mentioned.

6 ફુલના તોરણ મારી અગીઆરી બંધાવો.

7 ફુલના તોરણ મારી બરસાકે બંધાવો.

8 ફુલના તોરણ મારી બરફીઅે બંધાવો.

9 ફુલના તોરણ મારે દરવાજે બધાવો.

1. Translation.—My [1] . . . . . goes for the sacred bath.[2]

2. . . . . [3]

3. My [4] . . . . goes to sit for being initiated.

4. Get pearl-like *chok* spread over the gateway of my Agiâry.[5]

5. Get *torans* of pearls put up at my Agiâry.

6. Get *torans* of flowers put up at my Agiâry.

7. Get *torans* of flowers put up at my threshold.

8. Get *torans* of flowers put up at my downfloor.

9. Get *torans* of flowers put up at my door.

The stone torans at the topes of Sânchi have been decorated with various devices of religious or pious significance. We find the same in the case of the *torans* of the Parsees. Many a permanent toran of beads on the door of a Parsee house bear writings, saying in English or Guzarati characters, "Dadar Hormuzd ni madad hojo (દાદાર હોરમજદની મદદ હોજો), *i.e.*, May there be help of Dadar Ahura Mazda (God)" or, saying "Bhalé padhâriâ" (ભલે પધાર્યા), *i.e.*, welcome. I have seen a silver toran of beads at the Seth Jijibhoy Dadabhoy Fire-temple at Colaba, presented to it as an offering by the late Mr. Bomanji Dinshaw Petit about 25 years ago, bearing various devices of a religious character from a Parsee point of

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1 Here the name of the child is mentioned.

2 નાહના or નાહન is the sacred bath given before initiation. It is another form of Hindu Snān (સ્નાન)

3 I am not sure about the meaning of this second line. It seems to have been mutilated in singing. The name of the father is mentioned here.

4 Here the name of the child is mentioned.

5 Agiary is the fire-temple where the sacred fire (અગ્ની) *agni* burns.

view. It bears the figures of the sun, moon, a fire-vase and a *savastikâ*. A plate of silver with, or without, some such devices offered by pious worshippers and attached to the doors of the inner chamber of the sacred fire in a Parsee fire-temple is another form of reverence associated with the gateways or torans of a fire-temple by the Parsees.

The ceremony of the Toran among the Rajputs on marriage occasions.

We learn from Tod's Rajasthan, that the Rajputs had a regular ceremony of the *toran* on the occasions of marriage. The form of an equilateral triangle of the Rajput *toran*, as described by Tod, seems to be one, midway between a regular built archway and the present torans of flowers. I will describe here the Rajput toran and its connection with marriage from Tod's Rajasthan.[1] After the first sack of Chitor, [2] Hamir, the son of Arsi, who was deprived of the fort, was in constant warfare with Maldeo, who was in possession of it. "Maldeo endeavoured to conciliate his persecutor by offering him in marriage the hand of a Hindu princess. Contrary to the wishes of his advisers, Hamir directed that the cocoanut should be retained,[3] cooly remarking on the dangers pointed out: 'My feet shall at least ascend the rocky steps trodden by my ancestors.' It was stipulated that only five hundred horse should form his suite, and thus accompanied he set out for Chitor. On his approach the five sons of Maldeo advanced to meet him, but on the portal of the city no toran was suspended. He, however, accepted the unsatisfactory reply to his remark on its omission, and ascended for the first time the ramp of Chitor.

---

[1] Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, abridged and edited by C. H. Payne, Chap. IV, Recovery of Chitor, p. 26.

[2] I had the pleasure of visiting this great Hill fort of Rajputana near Oodeypore on the 25th of December 1916.

[3] "A cocoanut is always sent with such a proposal. Its return signifies that the alliance is declined and is usually regarded as an insult by the sender."

The *toran* is the symbol of marriage, and its absence would be regarded as an omen of the worst description. It consists of three wooden bars, fastened together in the form of an equilateral triangle, and surmounted by the image of a peacock. This emblem is suspended either from the gate of the city, or the portal of the bride. The bridegroom on horseback, lance in hand, proceeds to break the toran, which is defended by the damsels of the bride, who, from the parapet, assail him with missiles of various kinds, and especially with a red powder made from the flower of the palâsa, at the same time singing songs fitted to the occasion. At length the toran is broken amidst the shouts of the bridegroom's retainers, when the fair defenders retire." The breaking of the archway or toran in this ceremony seems to be a relic of the old method of "Marriage by Capture."

A kind of ceremony of the Toran among the Military and among Mason.

This ceremony of passing through a kind of toran on occasions of marriage is observed, at times, by military bodies on the occasions of marriage among high military officers. The lower officers or soldiers form by the points of their swords a kind of archway or *toran* and the marrying officer with his bride passes from under that *toran*.

The Toran among the Freemasons.

The *toran* or the architectural form of the toran, which is a kind of gateway, being held to be a good or auspicious symbol, it has entered not only into the form of marriage ceremonies, but in other forms of welcome. For example, we see it among the Freemasons, whose traditions are, of course, connected somewhat with the ancient masons and their architecture. So, we find, that on grand Masonic occasions, when they welcome great officers of their craft, the lower officers form, by their swords, a kind of arch—a triumphal arch, through which the grand officer passes and takes his seat on a platform.

From all that we have said above, it seems, that, like the Savastika, which is a symbol connected with the worship of the sun or a kind of Mithraism prevalent in ancient Greece, Egypt, Assyria, Persia and India, the symbolism of the Torii or the torans of gateways was prevalent in the whole of Asia, and even in some parts of Europe. As to the various forms of, and devices in, the India torans or gateways, a student of anthropology may read with great advantage the detailed version of General Maisey in his "Sânchi and its remains."

The Toran like the Savastika a common form in the whole of Asia and even further.

The reason why the stone or wooden torans took the form of flower torans at our Indian doors seems to be this: We find that the great gateways in the front of religious and other monuments were at times decorated with flower creepers. For example, we read in Kalidas's Megha-Dûta quoted above, of "boughs and clustering flowers," associated with the gateways Again, we find, from what Fergusson says, as quoted above, of the toran or gateway erected in front of the temple at Jerusalem, that it had "the sacred golden vine" over it. It seems. that this idea of making the gateways or torans, proper places for flower and other creepers, has been the cause or origin of the custom of having flower torans on the doors of our, Indian houses. As I have said in some of my papers on Tibetan customs, etc., there often prevails among many people what I have called "a shortening process," which prevails in prayers, ritual and religious customs. From the stone or wooden gateways at the entrances which were entwined with flowering creepers, to the flower torans is, as it were, a step in the line of this "shortening process."

The architectural Torans. Their migration as flower Torans.

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