UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_152136
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 378.54/C-J/V.17 Accession No. G 495

Author Calcutta University

Title Journal of the ... letters

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below.

JOURNAL

OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS

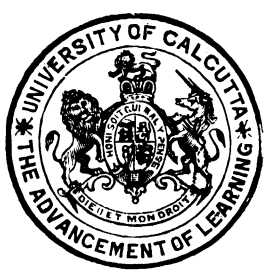
University of Calcutta

Journal

of the

Department of Letters

Vol. XVII



CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1928

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 301 B. J.—May 1928—500.

CONTENTS

		Pages
1.	Evidences of a Growing Taste for Nature in the Age of Pope, by Praphullakumar Das, M.A..	1—64
2.	An Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit, by Sukumar Sen, M.A.	1—65
3.	The Padas of Caṇḍīdāsa, II, by Manindramohan Bose, M.A.	1—76
4.	Some Central Problems of the Rig-Vedic History and the Vedic Scholar, by N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)	1—74
5.	Aspects of Bengali Society, by Tamonashchandra Das Gupta, M.A.	135—179
6.	Kabir, by Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram, B.A., M.R.A.S.	1—36

Evidences of a Growing Taste for Nature in the Age of Pope

BY

PRAPHULLA KUMAR DAS, M.A.

Lecturer, Krishnagar College.

INTRODUCTION.

The poets of the age of Pope are usually described as members of a brilliant society of wits characterised by their absorbing love for the city and failure to appreciate the beauties of external nature. The poetry of this period is thus supposed to be practfcally devoid of the description of nature, Thomson's *Seasons* being the only notable exception to the prevailing tendency of the time. This view, though ordinarily entertained,[1] is erroneous, as it exaggerates[2] the indifference of the age to the poetry of external nature. A genuine appreciation of natural beauty and a faithful description of natural objects were not absent from the poetry of this age. "Nature, though more and more conventionalised, was not left without witnesses in such short pieces as Parnell's *Night Piece* and Lady Winchelsea's charming *Nightingale* and *Poem on Night*.[3] A few rare instances like the poems mentioned above, however, do not go a great way in explaining the attitude of the whole generation towards external nature. It will therefore be our

[1] See Appendix.

[2] See Leslie Stephen's *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II, Ch. XII, p. 360.

[3] Stopford Brooke ; *Naturalism in English Poetry*, Ch. I.

endeavour to show, by a more detailed examination of the works of this period, prose as well as poetry,[4] that there *has been some exaggeration*, as Leslie Stephen points out, about "the indifference of the age to descriptive poetry," and that nature was not only *not* banished from the literature of the time but began to have, especially in its calm and peaceful aspect, a charm for the people who seemed to have grown tired of their

"Dear, damned distracting town."[5]

We shall then proceed to show that the great changes that had begun in the social and political conditions of England since the Revolution of 1688 gradually wrought a corresponding change in the literary taste of the age of Pope —a change that was to a great extent conducive to the growth of a new feeling for nature in English Poetry.

[4] For the treatment of nature in the poetry of this period, also see Gosse's *Eighteenth Century Literature*, Ch. VII ; Stopford Brooke's *Naturalism in English Poetry* : Myra Reynolds' *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry* ; etc.

[5] Pope : *A Farewell to London*.

CHAPTER I.

Evidences of a Growing Taste for Nature in the Poetry of the Age of Pope.

A healthy delight in natural beauty was never altogether absent from English literature. Mr. Leslie Stephen in one of his learned works says, "There is nothing radically new in the so-called love of nature. Any number of poets from Chaucer downwards may be cited to show that men were never insensible to natural beauty of scenery."[6] As regards the age in question, it would be fairly correct to say that in the main the attitude of the Augustan school towards external nature was marked by indifference and artificiality. The poetry of the age was chiefly a poetry of Man in the city, of satire, of party. But, as Henry Beers puts it, "The literature of an age does not express its entire, but only its prevailing spirit. There is commonly a latent silent body of thought and feeling underneath, which remains inarticulate or nearly so."[7] Hence leaving aside the important works which embodied the prevailing spirit of the age, if we are led into nooks and corners in search of significant exceptions, we shall discover that underneath the surface of the age, there was a feeble under-current of the feeling for nature, which, from the very beginning of the century, silently flowed on feeding and nourishing some of the poets of the time, and was gradually strengthened by fresh contributions from them in return.

The Age of Dryden. Andrew Marvell.

Before passing on to the age of Pope, we shall do well to look into the age of Dryden a little. Within ten years from the date of the publication of *Paradise Lost* (1667) were written all the poems of Andrew

[6] *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Ch. III.

[7] *English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, Ch. II, p. 61.

Marvell (1621-1678), some of which are remarkable for their faithful and charming descriptions of nature ; *Cf. Upon Appleton House* :—

> Then as I careless on the bed
> Of gelid strawberries do tread,
> *And through the hazels thick espy*
> The hatching throstle's shining eye. (Stanza LXVII.)

This is an instance of description exquisitely true to nature. There are numerous other passages showing his keen power of observation of the beauties of gardens, woods and fields ; he describes various kinds of flowers and birds with accuracy, and does not fail to write on the lower animals with a fine touch of pathos (*cf. The Nymph complaining for the death of her Fawn*). His descriptions, inspite of their artificial note and metaphysical conceit, clearly show that his love of nature amounted almost to a passion :—

Upon Appleton House :—

(1) Thrice happy he who, not mistook,
Hath read in Nature's mystic look. (LXXIII.)

(2) Thanks for my rest, ye mossy banks,
And unto you, cool zephyrs, thanks. (LXXV.)

(3) How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
These trees, have I incamped my mind. (LXXVI.)

(4) Bind me, ye woodbines, in your twines ;
Curl me about, ye gadding vines ;
And oh, so close your circles lace,
That I may never leave this place ! (LXXVII.)

John Pomfret.

John Pomfret's best remembered poem, *The Choice* was published in 1699, and was accounted, by critics as well as readers, as " one of the best poems of his day, and remained very popular throughout the eighteenth century." In this poem the poet sets forth his ideal of a happy life in a country retirement with a wood, garden, stream, and all the pure enjoyments that are afforded

by these. *Cf.*—

> Better if on a rising ground it stood ;
> On this side fields on that a neighbouring wood...
> Methinks 'tis nauseous ; and I'd ne'er endure
> *The needless pomp of gaudy furniture.*
> A little garden grateful to the eye,
> And a cool rivulet run murmuring by.

Like Thomson and some later poets of the eighteenth century, he shows, along with his love of nature, a sympathy for the poor,--

> Nor should the sons of poverty repine
> Too much at fortune ; they should taste of mine;...
> Enough to satisfy, and something more,
> To feed the stranger, and the neighbouring poor.

From the great and immediate popularity [8] of the poem we can infer that the idea of enjoying a peaceful life in the country (which is the theme of the poem) was welcome to the people of the time.

The number of poems on natural scenery in the Age of Dryden.

Dryden died in 1700. Within the thirty-two years from the date of the publication of *Paradise Lost* (1667) to the close of the century we find that not more than half-a-dozen notable poets, excluding Dryden, wrote and published their works ; and out of this small number, the principal works of two poets were compositions on local or natural scenery.[9]

The Age of Pope ; marked by the appearance of a number of poems dealing with nature.

But when we come to the Age of Pope, we are, in the first place, struck by the rush of pastorals which, though more or less of the conventional type, yet show signs of first-hand observation in many of their descriptions of nature ; then we notice other kinds of poems some of which are professed

[8] "Published in 1700, this poem rapidly ran through four editions ; in 1736 it had reached its tenth edition "—Courthope.

[9] There were other poems also which, though not professedly written on nature, yet in many places contained descriptions of natural scenery ; *e.g.*, we may refer to the description of Teneriffe in Garth's *Dispensary* (1699)

compositions on nature or natural objects, while some only occasionally give descriptions of nature. We give below a list of poems dealing with nature which appeared within the first thirty years of the century before the publication of Thomson's *Seasons* (1730), after which the treatment of nature in descriptive or narrative poetry became a fashion.

1701—Addison : *Letter from Italy.*
1706—John Philips : *Cider* (or *Cyder*).
1709—Ambrose Philips : (1) *Pastorals*; (2) *Epistle to the Earl of Dorset.*
1713—Lady Winchelsea : (1) *To the Nightingale*; (2) *The Tree* ; (3) *A Nocturnal Reverie.*
1713—Pope : *Windsor Forest.*
1713—John Gay : *Rural Sports.*
1714—John Gay : *The Shepherd's Week.*
1715—Garth : *Claremont.*
1717—Parnell : *Night Piece.*
1725—Allen Ramsay : *Gentle Shepherd.*
1725—Riccaltoun : *A Winter's Day.*
1725—Dr. Armstrong : *Winter.*
1726—Thomson : *Winter.*
1726—John Dyer : (1) *Grongar Hill* ; (2) *The Country Walk.*
1727—Thomson : *Summer.*
1728—Mallet : *Excursion.*
1728—Thomson : *Spring.*
1729—Savage : *Wanderer.*
1730—Thomson : *Seasons* (complete).

We shall now proceed to an examination of these poems in respect of their treatment of the different aspects of nature to show that their authors have in various places given evidence of a new attitude towards the outdoor world which is marked by a first-hand observation and a genuine admiration of its scenes and phenomena.

§1. Appreciation of the Stern and Awful Aspects of Nature.

Mountains.

The true feeling for the outdoor world which is noticed in modern literature is marked by an appreciation of the grand and the terrible in nature; and this essentially modern attitude which was practically unknown to English literature from the very beginning, begins to show itself towards the middle of the eighteenth century. "Mountains and wild scenery were considered as objects not of beauty or grandeur but of horror" [10] by the poets of the Augustan age. We shall here try to show that the earliest traces of the new spirit are to be seen even in the first quarter of the eighteenth century along with the prevailing attitude of disgust or neglect for the sterner aspects of nature.

Addison: *A Letter from Italy* (1701)

Addison, in the year 1700, "proceeded in his journey to Italy, which," says Dr. Johnson, "he surveyed with the eyes of a poet;" and from Geneva he addressed his poetical *Letter from Italy* (1701) to Lord Halifax, in which, among other subjects then new to English poetry, we find the mention of hills and mountains the scenery of which, evidently from his own words, he seems to have enjoyed. *Cf.*—

> How am I *pleased to search the hills* and woods; (l. 17);

and it is here in this poem, probably for the first time in the century, that a poet of the age of Pope is found to speak of hills and mountains in terms of approbation. Besides the line just quoted, also compare,—

> Still to new scenes my wandering muse retires,
> And the dumb show of breathing *rocks admires*;

[10] William Lyon Phelps: *The Beginnings of the Romantic Movement*, p. 167.

further,—

> But what avail her unexhausted stores,
> Her *blooming mountains*, and her sunny shores.

John Philips : *Cider* (1706).

Miss Myra Reynolds,[11] after quoting the following lines from John Philips' *Cyder* (1706) as an illustration of the poet's 'enjoyment of Nature,' points out that they "were perhaps the earliest expression in the eighteenth century of that pleasure in high hills and wide prospects that was so marked a characteristic of later poetry :"

> Nor are the high hills unamiable, whose tops
> To heaven aspire, affording prospect sweet
> To human ken,..... . .....
>
> —*Cyder*, Bk. I.

The delight in hills and mountains which Addison expresses in the lines quoted above does not appear to be in any way fainter than what we find in the lines of Philips ; besides, it should be noted that Addison's description of the hills is the result of his first-hand observation of the scenes visited by him,[12] whereas in Philips' lines we find a merely generalised statement showing no evidence of real acquaintance of the writer with hill scenery. The credit given to John Philips by Miss Reynolds should therefore, in all fairness, go to Addison.

John Gay : *Rural Sports* (1713).

After John Philips we find John Gay frequently speaking of hills and mountains, though not always in terms of great approbation, yet in words by no means expressive of horror or disgust ; the following are instances of generalised references expressive of a vague sense of appreciation from a single poem :—

> (1) In rising hills the fragrant harvest grows.
>
> —*Rural Sports*, Canto I.

[11] *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry*, Ch. II, pp. 59-60.

[12] *E.g.*, during his passage over the Apennines, of which he has left a record in prose in his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705).

(2) And waters tumbling down the mountain's side.—*Ibid.*

(3) And glancing Phœbus gilds the mountain's head.—*Ibid,* Canto II.

(4) The distant mountains echo from afar.—*Ibid.*

But descriptions showing a better appreciation of hills and mountains are not rare :—

(5) When the gay Sun first breaks the shades of night,
And strikes the distant eastern hills with light.
—*A Contemplation on Night* (1714).

(6) Let us seek our charge ; the flocks dispersing wide,
Whiten with moving fleece the mountain's side.
—*Dione* : Act I, Sc. III. (1720).

His delight in hills is perhaps seen at its highest in the following :—

...The meadow is pleasant, enchanting the dale,
But a hill I prefer to a valley,
...But the hill of all hills, the most pleasing to me,
Is famed Cotton, the pride of North Devon ;
When its summit I climb, I then seem to be
Just as if I approached nearer heaven !
When with troubles depress'd to this hill I repair,
My spirits then instantly rally ;
It was near this blessed spot I first drew vital air,
So—a hill I prefer to a valley.[13]

It is of great significance to note that the scene of his *Acis and Galatea*, a Serenata, is laid in "a rural prospect, diversified with rocks, groves and a river...and Polyphemus discovered sitting upon a *mountain* ;" while that of his *Dione*, a pastoral tragedy, is in "a plain, at the foot of a steep craggy mountain."

Pope, though known to be a great lover of town-life, does not fail to notice hills and mountains in his *Windsor Forest* :—

There wrapt in clouds the blueish hills ascend ;
Pope : *Windsor For-* also,
[8] (1713).
Than what more humble mountains offer here.

[13] *A Devonshire Hill* : *Poems from Gay's Chair* ; (pubd. 1820).

Allan Ramsay : *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725).

Allan Ramsay was the earliest and most interesting of the poets whose poems of natural description, coming out as they did in quick succession about the year 1725, served to contribute a good deal to the growth of the feeling for nature in the poetry of the age. Ramsay inherited the characteristic Scottish love of nature in its varied aspects, which was never altogether absent from Scottish poetry. The images of external nature that are found in his poems mostly serve as backgrounds to the human actions and feelings delineated in them; and since these images were borrowed by him directly from the country scenery of his rugged native land abounding in 'glens' and 'braes' and 'craigs' and 'fells,' no wonder that we find him frequently speak of hills and mountains, as in the following passages from the *Gentle Shepherd*:—

(1) Wi' thee I tent nae flowers that busk the field,
Or ripest berries that our mountains yield.—II. iv.

(2) When corn-riggs waved yellow, an' blue hether-bells
Bloomed bonny on muirland an' sweet rising fells.—*Ibid*, Sang X.

(3) Beneath the south side of a craigy bield,
Where crystal springs their haelsome waters yield.—I. i. 1.

(4) To where the saugh-tree shades the mennin pool,
I will frae the hill come down, when day grows cool.—III. iii.

Though the lines quoted above do not show a distinct preference for mountains in particular, yet they are sufficient to show that the poet had not only no dislike for them, but rather as much appreciation as he seems to have had for other familiar objects of Scottish landscape in the midst of which were laid the scenes of the homely life of the Scottish peasants and shepherds.

Dr. Armstrong : *Winter* (1725).

From the publisher's 'Advertisement' to this poem we learn that "it helped to amuse the solitude of a winter passed in a wild romantic country; and what is rather particular, was just finished when Mr. Thomson's celebrated poem upon the same

subject appeared." From the above 'Advertisement' it appears that this poem was written before 1725, independently of any help or suggestion from Thomson. Armstrong is therefore to be credited with a good deal of originality in his conception of nature when we find him describing hills and mountains freely and without any mark of the traditional attitude of horror for them even in their wintry aspect:—

> And idly strikes the chalky mountain's tops
> That rise to kiss the welkin's ruddy lips.

He also speaks of 'melting mountains,' 'icy mountain's bulging sides,' and of hills in several places; but nowhere does he use any epithet expressive of disgust for them.

Thomson: *The Seasons* (1725-1730).

All critics agree in giving Thomson the credit of standing out as the first original figure of considerable importance in the dawn of Naturalism in English Poetry. "He not only restored natural description to poetry...but he made a new kind of it."[14] And one of the points at which he was quite new was his appreciation of the savage grandeur of external nature. In the pages of his *Seasons*, we find the description of the largest variety of objects including the grand and the terrible in nature. Hills and mountains are frequently mentioned or described in all the four poems of the *Seasons*. We give below only a few instances showing his appreciation of mountain scenery:—

(1) The dripping rock, the mountain's misty top
Swell on the sight, and brighten with the dawn.—*Summer*, 1154-55.

(2) The kindling azure, and the mountain's brow
Illumed with fluid gold, his near approach
Betoken glad. —*Ibid*, 83-85.

(3) Thrice happy he, who on the sunless side
Of a romantic mountain, forest-crowned
Beneath the whole collected shade reclines.—*Ibid*, 458-460.

[14] Stopford Brooke: *Naturalism in English Poetry*, Ch. II, p. 39.

(4) There on the breezy summit [of Alpine mountains] spreading fair
For many a league, or on stupendous rocks
That from the sun-redoubling valley lift
Cool to the middle air their lawny tops,
.....there let me draw
Ethereal soul ; there drink reviving gales—*Ibid*, 765-774.

In the *Seasons* there are half-a-dozen passages more [15] expressive of the poet's delight in hills or mountains, besides numerous other examples in some of which they are merely mentioned, and in the rest their awful aspect is described. But, we regret, we do not agree with Miss Reynolds when she says, " Toward mountains .....Thomson held almost the traditional attitude...In general his conception and his phraseology are those of his contemporaries. He speaks of the Alps as 'dreadful,' as 'horrid, vast, sublime,' and again as 'horrid mountains.' There is nowhere any evidence of the modern feeling toward mountains." [16] We do not find more than half-a-dozen instances (including the three mentioned by Miss Reynolds in the passage quoted above) in the whole poem in which mountains have been called 'rude,' 'horrid' or 'dreadful.' But if out of more than thirty instances of references to hills or mountains, which we have been able to notice in the *Seasons*, at least ten speak of them distinctly in terms of approbation, about fifteen mention them without any reference to the poet's feeling, while only six describe them in words signifying horror, we think, we are not justified in saying that " in general his conception and his phraseology are those of his contemporaries." Furthermore, except noticing the use of epithets like 'horrid' or 'dreadful' with mountains in a few instances only, no other evidence has been adduced by Miss Reynolds in support of her opinion that " toward mountains Thomson held almost the traditional attitude." But it is to be noted that the word 'horrid,' used in

[15] See below.

[16] Myra Reynolds : *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry*, Ch. II, p. 99.

some of these, seems to have greatly lost its force in contemporary literature as a conventional epithet for mountains,[17] besides being sometimes used by the writers of the Augustan school in its Latin sense of 'bristling,' 'shaggy,' 'rough;'[18] Thomson himself used the word in the same sense in,—

> .....and other scenes,
> Of horrid prospect, shag the trackless plain;— *Winter*, 280-1.

and also in the following passage which has been noted by Miss Reynolds:—

> By wintry famine roused, from all the tract
> Of horrid mountains which the shining Alps,...
> Branch out stupendous into distant lands—
> Assembling wolves in raging troops descend;—*Winter*, 389-95.

In the above instance, the word 'horrid' will be best explained by 'shaggy' with reference to 'wolves.'

For further indications of his appreciation of mountain scenery, compare the following:—

(1) His azure gloss the mountain still maintains.—*Winter*, 783.

(2) They love their mountains and enjoy their storms.—*Ibid*, 846.

(3) O'ertopping all these giant sons of earth.—*Autumn*, 803.

(4) Sees Caledonia in romantic view...
Her airy mountains,... —*Ibid*, 880-81.

John Dyer: *Grongar Hill*; and *The Country Walk* (1726).

The two poems of Dyer mentioned here were written by him independently of the impetus given by Thomson; yet, like the latter, he also is found to be in advance of his age in respect of his appreciation of the scenery of hills and mountains:—

[17] Mr. C. A. More points out that the word *horrid* in eighteenth century literature is not derogatory.—*Studies in Philology*, July, 1917.

[18] *Cf.* 1654, *Evelyn Diary*, 27 June,—There is also on the side of this horrid Alp a very romantic Seate. 1700, Dryden—Horrid with fern and intricate with thorn. 1717, Pope, *Eloisa*, 20—Ye grots and caverns shagged with horrid thorn.—Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*

(1) Half his Beams Apollo sheds,
On the yellow Mountain-Heads!—*The Grongar Hill.*

(2) On which a dark Hill, steep and high,
Holds and charms the wand'ring Eye!—*Ibid.*

(3) Now, even now, my Joy runs high,
As on the Mountain turf I lie.—*Ibid.*

(4) Grass and Flowers Quiet treads,
On the Meads and Mountain-heads,
Along with Pleasure, close ally'd,
Ever by each other's Side.—*Ibid.*

(5) As yon summits soft and fair,
Clad in colours of the Air... —*Ibid.*

(6) A landskip wide salutes my sight
Of shady vales and mountains bright.—*The Country Walk.*

Richard Savage: *Wanderer* (1729).

This poem, which the poet calls 'a vision,' gives us pictures of various aspects of nature, including those of 'hilly wilds,' 'huge cataracts' and 'mountain streams.' Wafted on the wings of Fancy he stands 'estranged, adventurous on a foreign land,' where he strains his 'winding steps up a steep mountain' and 'emers'd a-top' marks 'the hills subside, and towers aspire.' His pictures, in many cases, are purely imaginative, being drawn from scenes as remote as the 'Norwegian Hills'; still, like Thomson, Dyer and other poets of the same time he shows a distinct non-conformity with the prevailing attitude towards hills, mountains as well as other sterner aspects of nature.

Oceans and Seas.

The ocean (or the sea) which is another neglected aspect of nature in the poetry of the Augustan school, in which it was less frequently noticed than mountains, began to receive gradual attention from poets like Gay, Armstrong, Thomson, Savage, etc.

Gay : *Rural Sports.*

The following passage from Gay's *Rural Sports* is perhaps one of earliest instances remarkable for accuracy as well as delicacy of observation, and might, in all fairness, be attributed to any poet of the age of Wordsworth :—

> Far in the deep the Sun his glory hides,
> A streak of gold the sea and sky divides ;
> The purple clouds their amber linings show,
> And edged with flame rolls every wave below :
> Here *pensive* I behold the fading light,
> And *o'er the distant billow lose my sight.*

Armstrong : *Winter.*

Dr. Armstrong shows no sign of traditional stiffness, no touch of " frost upon the soul," while, with his usual vigour and originality he goes on to describe the beautiful effects of frost upon the varied objects of nature " throughout the stiffening regions ; " frozen brooks and rivers are the objects noticed by him first of all in this poem, after which comes the ocean :—

> When the still-raving deep lies mute and dead,
> Nor heaves its swelling bosom to the winds.
> The surges, baited by the fierce north-east,
> Even in the foam of all their madness struck
> To monumental ice, stand all astride
> The rocks they washed so late.

Thomson : *The Seasons ; A Hymn* (1730).

Unlike his descriptions of hills and mountains, which are numerous, Thomson's pictures of the scenery of the ocean or the sea are few in number ; and in them his attitude towards this grand object of nature does not appear to be much ahead of that of his contemporaries. The following passages, however, show some appreciation of ocean-scenery :—

> (1) the briny deep,
> Seen from some pointed promontory's top,

Far to the blue horizon's utmost verge
Restless reflects a floating gleam.—*Summer*, 167-70.

(2) Thou majestic main,
A secret world of wonders in thyself,
Sound his stupendous praise.—*A Hymn*, 522ff.

Prof. Beers finds an instance of "that attraction toward the savage, the awful, the mysterious, the primitive, which marks the romantic mood in naturalistic poetry" in *Autumn*, ll. 862-65, which describes a remote scenery of the Northern Ocean.

Mallet : *Excursion.*

Mallet who shows the influence of Thomson to a great extent, after finishing the description of a thunderstorm in his *Excursion*, comes to paint an evening scenery thus :—

Now the Sun,
Declined, hangs verging on the Western Main,
Whose fluctuating bosom, blushing red
The space of many seas beneath his eye,
Heaves in soft swellings murmuring to the shore.—Canto I.

Savage : *Wanderer.*

Savage, in his *Wanderer*, after noticing the varied objects presented by the "scene unknown," goes on in the following way :—

Nor ends the landscape—Ocean to my sight.
Points a blue arm, where sailing ships delight,
In prospect lessen'd. —Canto I.

Other Gloomy or Awe-inspiring Aspects of Nature.

Along with this growing taste for the mountains or the sea, we find that gradual attention came to be paid also to such neglected aspects or phenomena of nature as winter, night, volcanic eruption, cataracts, thunder and lightning.

Winter.

Ambrose Philips : *Epistle to the Earl of Dorset* (1709).

The earliest of the poets of the period under examination to write a complete poem on Winter was Ambrose Philips. His poetical *Epistle to the Earl of Dorset* written from Copenhagen is purely a descriptive poem in which he has given evidence of his first-hand observation of the various aspects of nature in the 'hoary winter.' The following are some of the beautiful instances from the poem :—

(1) In pearls and rubies rich the hawthorns show,
While through the ice the crimson berries glow.

(2) The *frighted birds the rattling branches shun,*
Which wave and *glitter in the distant sun.*

Three poems on Winter written in 1725.

Coming to the year 1725 we mark the production of three poems on Winter, two of which, at any rate, were written independently of one another. Dr. Armstrong's poem on Winter in his *Imitations of Shakespeare*, according to the 'Advertisement from the Publisher,' "was just finished when Mr. Thomson's celebrated poem upon the same subject appeared;" but it was not published till 1770. The other poem was Mr. Riccaltoun's *A Winter's Day* written in 'a set of some fifty-eight verses in the heroic couplet.' Of the influence of Riccaltoun's poem on Thomson's *Winter*, the latter himself writes, "Mr. Riccaltoun's poem on Winter, which I still have, first put the design into my head : in it are some masterly strokes that awakened me." [19]

These poems appear to have quite popularised the theme of winter as a fit subject for poetry,[20] as will be evident from the fact that the two poets, Mallet and Savage, who published

[19] Quoted by J L. Robertson ; *Thomson's Seasons and Castle of Indolence*, pp. 4 and 347.

[20] A copy of Armstrong's *Winter* was procured by Thomson who "showed it to his poetical friends, Mr. Mallet, Mr. Aaron Hill, and Dr. Young, who, it seems, *did great honour to it.*"—(From the Publisher's Advertisement to the poem.) On the popularity of Thomson's *Winter*, see Logie Robertson, *Ibid.*, p. 12

their principal works within a short time, devoted a number of lines to winter scenes in their respective poems *Excursion* (1728) and *Wanderer* (1729).

Night.

Perhaps the earliest noteworthy poem in which we can find an appreciative observation of the beauties of night is Lady Winchelsea's *Nocturnal Reverie*, which justly deserves the praise of Wordsworth, containing, as it does, many images that are entirely new and at the same time exquisitely true to nature.[21]

Lady Winchelsea : *A Nocturnal Reverie* (1713).

In *Rural Sports*, Gay describes the approach of night in the following way :—

Gay : *Rural Sports* (1713).

> Now Night in silent state begins to rise,
> And twinkling orbs bestrow th' uncloudy skies ;
> Her borrow'd lustre growing Cynthia lends.
> And on the main a glittering path extends.
>
> —*Rural Sports*, Canto I.

Among the poems of his *Miscellanies* we find a complete poem entitled *A Contemplation on Night* which speaks in terms of appreciation of the sky at night.

Thomas Parnell was the next notable poet to write on night. In his *Night-Piece on Death* he gives us a calm picture of the outdoor world 'among the livid gleams of night,' which is followed by an appeal 'to pass with melancholy state,' and think over the 'venerable Dead.'

Parnell : *Night-Piece* (1722).

Dr. Armstrong in his *Winter* has described the 'stealing night' that 'rides the black puffing winds,' while by the 'cleanswept earth and cheerful shining fire' 'the maids their twirling spindles ply with musty legends' of every conceivable kind.

Dr. Armstrong : *Winter*.

[21] For illustrations see below, § 2.

Thomson's descriptions of various kinds of objects seen at night, of the night-sky in particular, are so numerous that we shall merely refer to the following illustrative passages instead of taking up a large space by quoting them in full:—*Summer*, 1685-1708; *Autumn*, 1088-1164; *Winter*, 123-29, and 738-44.

Thomson : *Seasons.*

Mallet, in his *Excursion* (Canto I), describes the approach of night thus:—

Mallet : *Excursion.*

Arising awful o'er the eastern sky,
Onward she comes with silent step and slow
In her brown mantle wrapt...

This is followed by an account of the poet's musings on the dead in a place of tomb, which reminds us of Gray's *Elegy*, some of the lines of which are echoes of the following passage from Mallet:—

All is dead silence here, and undisturbed,
Save what the wind sighs, and the wailing owl
Screams solitary to the mournful Moon,.....

Canto I.

Volcanoes, Earthquakes, Cataracts, Thunder, etc.

In Gay's *Tales* (*A True Story of an Apparition*, ll. 31-38), we find the description of a traveller overtaken by storm accompanied with lightnings that 'cleave the sable cloud,' and thunder.

Gay : *Tales.*

Descriptions of all the above phenomena are, however, to be found in abundance in Thomson. For illustrative passages, compare:—*Summer*, 795-802 (thunder and lightning); *Ibid*, 964-977 (the Simoom); *Ibid*, 1128-1168 (lightning, tempest, thunder, etc); *Autumn*, 311-343 (tempest and rain); *Winter*, 111-200; 223-321 (Storm); *Ibid*, 414-423 (avalanche); *Summer*, 590-606; 760-780 (waterfall); *Ibid*, 1095-1100 (volcanic eruption).

Thomson : *Seasons.*

Riccaltoun's poem on winter, which, according to Thomson, first put the design of a poem on winter into his head, and is therefore historically important, contains the following lines :—

Riccaltoun : *A Winter's Day.*

> Rough rugged rocks, wet marshes, ruined tours,
> Bare trees, brakes, bleak heaths, and rushy moors,
> Dead floods, huge cataracts to my pleased eyes
> (Now I can smile !) in wild disorder rise.[22]

In Mallet's *Excursion*, we find examples in :—

Canto I, 153-178 ; 183-199 (thunderstorm) ; also the lines towards the end of Canto I (volcanic eruption).

In Savage's *Wanderer*, examples are to be found in Canto I, 113-114 (Cataract) ; 205-6 (Cascade) : Canto II, 73-74 (waterfalls) ; *Ibid*, 175-78 (lightning).

§2. First-hand and Delicate Observation of the Beauties of Nature.

Of the other modes of treatment of nature indicating the growth of a new and genuine feeling for it, a first-hand and delicate observation of the beauties of the external world is one. This includes, among other things, the observation of colour and odour in particular.

Addison, who was, as noted above, the first to express delight in hills, was also probably the earliest of the few poets of the century to notice the beauty of smell in nature, and points out how—

Addison : *Letter from Italy*, 1701.

> Trodden weeds send out a rich perfume.
> —*Letter from Italy*, l. 62.

[22] Quoted by J. L. Robertson, *ibid*, pp. 348-49.

Philips' *Cider* (1706), though written in imitation of Virgil's *Georgics* shows a keen power of observing beautiful colour and odour in nature :—

John Philips : *Cider* (1706).

(1) The *yellow fields*
Gaily interchanged with rich variety
Pleasing ; as when an *emerald green*, enchased
In *flamy gold*, from the bright mass acquires
A nobler hue, more delicate to sight.

(2) Let every tree in every garden own
The *Red-streak* as supreme, whose pulpous fruit
With *gold irradiate*, and *vermilion shines*..

That the poem is characterised by a great fidelity to nature is also admitted by Dr. Johnson who observes, " To the poem on Cider may be given this peculiar praise, that it is grounded in truth." Compare :—

(3) When swelling buds their *odorous foliage* shed
And gently harden into fruit, *the wise*
Spare not the little offspring if they grow
Redundant.

Ambrose Philips : *Pastorals* (1709).

The pastorals of Ambrose Philips, though in many respects conventional in diction and imagery, in some places show signs of a first-hand observation of, and a genuine feeling for, nature :—

The ground with grass of cheerful green bespread,
Through which the springing flower up-rears the head ;
Lo, here the kingcup of a golden hue,
Medley'd with daisies white and endive blue.
And honeysuckles of a purple dye,
Confusion gay ! bright waving to the eye.—*Fourth Pastoral.*

Miss Reynolds in her estimate of the nature-poetry of Lady Winchelsea has tried to show by a detailed examination

of the poem, *The Nightingale*, that " the observation in the above poem is especially truthful and sympathetic." [23] While more striking and entirely new are the images found in the *Nocturnal Reverie* ; *cf.*—

Lady Winchelsea : *Nocturnal Reverie.*

> When freshened grass now bears itself upright,
> And makes cool banks to pleasing rest invite.—ll. 9-10.

Also compare the vivid picture of the ' loosed horse ' that

> Comes slowly grazing through the adjoining meads,
> Whose stealing pace and *lengthened shade we fear*,
> Till *torn-up forage in his teeth we hear.*

In the last line, her delicate observation of the strange sound of ' torn-up forage ' audible in the stillness of night is quite new to the century, the like of which we do not notice until we come to Thomson.

It has been remarked that the praise given to Pope's *Windsor Forest* by Wordsworth,[24] for having ' a passage or two ' containing new images of external nature was not deserved.[25] Still, there are to be noticed in this poem, some instances of faithful observation of animal life and rural scenery ; *cf.* :—

(1) There, interspers'd in lawns and opening glades,
Thin trees arise that shun each other's shades.

(2) There wrapt in clouds the blueish hills ascend.

(3) And in the new-shorn field the Partridge feeds.

(4) See ! from the brake the whirring Pheasant springs,...
Ah ! what avail his glossy, varying dyes,
His purple crest, and scarlet-circled eyes,
The vivid green his shining plumes unfold,
His painted wings, and breast that flames with gold ?

[23] *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry*, pp. 62-63.
[24] *Essay Supplementary to the Preface* : 1815.
[25] A. J. Wyatt : *The Tutoriol History of English Literature*, Ch. VIII, p. 147.

Gay's descriptions are vivid and beautifully expressive, though occasionally marred by the artificial diction of the Augustan era. The lines we have quoted already as descriptive of the scenery of the ocean at sunset are quoted again as beautifully illustrative of the poet's observation of colour :—

Gay : *Rural Sports* (1713).

> Far in the deep the sun his glory hides,
> A streak of gold the sea and sky divides ;
> The purple clouds their amber linings show,
> And edged with flame rolls every wave below :

For his observation of odour, *cf.*—

> At the close of the day,
> When the bean flower and the hay
> Breathed odours in every wind ;
>
> —*The Coquette Mother and Daughter.*

One of the important features of Thomson's appreciation of nature was his keen 'colour-sense.' This has been dwelt upon by many writers and does not require a fresh treatment by us here. His sense of smell was also equally keen ; *cf.*—*Spring*, ll. 497-99 ; *Summer*, ll. 363-64.

Thomson : *The Seasons.*

Along with this kind of minute and faithful observation are to be noticed occasionally an appreciation of *the vast and extended landscape*, and a preference for *the wild and the uncultivated* in nature ; compare ;—

Gay.

> Next morn, twelve miles led o'er the unbounded plain,
> Where the cloak'd shepherd guides his fleecy train.
> No leafy bowers a noon-day shelter lend,
> Nor from the chilly dews at night defend :
>
> —*Epistle* II (1716).

Ramsay. Ramsay's love for the wild and uncultivated in nature is found more or less implied in many of the extracts quoted above in connection with his description of hill-scenery ; for an explicit preference for the wild aspect of nature, we can compare the following lines from his poetical *Epistle in answer to Somerville's* :—

I love the garden *wild and wide*
Where oaks have plum-trees by their side ;
Where woodbines and the twisting vine
Clip round the pear tree and the pine ;
Where mixed jonquils and gowans grow,
And roses midst rank clover blow.

* * * *

Yet this to me's a paradise
Compared with prime cut plots and nice,
Where nature has to art resigned,
Till all looks mean, stiff and confined.

Dyer. Dyer expresses in the following a liking for an extensive and open prospect interspersed with streams, meadows, hedges and hills.[26] *Cf.* :

(1) A *landskip wide* salutes my sight
Of shady vales and mountains bright;
And every neighbouring hedge I greet,
With honey-suckles smelling sweet.
Sweetly shining on the eye
A rivulet gliding smoothly by.—*The Country Walk.*

(2) See on the mountain's southern side,
Where the *prospect opens wide,*
Where the evening gilds the tide ;
How close and small the hedges lie !
What streaks of *meadows* cross the eye !
Still the prospect *wider* spreads,
Adds a thousand Woods and Meads,
Still *it widens, widens still,*
And sinks the newly-risen Hill.—*Grongar Hill.*

[26] Also compare the remarks of Mr. Dowden in Ward's *Poets*, Vol. III, p. 297.

Thomson.

In Thomson we notice various instances, of which we quote only the following :—

Meantime you gain the height, from whose fair brow
The bursting prospect spreads immense around ;
And snatched o'er hill and dale, and wood and lawn,
And verdant field, and darkening heath between,
And villages embosomed soft in trees.—*Spring*, 949-955.

Also compare, *Spring*, ll. 106-112 : *Summer*, 1408-1413 ; 1438-41.

§3. A Love of Pensive Melancholy and a Sense of the Supernatural.

Two other tendencies, which mark 'the romantic mood in naturalistic poetry,' and which become more and more prominent in English poetry as the century advances, begin to find expression in the writings of some of the poets of the early years of the century. These are :—

(*i*) A love of pensive melancholy : and
(*ii*) A sense of the supernatural.

Lady Winchelsea.

Lady Winchelsea seems to be one of the earliest of the century to strike the note of meditative *melancholy* in touches like the following :—

When darkened groves their softest shadows wear,
And falling waters we distinctly hear ;
When through the gloom more venerable shows
Some ancient fabric awful in repose.
In such a night let me abroad remain.—*A Nocturnal Reverie.*

Gay.

Gay also, in his *Rural Sports* written at about the same time, gives expression to this pensive mood of mind while describing aspects of nature congenial to it; *e.g.*, his description of the ocean scenery at sunset, which has been quoted above, ends thus:—

The purple clouds their amber linings show,
And edged with flame rolls every wave below;
Here *pensive* I behold the fading light,
And o'er the distant billows lose my sight.

The last two lines strike a note that is essentially a modern one, and could have hardly been expected to come from a poet of the Age of Pope. In his *Elegies* there are frequent references to scenes like the following:—

Oh! lead me to some melancholy cave,
To lull my sorrows in a living grave;
From the dark rock, where dashing waters fall
And creeping ivy hangs the craggy wall;—*Panthea.*

Parnell.

After Lady Winchelsea, Parnell is a distinctly notable poet of nature; in his *Night-Piece*, as in the *Nocturnal Reverie* of the former, we find an undertone of pensive melancholy similar to that of Young and Gray; *cf.*—

Now from yon black and funeral yew,
That bathes the charnel-house with dew
Methinks I hear a voice begin;
(Ye ravens cease your croaking din,
Ye tolling clocks, no time resound
Over the long lake and midnight ground!)
It sends a peal of hollow groans,
Thus speaking from among the bones.

This poem, according to Prof. Phelps, may be looked upon 'as the fore-runner' of what he calls 'the grave-yard literature.'[27]

Thomson.

Thomson is the next important poet in whose *Seasons* we find numerous instances illustrative of this love of the romantic melancholy; the first draft of his *Winter* opened thus:—

[27] *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, Ch. II, p. 26.

I sing of Winter and his gelid reign,.....
...To me who court the shade,
Whom the gay season suits not, and who shun,
The glare of Summer. Welcome, kindred glooms.

Also compare, *Winter*, 425 ff.; *Autumn*, 970 ff.; *Ibid*, 1004; *Ibid*, 1030 ff.; *Summer*, 516 ff.; *Spring*, 1023 ff.

Mallet.

In Mallet's *Excursion* (Canto I), there is a passage (ll. 234-288), marked by a note of melancholy as in Gray's *Elegy*. It properly belongs to the class of poetry which has been styled "the grave-yard school."

Thomson.

A sense of the *supernatural* may be found in passages like the following:—

To weeping grottos and prophetic glooms,
Where angel forms athwart the solemn dusk
Tremendous sweep, or seem to sweep along,
And voices more than human, through the void
Deep sounding, seize the enthusiastic ear.—*Autumn*, 1030-34.

Also compare, *Summer*, 538-42; *Winter*, 191-94.

Savage.

Savage, who in his *Wanderer* shows the influence of Thomson in many places, wrote the following in imitation of the above lines of Thomson:—

To groves, where more than mortal voices rise
Catch the rapt soul, and waft it to the skies?—Canto I.

Also compare,

But hark! a sudden power attunes the air!
The enchanting sound enamour'd breezes bear;
I listen'd, gazed, when wondrous to behold!
From ocean steamed, a vapour gathering roll'd:
A blue, round spot on the mid-roof it came,
Spread broad, and redden'd into dazzling flame.—Canto IV.

The new mode of treatment to be distinguished from the conventional way of looking at nature.

Now we find that though from the rare and fugitive instances of nature poetry of the age of Dryden we cannot come to any conclusion regarding the growth of a feeling for nature, yet when we extend our survey to the next age and examine the large number of poems dealing with nature, we can certainly trace in them a growing taste for its own sake. These poems, of course, are in *some places* more or less conventional in their treatment of nature, in accordance with the prevailing characteristics of the time, the instances of this kind of treatment being generally marked by the use of stock phrases of poetic diction and by descriptions of a highly generalised nature without any touch of local colour. But in various other instances, the descriptions themselves are sufficient to prove the sincerity of the poets' feeling as well as the faithfulness of their observation; and these can therefore be easily distinguished from the descriptions of the generalised sort, with which the former are frequently found mixed up. A comparison of the passages quoted below with any one of those given above will prove the truth of the above statement:—

(1) Ye verdant plains, and woody mountains,
Purling streams, and bubbling fountains,
Ye painted glories of the field,
Vain are the pleasures which you yield.
—Gay: *Acis and Galatea*, Pt. I.

The above is merely an enumeration of certain very common objects of nature in a highly generalised fashion, and the epithets used are of the common poetic stock. But the same poet's description of the ocean scenery at sunset, quoted above, will show an entirely different mode of treatment in which we find a new attitude towards nature.

(2) Wanton Zephyr, come away!
...In gentle whispered murmurs play,

Come let thy soft, thy balmy breeze
From sprouting flowers, and blossomed trees
Diffuse thy vernal sweets around,
While hills and echoing vales resound.—Hughes: *Ode on the Spring.*

(3) See Pan with flocks, with fruits Pomona crown'd,
Here blushing Flora paints th' enamel'd ground,
Here Ceres's gifts in waving prospect stand, ..

The last passage is from Pope's *Windsor Forest*, the same poem which has been praised by Wordsworth for containing 'new images' of external nature.

Instances of conventional treatment of nature, such as those given above, are usually found in pastorals or elegies written after the classical model, and are, in many cases, the direct reminiscences of their original.

The following is an instance of what may be looked upon as the Augustan attitude toward night:—

Night's sable vapours now the trees invade,
And gloomy darkness deepen'd ev'ry shade;
And now, ah! whither shall the helpless fly,
From the nocturnal horrors of the sky:
—Pattison: *Effigies Authoris.*

Summary.

We shall now summarise the evidences of the new feeling for nature derived from our study in the foregoing pages in the following way:—

First, the number of poems dealing with nature gradually goes on increasing as we advance into the century. These poems are more often professed compositions on nature or country-life than those in which nature was painted merely as a background to Man and his environments. Coming to particulars, we find that the year 1725 saw the production of as many as three poems on 'Winter' (including that of Thomson), all of them written independently of one another;

and that even the first quarter of the century is remarkable for the production of *more than a dozen poems* written *professedly* on nature. *Secondly*, besides the evidence of a first-hand and intimate knowledge of the mild aspects of nature, we find in some of them occasional treatment of the *grand and the awful in nature*, *e.g.*, hills, mountains, seas, earthquake, etc. *Thirdly*, we also notice an entirely new way of looking at nature in the different tendencies (*e.g.*, the use of the supernatural, the taste for melancholy, etc.) which manifest themselves occasionally and in a fugitive way for the present, but later on develop into well-marked characteristics of the poetry of the Romantic Revival. Lady Winchelsea, and Parnell showed a distinct advance in their treatment of nature by the novelty of their images, a sense of the mysterious in nature, a note of sadness and melancholy completely new to the age, and by the imaginative quality of their descriptions; while Allan Ramsay introduced a lyrical element, which is the essential characteristic of romantic poetry and of the ideal pastoral. Hence we see that a feeling for the beauty of the external world was not at all an uncommon thing in the poetry of the age of Pope; and *Thomson, so far as a faithful description of nature is concerned, was only a representative of his age.* He might have shown his originality by the introduction of certain new elements into the nature poetry of his time, but "he did not create the taste by which he was appreciated."[28] He was the first adequate exponent of the growing feeling for nature which found occasional but effective expression, as we have just seen, in the poetry of the first thirty years of the century preceding the publication of his *Seasons* in 1730.

[28] *Cf.* G. C. Macaulay. *Thomson* (*E. M. L.*), Ch. III, 92 ff.; also, Raymond Dexter Havens. *The Influence of Milton*, Ch. VI, p. 124

CHAPTER II.

Evidences of a growing Taste for Nature in the Prose Literature of the Age of Pope.

Evidences of a growing taste for nature in the age of Pope are also to be found in the prose writings of the period including letters as well as articles containing literary observations published in contemporary periodical literature. It will be our endeavour to trace the indications of this feeling for nature in the writings of the leading contributors to the periodicals of the day, like Addison, Steele, Tickell, etc., and of the leader and representative of the Classical school in English poetry, *viz.*, Pope.

Addison's Essays in the *Spectator*.

Addison in his poem *Letter from Italy*, written as early as 1701, gives a clear proof of his appreciation of the beauties of nature.[1] But surer indications of his delight in the various aspects of nature are to be found in his contributions to the *Spectator*. The following passages are in point:—

"A beautiful prospect delights the soul as much as a demonstration. A man of polite imagination often feels *a greater satisfaction in the prospect of fields and meadows*, than another does in the possession." (*Spectator*, No. 411.)

In the *Spectator* No. 412, he shows a keen sense of the pleasures arising "from the sight of what is Great, Uncommon, or Beautiful;" and in course of his explanation of what he means by 'Great,' he goes far in advance of his age by showing his appreciation of the vast and grand aspects of nature—aspects which were generally neglected or looked upon with awe and disgust by the contemporary poets.

[1] See Chg I, pp. 7, 20.

(Great)—"Such are the prospects of an open champain country, *vast uncultivated desert, of huge heaps of mountains, high rocks and precipices, or a wide expanse of waters,* where we are not struck with the novelty or beauty of the sight, but with that *rude kind of magnificence* which appears in many of these stupendous works of Nature."

His love for the grand and stupendous in nature.

Like a true worshipper of Nature he can enjoy the beauty arising from the very wildness and irregularity of uncultivated nature, and derives an additional pleasure that proceeds from a *sense of vastness and immensity* at the sight of unbounded fields and meadows :—

His delight in the beauty of wildness and immensity of open landscape.

"If we consider the works of Nature and Art, we shall find *the last very defective in comparison of the former*.....There is something more bold and masterly in the rough careless strokes of nature, than in the nice touches and embellishments of art. The beauties of the most stately garden or palace lie in a narrow compass,.....but in the wide fields of Nature, the sight wanders up and down without confinement, and is fed with an infinite variety of images, without any certain stint or number. For this reason we always find *the poet in love with a country life.*"—*Spectator* No. 414 (June, 25, 1712).

It is interesting to note that Addison anticipates, to some extent, the nature-religion of Thomson in looking "through nature up to nature's God :"

The contemplation of nature as the basis of devotion to God.

"The cheerfulness of heart which springs up in us from the *survey of Nature's works,* is an admirable preparation for gratitude. The mind has gone a great way towards praise and thanksgiving that is filled with such secret gladness." (*Spectator* No. 393.)

Steele also expresses the same kind of sentiments in the following lines :—

Similar sentiment in Steele.

"Thunder and lightning, rain and hail, the painted bow, and the glaring comets, are decorations of this mighty theatre (earth)....When I consider things in this light, methinks it is a sort of *impiety to have no attention to the course of nature,* and the revolutions of the heavenly bodies. To be regardless of those phenomena that are placed within our view is an affront to Providence."..... (*Guardian,* No. 169, Sept. 24, 1713).

Ambrose Philips.

Ambrose Philips, in the Preface to his Pastorals (1708), speaking highly of the dignity and antiquity of the Pastoral which delights us "after a peculiar manner," giving as it does "a sweet and gentle composure to the mind," goes on to say :—

When I see a little country-dwelling, advantageously situated amidst *a beautiful variety of hills*, meadows, fields, woods, and rivulets, I feel an unspeakable sort of satisfaction, and cannot forbear wishing my kinder fortune would place me in such a sweet retirement.

What is particularly noticeable in the above passage is the mention of 'a beautiful variety of hills' along with the description of other pleasing objects of nature, showing the poet's expression of delight in hills as early as the year 1708.

Shaftesbury : *Characteristics.*

Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, was a celebrated philosopher, whose *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711), though a philosophical work, deserves mention here. It contains, among other things, a 'treatise' entitled *The Moralists, A Philosophical Rhapsody*, in which the author dwells upon the various objects of external nature for the purpose of illustrating the beauty and harmony of the universe, which leads him to an ecstatic contemplation of the author of them all. We quote below only a few out of the many passages of the same kind that may be found in the above treatise[2] :—

Ye fields and woods, my refuge from the toilsome world of business, receive me in your quiet sanctuaries, and favour my retreat and thoughtful solitude. Ye verdant plains, how gladly I salute ye ! Hail all ye blissful mansions ! Known seats ! Delightful prospects ! Majestic beauties of this earth, and all ye rural powers and graces ! ...Whilst with its blessed tranquillity it affords a happy leisure and retreat for man, who, made for contemplation, and to search his own and other natures, may here best

[2] All the extracts quoted here are from the edition of J. M. Robertson, London, Vol. 2 (1900) (out of print).

meditate the cause of things, and, placed amidst the various scenes of Nature, may nearer view her works (pp. 97-98).

He shows his appreciation of the sterner and wilder aspects of nature in the following :—

Here let us leave these monsters, the tyrants of the flood (glad here if we could confine them !) and detesting the dire prolific soil, fly to the vast deserts of these parts. All ghastly and hideous as they appear, they want not their peculiar beauties. *The wildness pleases.* We seem to live alone with Nature. We view her in her inmost recesses, and contemplate her with more delight in these orginal wilds than in the artificial labyrinths and feigned wildernesses of the palace. The objects of the place, the scaly serpents, the savage beasts, and poisonous insects, how terrible soever, or how contrary to human nature, are beauteous in themselves, and fit to raise our thoughts in admiration of that divine wisdom, so far superior to our short views (p. 122).

According to Edmund Gosse, " it is no small praise to Shaftesbury to admit that but for him Pope's *Essay on Man* could never have been written" ; and we can see in the last sentence of the above passage the origin of the idea expressed by Pope in the following lines :—

> All nature is but art, unknown to thee ;
> All chance, direction, which thou dost not see ;
> All discord, harmony not understood ;
> All partial evil, universal good.—*Essay on Man*, i. 290.

He gives an imaginative description of the Atlas mountain in terms of great approbation in the following :—

But behold ! through a vast tract of sky before us, the mighty Atlas rears his lofty head covered with snow above the clouds. Beneath the mountain's foot the rocky country rises into hills, a proper basis of the ponderous mass above, where huge embodied rocks lie piled on one another, and seem to prop the high arch of heaven.....And here a different horror seizes our sheltered travellers, when they see the day diminished by the deep shades of the vast wood, which, closing thick above, spreads darkness and eternal night below. The faint and gloomy light looks horrid as the shade itself ; and the profound stillness of these places imposes silence upon men, struck with the hoarse echoings of every sound

within the spacious caverns of the wood.....Mysterous voices are either heard or fancied, and various forms of deity seem to present themselves and appear more manifest in these sacred silvan scene, such as of old gave rise to temple, and favoured the religion of the ancient world: (pp. 122-123).

The last sentence of the above passage is very significant, being expressive of a vague sense of the *romantic* in nature marked by a suggestion of the awful and the mysterious.

Articles on the conventionalities of pastorals which came to be regarded as obsolete.

We shall now turn to several articles in the periodicals of the day in which the leading men of letters of the time sounded a note of protest against the conventionalities of the pastorals written by their predecessors. The very fact of the appearance of a number of pastorals written by three poets[3] in course of six years (1708-1714) seems to be remarkable, particularly when we find that all of them more or less show a new tendency of trying to be true to nature. Chronologically Pope comes first having written his pastorals as early as 1704-5 ; and about them, Wycherley writes (May, 1708)—"Your pastoral muse outshines in her *modest and natural dress* all Apollo's court-ladies, in their more artful, laboured, and costly finery."

Addison was the first to write on this subject.

A few years after the publication of the pastorals of Ambrose Philips in 1709, the well-known discussion on this kind of poetry began. Of their new quality of naturalness, perhaps the earliest notice was taken by Addison in the *Spectator* No. 523, of Oct. 30, 1712 :—

One would have thought it impossible for this kind of poetry (pastorals) to have subsisted without fawns and satyrs, wood-nymphs and water-nymphs with all the tribe of rural deities. But we see he (Mr. Philips) has given a new life, and a more natural beauty to this kind of

[3] *Viz.*, Pope, Ambrose Philips and Gay.

writing by substituting in the place of these antiquated fables, the superstitious mythology which prevails among the shepherds of our own country.

Next appeared a series of articles on Pastoral poetry in the *Guardian*.

About six months after the publication of the above, there appeared in the *Guardian* a series of articles on Pastoral poetry. The first[4] of these pointed out what is inviting in this sort of poetry and wherein lies the source of attraction for country life.[5] The second[6] dealt with the pastoral poets from Theocritus downwards, and discussed the principles of the art of writing this kind of poetry. In the third,[7] the contemporary poets of England were ridiculed for having introduced Greek rural deities, Greek flowers and fruits, Greek names and Greek "dress, customs, and sports and shepherds." This article further pointed out that "the difference of the climate is also to be considered, for what is proper in Arcadia, or even in Italy, might be very absurd in a colder country." All these papers were intended to praise Philips at the expense of Pope without naming him. Pope also retaliated by publishing another article in the same paper (No. 40, April 27, 1713) "on the pastorals of Pope and Philips," a piece of bitter irony, thus giving rise to an amusing literary quarrel. Mr. Courthope is of opinion that "Philips' pastorals had no better claim than Pope's to be considered simple or natural." For our present purpose, we need not enter here into an examination of the merits of the two poets as writers of pastorals. But what is important is that from these controversies it is obvious that the conventional pastorals

The controversies about Pope and A. Philips as writers of Pastorals.

[4] No. 22, Monday, April 6, 1713, written by Steele.

[5] Pope also says, "What is inviting in this sort of poetry proceeds not so much from the idea of that business, as the tranquillity of a country life."—*Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*, 1704.

[6] No. 28, written by Steele.

[7] No. 30, written by Steele.

of the old type had become distasteful to the English poets, because they came to feel that the use of names and characters like 'Thyrsis' and 'Lycidas' was absurd and unnatural. This view is further established when we see that a year after the publication of these articles, John Gay in the 'proem' of his *Shepherd's Week* wrote the following :—

The observations of Gay in his 'Proem' to *Shepherd's Week*.

Thou wilt not find my shepherdesses idly piping on oaten reeds, but milking the kine, tying up the sheaves, or, if the hogs are astray, driving them to their styes. My shepherd sleepeth not under myrtle shades, but under a hedge, nor doth he vigilantly defend his flocks from wolves because there are none, as Maister Spenser well observeth.

Another protest of almost the same kind was entered from the other side of the Cheviots by Allan Ramsay against the "affected Delicacies and studied Refinements" which the poetry in general of his time abounded in. It appeared in the *Preface to the Evergreen* (1724), from which we quote only the following lines as illustrative of this point :—

Allan Ramsay.

"When these good old Birds ['our Forefathers'] wrote, we had not yet made use of imported Trimming upon our Cloaths,...Their Poetry is the Product of their own Country, not pilfered and spoiled in the Transportation from abroad: Their Images are native, and their Landskips domestick; copied from those Fields and Meadows we every day behold.

"The Morning rises (in the Poet's Description) as she does in the Scottish Horizon. We are not carried to Greece or Italy for a Shade, a Stream or a Breeze. The Groves rise in our own Valleys; the Rivers flow from our own Fountains,..."

George Berkeley, the celebrated philosopher, was a notable figure among the English writers of the time. He contributed several essays to the *Guardian* and "became intimate with Addison, Arbuthnot, Swift, Pope, Steele, and the rest of that gifted circle." In 1713, he travelled to Sicily as Chaplain to the Earl of

Bishop Berkeley.

Peterborough. "They crossed Mont Cenis on New Year's Day in 1714—'one of the most difficult and formidable parts of the Alps which is ever passed over by mortal man,' as he tells Prior in a letter from Turin. At the end of other six weeks we find him at Leghorn" [8]; and from this place he wrote a letter to Pope on May 1, 1714, in which we find the following:—

> .. ...I know not whether it might not be worth a poet's while to travel, in order to *store his mind with strong images of nature.* Green fields and groves, flowery meadows and purling streams, are nowhere in such perfection as in England; but if you would know lightsome days, warm suns, and blue skies, you must come to Italy; and to enable a man *to describe rocks and precipices,* it is absolutely necessary that he pass the Alps.[9]

This remark, though of a general nature, is obviously based on his personal observation and enjoyment of the beauties of Italian scenery; and shows, in particular, his attitude towards mountains, which is by no means one of horror or disgust.

In 1716, Berkeley had been engaged travelling tutor to the son of Bishop Ashe, with whom he "crossed Mont Cenis a second time. They reached Rome at the beginning of 1717. "His *Journal in Italy* in that year," says his biographer,[10] "shew *ardent interest in nature* and art. He travelled through a great part of Sicily on foot; *clambered over the mountains and crept into the caverns,* to investigate its natural history and discover the causes of its volcanoes." On October 22, 1717, he wrote the following in another letter to Pope from Naples:—

His appreciation of mountain scenery and of the wild and uncultivated in nature.

> The island Inarime is an epitome of the whole earth, containing within the compass of 18 miles a *wonderful variety of hills,* vales, ragged rocks, fruitful plains, and barren mountains, all thrown together in a *most romantic confusion.* Several fountains and rivulets add to

[8] *Works of Berkeley,* ed. by A. B Fraser, Vol. 1, 'Life of Berkeley'; 1901.
[9] *Ibid,* Vol. IV (1871).
[10] *Ibid,* Vol. I (1901).

the beauty of this landscape, which is likewise set off by the variety of some barren spots and naked rocks. But that which *crowns the scene is a large mountain* rising out of the middle of the island. Its lower parts are adorned with vines and other fruits; the middle affords pasture to flocks of goats and sheep; and the top is a sandy pointed rock, from which you have the finest prospect in the world.[11]

In the above passage, evidently the attitude of Berkeley towards mountains in particular is not only *not* one of horror or disgust, but one of positive appreciation. There may not be, in the language he has used, anything like "a spirit of devout ecstacy similar to Shaftesbury's,"[12] but undoubtedly we notice in the above extract a genuine admiration for, and an ardent interest in, the mountain scenery as well as the wild and romantic scenes visited by him. Nowhere in his famous *Journal in Italy* (1717-18), which gives an account of his minute and careful observation of all kinds of natural objects, do we find any evidence of the feeling of dislike for mountains; rather he shows therein a great attraction for volcanic phenomena, one of which he has described in a letter to Arbuthnot (dated April 17, 1717). We quote below only a few lines at random from this letter which, from its very beginning to the end, is nothing but a detailed account of an eruption of Vesuvius which he seems to have minutely observed:—

.....With much difficulty *I reached the top of mount Vesuvius* in which I saw a vast aperture full of smoke, which hindered the seeing its depth and figure. I heard within that horrid gulf certain odd sounds which seemed to proceed from the belly of the mountain....."[13]

Surely passages like the one just quoted, and the one quoted above from the second of the two letters to Pope, are unusual in the literature of the time.[14]

[11] *Ibid*, Vol. IV, *Journal in Italy* (1901), p. 296.

[12] C. A. More: "Among the stock examples usually quoted we do not come across a spirit of 'devout ecstacy' similar to Shaftesbury's until we reach Gray's notes on the Alps."—*Studies in Philology*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 264-5

[13] *Works of Berkeley*, ed. by A. C Fraser, Vol. IV, pp. 285-89.

[14] For want of space we forbear quoting numerous other examples, like "*Fine hills*, covered with myrtle and lentiscus."

His sense of the *romantic* in nature.

Another point of great interest and significance which may be noted here is his use of the word 'romantic' in the above-mentioned letter, as also in the following passage :—

..... There is a *strange* confusion of rocks, hills, vales, clefts, plains, and vineyards one above another, jumbled together in a very *singular and romantic manner.*[15]

The sense in which he uses the word in both the passages is not the usual Augustan sense of 'wild,' 'fantastic' or 'grotesque,' expressing disapprobation or condemnation, but one almost similar to the modern sense expressive of the quality of 'strangeness added to beauty,' as Walter Pater puts it; and this will be clear from the expression '*strange* confusion' in the above passage.

The significance of all the passages quoted above from the writings of Berkeley, as indicative of a genuine appreciation of nature, will be evident from a comparison of these with an instance of nature-description of the generalised sort from his own writings, which may be conveniently quoted here :—

"What innocent and agreeable pleasures you lose every morning. Can there be a pleasanter time of the day, or a more delightful season of the year? That purple sky, those wild but sweet notes of birds, the fragrant bloom upon the trees and flowers, the gentle influence of the rising sun, these and a thousand nameless beauties of nature inspire the soul with secret transports."—(From *The First Dialogue between Hylas and Philonous.*)

Pope's letters.

Next comes Pope. Wordsworth's commendation of his *Windsor Forest* for its "new images of external nature" is well-known, though not fully deserved. However, it is to be admitted that he is notable for his observation of nature, particularly in his position as the high-priest of the classical school. M. Taine

[15] *Ibid, Journal in Italy*, p. 299.

observes, "There is in Pope a minute description, adorned with high coloured words, local details...Every aspect of nature was described; a sunrise, a landscape reflected in the water, a breeze and the foliage, and so forth." The above remark of M. Taine is illustrated by Pope's *letters and other prose writings* as well as by his poetical descriptions. His letter to Mrs. Martha Blount,[16] dated June 22, 1715, contains a beautiful and most graphic description of Sherborne and the country around, which would do credit to any writer or poet of the Romantic School. In this letter he has shown a keen power of appreciating the *romantic* in nature and has used the word 'romantic' quite in the modern sense, an instance chiefly notable for its precedence to similar use of the word by other writers.

His sense of the romantic in nature.

"To *enjoy* those views, which are more *romantic* than imagination can form them."

Other passages quoted from the same letter would further explain his sense of the romantic in nature,—

The gardens are so irregular that it is very hard to give an exact idea of them, but by a plan. *Their beauty arises from this irregularity*..... ..Another walk under this hill winds by the river side, quite covered with high trees on both banks, overhung with ivy; where *falls a natural cascade, with never-ceasing murmurs.* On the opposite hanging of the bank (which is a steep of fifty feet), is placed, with a very fine fancy, a rustic seat of stone, flagged and rough, from *whence you lose your eyes upon the glimmering of the waters under the wood, and your ears in the constant dashing of the waves.*

The attention of the readers is drawn particularly to the expression, "whence you lose your eyes....." etc., which is remarkable for its *suggestiveness*—a quality that is distinctly romantic.

[16] All my quotations from Pope's letters are from the edition of William Roscoe, 10 Vols., 1824.

It may be pointed out for our present purpose that Pope and Addison[17] were the two most conspicuous figures among those who helped to give an impetus to a growing taste for gardening after a new style based upon the principle of giving preference to the "amiable simplicity of unadorned nature" "over the nicer scenes of art;" and Pope observed that it is the men of genius who "are chiefly sensible that all art consists in the imitation and study of Nature." (The *Guardian* No. 173, Sept. 29, 1713.)

His taste for gardening.

Writing from 'Oakley Bower" (Oct. 8, 1716), Pope says,—

> It is the place that of all others I fancy .. ..It does not cease to be agreeable to me so late in the season; the *very dying of the leaves adds a variety of colours that is not unpleasant.* I look upon it, as upon a beauty I once loved, whom I should preserve a respect for in her decay.

More than 25 years after the above letters were written, Pope addressed two letters to Mrs. Blount in the year 1742, both of which contain passages which are beautifully descriptive of natural scenery like the two quoted above. For want of space we quote a few lines from only one of them below;[18] but the fact that these were written at a much later stage of his life (only two years before his death) goes to prove that his liking for nature *was not the result of a sudden fit of inspiration* but proceeded from an abiding sense of delight in the charm and tranquillity of a peaceful country scene. The following

His liking for nature was not the result of a sudden inspiration.

[17] For the remark of Addison who had the credit of giving expression to similar views much earlier than Pope, in a bolder and clearer strain, *cf* *The Spectator*, Nos. 404 and 477. For a fuller treatment of this subject, see Miss Myra Reynolds' *Nature in English Poetry*, Chap V, "Gardening"; also *cf* Leslie Stephen's *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 123-126.

[18] Dated Saturday the 24th, 1742—"Where are very pretty lodging houses overlooking all the woody hills; and steep cliffs and very green valleys within half a mile of the Wells; where in the summer it must be delicious walking and riding, for the plain extends one way many miles."

extracts from the correspondence of his earlier years will further illustrate his attitude towards the country :—

(*a*) I have been so well satisfied with the country ever since I saw you, that I have not once thought of the town, or enquired of any one in it besides Mr. Wycherley and yourself.

(To Mr. Cromwell, November 1, 1708.)

(*b*) I expect much, towards the civilising of you in your critical capacity, from the innocent air and tranquillity of your forest.

(To the same, May 10, 1710.)

His love of solitude was of early origin.

Of his love of solitude or tranquillity in rural life, he writes, while introducing his famous *Ode on Solitude*, the earliest of his productions, to his friend Mr. Cromwell (July 17, 1709) :—

Having a vacant space here I will fill it with a short Ode on 'Solitude' which I find by the date was written when I was not twelve years old ; that you may perceive how long I have continued in *my passion for a rural life*, and in the same employment of it.

From these words of Pope, uttered by him when he was only twenty-one, it may reasonably be concluded that his love for rural life was genuine and of early and spontaneous origin; it was not certainly the effect of a temporary revulsion of feeling caused by the distractions of his public life in London to which he was as yet quite new.

Pope also, like Addison and Thomson, looks upon the contemplation of the works of nature as the basis of heavenly enjoyments :—

The weather is too fine for any one that loves the country to leave it at this season.... I am growing fit, I hope for a better world, of which the light of the sun is but a shadow ; for I doubt not but God's works are here what come nearest to his works there ; and that a true relish of the beauties of nature is the most easy preparation and gentlest transition to an enjoyment of those of heaven ; as, on the contrary, *a true town-life of hurry, confusion, noise, slander and dissension*, is a sort of apprenticeship to hell and its furies.

(To Mrs. Blount, 1727.)

The question of insincerity in the utterances of Pope.

It has, however, been pointed out that Pope "often rebelled at his banishment from town delights, as did his 'fond virgin' when compelled to seek wholesome country air."[19] That his heart was after the town delights and its intellectual atmosphere is undeniable; yet, we can hardly agree with Miss Reynolds when she says that in reading Pope's letters every statement is instinctively taken *cum grano salis*, because of his known insincerity and striving after effect.[20] The passages that have been quoted above to show his feeling for nature are, as we have pointed out, taken from his letters written at different periods of his life; and we have no grounds for thinking that he was insincere in his utterances on nature *in every one of them*, unless we are inclined to question the sincerity of everything that he said. The very fact that he had written the *Ode on Solitude* when he was only twelve years old speaks of the genuineness of his love for rural life which, probably, he had early imbibed in the midst of the surrounding scenery of the Windsor Forest. Besides, we can hardly ignore the fact that if there is any artificiality or insincerity in his admiration for country-life, it is equally noteworthy that there is a tone of artificiality or exaggeration in his admiration for the fashionable people of the town, as is evident from the following letter :—

From Mr. Wycherley to Mr. Pope (April 1, 1710) :—"I have had yours of the 30th of the last month which is kinder than I desire *it should be*, since it *tells me you could be better pleased to be sick again in town in my company, than to be well in the country without it. Your love to the country I do not doubt*...do with my papers, as you country gentlemen do with your trees, slash, cut..." etc.

[19] See Myra Reynolds, *Nature in English Poetry*, Chap. I, p 8.

[20] *Ibid*, chap. II, p. 31.

An explanation for the conflicting statements of Pope.

Now, the best explanation that can be offered for these conflicting utterances of Pope is that in his, as in the poetry of the reaction, we notice a conflict of two tendencies one of which was slowly gaining power and the other falling into natural decay, *probably not being quite suitable to the English mind.* Moreover, in those days of great political activity characterised by a "fraternisation of the politicians and the authors" it is quite possible that he should sometimes consider himself as proving useless by too much rest in the country ; and that at other times, after a long residence in the midst of noise and smoke of London, harassed by all its cares and clashing interests, he should feel a craving for the sweet repose and tranquillity in country retreats, the blessings of which he had known from his boyhood. Thus he came to entertain a very sane view regarding both the kinds of life, as will be clear from the following lines of a letter of his to Mr. Steele (June 18, 1712 :—

The distraction of London life occasionally caused a yearning for peace in the country.

> I find you shift the scene of your life from the town to the country, and enjoy that mixed state which wise men both delight in, and are qualified for. Methinks the moralists and philosophers have generally run too *much into extremes in commending entirely either solitude or public life.* In the former, men for the most part grow useless by too much rest, and in the latter are destroyed by too much precipitation ; as waters lying still, putrefy, and are good for nothing, and running violently on, *do but the more mischief* in their passage to others, and are swallowed up and lost the sooner themselves.

The sanity of his view.

The question of insincerity can hardly be raised about the view expressed by Pope in the lines quoted above ; it is characterised by a *sanity* and *moderation* that may be regarded as a sufficient proof of the sincerity of his attitude. Besides the fact remains that they are taken from his private correspondence to one who was a particular friend of his, and with

whom therefore he had no reason to play the hypocrite. And this letter, as we have seen, is not the only evidence of its kind that may be produced to prove our point. On the other hand, the letters of Bishop Berkeley to Pope that have already been referred to in this chapter may be looked upon as a clear evidence of the fact that Pope was known to Berkeley as one able to appreciate the beauties of nature that he intended to describe to him. While introducing the subject of his letter written from Naples (Oct. 22, 1717), Berkeley says,—

The testimony of the letters of his friends about his interest in nature.

"Italy is such an exhausted subject that, I dare say, you'd easily forgive my saying nothing of it; and the imagination of a poet is a thing so nice and delicate that it is no easy matter to find out images capable of giving pleasure to *one of the few, who (in any age) have come up to that character.* I am nevertheless lately returned from an island where I passed three or four months; which, were it set out in its true colours, might, methinks, *amuse you agreeably enough for a minute or two.*"

Again,

The islands Caprea, ...the bay of Naples, the promontory of Minerva, and the whole Campagna Felice, make but a part of this noble landscape; which would demand *an imagination as warm* and numbers as flowing *as your own*, to describe it.

From all the above utterances of Pope as well as those of his friends—evidences internal as well as external—it is now clear that Pope was by no means lacking in imagination or feeling for nature, and that his dislike for the country was neither deep-rooted nor of a permanent character. It is, of course, to be admitted that we cannot characterise him as a lover of nature from a careful study of all his poetical works. But merely the want of a large number of poetical descriptions of the beauties of nature should not, on the other hand,

lead us to conclude that he was devoid of the power of appreciating them. The evidences given above furnish a clear and sufficient testimony to his capacity for observing and portraying (in prose) the objects of nature and deriving pleasure therefrom. Nor does he even altogether fail to represen t poetically the natural objects ; passages quoted in the last chapter from his *Windsor Forest* to show his first hand and delicate observation of rural scenery are instances in point. In fact, the truth about Pope regarding the subject before us has been recently well-expressed by Mr. Lytton Strachey in the following words, which lend a great support to the view that the present writer has sought to establish in these pages about the great poet's attitude towards nature,—"And, if one looks more closely, one perceives that there were a good many things that Pope could do very well—when he wanted to.....It is true that he did not often expatiate upon the scenery ; but, when he chose, he could call up a vision of nature which is unforgettable—

The correct estimate of his attitude towards nature.

> Lo ! where Mæotis sleeps, and hardly flows
> The freezing Tanais thro' a waste of snows, ..

We see, and we shiver."[21] The opinions that are entertained of him even to the present day are still the old ones that were formed by the critics of the romantic generation. But, as the same scholar observes, "The romantics were men who had lost their faith ; and they rose against the old dispensation with all the zeal of rebels and heretics. Inevitably their fury fell with peculiar vehemence upon Pope. The great idol was overturned amid shouts of execration and scornful laughter." And it is no wonder that in their zeal for the denouncement of their enemy the critics should have failed to form a correct estimate of his powers and abiiities

[21] Lytton Strachey : *Pope—The Leslie Stephen Lecture for 1925.*

as a poet and as a man. "Now that we have perhaps emerged from romanticism, it is time to consider the master of the eighteenth century with a more impartial eye." [22]

And we need not wonder at the above conclusion arrived at by us about Pope's power of appreciating the beauties of nature. Paradoxical and absurd as it may appear, the attitude of Pope towards nature is not to be looked upon as an exceptional one for a writer of the classical school. It was the attitude not of Pope alone but probably of the whole nation and especially of all the literary men of the time. And the reason is not far to seek. For, when we come to think of the extremely disturbed state of society in London consequent on the political struggles through which England had been passing for over half a century, or of the factious conflicts which were always going on at the court, and consider how these circumstances must have distracted the mind of the whole nation, it appears as but natural that all the writers of the age, who by the exigencies of the time were involved in the affairs of the state, should at times sincerely look forward to the prospect of peace and retirement in country-retreats,

The attitude of Pope was the attitude of all the literary men of the time.

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife."

It appears that they were, as a rule, compelled to have recourse to town-life for the sake of worldly interests and ambitions, and not so much for any real charm for its artificial society with which, however, they came to be reconciled in time, still conscious of its worries and distractions. The following lines from the *Guardian* (No.

Evidence of this feeling of weariness in the writings of Steele and others.

[22] *Ibid.*

22, Monday, April 6, 1713) written by Steele will bear us out :—

"Though ambition and avarice employ most men's thoughts, they are such uneasy habits, *that we do not indulge them out of choice, but from some necessity,* real or imaginary. We seek happiness in which ease is the principal ingredient, and the end proposed in our most restless pursuits is tranquillity. We are therefore soothed and delighted with the representation of it. Health, tranquillity, and pleasing objects are the growth of the country, and *though men, for the general good of the world, are made to love populous cities, the country hath the greatest share in an uncorrupted heart.*"

We shall conclude this chapter with an extract from Gay's *Rural Sports*, which, though written in verse and therefore out of place here, is very appropriate being exactly expressive of the same sentiments as are noticed in the passage quoted above.

"To Mr. Pope.

You, who the sweets of rural life have known,
Despise the ungrateful hurry of the town ;
In Windsor groves your easy hours employ
An undisturbed, yourself and muse enjoy,

* * * *

But I, who ne'er was blessed by fortune's hand,
Nor brightened ploughshares in paternal land,
Long in *the noisy town have been immured,*
Respired its smoke, and all its cares endured,
Where news and politics divide mankind,
And schemes of state involve the uneasy mind.
Faction embroils the world ;
Friendship, for sylvan shades, the palace flies,
Where *all must yield to interest's dearer ties...*

CHAPTER III.

Evidences of a Growing Taste for the Country in the Poetry of the Age of Pope based on the Changes in the Literary, Social and Political Conditions of the Time.

The literary society of the age of Dryden then confined to London was estranged from the country

That the general attitude of the literary world towards the country and all things relating to it throughout the pseudo-classic period was one of indifference or dislike is beyond controversy. This attitude of neglect or dislike, as is well-known, originated from an estrangement between the country and the literary society of the age of Dryden which, from the time of the restoration came to be exclusively confined to London. We shall first briefly refer to the conditions which led to the isolation of the literary society within the metropolitan area, and then examine why this society came to be indifferent or opposed to the country.

How the literary society came to be confined to London.

In the *first* place, we come to learn that books in those days had a very limited sale in the country. Few people could afford to buy them owing to the difficulty and the prohibitive expense of conveying them from London.[1] *Then* the country-squire was not much given to the habit of reading books. "Few Knights of the shire had libraries so good as may now perpetually be found in a servant's hall."[2] Hence the authors knew very well that the sale of their productions must be confined to the reading public of London, whose tastes they were therefore always anxious to determine and to gratify in their writings. Besides flattering in this

[1] See Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. I, Ch. III.

[2] *Ibid.*

way the reading public which was still too small to make the art of writing remunerative,[1] the poor authors, some of whom were highly talented writers, had to depend for their livelihood upon the distributors of state-patronage [2] like Somers, Montagu, Harley and others who often exacted their personal subservience. Dryden, the representative poet of the time, himself says,—

> The poets, who must live by courts or starve,
> Were proud so good a government to serve.
>
> —*Epilogue to the Pilgrim.*

These authors as well as their patrons often met at the coffee-houses of London where they held literary discussions in course of which judgments were passed on the recent publications of the day,[3] the writers of which naturally sought for the favourable opinion of these critics.

The causes of the estrangement of the literary society from the country in the age of Dryden.

The literary world which was thus confined to London came to be estranged from the country for the following reasons. *First* the town itself was effectively separated from the country for want of proper means of communication. Macaulay tells us how travellers as well as goods passed from place to place only by the high-ways which were often in a miserable condition. Only very rich men could afford to spend a short time in the country; and they had to travel in their own carriages drawn by at least four horses. Few squires came to the

[1] "The recompense which the wits of that age could obtain from the public was so small, that they were under the necessity of eking out their incomes by levying contributions on the great."—*Ibid.*

[2] Among those who received patronage from the government at the beginning of the 18th century were Addison, Swift, Steele, Prior, Gay, Rowe, Congreve, Tickell, Parnell, and Philips, while a secret pension was offered to Pope; see Lecky's *History of England*, Ch. IV.

[3] See Leslie Stephen's *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Ch. II, p. 39 ff.

capital thrice in their lives;[6] hence when they came there, from their dress, accent and manners, they were immediately distinguished from the Londoners, only to be "jeered and jostled as uncouth rustics in the streets of London."[7] Enraged and mortified they soon returned to their old halls with a mind full of aversion towards London and Londoners. Thus we see that the inhabitants of London in general, whose tastes the poor authors had to gratify, were very unsympathetic towards the country. *Secondly*, in matters literary, the great politicians who, as pointed out above, patronised the authors dependent upon them and also constituted the critical tribunal of the age were, in their tastes and prejudices, still governed by the French School of criticism which prevailed in the court on the Restoration. Now, the French critics laid down the precept of cultivating propriety, decorum and good sense in literature, which was accepted by the critical nobility of England as their watchword; and the poets of England who were always anxious to win the favour of their patrons[8] pandered to their artificial tastes by trying to attain these qualities in their writings; the result being the production of a poetry of the fashionable society, the polished court, and the refined London wits. This alone was in accordance with the critical taste of the time, to which, therefore, all references to things pertaining to the country smacked of boorishness and rusticity.

1. Want of intercourse between the two classes owing to difficulty of travelling.

2. The influence of the French school in literary matters.

But when we come to the age of Pope, we find a gradual change in all the conditions referred to above which correspondingly led to a change in the attitude of the whole generation towards the country and all things relating to it. In the first place, the gradual improvement of roads

Removal of the above causes in the next century led to a gradual change in the attitude towards the country.

[6] See Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. I, Ch III.

[7] Leslie Stephen, *ibid*

[8] *Cf.* "He wins this patron who can tickle best."—Pope, *Dunciad*, II. 196.

increased the facilities of travelling and thus afforded chances of a more frequent intercourse and a better understanding between the Londoners and the country gentry, with the result that the contrast between the tastes and manners of the country and of the metropolis became less and less marked. Sir Roger de Coverley, the typical country-gentleman of those days, came to visit the metropolis oftener than his ancestors of the preceding century. "In the first half of the eighteenth century," says Lecky,[9] "the habit of making annual visits to London or to a watering-place *very greatly increased*, and it contributed at once to soften the manners of the richer and to accelerate the disappearance of the poorer members of the class." On the other hand, evidences of a change in the attitude of the town towards the country are also abundant. The aristocracy of England at this time though connected in many respects with the town population, came to be *vitally interested in the country on political considerations.* The country gentry so powerfully represented in Parliament were strongly Tory in their sympathies and "furnished little more than rows of ponderous fox-hunters."[10] Walpole who was the foremost man in England from 1721 to 1742 has been described as "a rough, coarse country-gentleman."[11] When he became the first Prime Minister in 1721, it was his policy to conciliate this important class in pursuance of his own party interests. It is said that "the Saturday holiday of Parliament.....was originally instituted in order that Walpole might *once a week gratify his passion for hunting.*"[12] The Prime Minister having taken the lead in this matter, others followed him in his

1. Improvement of roads and other circumstances led to a freer intercourse between the town and the country.

(*a*) The country gentleman came to London more frequently.

(*b*) Interest taken by the aristocracy in the country.

[9] *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Chap. V.

[10] Macaulay : *First Essay on William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.*

[11] A. B. Buckley : *History of England.*

[12] Lecky : *History of England*, Ch. III.

train. But it was not from the aristocracy alone that the initiative had come which helped to change the attitude of the town towards the country. For we come to learn that besides the Spectator who frequently visited the country-seat of Sir Roger de Coverley, "a great number of all sorts of people," during a particular season of the year (*i.e.*, the summer) retired from London, "the place of business and pleasure, to country solitude."[13] Of this "great number of people," the poets[14] who passed a considerable portion of their time in the country are instances more in point; and of these again, the name of Pope who has recorded his appreciation[15] of the beauties of the various aspects of nature in the country seems to be particularly significant in this connection. In fact, as M. Taine has rightly said,[16] Englishmen have always been more feudal[17] and more fond of the country than Frenchmen.[18]

(*c*) The ordinary gentlemen of the town began to retire to the country more frequently.

As for the French influence through the English court on the tastes of the critical tribunal and the poets of the age dependent on their patronage, we find that after the Revolution of 1688 it fell into decay and gradually died a natural death. As to its influence on the poets, we find that the practice so commonly adopted by the patrons in the preceding age of rewarding scholars on the ground of personal subservience, which seems to have been borrowed from France under Louis

The influence of the French school gradually died away.

[13] *Spectator*; No 424, July 7, 1712.

[14] *E.g.*, Pope, Ambrose Philips, Bolingbroke, Somerville, Armstrong, Thomson, Allan Ramsay, etc. Steele retired from London in 1724 and lived in the country.

[15] See Chapters I and II of this paper.

[16] *History of English Literature*, Book III, Ch. VII.

[17] The feudal institutions seem to have naturally assimilated with the life of the people; Mr. Lecky points out (Ch. III) that Feudal obligations actually rested upon the land even during the reign of Charles II.

[18] *Cf* "Saint-Lambert admitted that his fellow countrymen have not, like the English, that taste for rural life which ought to inspire the higher orders of society."—J. M. Millar: *The Mid-18th Century*.

XIV,[19] speedily fell into disfavour. In the reign of Queen Anne, of course, the system still continued, but it was practised in a different spirit. Government patronage was no longer given to scholars for poems of fulsome flattery but to promising poets and prose writers who would use their talents in party strife. But when we come to the accession of George I (1714), "*Governmental encouragement of literature almost absolutely ceased.*"[20] This attitude of indifference of the state to the writers was at first no doubt injurious to literature, but it soon turned to a good account by making the writers depend upon (1) a free exercise of their own genius, (2) the London publisher who was familiar with the taste of the readers in general; and (3) the public opinion, the gradual formation of which we notice in the *Spectator* in which Addison tried to set up a standard of literary judgment which might be adapted to the changed conditions of the then society. In the next place, as to the influence of the French school on the critical taste of the generation, we notice that it had meanwhile undergone a vital change which was to a great extent correlative with the changes that had come about in the social and political spirit of the period which followed the Revolution. "The combination of material and military greatness with a freedom of thought and action hardly known elsewhere, which was revealed in the England that sprang from the Revolution of 1688, imposed on the imagination of men;"[21] and we find the whole race of Englishmen waking up to a sense of self-consciousness filled with a national sentiment, which had so long

In Literature, the writers were no more dependent upon patrons but free to cultivate their abilities in their own way.

In criticism, the establishment of the Augustan School of English Literature followed the overthrow of the French influence.

[19] *Cf.* "That prince (Louis XIV) adopted, during his long reign, the mischievous practice of rewarding literary men with large sums of money, and of conferring them numerous marks of personal favour."—H. T. Buckle: *Civilisation in England.*

[20] See Lecky, *ibid*, Vol. II, Ch. IV, pp. 80-81.

[21] Greene: *History of the English People*, Book VIII, Ch. IV.

been galled and irritated by a servitude to everything French, but now received a powerful stimulus and showed signs of revolt in every department of life. In literature, Dryden, who was justly regarded as the leading critic of his time, inspite of all that he did "to promote the new correctness that was coming in from France," could never feel happy in the triumph of the French genius. He and his followers defined their literary principles and established their own school of criticism [22] in conformity with the taste and requirements of their countrymen who came to dislike the yoke of the French principles in art and criticism.[23] Steele expressed the general temper of the time when he said,

> Let those derision meet, who would advance
> Manners of speech, from Italy or France.
>
> —*Epilogue to Lying Lover.*

Now, the new Augustan school in English literature, as we see, was not *on principle* opposed to the treatment of nature as a proper subject for poetry.[24] Dryden himself says,—

The attitude of the critics of the age of Dryden towards external nature.

> For guides take Virgil and read Theocrite :
> By them alone you'll easily comprehend
> How poets, *without shame, may condescend*
> To sing of gardens, fields, of flowers, and fruit,
> To stir up shepherds, and to tune the flute.
>
> —*The Art of Poetry*, Canto II, *Pastoral.*

From this advice of Dryden we can justly infer that a conventional treatment of natural objects after the manner of the

[22] *Cf.* "The numerous Essays and Prefaces scattered throughout Dryden's works, formed the real starting point of English Criticism."—Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, Vol. V, Ch. IV.

[23] *Cf.* L. Stephen: 'His (the wit) patriotic prejudices pluck at him at intervals, and suggest that Marlborough's countrymen ought not quite to accept the yoke of the French Academy."—*English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century.*

Also Courthope—"The *Rules* had never harmonised with the popular genius, and even when French models were encouraged by the taste of Charles II, they had failed to establish a paramount authority at the English Court."—*History of English Poetry*, Vol. V.

[24] *Cf.* G. C. Macaulay; *James Thomson* (E. M. L.), Ch. III, p. 92.

great masters was not only allowed but also recommended for the art of writing poetry in the age of Dryden. And when we come to the age of Pope, we find that the critics of that generation were not only *not* opposed to the treatment of nature in poetry but also rather inclined in favour of it. The number of poems dealing with nature in this age is much greater than in the preceding one and goes on increasing as the century advances. Let us see how they were received by the critics and the reading public of the day.

The attitude of the critics of the age of Pope.

(1) Pomfret's *Choice*, published in 1699,[25] written in praise of a peaceful life in country-retreats, is known to have been very popular throughout the eighteenth century.[26] Dr. Johnson's remark on the poem was, "perhaps no composition in our language has been *oftener perused than Pomfret's 'Choice';*" further, "His *Choice* exhibits a system of life adapted to common notions and equal to common expectations." This verdict of the great critic of the Classical School, which besides testifying to the popularity of the poem also declares its subject to be "adapted to common expectations," may be regarded as a very valuable evidence throwing light on the social as well as the literary taste of the day. From all that have been said above about the poem, we can justly conclude that the idea of enjoying a peaceful life in the country was welcome to the people of the time and that treatment of nature as a suitable theme of poetry was not found inconsistent with the principles of the Classical School by the critics of the day.

The evidence of the popularity of the nature-poetry of this age.

(2) Addison's poetical *Letter from Italy* (1701), which mainly describes the beauties of natural scenery enjoyed by him, is thus spoken of by the same critic,—"The *Letter from*

[25] According to Mr. Courthope "it was issued separately in 1700."

[26] "Why is Pomfret the most popular of the English poets? The fact is certain and the solution would be useful."—Southey's *Specimens*.

Italy has been always praised, but never been praised beyond its merit." [27] If the subject-matter of the poem had been opposed to the taste of the reading public of the day, the poem would not have received such unstinted praise from the critics of the time merely for its metrical or other qualities.

(3) John Philips' *Cyder*, published in 1707-1708, which describes in great details and with truth to nature " the care of orchards and the making of cider, was received with loud praises, and continued long to be read." [28] The poem reached its fourth edition in 1728, and the year 1744 saw the *tenth edition* of his collected works.[29]

(4) The attitude of the age towards nature is further known from the enthusiasm with which the people greeted Thomson's *Seasons*. *Winter*, which was published in March, 1726, went through several editions in all before the year was out; and the *Seasons* collectively, or in parts, had numerous editions in the poet's life-time. His choice of subject was totally new; yet from the immediate and unprecedented popularity of the poem it is evident that the subject-matter as well as the form of writing was particularly congenial to the spirit of the public. Further, as for the appreciation it received from the eminent persons of the time, Mr. J. L. Robertson says, " Its publication brought him many friends and patrons—among others the Countess of Hartford, Mr. Bubb Dodington...; besides the approval and active services of such influential critics of the time as Aaron Hill, the Rev. Joseph Spence, and the Rev. Robert Whately."[30] Thomson's friend and biographer Patrick Murdoch says, " The poem of *Winter*, published in March, 1726, was no sooner read than universally admired,...everyone wondering how so many pictures, and

[27] Johnson: *Lives of the English Poets*

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Harko De Maar: *Modern English Romanticism*, Ch.X.

[30] L. Robertson · *Thomson's Seasons and Castle of Indolence* (Oxford), Biographical Notice

pictures so familiar, should have moved them but faintly to what they felt in his descriptions." [31]

(5) Another evidence of exactly the same kind is to be found in the following 'advertisement from the Publisher' of Armstrong's poem on winter :—" Mr. Thomson, soon hearing of it, had the curiosity to procure a copy by means of a common acquaintance. He showed it to his poetical friends, Mr. Mallet, Mr. Aaron Hill, and Dr. Young who, it seems, *did great honour to it ;* and the first-mentioned gentleman wrote to one of his friends at Edinburgh, desiring the author's leave to publish it."

It is unnecessary to add more instances to the list given above to show that from the beginning of Pope's career the attitude of the generation towards external nature or the country was no longer one of indifference or disgust. It is evident that the French or Neo-classic model in manners and taste with its conventional sense of decorum and ceremony could not long retain its hold on the English mind which rebelled against its restraints. Partly as a natural reaction of the artificial drawing-room life that prevailed in England since the Restoration, and partly owing to 'the incommensurability of the classical decorum and the English mind' naturally strong in sensations and thoughts, the craving for return to nature manifested itself in the life and literature of the eighteenth century. We cannot do better than to quote here the following lines from M. Taine's remarks on this point as at once sound and highly illuminating :—

The classical decorum was uncongenial to the English mind.

Under Louis XIV, and Louis XV, the worst misfortune for a nobleman was to go to his estate in the country and grow rusty there. In England, inspite of the artificial civilisation and worldly ceremonies, the love of the chase and of physical exercise, political interests and the necessities of elections brought the nobles back to their domains. And there their natural instincts returned. Thus is genuine descriptive poetry

[31] Quoted by G. C. Macaulay, *James Thomson* (E.M.L.), p. 85.

born. It appears in Dryden, in Pope himself, even in the writers of elegant pastorals, and breaks out in Thomson's *Seasons.*[32]

Now, if we examine the treatment of nature in the poetry of this age up to the middle of Pope's career, we see that it is mostly the gentle, pleasant and enjoyable aspect of nature which is represented. This was due to two causes. *First*, the Greek and the Latin poets who were generally followed as models represented nature mostly in its calmer and gentler aspects. *Secondly*, almost all the people of this age, including poets, were tired of the political struggles extending over half-a-century into which they had thrown themselves forced by the exigencies of the time, and by way of a reaction naturally looked forward to a prospect of peace and tranquillity in country retreats where they could recruit their energies or forget their disappointments and disgrace in the political fields. It is this reason which also accounts for the unprecedented popularity of Pomfret's *Choice* which is regarded by Mr. Courthope as a "monument of the great change in the temper and taste of the nation wrought by the Revolution of 1688." The learned critic then goes on to say, "To no society that ever existed would an ideal like this have offered more attractions than to the England of the early eighteenth century. Sixty years of civil war, or factious conflicts, had distracted the mind of the nation, and all classes welcomed the prospects of settled government... Men longed for a state of quiet in which they might indulge their benevolent instincts undisturbed by civil broils."

The continued political struggles led to a yearning for peace in the country.

Gay, who had the credit of describing the simple rural scenes in their true guise in his *Shepherd's Week*, expressed the common temper of his time when he said :—

> "*Fatigued at last, a calm retreat I chose,*
> And soothed my harassed mind with sweet repose,
> Where fields, and shades, and the refreshing clime,
> Inspire my silvan song and prompt my rhyme."—*Rural Sports.*

[32] *History of English Literature*, Book III, Ch. VII.

APPENDIX.

For the exaggerated and erroneous impression that nature was practically banished from the poetry of the age of Pope and that Thomson's *Seasons* was the notable exception to the prevailing tendencies of the time, the following oft-quoted sweeping remark of Wordsworth in his famous *Essay* appended to the *Lyrical Ballads* seems to be chiefly responsible:—

Excepting the *Nocturnal Reverie* of Lady Winchelsea and a passage or two in the *Windsor Forest* of Pope, the poetry of the period intervening between the publication of the *Paradise Lost* of Milton and the *Seasons* does not contain a single new image of external nature..

J. C. Shairp says :—

During the latter part of Charles II's reign, and during the succeeding reigns of William, Queen Anne, and the first George, poetry retired from the fields, and confined herself to the streets of London...While first Dryden and then Pope were in the ascendant the subjects of poetry were those to be found in city life and in social man. Nature, Passion, Imagination, as has been said, were dismissed....It was in the Scottish poet Allan Ramsay that the sense of natural beauty first reappeared.[1]

Professor Saintsbury, in his estimate of the poetry of Pope and his contemporaries,[2] uses expressions in various places which—after our mind has already been worked upon by the oft-quoted unhappy observation of Wordsworth—tend to give rise to the same kind of exaggerated notion in our mind:—

Side by side with both these (Pope and his imitators) there is a party of mostly unintentional revolt which first, as represented by Thomson, reverts to nature in observation, but generalises still in expression.

[1] *The Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, Ch. XII, pp. 182-83

[2] *A Short History of English Literature*, Book VIII, Ch. V, p. 549.

As regards Thomson, he says :[3]

Thomson stood apart from the Augustan school in his subjects of interest, and in his selection of metres.

Then the learned critic, while giving an account of the works of Thomas Parnell and Lady Winchelsea, classes the former as an unconscious rebel; and, with all his encomiums on the latter, styles her as a 'non-descript.' According to him, they are the *only writers on the subject of nature before Thomson*, and though remarkable, are yet "*too isolated* to point much to a moral."

The *Night-Piece on Death* displays nature painting of a kind unknown in the work of any but one contemporary.....The other exception was Anne, Countess of Winchelsea.[4]

"He (every versifier) lived, as it were, in an elaborate garden, whose arrangements bore the least imaginable resemblance to nature. His imagination led him to nothing more natural than a grotto or a fountain. When he talked of forest, he meant trim shrubberies...A movement in the direction of natural feeling becomes *perceptible in the second quarter of the eighteenth century*.....Their (Waller, Cowley, Dryden and Pope) attitude is simply one of blindness to anything save the artificial surroundings they have created for themselves.[5]

It is needless to quote more instances from the 'Manuals' or 'Short Histories' of English literature.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 569.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 562.
[5] Hamilton Thomson : *A Short History of English Literature*, Chap. XIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Collected Editions.

Alexander Chalmers	...	English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper.
Robert Anderson	...	"British Poets," 13 Vols., 1794.
William Roscoe	..	"Works of Pope," 10 Vols.
A. Chalmers	...	"The British Essayists," 49 Vols., 1817.
H. G. Bohn	.	"The British Poets," (Cabinet Edition), 4 Vols.
H. Morley	...	"Shorter English Poems."
Chambers	...	"Cyclopaedia of English Literature," 3 Vols.
Ward	...	"English Poets," (Vol. III).
H. Morley	...	"The Spectator."
H. F. Cary	...	The Poetical Works of Pope, 1850.
Wilmott	...	The Poetical Works of Gay, Parnell and Collins.
Logie Robertson	...	Thomson's "Seasons and Castle of Indolence."
A. C. Fraser	...	The Works of George Berkeley, 4 Vols.
J. M. Robertson	...	Shaftesbury's "Characteristics," 2 Vols. London (1900).

General Sources of Information.

Leslie Stephen ... "English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," 2 Vols.

Do. ... "English Literature and Society in the 18th Century."

W. J. Courthope .. "History of English Poetry," Vol. V.

Myra Reynolds ... "The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry."

H. A. Beers ... "English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century."

Stopford Brooke ... "Naturalism in English Poetry."

Edmund Gosse ... "From Shakespeare to Pope."

Do. ... "Eighteenth Century Literature."

J. H. Millar ... "The Mid-Eighteenth Century."

William Minto ... Literature of the Georgian Era.

G. C. Macaulay ... James Thomson (English Men of Letters).

R. D. Havens ... "The Influence of Milton on English Poetry."

Dr. Johnson ... Lives of the English Poets, 2 Vols., 1825.

Taine, H. A. ... History of English Literature.

John Dennis ... The Age of Pope.

Dr. H. G. DeMaar .. A History of Modern English Romanticism, Vol. I.

A. Biese .. "The Development of the Feeling for ature."

W. E. H. Lecky ... History of England in the Eighteen Century, 7 Vols.

Lord Macaulay ... History of England, 2 Vols.

H. T. Buckle ... Civilization in England, 4 Vols.

Greene ... History of the English People.

AN OUTLINE SYNTAX OF BUDDHISTIC SANSKRIT

BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL SYNTAX OF INDO-ARYAN

BY

SUKUMAR SEN, M.A.

Premchand Roychand Student (1924), Griffith Prizeman (1925), Research Assistant in Indian Linguistics, Formerly Lecturer in the Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1928

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 312 B.J.—March, 1928—600

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Noun Syntax	2—51
Gender	2
Number	3
Agreement	3
Cases	4—47
Periphrasis	47
Adverbial Case-Forms	48
Nominal Phrase	48
Numeral	50
Compound	50
Verb Syntax	51—64
Introductory	51
Tenses	53—57
Periphrasis	55—57
Modes	57—60
Participle	60—61
Conjunctive	61—62
Verbal Phrase	62—64
Sentence	64—65
Sentence	64
Correlatives	64—65

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Altindische Syntax, B. Delbrück, Halle, 1888.

Avadānaśataka, J. Speijer, St.-Petersbourg, 1906, 1912.

Bezzenberger's Beiträge, bde. X, XI.

Buddhacarita, edited by E. Cowell, Oxford, 1893.

Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, C. Bendall, 1883.

Lalitavistara, edited by R. L. Mittra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1877.

Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell and Neil, Cambridge, 1886.

Mahāvastu, ed. E. Sénart, Paris, 1882-1892.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, ed. H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, St.-Petersbourg, 1912.

Saundarananda, ed. Haraprasād Śāstrī, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1910.

Zum Gāthādialect, Lefmann, ZDMG. 29.

Zur Casuslehre, Hübschmann, München, 1878.

Sanskrit Syntax, J. Speijer, Leyden, 1886.

Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, H. Lüders, Berlin, 1911.

Journal Asiatique, 1908, 1910, 1912.

Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, bde. 52, 60.

On the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, S. Sen, Indian Historical Quarterly, 1926.

The Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose, S. Sen, Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1926-27 (to be continued).

B = the Buddhacarita [numbers denote the canto and the stanza].

D = the Divyāvadāna [the numbers refer to pages].

L = the Lalitavistara [the numbers refer to pages].

Mi = Le Mahāvastu, Tome i
Mii = Do. ,, ii
Miii = Do. ,, iii
} [the numbers refer to pages].

S = the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka [the numbers refer to pages].

G = Gāthā or verse.

Other texts have been given in their full titles.

An Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit.

INTRODUCTION.

Buddhistic Sanskrit, or Sanskrit as written by Buddhist authors, falls into three distinct divisions. These are—

(*i*) The writings of Aśvaghoṣa, *e.g.*, the Buddhacarita, the Saundarananda, and the fragments of the two dramas edited and published by Professor Dr. Lüders of Berlin ;

(*ii*) The Lalitavistara, the Divyāvadāna, the Avadānaśataka, and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,—only the prose portions of these texts ;

(*iii*) The Mahāvastu and the metrical portions of the Lalitavistara, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, etc.

The above are the more important works in Buddhistic Sanskrit available so far in print.

The first division differs very little from the Pāṇinian Sanskrit. The very slight difference lies in (1) the use of a few peculiar words and technical terms, (2) a few ungrammatical forms, and (3) the greater use of the cognate accusative. [*Cf.* S. Sen, "On the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa," Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1926.]

The second division differs from the classical Sanskrit (of Pāṇini) in a still greater degree. It contains a number—though not very large—of grammatically incorrect (and dialectal) forms [*e.g.*, *duhitṝn*, *raśmi* (feminine), *mahya* (=*mama*), *vyusthāya* (=*vyutthāya*), *vijahya* (=*vihāya*), *upasaṃkrāmat* (*upasamakrāmat*), *ajānamānaḥ* (=*ajānan*), etc.]. It has also peculiar idioms and phrases.

The third division is the Buddhistic Sanskrit properly called. It is generally known as the 'Gāthā language,' or as

'Mixed Sanskrit.'[1] Its philological importance is of the utmost. From the syntactical point it is doubly interesting, as it retains much of the remnant of Old Indo-Aryan idioms which were lost in the classical Sanskrit, as well as it contains the germs of many of the peculiarly New Indo-Aryan idioms.

An outline of the syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit is to be found in these pages. No systematic comparisons have been made with the Prakrits or with Pali as these will be treated separately and subsequently.

It must be added that in this present work all the three divisions of Buddhistic Sanskrit referred above, have been treated as a whole, but mention has always been made of peculiarities of each division as well as of each text as far as practicable within this short compass.

THE NOUN-SYNTAX.

GENDER.

In the earlier Buddhistic Sanskrit works there occur a few instances where the gender does not correspond with that of classical Sanskrit. Thus: *loka* in neuter, *e.g.*, *lokāni hi trīṇi* «the three worlds» [B 13.31]; *raśmi* in feminine [L, S]; *añjana* in feminine [B 8.21]; *udaka* as masculine [L 87]; *lokadhātu* in feminine [S 239].

In the Gāthās as well as in the Mahāvastu, however, words generally have arbitrary gender.

Note I.—In the Divyāvadāna, we find instances where the change of gender is accompanied by a change of meaning; *e.g.*, *śilpa* (neuter) «art,» (masculine) «artisan,» *e.g.*, *tena śilpān āhūyoktāḥ* «by him artisans were called and told» [43]; *bhaṭavālāgra* (neuter) «army,» (masculine) «hero» [281].

Note II.—The Vedic type of neuter plural is also found in a few instances in the Divyāvadāna, *e.g.*, *kūlā baddhā* for *kūlani*

[1] *Cf.* Lefmann, Zum Gāthā-dialect, ZDMG., XXIX, pp. 212-34.

baddhāni [76] ; *jāmbūnadā* (for °*ni*) *nāsya samā* (for °*ni*) *bharanti* • gold is not its equal • [78].

In the Divyāvadāna *mārga* has been used as neuter [52] and *trāṇa* as masculine [114].

Number.

There is hardly any aberration from the normal in the usage of the number, the Gāthās, however, being excepted.

Agreement.

In a few instances the agreement between the subject and the verb in person and number, or between the substantive and the adjective in gender and number, is faulty. The subject in the first person is generally construed with verb in the third. Thus : *nṛpo'pi ca prāpur imaṃ girim vrajan* • the king also, walking, reached that hill • [B 11.73] ; *aham avocat* • (Buddha says) I said • [L 296] ; *aham magadheṣu prakrānto'bhūt* • (Buddha says) I went to Magadha • [L 296] ; *aham prāviśat* • I entered • [L 297], etc. ; *ahaṃ vāsavagrāmake brāhmaṇy āsīt* • I was (born as) a Brahmin woman in the village Vāsava • [D 13] ; *ahaṃ vāsava-grāmake brāhmaṇa asīt* • I was (born as) a Brahmin in the village Vāsava • [D 11] ; *te kaṇṭhe parisvajya ruditum ārabdhau* • they two (feminine gender) embracing by the neck began (masc.) to cry • [D 17] ; *aham ārāḍaṃ kālāmam etad avocat* • (Buddha says) I said this to Ārāda Kālāma • [M ii 118] ; *vīra kiṃ prārthayet* • what should you want, O hero? • [M iii 251 (G)].

Note I.—With the passive past participle in the passive voice masculine singular has been used for the neuter singular : *śakreṇa taṃ brāhmaṇaveṣam antarahāyitvā svakena rūpeṇa sthito* • Śakra, having done away the garb of a Brahmaṇa, stood in his own appearance • [M iii 6].

Note II.—Neuter singular has been used in apposition to a masculine, a feminine, and a neuter singular : *rājā subahu sāmātyaparijano devī ca sudhanusya mātā sarvaṃ ca antaḥpuraṃ udyānaṃ nirdhāvitaṃ* • the king Subāhu, with his

ministers and retinue, and the queen, the mother of Sudhanu, and the entire seraglio, went to the garden » [M ii 113].

THE CASES.

[A] The Nominative.

The nominative is the subject case; and there is very little which goes against the normal usage. The following instances, however, are noteworthy :

(*a*) Impersonal verbs.

(*i*) Without any grammatical subject : *yadā te prakramitukāmā bhavanti tadā bādhate sma* « whenever they wished to go out it pained them » [L 77] ; with *bhū* it is a standing idiom in the Mahāvastu, *e.g.*, *tasya rājño bhavati katham me putro bhaveyā* « it occurred to the king, ' how can a son be (born) to me ' » [M i 272] ; *ṛṣisya bhavati nāyaṃ cakravartī bhaviṣyati* « it occurred to the sage ' he would not become an emperor ' » [M ii 32]. *Cf.* also in D., *tasya te katham bhavisyati* « what would you do? » [38] ; *esa me huthā* « this occurred to me » [Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict of Aśoka, vii, 14, 15].

(*ii*) With an active agent as the subject : *kāle ca deśe pravavarṣa devaḥ* « the god rained in the country in time » [B 2.7] ; *kālena devāḥ pravarṣanti sma* « the gods rained in time » [L 82] ; *devo na varṣiṣyati* « the god will not rain » [L 516] ; *kāle devo hi varṣate* « the god rains in time » [L 86 (G)] ; *cf.* Pali, *devo vassati* « the god rains » [Jataka, vol. i, p. 100].

(*iii*) With a cognate nominative : *dirvaṃ puṣpavarṣaṃ varṣati divyaṃ cūrṇaṃ varṣati* « divine flowers and (scented) dust rained (*i.e.*, fell in showers) » [M i 214] ; *mahat puṣpavarṣam abhiprāvarṣat bhagavantam* « a great shower of flowers fell on the lord » [S 5] ; *cf.* Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa : *yāś ca varṣanti vṛṣṭayaḥ* « what rains do rain » [3.12.8].

(*b*) The following instances call for attention :

(*i*) *amukto manyase mukto* « (though) fettered you think yourself as unfettered » [M iii 416 (G)]. This is a Vedic survival ; *cf.* *indro'surān hatvā 'kāryaṃ cakṛvān amanyata*

• having killed the Asuras, Indra thought himself to have done a wrong deed • [Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, 22.1.2].

(*ii*) *na kahiṃ cit mama edṛśo mano nipatati yathāyaṃ śramaṇo* • nowhere has my mind thus fallen as in this Śramaṇa • [M iii 258]. *Śramaṇa* here ought to have been construed in the locative.

(*c*) Nominative Absolute. In a few instances the nominative has been construed with the absolutive. Thus: *so kāṇḍo tasya rājño pādamūle sthitvā pādaphalakam khaṇḍikṛtaṃ* • the arrow having fallen at the feet of the king the footstool was broken into pieces • [M ii 82]; *sa buddha iti aśrutapūrvaṃ śabdaṃ srutva sarvaromakūpāni āhṛṣṭāni* • he having heard the hitherto unheard of word '*buddha*' (the awakened), all his hairs stood on end (in joy) • [D 35]. This use is also sporadically found in classical Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *viṣayā vinivartante nirāhārasya dehinaḥ, rasavarjaṃ raso'pyasya paraṃ dṛṣṭvā nivartate* • enjoyment ceases for a being who has given it up, (but) not the *rasa* (sub-conscious attraction); the *rasa* ceases for him, (after) having seen the Supreme • [Bhagavadgītā]; see, *infra* under the Conjunctive. *Note.*—In the Aśoka Inscriptions the nominative absolute occurs several times but only with the present participle in *-ant*.

[B] The Accusative.

The Accusative is the case of objective constructions with verbs, propositions, etc., and also is used adverbially.

Its broad usages in Buddhistic Sanskrit tally with that of classical Sanskrit, but the following are its especial idioms:—

(*a*) Buddhistic Sanskrit, unlike the classical, favours cognate accusatives, both etymological as well as non-etymological. In this respect it is closely allied to the language of the Vedic prose.

(*i*) The etymological cognate accusative. In the Buddhacarita: *nanāda siṃhanādam* • roared the lion's roar • [5.84]; *puṣpadrumāḥ svaṃ kusumam puphulluḥ* • the flower plants put on their own blossoms • [1.44]; *tapāṃsyatapta* • practised

penances • [2.49]; *gambhīradhīrāṇi vacāṃsyuvāca* • uttered words solemn and sober • [1.59]; *vacanaṃ cedam uvāca* • spoke that word • [5.29]. In the Lalitavistara,—*pravarṣa jambudhvaje varṣam* • rain a shower in the Jambudhvaja • [13]; *caryāṃ caran* • practising (religious) practice • [297]; *nada buddhasiṃhanādam* • roar the roar of a lion Buddha • [13(G)]; *dharmaśravaṇaṃ śroṣyatha* • shall hear the hearing of dharma • [32]; *kālavilokitaṃ drīpavilokitaṃ vilokayati sma* • looked the looking of the time, of the island, of the place, *i.e.*, chose the suitable time, etc. • [21]; *evāṃ codānam udānayanti sma* [34]; *śikṣaṃ ca śikṣa* • to learn the lesson • [51 (G)]; *dharmācaraṇaṃ carethāḥ* • should practise the practice of dharma • [41 (G)]; *maṇiratnam pravarṣa jambudhvaje varṣam* • shower a shower of jewels in the Jambudhvaja • [14 (G)]; *na ca kāmavitarkaṃ vā vyāpādavitarkāṃ vā hiṃsāvitarkāṃ vā vitarkayati sma* • he did not think the thought of desire, or of killing, or of mischief • [80]; *samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyase* • you shall realise the perfect realisation • [43]; *dīrghacaṅkramaṃ caṃkramate sma* • was treading long steps, or taking long walks • [488]. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: *bodhisattvacaryāṃ caranti* • practise the practice of a Bodhisattva • [7]; *bhikṣavo mahāprapātam prapatiṣyanti* • the Bhikṣus shall fall a great fall • [37]; *siṃhanādaṃ nadante sma* • were roaring the lion's roar • [271]; *paripūrnam aśitiṃ varṣāṇi dānaṃ dadyāt* • should make charity for full eighty years • [347]; *dāruṇāṃ vedanāṃ vedayāmāsuḥ* • suffered acute pain • [382]. In the Divyāvadāna: *tad eva pravāraṇaṃ pravārayitvā* • having accepted that gift • [93]; *cārikāṃ caran* • making a tour or journey • [80]; *samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhaḥ* • realised the perfect realisation • [35]; *cara brahmacaryam* • practise Brahmacarya (the life of a celebate religious student) • [36]; *udānam udānayati* [2]; *araṇyacārikaṃ caranti* • walk in the forest • [93]; *kārāṃ kṛtvā* • having done an act of worship • [23], etc.

In the Mahāvastu: *caranto narakacārikām* • making a journey in the hell • [i 5]; *mahārāvaṃ ravantānāṃ* • of them

making a loud roar » [i 6]; *vedanāṃ vedentā* « perceiving perception » [i 6]; *anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho* « realised the supreme, perfect realisation » [i 11]; *dīrghacankramaṃ cankrame* « took long steps, or took a long walk » [i 317] ; *catvāri mahāvilokitāni vilokayati* « takes the four great looks or views » [i 197] ; *upoṣadhaṃ upoṣati* « fasts a fast » [ii 177] ; *sarvabhūtehi mahāyajñaṃ yajiṣyāmi* « I shall hold a great sacrifice with all creatures » [ii 98] ; *dakakrīḍaṃ krīḍiṣyāmaḥ* « we shall sport in water » [ii 171] ; instrumental is also found, *e.g.*, *te dāni udakakrīḍāye krīḍanti* « they are now sporting in the water » [ii. 171] ; *māraḥ .....daśavidhaṃ mahaūhasitaṃ ūhase* « the Tempter laughed the ten great laughs » [ii. 268] ; *māraḥ .....mahāparidevitaṃ paridevе* « the Tempter mourned a great mourning » [ii. 276] ; *bodhisattvo mahāsiṃhavijṛmbhitaṃ vijṛmbheti* « Bodhisattva exerted the great lion's exertion » [ii. 281] ; *bhikṣācāram carāmi* « I make the beggar's round » [iii. 168]; *dhyānaṃ dhyāyasi* « you meditate the meditation » [iii. 149] ; *adrākṣīd bodhisattvam abhītavikrāntaṃ vikrāmantam* « he saw Bodhisattva showing fearless prowess » [ii. 264].

(*ii*) Non-etymological cognate accusative. In the Buddhacarita : *vākyam abravīt* « uttered the speech » [4.3] ; *abravīd vacaḥ* « gave out the speech » [9.62] ; *vaco babhāṣe* « spoke the word » [13.3]; *bruvan vākyam idaṃ tasthau* « he stood speaking this speech » [6.13] ; *giram ity uvāca* « delivered this speech » [7.37]. In the Lalitavistara: *añjaliṃ praṇamya* « bowing with folded palms » [7] ; *āgārād anāgārikaṃ pravrajiṣyati* « he shall walk out as a (homeless) mendicant from home » [20] ; *kālam akarot* « made time, *i.e.*, finished the days, *i.e.*, died » [112] ; *siṃhavat hlādanātmikāṃ vācaṃ bhāṣate sma* « he was uttering pleasing words like a lion » [97] ; *magadheṣu cārikāṃ prākrāmat* « he made journeys in (the country of) Magadha » [309]. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka : *añjaliṃ pragṛhya* « having folded the palms » [161] ; *daśanakham añjaliṃ pragṛhya* « having folded the palms with the ten nails » [458] ; *kālaṃ ca kṛtvā* « having died » [123] ; *añjaliṃ praṇāmya* « having made a bow with

folded palms • [409] ; *mahādharmāsane paryaṅkam ābhujya* • sitting cross-legged on the great judgment seat • [19]; *paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā niṣaṇṇo' bhūt* • he crossed his legs and seated himself • [245]. In the Divyāvadāna : *magadheṣu janapadeṣu cārikāṃ prakrāntaḥ* • he set out on journey in the settlements in Magadha [93] ; *mahākāśyapasya piṇḍapātaṃ caratah* • of Mahākāśyapa wandering for food • [84]; *kālaṃ karoti* • dies • [103] ; *kālaṃ gatah* • dead • [83]; *paryaṅkam baddhvā* • having crossed his legs • [42] ; *paryaṅkam ābhujya* • having crossed his legs • [20] ; *tayā.....bhikṣām aṭantyā* • by her, going for begging alms • [89] ; *bhikṣām aṭati* • goes abegging alms • [82] ; *idānīṃ bhikṣam aṭate* • now he goes on begging alms • [67] ; cf. *bhikṣām aṭannaripure śvapākām api vandate* • (he) goes to the enemies' place for begging alms and (he) humbles himself before a Svapāka (literally, one who cooks a dog), *i.e.*, a low-caste • [Bhāgavatapurāṇa] ; *añjaliṃ praṇamya* • having bowed with folded alms [47], [92] ; *veśyaṃ vāhayati* • lives the life of a hetaera • [14] ; cf. *tasmin pradeśe brāhmaṇaḥ lāngalaṃ vāhayati* • in that province a Brahmin works at the plough • [76]. In the Mahāvastu : *abhīkṣṇaṃ nirayacārikāṃ gacchati* • frequently he journeys to hell • [i. 4] ; *bhagavān...janapadeṣu carikāṃ prakramet* • the lord would journey in the settlements • [i. 231] ; *kālaṃ karoti* • dies • [i. 5] ; *paryaṅkam ābhuñjitvā* • having seated himself cross-legged • [i 144]; *yena bhagavān tenā 'ñjaliṃ praṇāmetvā* • having made a bow with folded palms in the direction the Lord (was) • [i 255]; *brahmadatto rājā abhīkṣṇaṃ mṛgavyāṃ nirdhāvati* • the king Brahmadatta frequently went out a-hunting • [i 359]; *yaṃ velaṃ mahārājā mṛgavyāṃ niṣkāsati* • the time when the great king goes out a-hunting • [361]; *sā cāsya bharyā ghaṭam ādāya udakahāriṃ gatā* • his wife, she took a pitcher and went out to fetch water • [ii 65]; *caturdiśam añjaliṃ praṇāmetvā* • having bowed with folded palms towards the four quarters • [ii 95]; *prahāṇaṃ prahareyam* • I should make an effort • [ii 124]; *tahiṃ ca anuhimavante śatadrukūle duve lubdhakaputrā mṛgavyāṃ aṇvanti* • near the Himālaya, on the bank of the Śatadru, there

wander two sons of a hunter a-hunting » [ii 101]; *mṛgaryam aṭvantaḥ* « while roaming on hunting » [iii 156].

(*iii*) Adverbial cognate accusative: *mṛṣāvādaṃ saṃbhāṣase* « you talk false (or falsehood) » [D 70]; *pratināvam āruhiṣyati* « should change boats » [Mii 90]; *jīvagrāhaṃ gṛhṇitvā paścādbāhu-gāḍha-bandhanaṃ bandhitvā śvasurasya mahendrasya madrakarājño upanāmitā* « taking (her) by (her) life, binding (her) with (her) arms tied behind, (she) was taken before (her) father-in-law Mahendra, the king of Madraka » [Mii 490]; *urastāḍaṃ krandati* « cries beating on the chest » [Miii 205].

(*b*) Accusativus Temporis. The temporal accusative expresses the time occupied by an action without any reference to its completion. This was the Indo-European usage, and is strictly preserved in classical Sanskrit. But in Buddhistic Sanskrit its use is varied and interesting.

(*i*) Normal usage as in Old Indo-Aryan: *sa tatra bahūni varṣāṇi vipracaret* « there he should sojourn for many years » [S 101]; *so taṃ bhagavantaṃ daśa varṣasahasrāṇi satkāreṣi* « he entertained the lord for ten year-thousands » [Mi 59]; *tāṃ khalu rātriṃ...adhivāsitavān* « entertained...that night » [D 20]; *trīṇi saptakāni ekaviṃśatidināni vistareṇa jātasya jātimahaṃ kṛtvā* « having held the rejoicing for the birth of the child for thrice seven, (or) one and twenty days » [D 3]; *ṣaṃmāsān svapiti* « he slept for six months » [D 106]; *evaṃ yāvat ṣad divasān* « thus for six days » [D 86]; *atha ratnaśikhī...nadyā gaṅgāyās tīre rātriṃ vāsam upagataḥ* « now Ratnasikhī passed the night on the bank of the river Ganges » [D 63]. The phrase *bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo atītam adhvānam* « in the past, O Bhikṣus, in remote days », introduces every narrative in the Mahāvastu; in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, however, we find *atīte' dhvani* instead of *atītam adhvānam*. The Avadānaśataka begins with simply *bhūtapūrvam*.

(*ii*) The temporal accusative sometimes denotes only a part of the time, which is generally denoted by the locative in classical Sanskrit. In fact, the locative is also often used side by side:

yām eva ca rātrim bodhisattvo mātuḥ kukṣim avakrāntaḥ « the night when the Bodhisattva entered (his) mother's womb » [L 73]; *yāṃ ca rātriṃ bodhisattvo jātaḥ tasyām eva rātryāṃ kanyāsahasrāṇi* « the night when Bodhisattva was born, that very night a thousand girls were born » [L 134]. *Cf. yāṃ ca rātrim ajāyethāḥ* « the night I (?) was born » [Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 39.1.2].

In the following instances, too, the temporal accusative has replaced the temporal locative: *yo asmākam ito saptamaṃ divasaṃ sarvaprathamaṃ himavantam parvatarājaṃ gamiṣyati* « whoever among us would go on the seventh day from hence to the king of mountains, the Himālayas » [Mii 69]; *bhaviṣyasi tvam anāgatam adhvānaṃ tathāgato* « you would become a Tathāgata in the time to come » [Mi 57].

(*c*) Accusativus Spatii. The spatial accusative denotes the space occupied. Thus: *sā pūrvasyām diśi aṣṭādaśa buddhakṣetrasahasrāṇi prasṛtā* « she stretched for eighteen thousand Buddha-spaces in the eastern quarter » [S 20].

To this is allied the accusative of measure. Thus: *saptatālam uccaiḥ* « seven *tālas* in height » [L 15]; *sphuṭībhavati sāmantena yojanam* « it would appear in a *yojana* all round » [L 18]; *stūpān kariṣyati yojanasahasraṃ samucchrayeṇa* « would raise *stūpas* a thousand *yojanas* in height » [S 150]; *yūpaṃ ca ucchrāpaya ūrdhvaṃ vyāmasahasraṃ tiryak ṣoḍaśapravedham* « raise a *yūpa* a thousand *vyāmas* in height and sixteen *pravedhas* in breadth » [D 59]; *rājñā...caityam kāritaṃ samantāt yojanam uccatvena* « a *caitya* was raised by the king —(it was) a *yojana* high all round » [D 22]; *so narako... anekāni yojanaśatāni āyato* « that hell...is many *yojanas* in area » [Mi 21].

(*i*) The correlative adverbial pair *yāvat ca ..yāvat ca* « from ...to », « between...and », governs the accusative. Thus: *adhivāsayatu asmākam bhagavān yāvacca śrāvastīṃ yāvacca rājagṛham atrāntarāt* « may your Lordship accept us (*i.e.*, our company) between Śrāvastī and Rājgṛha » [D 93]; *yāva ca*

rājagṛhaṃ yāva ca gaṁgāyā tīrtham mārgam pratijāgṛtha "watch the road from Rājagṛha to the ford of the Ganges" [Mi 258] *yāvad rājakulaṃ yāvacca udyānabhūmim atrāntare pratijāgratha* "watch (*i.e.*, attend) (on the road) between the royal palace and the garden" [Mii 150].

(*ii*) In the Divyāvadāna the adverbial pair *antarā ca... antarā ca* "between...and .." governs the accusative: *antarā ca śrāvastīm antarā ca rājagṛham atrāntarān mahāṭaryāṃ caura-sahasram prativasati* "between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha, in this space a thousand thieves dwell" [94].

(*d*) The accusative with transitive verbs. No instances need be given, but the following instances are noteworthy:

dharmanadīm pāsyati jīralokaḥ "the world of beings would drink of the river of *dharma*" [B 176]. The accusative here carries with it the idea of the partitive genitive.

kintu ātmānam ahaṃ rodimi "but I mourn for myself" [L 119]. Intransitive *rud* "to cry, to weep", has here been used as transitive. *Cf. yatheyaṃ stri pautram aghaṃ na rodāt* "so that this woman does not mourn the loss of her son" [Mantra Brāhmaṇa I. 1. 10].

śaṭhaṃ hasantī "(she) laughing at the villain" [Saunda. 7.18].

*muktakusumāni ca mahīṃ vikiranta*ḥ (sic=*vikiryamānāni*) "flowers (that were) being showered on earth" [L 101]. Here the root *kir* "to scatter" governs double accusatives; *mahīm* denotes the idea of the locative. In classical Sanskrit it would have been either, *muktakusumair mahīm.....*, or, *muktakusumāni mahyām.....*

taṃ grāmaṃ...piṇḍāya caritvā "having wandered in the village for alms" [Mi 301]. The accusative denotes the goal of an action, not the place of action; the accusative here ought to have been the locative.

ahaṃ rāpīm padmāni gṛhṇiṣyāmi "I shall pluck the lotuses in (or, from) the pond" [Mii 450]. The root *grah* governs double accusatives; the accusative in *rāpīm* denotes the idea either of the locative, or of the ablative.

yena takṣaśilāyāṃ sthitena vārāṇasīṃ kāṇḍaṃ kṣiptaṃ "by whom, staying in Takṣaśilā, an arrow was darted in Benares" [Mii 83]. The accusative in *kṣiptam* has been used for the locative ; see *supra*.

tena kṣetrāraṇyam aṭvantena amarā karmāradārikā dṛṣṭā bhaktam ādāya gacchantī "by him while roaming in fields and woods, Amarā, the daughter of the blacksmith was seen carrying food" [Mii 83]. See *supra*, under *taṃ grāmam... piṇḍāya caritvā*.

te sarve...sthalaṃ kṣiptā "they all were thrown ashore" [Miii 354]. See *supra*, under *yena takṣaśilāyām*, etc.

sā sarvāṃ kāśibhūmiṃ kṣamati tasmāt sā kāśikā ti vuccati "she, (the hetaera) fascinated the entire surroundings of Kāśī ; hence she was called Kāśikā" [Miii 375].

atha khalu...sāgaranāgarājaduhitur eko maṇir asti yaḥ kṛtsnām...lokadhātum mūlyaṃ kṣamate "now the daughter of the king of the Nāgas of the sea had a jewel which equals in value the entire world" [S 264].

(*c*) Accusative with primary derivatives—substantives and adjectives :

sukhaṃ vibhīr māṃ apahāya "afraid of pleasure, (and) leaving me [B 8.64].

In the Buddhacarita desiderative adjectives govern the accusative. The substantive *didṛkṣā* "desire of seeing", however, governs the genitive, *e.g.*, *didṛkṣayā śākyakuladhvajasya* "with a longing for seeing the pillar of the Śākyas" [1.63], except in the compound *vanabhūmididṛkṣayā* "with the desire for seeing the woodland" [5.2] where the compound would not be possible if *vanabhūmi* is to be taken to be in the genitive.

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka the following occur : *ratnadvīpaṃ gamanāya* "for going to the Ratnadvīpa (treasure island)" [187] ; *taṃ śravaṇāya gamiṣyāmaḥ* "we (two) shall go to hear that (*dharma*)" [459] ; *gamiṣyāmy aham...tam bhagavantaṃ śākyamuniṃ...darśanāya vandanāya paryupāsanāya* "I shall go to see, to pay homage to, and to attend to

the lord, the sage of the Śākyas • [425] ; *abhyāgata imaṃ... dharmaparyāyaṃ śravaṇāya mañjuśriyaṃ ca kumārabhūtaṃ darśanāya* • come to hear this lecture on *dharma* and to see Mañjuśrī in the state of a child • [431]. The genitive has once been used : *mama darśanāya...dharmaparyāyasya śravaṇāya* • to see me...to hear the lecture on *dharma* • [427].

na cāsyopāyam paśyati tam parvatam adhirohaṇāya • he does not find any way for mounting the hill • [I) 113].

In the Mahāvastu : *devasaṁghāḥ sukharātriṃ...pṛcchakā āgacchanti* • the host of gods came to ask (whether he passed) a happy night • [Mi 214]; *bhagavantaṃ darśanāya upasankramaṇāya paryupāsanāya* • to see, to approach, and to attend to the lord • [Mi 255]; *bhagavantam anujānaye rājagṛhāto vaiśālīṃ gamanāya* • permitted the lord to go from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī • [Mi 257]; *anujñātā kinnaranagaraṃ gamanāya* • were permitted to go to the city of the Kinnaras • [Mii 101]; *alindāya mahāderīye pādāṃ vandanāya upasaṃkrāntā* • came to pay homage to the feet of the chief queen Alindā • [Mii 445]; *padminīm paśyanāya gatā* • went to see the lotus-pond • [Mii 450]. Genitive has once been used : *kolitagrāmakaṃ gacchati kolitasya darśanāye* • goes to the village of Kolita to see him • [Mii 57]. *derī ca āmraranam prekṣikā gatā* • the queen went out a looker (*i.e.*, to see) of the mango grove • [Miii 12].

Instances of the accusative governed by the primary derivatives in *-ana* do not obtain in classical Sanskrit. In the Vedic, however, a few such instances are found. These are : *vanaṃ-karaṇa, ayakṣaṃ-karaṇa* [Atharvaveda Saṃhitā 19.2.5]; *yady enaṃ kṣīraṃ kevalam pāne' bhyābharet* • if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk • [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 2.3.1.16].

This copious use of the primary derivatives ending in *-ana* governing the accusative, shows that these derivatives have real'y been used as infinitives.

(*f*) The Accusative governed by the adjectives. These adjectives are all past participles in *-ta* and compounded with

upasargas. Thus: *aparamātaram prasaktaḥ* «attached to another's mother» [Mi 244]; *taṃ vyāghrīṃ ṛṣabho allīno* «a bull approached the tigress» [Mii 70]; *striyam anurakto* «attached to the woman» [Miii 296].

(*g*) The Accusative with adverbs: *aṣṭamām bhūmim prabhṛti* «from the eighth ground» [Mi 105]. In classical Sanskrit *prabhṛti* is construed with the ablative.

(*h*) The Accusative governed by prepositions. In Buddhistic Sanskrit the only case-governing preposition is *prati*. It is used in various senses and to denote various case relations. It occurs fourteen times in the Buddhacarita, *e.g.*, 1.73 (twice); 1.81; 2.47; 4.24; 6.43; 7.12,45; 8.54; 9.14,67; 11.50,62; 13.16. In other texts: *iyatāni evāhaṃ daśa nimittāni jāne gamanam prati* «I know these ten portents for (an auspicious) journey» [D 112]; etc.

[C] The Instrumental.

The Instrumental was originally a local case. It indicates the relation of concomitance or adjacency, passing over into that of means or instrument: it is the *with-* or *by-* case in the various senses of these prepositions.

(*a*) The Sociative Instrumental.—In Buddhistic Sanskrit sociative instrumental is generally construed periphrastically with *sārdham*, and *samanvāgata* «accompanied», and rarely with *saha*, *e.g.*, *so dāni nāgarājā ugrasenena kāsirājñā sārdham ekaparyaṅkena niṣaṇṇo* «then the king of the Nāgas sat on the same seat with Ugrasena the king of Kāsī» [Mii 179]; *saha darśanamātreṇa gaṇikāye tasmiṃ sārthavāhe premnaṃ nipatitam* «(simultaneously) with the look the love of the hetaera fell on that merchant» [Mii 168].

(*i*) Special uses of the instrumental of concomitance without the use of *sārdham*, etc.,: *pravrajiṣyāmi samyageva śraddhayā agārād anāgārikam* «with perfect reverence I shall get out as homeless (mendicant) from home» [D 17]; *aham maṅgalaiḥ samprasthitaḥ* «I set out auspiciously» [D 4,5]; *sarvajavena pradhāvitāḥ* «set out with all speed» [D 94]: the

instrumental here is virtually an adverb; *vāsavasya rājñaḥ putro jāto ratnapratyuptayā śikhayā* • the king Vāsava had a son born with the crest imbedded with a jewel • [D 62]; *purohitaṃ daṇḍyena preṣayati* • sends the priest on errand • [L 163]; *tāni buddhakṣetrāṇi ratnavṛkṣaiś ca citrāṇi saṃdṛśyante sma* • those fields of Buddha looks splendid with jewel-trees • [S 243]; *samudradevatā ca brāhmaṇaveṣeṇa upasaṃkramitvā āhaṃsuḥ* • the deity of the sea approached in the garb of a Brahmin, and said • [Mii 90]; *atha sūryo kumāro candaṃ kumāram mithilāyāṃ rājyenābhiṣiñcitvā* • now the Prince Sūrya having anointed the Prince Candra in kingship in Mithilā [Miii 172]; *ka eṣa bhoḥ.....keśaiḥ sitaiḥ* • who is he with grey hair? • [B 3.28].

(*b*) The Cognate Instrumental.—The Cognate Instrumental is unknown in classical Sanskrit though a few instances are found in the Vedic and the Avesta. In Buddhistic Sanskrit it is quite frequent: *divyenāvabhāsenāvabhāsya* • illuminating with divine radiance • [L 4]; *śīrṣavyavalokena vyavalokayati sma* • was looking with a look at the head [L 17]; *na ca rāgaparidāhena vā dveṣaparidāhena vā mohaparidāhena vā paridahyate sma* • was not smarting with the affliction of attachment, nor of hatred, nor of ignorance • [L 80]; *mahāparinirvāṇena parinirvāpayati* • is extinguished (*i.e.*, emancipated) with the great extinction • [S 82]; *ovādena ovādanti* • (they) call with a call • [Mi 104]; *paripūrṇāye arcanāye arcayitvā* • having honoured with full honour • [Mi 212]; *arcanāye arcayitvā* • having honoured with honour • [Mii 16]; *so ārāḍo kālāmo paramayā pūjayā pūjaye paramayā ca praśaṃsayā praśaṃse* • he, Ārāḍa Kālāma, worshipped (the lord) with supreme worship and praised (him) with the highest praise • [Mii 119]; *te dāni udakakrīḍayā krīḍanti* • they are now sporting the water sport • [Mii 171]; *nāgavilokitena vilokayanto* • looking with the look of a Nāga • [Miii 281]; *cf. upasadbhir upāsīdan* • besieged them with the sieges • [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3.4.4.4]; *kramair atyakramad vājī* • with strides the courser hath strode

out • [Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.7.24]; *taē-ca naro sraēšta gaya jvainti* • these men live a happy life • [Vendidad 2.71].

(*c*) Instrumental with Verbs.—The verbs which are generally construed with the instrumental in Old Indo-Aryan are mostly construed periphrastically with *sārdham*, etc., no doubt for the instrumental becoming a purely sociative case. A very few instances, however, are found where the Old Indo-Aryan practice has been preserved intact. Thus: *devaparṣadaṃ gāthābhir abhyābhāsanta* • addressed the assembly of the gods with (these) verses • [L,S,M]; *cf. tasyāṃ velāyām iṇāṃ gāthām abhāṣata* • at that time he uttered this verse • [L 49]; *yasyepsitaṃ divyaiḥ sukhair hi ramituṃ satatam* • whose desire (is) to enjoy divine bliss always • [L 49]; *asau devatā bodhisattvaṃ divyaiḥ puṣpair abhyavakīrya tatraivāntardadhe* • then the god after having scattered divine flowers on Bodhisattva disappeared then and there • [L 141]; *gandhodakaiḥ snapayamānaḥ* • being sprinkled with fragrant water • [L 54(g)]; *kāścit prasravantyo lālābhiḥ* • some (women) were watering in their mouths; literally, were oozing with water of mouth • [L 251];* *ābhir bālaḥ krīḍanti* • with them (only) childs play • [L 253]; *ekaikaś ca bodhisattvo devaputraiś caivaṃ saṃjānīte sma* • each Bodhisattva was thus concoursing with the sons of gods • [L 361]; *āsanenopanimantrayate sma* • invited with a seat • [L 117]; *niṣparuṣeṇa tāryeṇa krīḍati ramate paricārayati* • plays, delights in, and sports with the sweet-sounding trumpets • [D 3]; *sarvo'yaṃ lokaḥ suvarṇasya śraddadhāti, na tu kaścin mama*

* The instrumental here really represents an accusative: it is perhaps due to analogy with the roots *kir* 'to scatter,' *sic* 'to sprinkle,' *snī* 'to bathe,' etc., which generally govern the instrumental. It should also be remarked here that in Avesta and Old Persian the instrumental was sometimes used for the accusative [*vide* Hübschmann, Zur Casuslehre, pp. 263-66; Spiegel, Vergleichende Grammatik, pp. 428-29]; *e.g.*, *vīspao gaēthosca tanvaś-ca azdebīš-ca ustānaŋ-ca kehrpaŋ-ca tevīšīš-ca baodaŋ-ca urvānem-ca fravasīm-ca pairi-ca dademahī ā-ca vaēdayamahī* 'all creatures and bodies and bones and frames and forms and power and intellects and soul and Fravashi we both exalt and proclaim' [Yašt 55.1]. This idiom obtains in Old Slavic, Germanic, Gothic, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Greek and Sanskrit. [*Vide* Delbrück, Vergleichende Syntax Bd. i., pp. 257-60; Audouin, Déclinaison dans les langues indo-européennes, pp. 19, 85-86].

śraddhayā gacchati « all people believe in (the efficiency of) gold, and believe me not » [D 17] ; *puṣpair abhyavakiranti sma* « scattered flowers (on him) » [S 69] ; *kumārakāḥ...krīḍanaiḥ...krīḍanti ramanti paricārayanti* « the boys played, enjoyed and sported with toys » [S 72] ; *devī nāvāyānehi prakrīḍitā* « the queen sported with boats » [Mi 217] ; *devehi saṃgrāmenti* « fought with the gods » [Mi 30] ; *jayena vardhāpitvā* « greeting him with (a benediction for) victory » [Mii 31] ; *nandati putrehi putrimām* « the father delights in (his) sons » [Miii 417 (G)] ; *mātare samāgacchatu* « let him be united with his mother » [Miii 131, 132] ; *diṣṭyāsi mayā putrehi ca samangībhūtā* « luckily you are joined with myself and two sons » [Miii 167] ; *so ca kāśirājā kośalarājño jīvitena nandati* « that king of Kāśi will delight in (for taking) the life of the king of Kośala » [Miii 352] ; *kathaṃ nāma upālikalpako hīnajātyo rājñā śuddhodanena bhāṣati* « how is it that the barber Upāli, a low-caste, talks with the king Śuddhodana ? » [Miii 181][1] ; *saṃvibhajiṣyāmy ahaṃ rājyena* « I shall participate (my) kingdom (with him) » [Miii 207].

With *sārdham* : *bodhisattvena sārdhaṃ vispardhamānaḥ* vying with Bodhisattva » [L 174][2] ; *mayaiva sārdham bodhisattvo saṃlapati* « Bodhisattva talks with me only » [L 78], see *supra* ; *bhagavatā sārdhaṃ sammukhaṃ sammodanaṃ saṃrañjanīṃ vividhāṃ kathāṃ vyatisārya* « having talked face to face the various complimentary talks with the lord » [D 70] ; *te taiḥ śatrubhiḥ sārdhaṃ yudhyanti* « they fight with these enemies » [S 289] ; *tasya ca nāgarājño putro dharmapālena mānavakena sārdham prīṇayati kathāsamullāpena ramati* « the son of the king of the Nāgas made merry with the man Dharmapāla and delighted in conversation (with him) » [Mii 78] ; *ete na samarthā sapta rājānaḥ kuśena sārdhaṃ saṃgrāmaṃ dātum* « these seven kings were not competent to give battle to Kuśa »

[1] *Cf. tam brāhmaṇaṃ jalpati* "talks to, or converses with the Brahman" [Mii 427].

[2] *Cf. viśvāmitra-jamadagnī vasiṣṭhenāspardhetām* "Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni had a quarrel with Vasiṣṭha [Taittirīya Saṃhitā, 3.1.7 ; 5.4.11].

[Mii 486]; *agragaṇikāye sārdhaṃ vivadantam* « quarrelling with the prima hetaera » [Miii 37].

(*i*) Instrumental of Exchange: *jambudvīpena mūlyena śakyaṃ śrotuṃ subhāṣitam* « with the Jambudvīpa as the price a good saying can be heard » [Mi 94 (G)]; *krīṇanti putradāreṇa ekagāthāṃ subhāṣitām* « in exchange of the son and the wife they buy a good saying consisting of a single verse » [Mi 91 (G)]; *kiyatā mūlyena dīyate* « at how much price would it be given? » [D 31]; *tac cūrṇakasyārthaṃ kārṣāpaṇasahasreṇa vikrītaṃ vartate* « the right over the powder is sold at a thousand *kārṣāpaṇas* » [D 31].

(*d*) Instrumental with Nouns: the instrumental as construed with nouns can be divided into two classes—(a) the instrumental with nouns, the roots of which generally govern the instrumental, and (b) the instrumental denoting other oblique case relations.

(a) *apsarobhiḥ saṃvāsaḥ* « dwelling with the celestial nymphs » [L 41 (G)]; *kim mayā sārdhaṃ samāgamena* « what is (the good of) meeting me » [D 25]; *tena teṣāṃ vaṇijāṃ ratnaiḥ saṃvibhāgaḥ kṛtaḥ* « then by him was made the division of the jewels among the merchants » [D 43]; *rājñas te dravyeṇa prayojanam utpannam* « the king has requirement with your things » [D 33].

(b) *annapānena se chandaḥ notpadyate* « she finds no desire for food and drink » [Mii 459]; *tasyā dāni sarvehi tehi goṣṭhikehi putrasya premnakena putrapremnam* « for all these companions she had the affection for the son owing to her affection for (her) son » [Miii 375][1]; *tasyā kākiye rājabhojanena dohalako* « the hen-crow had a desire for (partaking of) the king's dish » [Miii 125].[2]

(c) In the Mahāvastu the compound noun *vināhāva* « state of separation » has been often used for the regular postpositive adverb *vinā* « without »: *tato mayā vināhāvo na te*

[1] The instrumental here denotes the sense of the locative. It might also be locative as in the Mahāvastu the affix *-hi* is often the sign of the locative.

[2] The instrumental has here been used for the locative.

jātu bhaviṣyati « then may you never have separation from me » [Mii 141(G)]; *tena mṛgeṇa muhūrtam api vinābhāvo na bhavati* « there was no separation with the stag even for a moment » [Mii 234]. See *infra*, under *vinākṛta*.

(*e*) Instrumental with Adjectives (see *supra*, remarks on the Instrumental with Nouns): *kṣipram mā mahārāja putreṇa saṅginīṃ kuruṣva* « soon, O great King, make me a companion of (my) son » [L 290]; *sārdhaṃ daśabhiḥ strīsahasraiḥ parivṛtā* « attended by ten thousand ladies » [L 45]; *svadhanena tuṣṭa* « satisfied with her own wealth » [L 46(G)]; *asti tv asau kaścit sattvo yo mayā sadṛśaḥ śīlena ca samādhinā vā* « is there any such being who rivals me in merit and absorption (*samādhi*)? » [L 96]; *deva asti punar iha nagare kaścid yo mayā sārdhaṃ samarthaḥ śilpena śilpam upadarśayitum* « Sire, is there anybody in this city, who is able to compete with me in different arts and crafts? » [L 163]; *viviktaṃ kāmaiḥ* « devoid of desires » [L 439]; *anena sūtreṇa kiñcid anyat sūtraṃ samam asti* « is there any other *sūtra* equal to this *sūtra*? » [S 263]; *na hi kiñcid samyaksambuddhānāṃ lokena samam* « nothing is equal to the world of the Perfectly Awakened Ones » [Mi 159]; *kuladharmeṇa saṃyuktaḥ* « attached to the family customs » [D 28]; *yo yenārthī bhavati hiraṇyena vā...* « whoever needs anything, whether gold or... » [D 116]; *nāhaṃ kāmair arthī* « I am not desirous of pleasures » [D 35]; *ahaṃ dhanenānarthī* « I am not desirous of wealth » [D 34]; *īdṛśena kṣānti-saurabhyena samanvāgatāḥ* « attended with such richness of toleration » [D 40]; *yady asau arthāt paribhraṣṭaḥ kim prajñayāpi paribhraṣṭaḥ* « if he is bereft of money, is he also bereft of reason? » [D 31][1]; *yathā kṣetre ca vījena pratyakṣas tvam iha dvija | evaṃ karmavipākeṣu pratyakṣā hi tathāgatāḥ* || « as you, O Brahman, are discerning in field as well in the seed, so also are the *Tathāgatas* discerning in the maturing of *karma* » [D 71][2]; *śramaṇa-*

[1] *prajñayā* is ablative-instrumental; also note the use of *arthāt* in the same sentence.

[2] *vījena* is locative-instrumental; it might be the scribe's error for *vīje ca*.

brāhmaṇa-bhojanena vyagrā bhaviṣyati "would be eager for feeding *Śramaṇas* and Brahmans" [D 88] ; *ahaṃ saṃgrāmehi aparājito* "I am invincible in battles" [Mii 70] ; *ahaṃ pi mahārāja akṣehi kuśalo* "I, too, O great King, am expert in dice" [Miii 169] ; *arthino vayam bhagavaṃs tathāgatajñāna-darśanena* "we are desirous, O Lord, of perceiving the intention of *Tathāgata*" [S 180].

(*i*) In the Buddhacarita the instrumental with *vinākṛta* occurs several times : 8.21; 8.37; 8.78; etc. [*Vide* I. H. Q., Vol. ii, p. 658].

(*ii*) One or two instances of comparative instrumental are found in Buddhistic Sanskrit : *atha ko hi dāni bho reṇu tena bhagavatā mahāgovindena anyo paṇḍitataro* "now, who is there, O Reṇu, wiser than his lordship Mahāgovinda?" [Miii 208]. This idiom obtains frequently in the epics; e.g., *mama prāṇaiḥ priyataraḥ* "dearer than my life" [Rāmāyaṇa]. It occurs also in Pali : *natthi bata bho loke rasataṇhāya pāpakataraṃ nāma* "there is nothing worse in earth than the desire for enjoyment" [Jātaka I ; p. 158].

(*f*) The instrumental denoting other case relations : the instrumental sometimes appears instead of other oblique cases, notably locative and ablative. Thus :—

(*i*) The instrumental denoting cause : this is a regular construction of the instrumental even in Old Indo-Aryan : *kaścid ānanda darśanenāpi priyo bhavati* "some one, O Ānanda, becomes dear even at sight" [L 102]. The ablative is a perfect equivalent of the causal instrumental, e.g., *kaścid ānanda darśanād eva priyo bhavati* "some one, O Ānanda, endears himself at sight" [L 102]. *kena kāraṇena* "with what cause, *i.e.*, why" [S, etc.].[1]

(*ii*) *sāpi devatā kāśikāye veseṇa teṣāṃ goṣṭhikānāṃ darśana-pathena deśe atikramati* "she too, the deity, in the appearance of Kāśikā, come in view of the companions" [Miii 376];[2]

[1] The accusative also obtains here, e.g., *kiṃ kāraṇam* [why?]; also the dative, e.g., *kasyārthāya* [why?] [D].

[2] *darśanapathena* = genitive-instrumental.

dvīhi kulehi...bodhisattvā jāyanti kṣatriyakule brāhmaṇakule "in (either of) two castes are the Bodhisattvas born, in a Kṣatriya or in a Brahman family" [Mi 197].[1]

(*g*) The instrumental with adverbs, etc. :

(*i*) With the postpositive *vinā* "without" : *bodhisattvena vinā* "without the Bodhisattva" [L 150]; *na ca śakyate vinā nimittena puṇyaṃ kartum* "it is not possible to earn merit without a miracle" [D 59].

(*ii*) With the interjection *dhik* "fie!" : *dhik paṇḍitasya puruṣasya ratiprasangaiḥ* "fie to the amorous relations of a wise man" [L 230(9)]. In classical Sanskrit it always governs the accusative; so also *dhiratthu* in Pali.

(*h*) Instrumentalis temporis. In Old Indo-Aryan the instrumental denoted the time occupied by an action up to its completion [Pāṇini 2.3.6; *cf.* Liebich, Bezzenbeeger's Beitraege, band XI, p. 297]. In Buddhistic Sanskrit, however, the instrumental is not restricted to this sense alone, it is freely used for the accusative or the locative of time.

(1) The instrumental of completed action : *tato' lpair ahobhis tad dhanam parikṣayam paryādānaṃ gatam* "then in course of a few days all that wealth was spent and gone" [D 100]; *na praṇaśyanti karmāṇi api kalpaśatair api* "the *karmas* do not perish even in course of hundreds of *kalpas*" [D 54].

(2) The instrumental for the accusative of time : *adhivāsayatu bhagavān āryamahākāśyapam uddiśya bhaktaṃ saptāhena* "may your lordship accept food for a week with the reverend Mahākāśyapa" [D 85]; *sa yan māsena gacchati* "what (distance) he plies in a month" [D 103]; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena bhagavañ chrāvastīm mahānagarīm upaniḥśritya viharati sma*[2] "at that time the lord, resorting to the great city of Śrāvastī was roaming (there)" [L 2]; *athāparena samayena* "now another time" [L 146]; *tena khalu samayena vārāṇasyāṃ dvau jāyāpatikau* "at that time (there lived) a Brahman couple in

[1] *kulehi* = locative-instrumental.

[2] The phrase *tena khalu punaḥ samayena* is a characteristic phrase of Buddhistic Sanskrit. It does not, however, occur in Aśvaghoṣa. It obtains in Pali.

Benares » [D 22]; *tena kālena tena samayena* « at that time » [D 74; Mi 45; etc.]; *yāvad apareṇa samayena vāsavasya rājñaḥ putro jāto ratnapratyuptayā śikhayā* « then at other time the king Vāsava had a son born with the crest imbedded with a jewel » [D 62]; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena* « now at time » [S 5]; *asaṃkhyeyaiḥ kalpaiḥ tataḥ pareṇa paratareṇa yad āsīt tena kālena tena samayena* « during the innumerable *kalpas*... even at the time much earlier than that » [S 156].

(3) The instrumental denoting the ablative of time: *atha khalu bhagavān tasyām eva rātryām atyayena tenopasaṃkrāmat* « now the lord, after the dawning of that night, went there » [L 6]; *daśānām māsānām atyayena* « at the end of ten months » [L 95]; *dvādaśabhir varṣair bodhisattvo mātuḥ kukṣim avakramiṣyati* « twelve years hence will the Bodhisattva be conceived in his mother's womb » [L 15]; *atha viṃśater varṣāṇām atyayena* « now at the end of twenty years » [S 107]; *ṣaḍbhir māsaiḥ kālaṃ karisyati* « would die after six months » [D 109].

(4) The instrumental denoting the locative of time: *tasminn eva kṣaṇalavamuhūrtena* « in that very moment » [L 18]; *cf. tasminn eva kṣaṇalavamuhūrte* « in that very moment » [L 19]; *paripūrṇehi daśahi māsehi sarve bodhisattvā mātuḥ kukṣau prādurbhavanti* « in full ten months all the Bodhisattvas appear in their mothers' wombs » [Mi 148].

(*i*) Instrumentalis spatii: like the temporal instrumental, the instrumental of space denotes various local case relations. Thus:

(a) *ānandena dvābhyāṃ krośābhyām bhery āhatābhūt* « there Ānanda sounded the trumpet along two *krośas* » [L 176]; *unmārgeṇa saṃprasthitāḥ* « started along the wrong way » [D 7]; *paścimaṃ diśaṃ sthalena gamyate* « the western quarter can be approached by land » [D 112]; *parvatasya dakṣiṇena pārśvenāṭavyāṃ sthalena saṃprasthitaḥ* « by the southern side of the mountain he went by land through the forest » [D 113]; *dvāreṇa nirdhāvitāḥ* « ran through the door » [S 81]; *sa eva mṛgo udakena gacchati* « that stag was going along water » [Mii 217].

(b) The instrumental denoting the sense of the locative: *rājagṛhasya ardhayojanena kolitagrāmakaṃ nāma grāmam* « there was a village named Kolitagrāmaka within half a *yojana* from Rajagṛha » [Miii 56]; *yena māgadhakānāṃ gayā tām anusṛtya* « going towards where there (was the city of) Gayā of the people of Magadha » [L 309]; *yenāsau plakṣo mahādrumaḥ* « where (was) the great *plakṣa* tree » [L 94]; *sarveṇa javena prasṛtā yena sārthaḥ* « sped towards where the caravan (was) » [D 94]; *yena daridravīthī tatrāsmākam āhāracīvaram alpakṛcchreṇaiva utpatsyate* « where here (is) the slum, there we can easily find food and clothing » [S 104]; *gaccha tvam bhoḥ puruṣa yenākāṃkṣasi* « go, O man, wherever you wish » [S 105].

(c) The correlatives *yena...tena* « where...there » is a remarkable feature of Buddhistic Sanskrit. It, however, does not occur in the writings of Aśvaghoṣa. It arose from the confusion of the instrumental and the locative. Thus: *yena bhagavān tenopasaṃkrāman* « they went where the lord (was) » [L 4]; *yena bhagavān tenāñjalim praṇamya* « having bowed with folded palms (in the direction) where the lord (was) » [L 6, 7; S 60; etc.]; *ākarṇād dhanuḥ pūrayitvā yenāyuṣmān pūrṇas tena pradhāvitaḥ* « having drawn the (bow-string) up to the ear, he ran where the long-lived Pūrṇa (was) » [D 39]; *atha śroṇaḥ koṭikarṇo yenāyuṣmān mahākātyāyanas tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ* « now Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa went where the long-lived Mahākātyāyana (was) » [D 15]; *yena tam makaramukhaṃ tena pradhāvitā* « (the ship) glided along where there (was) the mouth of the sea-monster » [Mi 245].

(*j*) Such a phrase as *kālena kālam* « from time to time », etc., is a chief characteristic of Buddhistic Sanskrit. The instrumental generally denotes the sense of the locative or the ablative, while the accusative is either an object accusative or the accusative of time. The examples are interesting. Some instances have, however, arisen out of analogy.

Thus ; (1) *kālena kālam* : *naitāḥ samarthā bodhisattvaṃ kālena kālam upasthātum* « they are not capable of entertaining the Bodhisattva from time to time » [L 114-15]; *āryaṃ ca mahākātyāyanaṃ kālena kālam piṇḍakena pratipādaya* « entertain the reverend Kātyāyana the great with food from time to time » [D 10, etc.]; *kālena ca kālaṃ vyavalokayiṣyanti* « they would look up from time to time » [S 225]; *kālena ca kālaṃ dharmam bhāṣate* « he talks *dharma* from time to time » [S 276].

(2) *cetasā cetaḥ* « from mind to mind » : *bhikṣuṇyāś cetasaiva cetaḥ parivitarkam ājñāya* « knowing from mind to mind the doubt of the *bhikṣuṇī* » [S 269, etc.].

(3) *vṛkṣeṇa vṛkṣam* « from tree to tree » : *māyā devī vṛkṣeṇa vṛkṣam paryaṭantī vanād vanaṃ cankramyamānā drumād drumaṃ nirīkṣamāṇā anupūrveṇa yenāsau plakṣo mahādrumaḥ..tam plakṣavṛkṣam upajagāma* « the queen Māyā, moving from tree to tree, roaming from bower to bower, looking at from tree to tree, gradually came where the great *plakṣa* tree (was), and approached the tree » [L 94].

(4) *śilpena śilpam* « from art to art » : *deva asti punar iha nagare kaścid yo mayā sārdhaṃ samarthaḥ śilpena śilpam upadarsitum* « sire, is there anybody in this city, who is able to compete with me from art or craft to art or craft (*i.e.*, in different arts or crafts) » [L 163].

(5) *varṇena varṇam* « from colour to colour » : *candrasūryāv evam...varṇenāpi varṇaṃ tejasāpi tejo nānubhavataḥ* « the sun and the moon do not thus excel from colour to colour, from brightness to brightness (*i.e.*, in different colours and degrees of brightness) » [S 163].

(6) *tejasā..tejaḥ* « from brightness to brightness » : see *supra*, (5).

(7) *dūreṇa dūram* « from distance to distance » : *tena bhikṣuṇā gṛhasthapravrajitānām antikād dūreṇa dūraṃ viharatavyam* « the *bhikṣu* should remain from distance to distance away from (both) the householders and the *pravrajitas* » [S 287].

(8) *vaktreṇa vaktram* « lip to lip » : *kaṇṭhe so gṛhya mama prakāśaṃ vaktreṇa vaktram praṇidhāya śabdaṃ karoti* « taking me by the neck and putting (her) mouth to mine (she) made a sound » [Miii 149].

(*k*) Instrumental Absolute. One or two instances of the instrumental absolute are found in Old Indo-Aryan (in Vedic prose as well as in the classical Sanskrit). It arose out of the sociative instrumental. Some cases of the ablative absolute in Latin represent an original I.-E. instrumental absolute. In Buddhistic Sanskrit (not excluding the poems of Aśvaghoṣa) it is a standing idiom.

Thus : *śa[illegible]ittaryasanātapais tair evaṃvidhais taiś ca nipatyamāna[illegible]ṇ [illegible]anāc chākyamuniś cacāla* « notwithstanding those austerities of body and mind, and inspite of such (followers of Māra the tempter) assailing, the sage of the Śākya race did not move from his seat » [B 13.43]; *mahatā ca puṣpavarṣeṇābhipravarṣatā...kanyāśatasahasrāṇi sthitāny abhūvan* « a great shower of flowers having been showering the hundreds of thousands of girls stood (there) » [L 141]; *tayā gṛhītayā nāsya kāye śastraṃ kramiṣyati* « that being put on no missile would strike him » [D 113]; *sa bhagavān...samādhiṃ samāpanno'bhūt aniñjamānena kāyena sthitena* « the lord remained engrossed in ecstasy the body remaining calm » [S 19-20]; *lokadhātum āgacchati sma prakampadbhiḥ kṣetraiḥ pravarṣadbhiḥ padmaiḥ* « he was coming to the world while the ground was shaking and flowers were being showered » [S 428]; *tena āgatena...vyādhiḥ praśāmyati* « when he is come the epidemic will cease » [Mi 257]; *yatra maitreyeṇa bodhisattvena prathamaṃ kuśalamūlāni avaropitāni rājñā vairocanena cakravartibhūtena āyatiṃ sambodhim prārthayamānena* « where Maitreya the Bodhisattva first implanted the roots of happiness, Vairocana, in the state of the emperor, wishing for the coming awakening » [Mi 59]; *yuṣmehi vinītehi mahājanakāyo vinayam āgamiṣyati* « you being educated a great many people will come in for enlightenment » [Mi 198]; *kiṃ nu khalu mayi parinirvṛte imehi ca śrāvakehi parinirvṛtehi*

ito kettakasya kālasya buddho bhagavān loke upapadiṣyati • I and all these *śrāvakas* being extinguished, when from this time is the lord Buddha going to be born in the world? • [Mi 50]; *uparuddhena kumāreṇa gṛhaṃ niḥśreyaṃ saṃvṛttaṃ sarvā lakṣmī antarahitā* • the prince being imprisoned the palace became luckless and the entire fortune disappeared • [Mii 101]; *yāṃ tvaṃ sālehi phullehi śyāmāṃ kauśeyavāsinīm | gāḍham aṅkena pīḍesi sā te kauśalyaṃ pṛcchati ||* • when the Śāla trees blossomed, Śyāmā, wearing silken garment, whom you tightly pressed in your lap, now asks about your welfare • [Mii 175]: *te dāni tena yānapātreṇa vipannena devadevāṃ namasyanti* • the ship having foundered they then prayed to the gods • [Miii 68]; *tena pītena asya smṛtir utpadyate* • it being drunk his memory will revive • [Miii 173].

THE DATIVE.

The Dative was a living case in the earlier period of Old Indo-Aryan, but its use was much restricted as it is chiefly a personal case. In course of gradual development of Indo-Aryan the dative began to be merged in the genitive; the culmination of this process is to be found in the Prakrits where the dative, as a distinct case, was unknown. In Buddhistic Sanskrit also this decline is quite apparent. In the works of Aśvaghoṣa we find a few instances where the dative has been replaced by the genitive; and this process goes on till we come to the Mahāvastu where the instances with the dative hardly exceeds a score.

(*a*) The Dative with Verbs.

(*i*) Verbs meaning • to speak, to call, • etc. In the Buddhacarita this is the normal construction, but two instances occur where the genitive replaces the dative. In the Lalitavistara : *ete bodhisattvā ebhyo devaputrebhyo bhāṣante* • these Bodhisattvas speak to these sons of gods • [38]; *rājā bodhisattvāya tām prakṛtim ārocayati* • the king imparted that information to the Bodhisattva • [163]; in the Divyāvadāna ;

tayā mātāpitṛbhyām ārocitam « by her it was imparted to (her) parents » [17]; *maghāya...ārocayati* « he informs Magha » [111]; *tataḥ...supriyāya kathayati* « then he speaks to Supriya » [112]; *punar anyasmā ācakṣīta* « he should speak to another » [S 346].

(*ii*) With verbs meaning « to give » : *na tāvac chramaṇa-brāhmaṇebhyo 'nudadāmi* « I will not give (it) to Śramaṇas or Brahmins » [D 88]; *amukayā...bhagavate śaktubhikṣā pradāpitā* « by so-and-so (woman) charity of gruel was made to the lord » [D 70]; *sarvam asmai puruṣāya niryātayāmi* « all I shall make over to this man » [S 108]; *sa ca maṇis tayā...bhagavate dattaḥ* « the jewel was given by her to the lord » [S 264]; *bodhisattvāya sādhukāram adāt* « he gave thanks to the Bodhisattva » [S 397].

(*iii*) With other verbs : *katamām bho upādhyāya lipim me śikṣayiṣyasi* « what alphabet, O teacher, would you teach me? » [L 143]; *tasmai pratiśrutya* « having promised to him » [S 105]; *tathāgatas tasmai dharmaṃ deśayati* « the Tathāgata explained *dharma* to him » [S 137]; *imaṃ sūtrāntam...parebhyaḥ...vistarcya samprakāśayiṣyanti* « they would reveal this *sūtrānta* in detail to others » [S 375].

(*b*) The Dative with substantives and adjectives : *na cānyasmai gandhāya spṛhām utpādayām-āsuḥ* « did not have any liking for any other smell » [L 479]; *namas tasmāy ācāryāya pūrṇāya* « homage to that master Pūrṇa » [D 42]; cf. *ārogyaṃ jyeṣṭhabhavikāyā bhavatu* « freedom from diseases be to the wife of the elder brother! » [D 28]. *Kaścid eva vaidyapuruṣo bhavet.. sukuśalaḥ sarvavyādhipraśamanāya* « if there be a physician competent for curing all kinds of diseases » [S 320]; *apratikūlo śravaṇāya* « not disagreeable to hear » [Mi 194]; *kuśalam adhiṣṭhānāya bharatu* « welfare be to the place » [D 76].

(*i*) The Genitive-Dative : *akālaṃ te śroṇa praśnavyākaraṇāya* « untimely it is, O Śroṇa, for discussing your questions » [D 21]; *ko bhadanta hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo dvayo ratnayor yugapal loke prādurbhāvāya* « what is the cause and the reason, O master, for the simultaneous appearance of the two gems? » [D 62]; *ko bhagavaṃ hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo smitasya prāduṣ-*

karaṇāya « what is the cause, O Lord, what is the reason for showing the smile » [Miii 139]; *samayo vā me agnihotraṃ juhanāya* « it is the time for my offering the Agnihotra (oblations) » [Miii 161].

(*c*) The Dative with the adverb : in the Divyāvadāna the adverb *yāvat* has been construed with the dative : *na cāsyā amanojñaśabdaśravaṇaṃ yāvad garbhasya paripākāya* « no hearing of unpleasant sounds for her until the maturing of the embryo » [D 2 ; 99].

(*d*) Dativus finalis : *tad bhaviṣyati bahujanahitāya* « it would be for the good of many » [L 7]; *āvilacittaprasādanatāyai saṃvartate* « it serves for pacification of disturbed mind » [L 34]; *upasevata varadharmaśravaṇāya* « approach for hearing the supreme *dharma* (law) » [L 42(*g*)]; *bodhāya kṛtaniścayaḥ* « (one) with resolution made for (attaining) knowledge » [L 25]; *bodhisattvasya darśanāya vandanāya paryupāsanāya ca dharmaśravaṇāya cāgacchanti sma* « they came for visiting, worshipping and sitting round the Bodhisattva and for hearing *dharma* as well » [L 78]; *abhiniṣkramiṣyate pravrajyāyai* « would leave home for mendicancy » [L 115]; *alpāhāratāyai pratipadyeyam* « I shall resort to eating little » [L 320]; *śrāvastīm piṇḍāya prāvikṣat* « entered Śrāvastī for (begging) food » [D 39]; *śrāvastīm piṇḍāya caritvā* « having wandered in Śrāvastī for food » [D 39]; *yadi tāvac chroṇaḥ koṭikarṇaḥ jīvati laghu āgamanāya kṣipram āgamanāya* « if, indeed, Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa lives for coming back soon » [D 6]; *teṣāṃ tad bhaviṣyati dīrgharātram arthāya hitāya sukhāya* « for long time it would be for their prosperity, welfare and happiness » [S 37]; *ye ca...mantrā vā agadā vā sattvānām upakārāye kalpenti* « those incantations and herbs which conduce to the welfare of creatures » [Mi 134-35]; *na cāyaṃ tasya rāmasya dharmo niryāti tatkarasya samyakduḥkhakṣayāya* « this *dharma* of Rāma does not suffice for removing totally the pain of one practising it » [Mii 120]; *atha bodhisattvo...piṇḍāya caritvā* « now the Bodhisattva having wandered...for (begging) food » [Mii 207]; *mā ca samudram avatāraṇāya cittaṃ karotha* « do

not make thy mind for plying the sea » [Miii 73]; *durāsado bhavati puruṣasya upasaṃkramaṇāya* « it becomes unattainable for a man to approach » [Miii 104].

(*e*) Dativus commodi : *sā ca rājñā...bodhisattvāya vṛtābhūt* « she was chosen by the king for the Bodhisattva » [L 179]. This is the only instance I have noted.

(*f*) Dativus causalis : the following is the only instance that has been noted : *sattvā āyuḥkṣayāya ābhāsvarād devanikāyato cyavitvā* « creatures having fallen from the shining body of gods for loss of the span of life » [Mi 52].

THE ABLATIVE.

The Ablative has been very little used in Buddhistic Sanskrit. This is due to the fact that the sense of the ablative is generally expressed periphrastically, and that very often the instrumental is the substitute for the ablative. Those verbs which were construed with the ablative in Old Indo-Aryan are mostly construed in Buddhistic Sanskrit with the genitive *plus* the ablative adverb *antikāt*.

(*a*) The Ablative with verbs : *bhavantaḥ...paścimabodhisattvasyāntikād dharmaśravaṇaṃ śroṣyatha* « you would hear the lecture on *dharma* from the future Bodhisattva » [L 32]; *iti hi rājā...brāhmaṇebhyaḥ...pratiśrutya* « the king having heard this from the Brahmins » [L 66][see p. 27 *supra*] ; *mamāntikād... abhayam pratiyācante sma* « they were begging protection from me » [L 103]; *jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ* « deprived of life » [L 281] ; *evaṃ bhagavatā sārthaś caurasahasrāt pratimokṣitaḥ* « thus the caravan was saved by the lord from the thousand thieves » [D 94]; *caurasahasrasakāśāt sārtho niṣkrītaḥ* « the caravan was ransomed from the thousand thieves » [D 94]; *pūrṇasyāntikād vikrīya* « having bought it from Pūrṇa » [D 33]; *bhagavato 'ntikād dharmaṃ śṛṇoti sma* « he was listening *dharma* from the lord » [S 21]; *meghasya māṇavasya sakāśāto buddhaśabdaṃ śrutvā* « having heard the word 'Buddha' from the young man Megha » [Mi 243]; *aṅgaṇo gṛhapati mamato aprīcāhitva...bhagavato sakāśam*

upasaṅkrānto « the householder Aṅgaṇa, without asking me, approached the lord » [Mii 272]; *kiṃ nu khalu imā striyo asmākaṃ nagarasya dakṣiṇato māryāto vārenti* « why do these women forbid us (approaching) the southern section of the town? » [Miii 71]; *yāvajjīvaṃ prāṇātipātāt prativiramiṣyam* « I shall forbear from taking life all through (my life) » [Miii 268]; *parebhyo nāpi vivyathe* « he did not suffer at the hands of others » [Saundarananda 2.2].

(*b*) The Ablative with past-participles in *-ta* (used as adjectives) : *śaraṇyebhyas tapasvibhyo vinayaṃ śikṣitā iva* « they learnt good behaviour, as it were, from the hermits who (always) offer protection » [Saundarananda 1.13]; *caurasakāśāt sārthaḥ paritrātaḥ* « the caravan was saved from the thousand thieves » [D 101]; *yady asau arthāt paribhraṣṭaḥ kiṃ prajñayāpi paribhraṣṭaḥ* « if he is bereft of wealth, is he also bereft of (his) wisdom » [D 31]; *ahituṇḍikāto hastāto yatnāt kṛitaṃ subhāṣitaṃ* « the maxim brought eagerly from the hand (of) an Ahituṇḍika » [Mi 92(G)]; *ahaṃ strīratnāto bhraṣṭo* « I am bereft of that jewel of a woman » [Miii 167].

(*c*) The Ablative with nouns and adjectives : *pramocakaḥ sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ* « he who frees (one) from all pains » [L 448]; *vahirmukhaḥ saṃsārāt* « disinclined to the world » [D 1-2]; *sarvabhayebhyo vimocakaḥ* « the reliever from all fears » [S 417]; *asādhāraṇāni pratyekabuddhebhyaḥ* « peculiar to the Pratyekabuddhas » [Mi 158].

(*d*) The Ablative with adverbs : *na ca kaścit tam padmam paśyati sma anyatra sārathinarottamād daśaśatasahasrikācca mahābrahmaṇaḥ* « no one saw that lotus except that best charioteer of men and the great Brahman of ten-hundred-thousands (words) » [L 73]; *anyatra vṛkṣāgrāt* « except in the tree-top » [D 107]; *na...so asti sattvo ..yo caramāṃ jātiṃ...bodhisattvaṃ vyākartum anyatra śuddhāvāsebhyaḥ devebhyaḥ* « there is no creature, other than the gods of pure habitation, to explain the last birth to the Bodhisattva » [Mi 150]. The ablative with *prabhṛti* occurs several times in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and in the Mahāvastu, *e.g.*, *yataḥ prabhṛti* « whenceforth » [S 317; Mi 153].

(*i*) The Ablative with *saha* « with » is found in a causal sense in the Lalitavistara as well as in the Divyāvadāna (in the latter it being often written as a compound). This is due to the fact that in Buddhistic Sanskrit the ablative has very often been confused with the instrumental. Thus : *ye ca kecit...gandharvāsuragaruḍabhūtāviṣṭāḥ...te sarve bodhisattvamātuḥ saha darśanād eva svasthā...bhavanti* « those who were ridden by a *gandharva* or an *asura* or a *garuḍa* or a demon would at once come to themselves simultaneously with the sight of the mother of the Bodhisattva » [L 81]; *māyā devī tṛṇagulmakam api... glānebhyaḥ sattvebhyo 'nuprayacchati sma te saha pratilambhād aroganirvikārā bhavanti sma* « the queen Māyā gave even a straw or a bit of grass to the suffering creatures, (and) simultaneously with getting it they became cured » [L 71]; *saha darśanād asyā etad abhavat* « simultaneous with (her) seeing, it occurred to her » [D 67]; *sahadarśanāc cānena bhagavato 'ntike cittam abhiprasāditam* « with the sight their heart inclined towards the lord » [D 49]; *sahaśravaṇād eva dhanasammatasya rājño 'marṣa utpannaḥ* « on hearing it the king Dhanasammata became angry » [D 62].

(*e*) The Ablative of comparison : *paśyāmi kim mamāntikād abhirūpatara āhosvin na iti* « I (shall) see whether (he is) more beautiful than I or not » [D 75].

(*i*) The following instances are interesting inasmuch as the regular comparative adjectives are either absent or totally suppressed : *dharmasya tasyāśravaṇād ahaṃ hi manye vipattiṃ tridive 'pi vāsaḥ* « I think that living in heaven is worse than hearing that *dharma* » [B 1.82]; *paramahilā dahanato'py amanyata* « he thought of other's women as (fiercer) than fire itself » [Saundarananda 3.32].

(*ii*) The ablative sometimes appears for the genitive in superlative constructions : *śraddhādhanaṃ śreṣṭhatamaṃ dhanebhyaḥ prajñārasas tṛptikaro rasebhyaḥ | pradhānam adhyātmasukhaṃ sukhebhyo 'vidyāratir duḥkhatamā ratibhyaḥ ||* « the wealth of reverence is the best of wealths; the *rasa* of intellect

is the (most) palatable of the *rasas*; of all (kinds of) happiness that of spirituality is the chiefest; (and) of all attachments that of wrong outlook (*avidyā*) is the most painful » [Saundarananda 5.24]; *tebhyo ye udāratamā devaputrāḥ* « of them the most exalted sons of gods » [L 52].

(*f*) The Causal Ablative : the causal ablative is of rare occurrence in Buddhistic Sanskrit : *kasmād hetoḥ* « from what cause, *i.e.*, why? » [D, S, etc.]; *teṣām alābhāt saṃtapyatha* « you pine for not attaining them » [S 74]; *atha...so vaidehako brāhmaṇarājā āyuḥkṣayāc ca karmakṣayāc ca kālam akārṣī* « now that Brahmin king of Videha died on account of the loss of his span of life as well as the loss of *karma* » [Miii 172].

(*g*) The Temporal Ablative : the ablative of time generally denotes that some action has taken place after some other event or after the loss of some time : *caturṇām māsānām atyayāt* « at the end of four months » [L 114]; *ṣaṣṭhānāṃ vā navānāṃ vā māsānām atyayāt prasūtā* « she was delivered (of the child) at the expiry of eight or nine or ten months » [D 2]; *māsānām atyayāt prasūtā* [D 99]; *ṣaṣṭhyantarakalpānām atyayāt* « at the end of six *kalpas* » [S 21].

(*i*) In the following instances the ablative carries the sense of the temporal instrumental : *tūryāṇi...pravādayāmāsur yāvat tasya bhagavato mahāparinirvāṇasamayāt* « they sounded the trumpets till the time of the lord's great extinction » [S 160]; *tena aṣṭacatvāriṃśadvarṣāt kumāram brahmacaryaṃ cīrṇaṃ vedā ca adhītā* « by him was practised the celibate studentship up to (his) forty-eighth year and the Vedas were learnt » [Mii 209].

THE GENITIVE.

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the genitive is the most living of the oblique cases. All the oblique cases, in fact, are often replaced by the genitive. The dative is, as a rule, replaced by the genitive. But it should be noted that the partitive genitive and the genitive with particular verbs, which is found in earliest Indo-Aryan is almost totally absent in Buddhistic Sanskrit.

(a) The genitive with verbs which governed other oblique cases in Old Indo-Aryan.

(*i*) The Accusative-Genitive. In the Saundarananda—— *anucakrur vanasthasya dauṣmanter devakarmaṇaḥ* « emulated the son of Duṣmanta, of godly deeds and living in forest » [36]. In the Lalitavistara : *na kasya cit sattvasya rogo bādhate sma* « the disease does not attack any one » [59]; *kṣudhā pipāsā... naiva tasya bādhate* « hunger and thirst do not oppress him » [85 (G)]; *kasya ca karmaṇo vipākena sa ojovindur bodhisattvasyopatiṣṭhate sma* « for the fulfilment of what deed did that drop of vitality accrue to the Bodhisattva » [74]; *jātasya tasya guṇasāgarasya jñātvā* « knowing Guṇasāgara to be born » [129 (G)]. In the Divyāvadāna : *tvam apy asmākam utprāsayasi* « you too mock us » [17]; *uttare ca paripṛcchanti sūtrasya vinayasya mātṛkāyāḥ* « the others ask about the Sūtra, the Vinaya or the alphabet » [18]; *bhagavāṃs ta ārogyayati* « the lord greets you » [129]. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka : *yathā mama pratibhāti* « as it appears to me » [17][1]; *sthāpayitvā tathāgatasya* « leaving the Tathāgata aside » [43]; *sa cet...sattvā nadībhir uhyamanā avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya...ākrandaṃ kuryuḥ* « if the creatures being carried away by the river (current) cry the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (for help) » [139]; *śeṣāḥ punaḥ stūpā mamoddiśya kartavyāḥ* « the rest of the *stūpas* should be built for me » [241]; *cf.* D. 99; *yad vayam api tathāgatasyānuśikṣemahi* « as we too would learn after the Tathāgata » [180]; *dharmarājā teṣām aryāṇāṃ yodhānāṃ yudhyatāṃ dṛṣṭvā* « the pious king seeing the noble combatants fighting » [290]; *puṣpavarṣaṃ tasya bhagavato bodhimaṇḍe niṣaṇṇasyābhyucchinnam pravarṣayanti* « (they) showered a shower of flowers to the lord sitting on the *bodhi* seat » [159]; *nāham āyuṣmanto yuṣmākam paribhavāmi* « I, O long-lived ones, cannot vanquish you » [378]; *asmākam bhagavān adhyeṣati* « the lord seeks us » [270]. In the Mahāvastu : *tatra teṣāṃ nairayikānāṃ nirayapālā āyudhahastā ud-*

[1] *Bubhukṣitaṃ na pratibhāti kiñcit* " nothing appeals to the hungry " [Mahābhāṣya].

deśenti « there the guards of the hell hunt those condemned to the hell » [i 21]; *kasya dāni...yūyam pratyudgacchatha* « whom do you welcome now » [i 23]; *bhikṣūṇām āmantreti* « invites the Bhikṣus » [i 262]; *rājño śreṇiyasya...dharmayā kathayā saṃdarśayitvā* « having educated the king Śreṇiya with religious talks » [i 261]; *aham āryasya nimantremi* « I invite your reverence » [i 302]; *te dāni śākyā ṛṣikumārāṇām pṛcchati* « the Śākyas now ask the sons of the sages » [i 355]; *mātāpitṝṇām abhivādetvā* « having greeted the parents » [i 354]; *tasya dhārmiko'ti kṛtvā* « taking him to be a pious man » [iii 349]; *mama uddiśya āgato* « come with reference to me » [iii 361]; *mama jīvitād vyaparopayitvā* « having divorced me from life » [ii 64]; *tasyāpi na icchati* « desires him not » [ii 69]; *eṣā mama evābhikāṃkṣati* « she wants me » [ii 69][1]; *śuddhodanasya pratihāretha* « inform Śuddhodana » [ii 31]; *teṣāṃ sarveṣām pṛṣṭhato kṛtvā* « leaving them all behind » [ii 69]; *vyāghrī..catuṣpadānām pratipāleti* « the tigress waited for the beasts » [ii 69]; *bhadre mama patiṃ varehi* « madam, choose me as the husband » [ii 70]; *mama gṛhṇāhi* « accept me » [ii 70]; *brahmāyuṣya upasaṃkramitvā* « having approached Brahmāyu » [ii 78]; *nidhyāyati rājakanyānām* « thinks of the princesses » [ii 147]; *yaśodharā...kumārasya allīnā* « Yaśodharā approached the prince » [ii 48]; *sudhanukumāro rājño sucandrimasya pṛcchati* « the prince Sudhanu asked the king Sucandrima » [ii 98]; *mama mārgamāno* « seeking me » [ii 102]; *so tava...kinnaranagaraṃ nesyati* « he would take you to the city of the *kinnaras* » [ii 108]; *mātāpitṝṇām praṇipatitvā* « having bowed to the parents » [ii 110]; *kācit parasparasyaupagṛhya* « some having embraced each other » [ii 159]; *brāhmaṇasya vā putrasya vā ko viveṣyati* « who shall take care of the Brahman or the son » [ii 209]; *paramagauraveṇa teṣām mātāpitṝṇām upathihati* « served the parents with great care » [ii 211][2]; *sa teṣāṃ śakuntakānām parirakṣati* « he protected those birds » [ii 251];

---

[1] *Cf. bodhisattvam evābhikāmkṣati* " desired only the Bodhisattva " [ii 69].

[2] *Cf. mātāpitaram upathihati* " serves the parents " [ii 212].

eṣā...mama pralobheti « she tempts me » [iii 152]; *mā yūyam... mama abhivādetha* « do not salute me » [iii 173]; *rājño subandhusya jayena vardhāpetvā* « having benedicted the king Subandhu with victory » [ii 421].

(*ii*) The Dative-Genitive. In the Buddhacarita : *babhramur darśayantyo'sya śroṇīs tanvaṃśukāvṛtaḥ* « they wandered showing him their hips clothed with fine linen » [4.34]; *tad bravīmi suhṛdbhūtvā taruṇasya vapusmataḥ* « so, being a friend I say to (you), a handsome youth » [1.8]. In the Lalitavistara : *brāhmaṇānām avocat* « spoke to the Brahmans » ; [65 (G)]; *vada mama śīghram* « tell me soon » [90 (G)]; *tāṃ kumārasya varayiṣyāmi* « I shall choose her for the prince » [162][1]; *yā te duhitā sā mama kumārasya pradīyatām* « give her, who is your daughter, to my son » [163]; *ayam...yuṣmākaṃ dharmaṃ deśayiṣyati* « he will explain the *dharma* to you » [43]; *śilpajñasya kanyā dātavyā* « the girl should be given to an expert in the arts and crafts » [163][2]; *bodhisattvasya upanāyati sma* « brought to the Bodhisattva » [73]; *tac cāsya na rocate* « it did not please him » [308]; *bodhisattvo...rājñaḥ śuddhodanasya svapnam upadarśayati sma* « the Bodhisattva caused the king Śuddhodana dream a dream » [224]; *abhipravedya mahārājasya śuddhodanasya* « informing the great king Śuddhodana » [241]; *sā...rājñaḥ śuddhodanasya dūtam preṣayati sma* « she sent a messenger to the king Śuddhodana » [62]; *rājñaḥ śuddhodanasya nivedaya* « impart (it) to the king Śuddhodana » [116]; *asitasya maharṣeḥ pratiśrutya* « having acquiesced to the great sage Asita » [117]; *tāvāt kumārasya katamā...kanyā rocate* « which of the girls appeals to the prince? » [156]; *te...kumārasyainām prakṛtim ārocayanti sma* « they informed this matter to the prince » [156]; *tāṃ kanyām asmākam prativedaya* « let me know (the particulars of) the girl » [159]. In the Divyāvadāna : *sarvo'yaṃ lokaḥ suvarṇasya śraddadhāti* « all people believe in gold » [17]; *anekais teṣām ārocitam* « it was informed

[1] ' Dativus commodi ' replaced by the genitive.

[2] *Cf. karmaśilpajñāya kanyāṃ dāsyāmi* [ibid].

to them by many • [17]; *tata āyuṣmān pūrṇo bhrātuḥ kathayati* • then the long-lived Pūrṇa said to (his) brother • [42]; *eṣāṃ vaṇijāṃ ratnavibhājāṃ kuru* • divide the jewels among these merchants • [42]; *tena tasyāḥ pratijñātam* • by him it was promised to her • [15]; *tasya bhaiṣajyaṃ vyapadiśa* • prescribe a medicine for him • [25]; *ānando bhagavataḥ pratyaśrauṣīt* • Ānanda agreed with the lord • [76]; *bhikṣūṇām...upadarśayet* • should show to the Bhikṣus • [77]; *pakvam ādāyāgatya dampatyor upanāmitavān* • taking cooked (food) brought (it) before the husband and wife • [31]; *caurāṇāṃ nivedayati* • addressed the thieves • [101]; *taiḥ pūrṇasya dūtaḥ preṣitaḥ* • by them a messenger was sent to Pūrṇa • [33]; *tasya tāv abhisāraṃ dattvā* • having given to him the two as the present • [6]; *tau na kasyacit punar api śraddadhātum ārabdhau* • they (two) began not to trust anybody • [6]; *kim asya praharāmi* • what shall I dart against him • [40][1]; *gacchānanda tathāgatasya śroṇyasya ca...mañjam prajñapaya* • go, Ānanda, and show the seat to the Tathāgata and Śroṇya • [20]; *kas te śraddhāsyati* • who would believe you? • [70]; *atha maghaḥ...supriyasya...kathayati* • then Magha spoke to Supriya • [111]; *bubhukṣitā vayam asmākam anuprayaccha* • we are hungry: give us (food) • [12]; *ekasya kṣiptam* • hurled at one • [12][1]; *tvam asmākaṃ tṛṣārtānām pānīyam anuprayaccha* • do thou give drink to us smitten with thirst • [7]; *tāny ahaṃ snuṣāyāḥ samarpayāmi* • those I hand over to the daughter-in-law • [13]; *ahaṃ teṣāṃ jñātīnāṃ samādiśāmi* • I shall direct to those kinsmen • [13]; *evam āryeti dauvārikaḥ puruṣaḥ anāthapiṇḍadasya gṛhapateḥ pratyaśrauṣīt* • the man at the gate agreed to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada, (saying), 'yes sir' • [81]; *maitreyo 'pi...teṣām māṇavakānām anupradāsyati* • Maitreya also shall give to those men • [61].[2] In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: *sādhu bhagavann ity āyuṣmāñ śāriputro bhagavataḥ prātyaśrauṣīt* • 'Right, O Lord'!—thus

[1] In the Vedic *pra-hṛ* was construed with the dativus incommodi, but in classical Sanskrit it was construed with the locative; so also *kṣip*.

[2] *Cf. maitreyāya...anupradāsyati* [ibid].

did the long-lived Śāriputra agree to the lord » [39]; *sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayāmi* « I would teach *dharma* to the creatures » [40]; *gorathakān eva dārakasya dadyāt* « he should give only bullock carts to the boy » [73]; *evaṃ caiṣāṃ vadati* « thus speaks to them » [79]; *te tathāgatasya lokapitur abhiśraddadhati* « they believe in the Tathāgata the father of the world » [80]; *na kasyacit sattvasya...parinirvāṇaṃ vadati* « does not speak of the extinction to any creature » [81]; *tathāgataś cāsmākam evaṃ vadati* « the Tathāgata thus speaks to us » [108]; *na kasyacid ācakṣet* « should not divulge to any one » [102; 105]; *sarvasattvānāṃ dharmam upadarśayitum* « to teach *dharma* to all beings » [82]; *nāhaṃ yuṣmākaṃ kiñcid aparādhyam* « I have committed no offence against you » [104]; *taṃ daridrapuruṣam ānāyya mahato jñātisanghasyopanāmayitvā* « having brought that poor man, produced him before the great (assembly of) kinsmen » [108]; *atha khalu ta ṛṣayas tasya puruṣasyaivaṃ kathayeyuḥ* « now the sages would thus talk to that man » [1: 5]; *sa ca jātyandhas teṣām puruṣāṇāṃ na śraddadhyāt* « he, the born-blind, would not believe those men » [133]; *nadyas teṣāṃ gādhaṃ dadyuḥ* « the rivers would offer fordability to them » [439]; *sarve'sya...krudhyanti* « all are angry with him » [378]; *na ca krudhyanti* « do not take offence » [379]; *ye cāsyaivam...loṣṭraṃ vā daṇḍaṃ vā kṣipanti* « those who hurl a stone or a stick at him » [379]; *buddhānām bhagavatāṃ namaskāraṃ kuryāt* « should pay homage to the lord Buddha » [442]; *tāni brāhmāṇi vimānāni tasya bhagavato niryātayāmāsuḥ* « they offered those Brāhma dirigibles to the lord » [165]; *teṣām evaṃ kathayati* « thus speaks to them » [189]; *imaṃ dharmaparyāyam pareṣāṃ saṃśravayamānaḥ* « lecturing that series of *dharma* to others » [355]; *teṣām...ārocayet* « should let them know » [322]; *taṃ dharmam...kasyacid ācakṣīta* « that *dharma* should be imparted to any one » [345]. In the Mahāvastu : *megho... tāni pañcotpalāni bhagavato dīpaṃkarasya kṣipi* « Megha threw those five lotuses at the lord Dīpaṃkara » [i 238]; *tena aparāṇi pañca purāṇaśatāni preṣitāni ācāryasya* « he sent another five hundred *purāṇas* (gold coins) to the master » [i 243]; *namo*

buddhasya « homage be to the Buddha » [i 245]; *adāsi uttiyo śreṣṭhī abhiyasya bhikṣusya prabhūtaṃ hiraṇyam* « Uttiya, the merchant, gave much gold to the *bhikṣu* Abhiya » [i 57]; *pareṣāṃ ca deśayanti* « lecture to others » [i 46]; *prāsādaṃ kārayitvā...samyaksambuddhasya niryātesi* « having built a palace dedicated (it) to the Perfectly Awakened One » [i 49]; *sa rājā kuśasya dutām apreṣaye* « the king sent a messenger to Kuśa » [i 128]; *mantrāṃś ca vedaṃś ca brāhmaṇānāṃ vācenti* « taught the *mantras* and the *vedas* to Brahmans » [i 197]; *atha tomaro lecchavigaṇasya pratiśrutvā* « now Tomara having promised to the Licchavis » [i 255]; *evam...rājā śreṇiyo bimbisāro tomarasya lecchavisya jalpati* « thus the king Śreṇiya Bimbisāra spoke to Tomara the Licchavi » [i 257]; *pātraṃ grāmikasya darśayati* « shows the pot to the villager » [i 301]; *aham pitari brāhmaṇānām parityaktā* « I have been given over to the Brahmans by the father » [i 311]; *tehi tesām brāhmaṇānāṃ sandiṣṭam* « they told those Brahmans » [i 313]; *esā na asmākam mālinī aparādhyati* « she, Mālinī, does not offend us » [i 313]; *dūtehi rājño śuddhodanasya niveditam* « the messengers informed the king Śuddhodana » [i 356]; *tasya yuthapatisya praṇipatitā* « she bowed low to the leader of the herd » [i 362]; *na kasyaci aparādhyanti* » they commit no offence against anybody » [i 364]; *sarvamṛgāṇāṃ ca abhayaṃ dehi* « offer protection to all the deer » [i 365]; *bhagavatā kumārabhūtena kanyānām alaṅkarām pi viśrāṇantena yaśodharāye śatasahasramūlyaṃ hāraṃ dinnam* « when the lord, being a youth, (was) presenting trinkets to girls, he gave Yaśodharā a necklace worth a hundred thousands » [ii 64]; *nāsyāḥ kiñcit saṃvibhajiṣyam* « I shall give nothing to her » [ii 65]; *mahānāmo saṃdiśati rājño śuddhodanasya na śakyāmi yaśodharāṃ kumārasya dātum* « Mahānāman told the king Śuddhodana, ' I cannot give away Yaśodharā to the prince' » [ii 73]; *tasya vānarasya jalpāhi* « speak to that monkey » [ii 248]; *pratihārarakṣeṇa .. ṛṣisya niveditam* « the gateman submitted to the sage » [ii 31]; *upanāmetha kumāram ṛṣisya* « bring the prince before the sage » [ii 32]; *tato rājño śuddhodanasya pravṛtti āgatā* « then news came to

the king Śuddhodana • [ii 207]; *paramabodhisamprāpto śrāvastyām bhikṣūṇāṃ vyākaroti* • having attained the perfect knowledge, (the lord) announced (it) before the *bhikṣus* in Śrāvastī • [ii 136]; *nūnāhaṃ yattikā kapilavastunagare kanyā tāṃ sarvāṃ kumārasya upadarśayāmi* • indeed I shall show to the prince as many girls as there are in the city of Kapilavastu • [ii 149]; *rājñā amātyānām āṇattam* • the king ordered the ministers • [ii 156]; *nāpi tasya ahituṇḍikasya kupyati* • did not flare up at that juggler • [ii 178]; *kim mayā tava aparāddhaṃ chandakasya ca* • what have I injured of you or of Chandaka • [ii 189]; *sā dāni sudarśanā devī tasyā kubjāye ruṣitā āha* • now the queen Sudarśanā, angry with that hunch-back (woman), said • [ii 459]; *sā...tāsām antaḥpurikānāṃ ruṣyati* • she is cross with those women of the seraglio • [ii 480]; *kasya vā garahāmy aham* • whom shall I take to task? • [ii 480 (G)]; *yasya sarve rājāno praṇamanti* • to whom all the kings bow low • [ii 491]; *kāśirājño upasaṃkrāntā* • approached the king of Kāśi • [iii 152]; *yadi me mahārāja mama na śraddadhāsi* • if you, O my king, do not believe me • [iii 12]; *bhagavān mama etad uvāca* • the lord told me this • [iii 51]; *bhagavāṃ veṇuvane bhikṣūṇām āmantrayati* • the lord spoke to the *bhiksus* in the bamboo bower • [iii 63]; *so dāni aśvarājā teṣāṃ vāṇijakānāṃ samanuśāsati* • now the king of horses spoke to the merchants [iii 76]; *so'haṃ tasya upakasya...spṛhayanto abhīkṣṇaṃ etāṃ gāthām bhāṣāmi* • now I, longing after that Upaka, always utter this verse •[iii 193]; *namas tasya āryasya mahāgovindasya* • homage to the reverend Mahāgovinda • [iii 223]; *teṣām bhagavām..bhāṣati* • the lord addressed them • [iii 434].

(*iii*) The Instrumental-Genitive : *mama ca tvaṃ śāriputra dīrgharātram anuśikṣito 'bhūt* • you, O Śāriputra, were for a long time instructed by me • [S 64]; *so pi rājño devīhi sārdhaṃ krīḍanasya krīḍate* • he sported with the king, (who was) sporting with his queens • [Miii 169]; • *parasparasya vivāhitā* • married to one another • [Mi 351].

(*iv*) The Ablative-Genitive : *athaikasya pratigrahīṣyāmi* • I shall accept from one • [L 497]; *dharmasyāparihīyante* • do

not swerve from *dharma* » [L 525]; *yācāmi te* « I beg of you » [L 46 (G)]; *ye sattvās tathāgatasya dharmam bhāṣamāṇasya śṛṇvanti* « the creatures who listen to the Tathāgata, talking *dharma* » [S 124]; *asya dharmaparyāyasya uttraset* « would be afraid of this series of *dharma* » [S 234]; *ime kumārā asmākaṃ sujātā pi* « these boys are born well of us » [Mi 355]; *mama sarve mṛgā trasanti* « all deer recoil from me » [Mii 70]; *teṣām mṛgapakṣiṇaḥ na saṃtrasanti* « birds and beasts do not recoil from them [Mii 210]; *amātyaputro...sarveṣāṃ vīṇāvādyena viśiṣyati* « the minister's son was distinguished from all in playing the lyre » [Miii 35]; *manuṣyeṣu cyavitvā narakeṣūpapadyati* « falling from mankind he is born in the hell » [Miii 42].

(*v*) The Locative-Genitive : *kinnarīye pi sudhanusya premnaṃ nipatitam* « the Kinnarī's love fell on Sudhanu » [Mii 98]; *iccheyam aham bhagavato ārāḍasya brahmacaryaṃ caritum* « I wish to live as a religious student with his reverence Ārāḍa » [Mii 118]; *na kaścij janatāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ kumārasya cittam abhiramet* « may not the heart of the prince be attached to an ordinary girl » [Mii 149]; *so pi paṇḍito śakuntako tasya śākuntikasya visrambheti* « the wise bird also trusted the fowler » [Mii 242]; *tasyāpi kampillasya rājño brahmadattasya...puṇyavantasya kumārasya putrapremnaṃ nipatitam* « Brahmadatta, the king of Kāmpilya, felt an affection for the boy Puṇyavanta as towards a son » [Miii 40]; *mā bhavanto śramaṇasya gautamasya brahmacaryaṃ caratha* « do not live as a religious student with the Śramaṇa Gautama » [Miii 63]; *mama sarve lagnatha* « hold me fast, all of you » [Miii 354].

(*vi*) The *dativus commodi et incommodi* is very often replaced by the Genitive : *kim mama baddham* « what is attached to me? » [S 211]; *tāṃs tān gandhān pareṣām api vyākaroti* « emits that perfume for others as well » [S 361]; *daṇḍakarmaṃ karotha yathā caurasya kriyati tasya me* « give me punishment as is done to a thief » [Miii 174].

(b) The Genitive with verbs which were so construed in Old Indo-Aryan. It is rather remarkable that in Buddhistic Sanskrit, the genitive appears with some verbs which governed

the genitive in the Vedic but not so in Classical Sanskrit :—*tad vahanaṃ gośīrṣacandanasya pūrayitvā* « having filled the cart with sandal wood » [D 42]; *catvāro lohasaṃghāṭāḥ suvarṇasya pūrṇās tiṣṭhanti* « the four iron pots stand filled with gold » [D 14]; *suvarṇasya kalaśaḥ pūrayitvā sthāpitaḥ* « the pitcher was kept filled with gold » [D 16]; *tasmād udakasya pātrapūram ānaya* « fetch a cup full of water » [D 51]; *ratnānāṃ tad vahanam pūritam* « the cart was filled with gems » [D 5]; *bhūyiṣṭhena śāriputraivam-rūpāṇāṃ bodhisattvānām paripūrṇaṃ tad buddhakṣetram bhaviṣyati* « that land of Buddha, O Śāriputra, will be filled much with suchlike Bodhisattvas » [S 66]; *śuṇḍam udakasya pūretvā* « having filled the proboscis with water » [Miii 132]*; *kumbho viṣasya pariṣiktaḥ* « the pot filled with poison » [L 180 (G)]; *ahaṃ te smārayiṣyāmi* « I shall remember you » [D 57]; *bhagavāṃś cāsmākaṃ smārayati tathāgatajñānadāyādān* « the lord remembers us, the cosharers of the knowledge of the Tathāgata » [S 110]†; *jenti tvaṃ vailāsikāye dhītā, tava putro na kiñcit paitṛkasya rājyasya ca dravyasya ca prabhavati* « Jayantī, you are the daughter of a hetaera : your son would not inherit paternal kingdom or any other thing » [Mi 349]; *rājā subandhu nāma...ṣaṣṭhīnāṃ nagara-sahasrāṇāṃ rājyaṃ kārayati* « the king named Subandhu rules over sixty thousand cities » [Mii 420]‡; *mātuḥ pituḥ na utkaṇṭhitaṃ syā* « he may not be anxious for the parents » [Mii 165].§

---

* This is a kind of partitive genitive. It is an Indo-European idiom; the cognate verbs in the different Indo-European dialects—Gk. πλέως, πλήρης, Lat. *plenus*, Goth. *fulls*, Lith. *pilnas*—are all construed with the genitive. In Vedic the adjective *pūrṇa* is so construed : *ā madhvo asmā asıcann amartam ındrāya pūrṇam* [Atharvaveda Samhitā, 9.7.6]; *pūrṇān parisrutaḥ kumbhān* [Śatapatha Brahmaṇa, 11.5.5.13]; in Classical Sanskrit also sometimes : *ghaṭam apām pūrṇam* [Manu Samhitā, 11.183]; also in Pali.

† In classical Sanskrit, *smṛ* (here the causative carries the sense of the simple root) governs the accusative. This idiom is Indo-European often, but in the Vedic there is only one instance (that in the Atharvaveda Samhitā) : μιμνησκομαι του φίλου "I remember the friend" =Latin *memini amici*; *yathā mama smarād asau* "as he may remember me" [AV. 6.130.3].

‡ These two idioms are allied to the Vedic idiom of the genitive governed by verbs meaning "to rule."

§ *Cf. utkaṇṭhamāno bharato gurūṇām* "Bharata feeling anxious for his superiors" [Bhaṭṭikāvya].

(c) Elliptic Genitive: *sa śṛṇoty eva amātyānām* "he listens to the (speech of the) ministers" [Mi 272]*; *tasya grāmikasya śrutvā* "hearing (the words of) the villager" [Mi 302]; *putrakā na yuṣmābhir mamātyayāt strīṇāṃ śrotavyam* "O sons, you should not pay heed to the women after my demise" [D 27]; *na ca vijānāsi pañcayojanānantarasthitasya janasya bhāṣamāṇasya* "you cannot understand (the speech) of one speaking at a distance of five *yojanas*" [S 135].

(d) The Genitive with substantives and adjectives: *mahābrahmaṇo 'nukampām upādāya* "feeling pity for Mahābrahman" [L 73-74; etc.]; *anuttarāyāḥ samyak-sambodher lābhinaḥ* "attainers of the unsurpassed perfect knowledge" [S 41; etc.]; *nandādīnām bhikṣūṇām abhiprasanno* "pleased with the *bhikṣus* beginning with Nanda" [Mi 36]; *sahasrāṇāṃ visarjayitā* "giver of thousands" [S 340]; *niyato me manuṣyāṇāṃ vināśbhāvo* "certain is the bereavement of men" [Mii 103]; *rājā ṛṣisya vismito* "the king was surprised at (the deeds of) the sage" [Mii 32]; *piśācasya ca etasya ca nāsti kiñcit nānā kāraṇam* "there is no differentiation between him and a ghoul" [Mii 459]; *didṛkṣayā...muneḥ* "with a desire of seeing the hermit" [Saundarānanda, 4.40, etc.]; *yathā ca darśī teṣāṃ sattvānām* "(one) who looks upon all creatures (as) equal" [S 124].

(e) The Genitive with adverbs: *uttiyasya śreṣṭhisya dhītuḥ sārdhaṃ vipraduṣṭo* "corrupted with the daughter of Uttiya, the merchant" [Mi 36]; *bodhisattvo ca māyāya mātuḥ sārdhaṃ śivikāṃ samārūḍho* "the Bodhisattva, with (his) mother Māyā, boarded the palanquin" [Mii 26]; *gaṅgāyā ca yamunāyā ca antarā kāśyapo ṛṣi yajñaṃ yajati* "the sage Kāśyapa holds a sacrifice (in the place) between the Ganges and the Yamunā" [Miii 363].

(f) The Comparative Genitive: *katamo'sya deva mama viśiṣṭo* "what other man is more distinguished than I, O sire!"

---

* *amātyānām* for *amātyānām vākyam*; *cf. asmākam ıc chṛnuhi* "hear (=our words) [Ṛgveda Samhitā, 7.28.1]; *śrudhy asya* "hear him" [RV., 7.38.2]; *tasya vā śuśrūṣante* "him men wish to listen to" [Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, 7.6]; also in Pali,

[L 136 (G)]; *sarveṣāṃ teṣām bhrātṝṇām suśikṣitaḥ* « (he) was better educated than all his brothers » [Mii 434]; *upāli bhikṣu yuṣmākaṃ vṛddhatarako* « the *bhikṣu* Upāli is older than you (all) » [Miii 181].

(g) Appositional Genitive is a remarkable phenomenon in Buddhistic Sanskrit of the Mahāvastu : *pūrṇaṃ cāsya putrasahasram abhūṣi śūrāṇāṃ vīrāṇām* « he had full thousand sons—(sons) heroic and valiant » [Mi 49]; *rājagṛhe . parvaṃ vartati pañcānāṃ tapośatānām* « a (sacrificial) session is being held at Rājagṛha,—a session of five hundred austerities » [Miii 57]; *pūrṇaṃ cāsya putrasahasram bhavet śūrāṇām vīrāṇām* « he will have a full thousand sons (all) brave and heroic » [Miii 107]; *tasya rājño brahmadattasya putraśataṃ kumārāṇām* « the king Brahmadatta (had) five hundred sons (all) young » [Miii 361].*

(h) Genitivus Materiæ et Originis : *caturasīti kūṭāgārasahasrāṇi kārayesi.. saptānāṃ ratnānām* « he built eighty-four thousand cottages of the seven gems » [Mi 49]; *śākyo vicitrāṃ kuthām upasthāpayet siṃhacarmaparivārāṇāṃ vyāghracarmaparivārāṇāṃ dvīpicarmaparivārāṇām* « the Śākya brought rugs (made) of skins of lions, tigers and of leopards » [Mii 117].

(i) The Genitive Absolute † : Pāṇini lays down the rule [2.3.38] that the absolute genitive expresses *anādara* « disregard » in classical Sanskrit. Though the absolute genitive does not occur in the Ṛgveda, it appears sporadically in Vedic prose, but there often no sense of *anādara* is apparent. So also with Buddhistic Sanskrit. Even in the chaste Sanskrit of Aśvaghoṣa

---

* The existence of the appositional or apexegetic genitive in Sanskrit is denied by Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar. But there occurs at least one certain example of it in Old Indo-Aryan. It is this :

antar agne rucā tvaṃ
ukhāyai sadane sve |
tasyās tvaṃ harasā tapan
jātavedaḥ śivo bhava ||

" O Agni with glow ! Within thy own seat of pan ! Heating with her blaze ! Be thou, O All-knower, auspicious " [Taittirīya Samhitā, 4.1.91; Keith's Introduction to the translation of the above].

† *Vide* Huebschmann, Zur Casuslehre, p. 280; de Saussure, L'emploi du genitif absolu en sanscrit.

there occur instances where the absolute genitive implies no *anādara*; thus : *iti paśyata eva rājasūnor idam uktvā sa nabhaḥ samutpapāta* « the king's son thus looking on, he leaped into the sky » [B 2.20]; *samantarāvatīrṇasya ca bodhisattvasya..pṛthivīm bhitvā mahāpadmam prādurabhūt* « as soon as the Bodhisattva (was) born, a great lotus sprang up cleaving the earth » [L 95]; *tasya khalu punaḥ...padmaprabhasya tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya dvātriṃśad antarakalpān saddharmaḥ sthāsyati* « the Tathāgata Padmaprabha having attained final extinction, the true *dharma* will exist for thirty-two *kalpas* » [S 67].

THE LOCATIVE.

Like the other local cases (such as the instrumental and the ablative) the locative in Buddhistic Sanskrit—though in a lesser degree—was very often expressed periphrastically with *antika* and other similar adverbial postpositives.

(a) The Locative with verbs : *prayata svātmahite jagaddhite ca* « strive for your own as well as for the world's good » [B 5.78]*; *kāmeṣv ajasram pramamāda nandaḥ* « Nanda committed great excesses in pleasures » [Saundarānanda, 4.32]; *mahāmunau bhaktivaśāt praṇemuḥ* « bowed low to the great sage out of reverence » [*ibid*, 5.1]; *tasminn aham abhirame śāntiparame* « I delight in the supreme peace » [Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, p. 66]; *mākāmeṣu mithyācariṣyatha* « do not for nothing ply in pleasures » [L 16]; *cāreyam aham bho ārāḍe kālāme brahmacaryam* « I shall live as a religious student with Ārāḍa Kālāma » [L 259]†; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena pañcakā bhadravargīyā rudrake rāmaputre brahmacaryaṃ caranti sma* « at that time five good men were leading the life of religious studentship under Rudraka Rāmaputra » [L 308]; *aham ārāḍe brahmacaryaṃ careyam* « I shall be a student under Ārāḍa »

* *Cf. devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu saṃyetire* "the gods and the Asuras strove for (the supremacy of) these worlds" [Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 37.6.1].

† This is a Vedic idiom; *cf. protir ha kauśāmbeyaḥ kausuruvindir uddālaka āruṇau brahmacaryam uvāsa* "Proti, the son of Kusuravinda, of Kauśāmbī, dwelt with Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa, as a student" [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 12.2.13]. *Cf.* Pali : *brahmacariyaṃ sugate carāmase* "we shall live as religious students with Sugata" [Suttanipāta, 2.15].

[Mii 118]; *nūnāham udrake rāmaputre brahmacaryaṃ care* « indeed I live as a student with Udraka (=Rudraka) Rāmaputra » [Mii 119]; *dharme caratha śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu* « deal religiously with the Śramaṇas and Brahmanas » [Mi 196]; *tad ayuktam etat...mama bhavet...yad aham anuttarāyāṃ samyak sambodhau nābhisambuddheyam* « it would be improper for me if I do not be fully awakened in the unsurpassed perfect awakening » [L 43]; *guṇān ātmani pratijānīte* « admits (to have) virtues in herself » [L 161]; *mātāpitarau ca śaraṇagamanasikṣāpadeṣu prasthāpitau* « the parents were established in taking refuge and in the teachings » [D 17]; *sā bhagavatā...bodhau vyākṛtā* « she was coached in *bodhi* by the lord » [D 70]; *kāśīrajñā supriyo mahāsārthavāhatve 'bhiṣiktaḥ* « Supriya was appointed in the (post of the) merchant-in-chief by the king of Kāśī » [D 100]; *tadā lipyām upanyastaḥ* « then (he was) instructed in the alphabet » [D 3]; *taṃ te putratve samādāpayiṣyāmi* « I shall establish him in your sonship » [D 57]; *na ca kāmeṣu sajjate badhyate vā* « (he) is not attached to, nor bound in pleasures » [D 116]; *utpāṭane 'haṃ na bibhemi...netradvayasya* « I am not afraid of plucking out the eyes » [D 411]; *sa bhagavān...śrīgartaṃ nāma bodhisattvam...anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau vyākṛtya* « having instructed the Bodhisattva, named Śrīgarta, in the unsurpassed perfect knowledge, the lord... » [S 21]; *atha sa bhagavān nirvāṇadhātau parinirvṛtaḥ* « now the lord was finally pacified in the state of extinction » [S 21]; *te tenaiva paripācitā abhūvann uttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau* « they were instructed by him only in the unrivalled perfect knowledge » [S 22]; *dharmeṣu nīryātāḥ* « instructed thoroughly in *dharma* » [S 60]; *te codārāyām buddhabodhau samādāpitāḥ* « they were established in the comprehensive Buddha-faith » [S 110]; *tathāgataśāsane 'bhiyujyante* « are enjoined to the command of the Tathāgata » [S 30]; *piteva priya ekaputrake karuṇāṃ janayitvā* « having felt pity like the father for the only dear son » [S 136]; *teṣu cāsma prayuktā ghaṭamānā vyāyacchamānāḥ* « we are engaged in, trying, and struggling for them » [S 109]; *tān sarvān sva ātmabhāve paśyati* « looks upon them

with the feeling for the self » [S 370]; *ghaṭikāraḥ...mūrdhni keśeṣu parāmṛśati* « Ghaṭikāra takes hold of the hair on the head » [Mi 321]; *bhagavato dīpaṅkarasya santike brahmacaryaṃ cariṣyāma* « we shall live as students with the reverend Dīpaṅkara » [Mi 243]; *megho gatvā bhagavato dīpaṅkarasya santike pravrajito* « Megha went and was admitted to religious mendicancy under Dīpaṅkara » [Mi 243]; *sā dāni sudarśanā devī...aparāsu devīṣu jalpati* « now the queen Sudarśanā talked to the other queens » [Mii 449]; *asmābhiḥ...śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu...udārāṇi dānāni dinnāni* « by us generous gifts were given to Śramaṇas and Brahmanas » [Miii 43].*

(b) The Instrumental Locative : *rājānāṃ sahasreṣu ca parivṛto bhaveya* « I would be surrounded with a thousand kings » [Miii 107]; *dvātriṃśallakṣaṇeṣu upagatam* « endowed with the thirty-two (auspicious) signs » [Mii 38(G)].

(c) The Dative Locative : *sā dāni sudarśanā devī...aparāsu devīṣu jalpati* [see *supra*]; *asmābhiḥ...śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu... udārāṇi dānāni dinnāni* [see *supra*].

(d) The Ablative Locative : *yathā kumbhakāraḥ samānāsu mṛttikāsu bhājanāni karoti* « just as the potter makes (different) pots from the same earth » [S 132]; *janapadeṣu api jano āgacchati* « peoples come from the provinces » [Mii 74]; *yāneṣu pratyāruhya* « getting down from the vehicles [Miii 179]; *yathā mātāye putrapremeṇa staneṣu kṣīram pravaheya evaṃ tasya ṛṣisya tato angulito kṣīram pravahati* « just as milk flows from the mother's breast for love for her child, so also milk flowed from that finger of the sage » [Miii 358].

(e) In the following instance the genitive has been used in apposition to the locative : *vinītāyām bahuśrutāyām...pramadottamāyām bodhisattvāḥ mātuḥ kukṣim avakrāmanti* « the Bodhisattvas resort to the womb of the mother who is well-behaved, educated...and is the best of women » [Mi 205].

---

* *Cf. daridre dīyate dānaṃ saphalam pāṇḍunandana* " the gift given to the poor, O son of Pāṇḍu, is fruitful " [Hitopadeśa].

(f) The Locative with substantives and adjectives: *sarva-vidyāsv atipāragataḥ* "perfectly at home in all branches of learning" [L 50 (G)]; *ye ca deva-manuṣyā bodhisattvasya guṇeṣu pratyakṣāḥ* "those gods and men that are eye-witnesses of the virtues of the Bodhisattva" [L 322]; *yathā kṣetre...pratyakṣas tvam...evaṃ karmavipākeṣu pratyakṣā hi tathāgatāḥ* "as you are the witness in the matter of the field, so the Tathāgatas are witnesses in the evolutions of *karma*" [D 71]; *pañcasu sthāneṣu kṛtāvī saṃvṛttaḥ* "became expert in the five *sthānas*" [D 58; etc.]; *so'haṃ tīrthikasādhāraṇyām ṛddhyāṃ viṣaṇṇaḥ* "I am incapable of those powers common to the *tīrthikas*" [D 44]; *atha yā devatā āyusmati pūrṇe 'bhiprasannāḥ* "now the deities that were pleased with the longlived Pūrṇa" [D 42]; *aṣṭāsu parīkṣāsu udghāṭako vācakaḥ paṇḍitaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ* "he became an expert, an exponent and a master in the eight examinations" [D 3]; *śilpe vā iṣvastre vā hastismiṃ vā dhanutsarusmiṃ vā rājaśāstreṣu vā na kahiṃcit kumāro gatiṃ-gataḥ* "the prince is not educated in art, or in missiles, or in elephants, or in fencing, or in polity" [Mii 73]; *śrāvako'ham asmi sugate* "I am a *śrāvaka* under the Sugata" [Miii 51]; *nāham mahārāja kāmeṣu arthikā* "I am not, O Great King, desirous of pleasures" [Miii 169]; *ahaṃ vo'tra sthāne pratibhūḥ* "I stand guarantee for you in this matter" [S 79].

(g) The Locative of time generally denotes a period as against the instrumental (which then denotes a point of time in that period): *tasyāṃ velāyām* as against *tena samayena*.

(h) The Locative Absolute is abundant in Buddhistic Sanskrit. Examples need not be multiplied: *tatra rātrau vinirgatāyām āditya udite...bodhisattvo vinirgato'bhūt* "then the night having passed away and the sun having risen the Bodhisattva went out" [L 139].

PERIPHRASIS.

As in Middle Indo-Aryan the oblique cases in Buddhistic Sanskrit are generally expressed periphrastically with help-words which serve to make the case-meaning clearer.

The following are the different postpositives with the different cases.

(*a*) The Accusative of space is expressed by the genitive *plus* such adverbs as *samanantataḥ, sāmantena,* the accusative of goal with *uddiśya,* etc.

(*b*) Not only the sociative, but all kinds of the instrumentals are invariably construed with *sārdham, saha, samam, samanvāgata,* etc. The sociative instrumental is sometimes construed in the genitive with *sārdham.* The causal instrumental is expressed by the accusative with *āgamya.*

(*c*) The dative is construed in the genitive with *artha, kṛta, ārabhya, uddiśya, antika,* etc.

(*d*) The ablative is construed in the genitive with *antika* or *santika,* in the accusative with *ārabhya, upādāya,* etc.

(*e*) The locative is construed with *antaḥ, antika,* etc.

[See *infra* under the Nominal Phrase.]

THE CASE-FORMS AS ADVERBS.

The following are the most characteristic of fossilised case-forms used as adverbs :—(1) The instrumental : *pareṇa, paratareṇa, dakṣiṇena,* etc.; *sāmantena, kṣaṇena, nacireṇa, agreṇa, bhūyiṣṭhena, svastinā, paścā.* (2) The ablative : *cirāt, ciracirāt, kiyaccirāt, antikāt,* etc. (3) The genitive : *sucirasya, nacirasya, cirasya,* etc.

THE NOMINAL PHRASE.

Nominal phrases and periphrastic expressions are anything but rare in the Buddhistic Sanskrit. The examples would explain themselves :—

kiṃ kāraṇam « why » [L, S, M, etc.].

tataḥ pareṇa parataram « earlier, more earlier than that » [S].

gandhikānāṃ haste vikrīto « (it) was sold to the perfumers » [Miii 34]; *yadi icchatha rākṣasīnāṃ hastāto mokṣam* « if you wish deliverance from the hands of the demonesses » [Miii 75]; *bodhisattvo chandakasya haste ābharaṇāni ca deti* « the Bodhisattva hands over the ornaments to Chandaka [Mii 165].

yadi etāya mama mūle prema bhave « if she have any love for me » [Mii 65]; *devīye mūle* « regarding the queen » [Mii 66]; *ko vo'tra utsahati samudrapaṭṭanaṃ gantum amukasya sārthavāhasya mūlam* « who of us offers to go to Samudrapaṭṭana to the so and so merchant » [Mii 90]; *tatra ca ṛṣisya mūle aśrutapūrvaṃ ca madhuraṃ gītaśabdaṃ śṛṇoti* « heard an unheard-of sweet sound from the sage » [Mii 96]; *so dāni brāhmaṇo... āśramapadaṃ gatvā gautamasya ṛṣisya mūle pravrajito* « now the Brahman going to the hermitage took to religious mendicancy under the sage Gautama » [Mii 210]; *tataḥ so mama mūlāto gatvā tāye sārdham āsati* « then he going from me sat with her » [Mii 246]; *mālākārasya mūle vasitvā* « dwelling with the garland-maker » [Mii 463]; *mahendrakasya dhītā...kuśasya mūlāto palāyitvā pituḥ sakāśam āgatā* « the daughter of Mahendra, flying from Kuśa, came to her father » [Mii 485].[1]

ātmanā caturthaḥ « the fourth with himself = with his three companions » [Mii 108, 110]; *cf.* French *lui quinzieme* « himself the fifteenth, *i.e.*, he with fourteen others ».

mama kāraṇena = *mama arthāya* = *mamāntareṇa* = *mama kṛtena* « for me » [L, D, S, etc.].

yato adhikaraṇam « whenceforth » [M]; *tato nidānam* « thenceforth » [M].

mama pṛṣṭheṇa pṛṣṭhimaṃ samanubaddhā « they followed at my heels » [Mii 296].

kālena kālam « from time to time » [see *supra*].

sarveṇa sarvam « all in all, *i.e.*, completely » [see *supra*].

cetasā cetaḥ « from mind to mind, *i.e.*, thoroughly » = *cittena cittam* [see *supra*, p. 23 ff.].

vairāṭikāputrasya...sakāśe parivrājakapravrajyāṃ pravrajitā « they adopted the life of religious itineracy under (the guidance of) Vairāṭikāputra » [Miii 59].

---

[1] *tasya amātyaputrasya puṇyavantasya rājaputrasya mūle premnaṃ nipatitaṃ* "the son of the minister fell in love with Puṇyavanta, the king's son" [Miii 39]; *yo'py asmākam mūlāto dārakā jātā* "those sons that are born of us" [Mii 72]; *yathāham tāsāṃ rākṣasīnāṃ mūlāto svastinā muñceya* "so that we may safely get away from the demonesses" [Miii 72].

bhagavato santike brahmacaryaṃ cariṣyāmaḥ « we shall lead the life of a religious student under the Lord » [M]; *tathāgatasyāntike brahmacaryaṃ caritum* « to lead the life of religious studentship under the Tathāgata » [M].

imaṃ ślokaṃ śreṣṭhiputrasya vajrasenasya santike bhaṇatha « utter this verse before Vajrasena, the merchant's son » [Mii 175].

imāṃ gāthāṃ rājño brahmadattasya sakāśāto śṛṇvanti « they hear this verse from the king Brahmadatta » [Miii 191].

ahaṃ rākṣasīdvīpasya madhyena āgacchāmi « I go to the island of the demonesses » [Miii 287].

THE NUMERAL.

The compound *śatasahasra* « hundred thousand » is of very frequent occurrence.

A very noteworthy point is the predominant use of the syntactical compound with numerals instead of having the numeral as an adjective or in the genitive case, as in Old Indo-Aryan; *e.g.*, *caturaśītyā hayarathasahasraiḥ* « with eighty-four thousands of horse carriages » [L].

The following instance is peculiar : *dvecaturaśīti* (2×84)-*ratha-sahasrāṇi* « one hundred sixty-eight thousand chariots » [Mi 259].

THE COMPOUND.

Syntactic compounds are very frequent ; no examples need be adduced.

The following compound formations are peculiar and noteworthy.

suhṛdbruva « one who calls himself a friend » [B 8.35].

upavāsoṣita « fasting a fast » [L 15].

svakasvaka « own » [L, S, D, M].

vṛddhavṛddha « old and old » [L].

nopama for *anupama* « unsurpassed » [L 160].

putradāram « son and wife » [Mi 3].

kākolūkā « crows and owls » [Mi 7].

yenakāmam « according to wish » [M].

yenakāmaṃgamā « going at will » [Mi 31]. Also in Pali.

devadevatā « gods and gods » [Mi 245].

nadīgaṅgā « the river Ganges » : *vayaṃ phaṇasaṅkrameṇa bhagavantaṃ nadīgaṅgām uttārayema* « we would help the Lord to cross the river Ganges through a bridge of our hoods » [D 55].

ehibhikṣukā « the call 'Come, O bhikṣu (*ehi bhikṣo*), be a student with the Tathāgata (*cara tathāgate brahmacaryam*)' » [D, M, etc.].

jāyāpatikam « husband and wife » [D 259].

jīvantīśūlā : *jīvantīśūlāṃ kārayati* « impales a woman alive » [D 417].

ardhaprahasantī « (a woman) half smiling » [Mii 72].

samasama « equal, rival » [Mii 75].

aśvavānijya « a trade in horses » [Mii 167].

vāhiravāhireṇa « outside and outside » [Mii 254].

kulakula : *kulakuleṣu bhikṣentā* « begging from house to house » [Miii 73].

sthavirasthavira « old and old, *i.e.*, very old » [Miii 103].

diśodiśaṃ « hither and thither » [Miii 146].

laṅghitabahubhiḥ for *bahulaṅghitaiḥ* [Miii 254 (G)].

śūnyaśūnya « all empty » [Saundarananda, 1.10].

ciracirāt « for a very long time » [D].

sarātrim « the whole night » [D 5].

atikrāntātikrānta : *vayaṃ devamanuṣyeṣu atikrāntātikrāntāḥ* « we among gods and men, have crossed (the stream of sorrow) » [D 47].

aṅgamaṅgāni « limbs and limbs, *i.e.*, all limbs » [Miii 258].

THE VERB.

Introductory.

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the finite verb occurs more frequently than in the classical Sanskrit. In the latter the finite verb is very often replaced by the passive construction with the past

participle in *-ta* or by the active construction with the possessive adjective formed from the past participle in *-ta* with the suffix *-vant*. The passive construction with *-ta* formations, though not unknown, are comparatively rare in Buddhistic Sanskrit, while the other construction, the active construction with *-ta-vant* is almost unknown.

The writers of Buddhistic Sanskrit—Aśvaghoṣa not excepted—were very fond of putting a number of verbs one after another, mostly for the sake of emphasis. Thus : *imaṃ cāgāram ādīptaṃ na jānanti na budhyante na vidanti na cetayante nodvegam āpadyante* • they do not know, nor perceive, nor understand, nor realise, nor feel concerned, that that house (is) on fire • [S 72]; *te kumārakāḥ...tad bhāṣitaṃ nāvabudhyante nodvijanti nottrasanti na saṃtrasanti na saṃtrāsam āpadyante na vicintayanti na nirdhāvanti nāpi jānanti na vijānanti kimetad ādīptaṃ nāma* • the boys cannot understand his words, nor do they feel terrified..., nor do they think, nor do they run, nor do they know... what is to be on fire • [S 73].

Aśvaghoṣa was very fond of verbs. Thus, for instance : *ekaṃ vininye sa jugopa sapta saptaiva tatyāja rarakṣa pañca* । *prāpa trivargaṃ bubudhe trivargaṃ jajñe dvivargaṃ prajahau dvivargam* ॥ • he subjugated the one, he cherished the seven; he discarded the seven, he nourished the five; he attained the group of three, he realised the group of three; he cultivated the group of two, he gave up the group of two • [B 2.41]; *ruroda mamlau virurāva jaglau babhrāma tasthau vilalāpa dadhyau* । *cakāra roṣaṃ vicakāra mālyaṃ cakarta vaktraṃ vicakarṣa vastram* ॥ • (the wife of Nanda) cried, drooped, wept, pined, ran, stood, mourned, thought, showed anger, threw off the garland, struck at her face, and tore at the clothes • [Saundarananda, 6.34].

The desiderative (verbs as well as nouns and adjectives) are rare in Buddhistic Sanskrit generally. But in the works of Aśvaghoṣa they are too frequent. Thus : (1) verbs : *ajihīrṣīt, acikīrṣīt, avivakṣīt, adidhakṣīt, arurukṣat, yiyāsanti, parīpsanti,*

jigīṣanti, jighṛkṣati [B]; (2) nouns : *didṛkṣā, vivakṣā, niścikramiṣā, vivatsā, jijīviṣā, cikīrṣā, jighāṃsā* [B]; (3) present participles : *āruruksant, rirakṣiṣant* [B]; (4) adjectives : *niścikramiṣu, mumukṣu, nirmumukṣu, vijighāṃsu, yiyāsu, vijijñāsu, bubhukṣu, amumukṣu, pipāsu, titīrṣu, didṛkṣu, jihīrṣu, śuśrūṣu, prepsu, jigīṣu, jighāṃsu, didhakṣu* [B].

The middle voice is almost entirely absent in Buddhistic Sanskrit (excepting of course the writings of Aśvaghoṣa). The passive voice also is comparatively rare.

Compound verbs—consisting of the accusative of the verbal noun *plus* the root *kṛ*—do occur in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the Divyāvadāna, and the Mahāvastu. Thus : *kṣoditaṃ kṛtvā* "having pounded" [S 134]; *teṣāṃ ca stūpānām pūjāṃ kariṣyati* "will worship the *stūpas*" [S 161]; *bodhisattvam...adhiṣṭhānaṃ kṛtvā* "having established the Bodhisattva" [S 405]; *āgamanaṃ kuruṣva* "do you come" [D 43]. This idiom is current in Bengali as well as in very late Sanskrit.

The causative forms are often used instead of the simple forms [*svārthe ṇic* of the Sanskrit grammarians], *e.g.*, *smārayati* for *smarati*.

THE TENSE.

The Present.

The present is very often an equivalent of the aorist : *avagāhyottarāt samudrāt pratyuttarati | pratyuttīrya samyag eva ṛddhyā vihāyasā rājadhānīm āgatyopari antaḥpuradvāre 'kṣatam evāsthāt* "having plunged he got out of the northern sea; having got out he came to the capital with his powers through air and sat safe on the door of the seraglio" [L 17].

Sometimes the present is used for not very proximate past: *tahim eva divāvihāraṃ kalpayitvā smṛtiṃ pratilabhate* "spending the day there he regained (his) memory" [Mii 264].

The present with the particle *sma* expresses durative past. Examples are too frequent to be cited. But very often such a present is a perfect equivalent of the perfect and the aorist.

The Imperfect.

The past tense is indicated either by the perfect, the imperfect, and the aorist or by the present with *sma*, and sometimes with passive past participles in *-ta*. There is no syntactic difference between the imperfect, the perfect, and the aorist. Of these three the imperfect forms are the least frequent.

The Perfect.

In the Buddhacarita and in the Saundarananda the perfect forms by far outnumber the aorist. In the Buddhacarita the perfect occurs with about 145 roots and about 645 times,[1] while the aorist occurs with 11 roots and about 25 times. In the Saundarananda the third canto has nothing but perfect forms.

But in Buddhistic Sanskrit proper the perfect occurs very rarely.

In the Lalitavistara the perfect occurs with these roots: *sthā, stu (abhi-), ah.*

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka it occurs with these roots: *vac, sthā, ah, kṛ.*

In the Mahāvastu it occurs with these roots: *vac* (several times), *bhū, bhāṣ, hṛ(vi-), dṛś.*

[For the periphrastic perfect, see *infra.*]

The Aorist.

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the aorist is the most living of the tense forms. In the Lalitavistara it occurs with the roots: *sthā, stu (abhi-), dṛś, pracch, bhū, vac, jñā, dhā (antar-), kṛ, śru, hṛ (vi-ā-)*, etc.; in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with the roots:

---

[1] The following roots occur with the perfect in the Buddhacarita : *arc, āp, i, kam, kamp, kāṅkṣ, kāś, kuc, kṛ, kram, krīḍ, kruś, kṣip, kṣubh, gad, gam, gal, gā, gāh, gup, granth, ghūrṇ, cakṣ, car, cal, chid, jan, jap, jalp, ji, jīv, jṛmbh, jval, tap, tam, tuṣ, tṛ, tyaj, tras, dā, dṛś, dru, dviṣ, dhā, dhṛ, dhyā, nad, nand, nam, naś, nind, nī, nṛt, pat, pad, pā, puṣ, pṛch, plu, phull, bandh, barh, budh, bhaj, bhā, bhāṣ, bhās, bhid, bhī, bhuj, bhṛ, bhram, bhrāj, man, mā, muc, mud, muṣ, mṛ, mṛś, yā, rakṣ, rañj, rabh, ram, rāj, ru, ruh, lap, labh, lamb, lih, lī, vac, vand, valg, vā, vās, vij, viś, vṛdh, vṛṣ, vyath, śak, śam, śaṃs, śās, śī, śuc, śram, śru, śvas, sad, sañj, sah, siñc, sū, sṛ, sṛj, sṛp, sev, skhal, stambh, stu, sthā, snā, spṛś, spkūrj, smi, smṛ, sru, svaj, svan, han, has, hā, hṛ, hṛṣ, heṣ, hrī, hve.*

bhu, vac, dṛś, pad (*ut-*), *bhañj* (*pra-*), *ji* (*parā-*), *sthā, kṛ, kṛ* (*vi-ā-*), *sad* (*ni-*), *śru, dā, kṣip*, etc.; in the Mahāvastu with the roots : *kr* (*vi-ā-*), *dṛś, kṛ, vac, śru, sthā, bhū, sad* (*ni-*), *jñā, i* (*adhi-*), etc.

In the Buddhacarita the ratio between the aorist[1] and the perfect is about 1 : 20. In the Saundarananda, Canto II, all the verbs are aorists.

As in classical Sanskrit there is no syntactical difference between the aorist and the perfect, *e.g.*, *idam avocat bhagavān, idaṃ vaditvā sugato hyathāparam etad uvāca śāstā* « the Lord said this, having said this Sugata the teacher said again » [S 357].

The Future.

The future is sometimes used for the habitual present : *so dānī tataḥ yānapātrāto pratināvam āruhiṣyati* « he then has to change boats » [Mii 90].

The future is often interchangeable with the optative [see Optative, *infra*].

In the following instance the aorist-optative has been correlated with the future : *kāmaṃ khalu me śākyā tīkṣṇena śastreṇa aṅgamaṅgāni chindensuḥ saṃpradālensuḥ na tveva rāhulaśirisya svakasya putrasya nācikṣiṣyam* « Śākyas may well chop or pound (my) limbs with sharp weapons, yet I never shall not divulge (it) to my son Rāhulaśrī » [Miii 258].

[See Periphrasis, *infra*.]

THE PERIPHRASIS.

The Periphrastic Future.

The periphrastic future does not occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit proper, but it appears in the Buddhacarita. In the latter the third personal forms, as usual, are without the auxiliary root *as*. There are only two instances : *kim eṣa doṣo bhavitā mamāpi* « would this defect accrue to me also? » [3.32]; *na punar ahaṃ*

[1] In the Buddhacarita the simple aorist occurs with the roots : *i* (*adhi-*), *kr, gam, car, tap, bhū, śak, yaj, vac, śī, hā*; the reduplicated aorist with *jval, bhid, han, hṛ, kṛ, rakṣ, vaç* and *dih*.

kapilāhvayaṃ praviṣṭā « I will not again enter (the city of) Kapila(-vāstu) » [5.84].

The Periphrastic Perfect.

The periphrastic perfect is not more frequent than the simple perfect in Buddhistic Sanskrit. In the Lalitavistara it occurs only with *sthā(pra-)*, *e.g.*, *pratiṣṭhāpayām-āsa* [43]; in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with 15 roots,[1] all with the auxiliary *as*; in the Mahāvastu it does not occur at all.

In the Buddhacarita the periphrastic perfect occurs with about 22 roots giving about 32 forms—20 with the auxiliary *as*, 7 with *kṛ*, and 5 with *bhū*. Three instances occur where the auxiliary is separated from the principal root by an intervening word[2]: *mātṛṣvasā mātṛsamaprabhāvā saṃvardhayām ātmajavad babhūva* « the aunt (mother's sister), prevailing as the mother, reared (him) up as her own son » [2.19]; *divyair viśeṣair mahayāṃ ca cakruḥ* « they worshipped (him) with celestial preparations » [6.58]; *tataś ca taiḥ pratyarcayāṃ dharmabhṛto babhūva* « then with those he honoured the sages in turn » [7.9].

With the Present Indicative of *as* and the Imperfect Indicative of *bhū*.

In the Buddhacarita and in the Divyāvadāna the passive past participle with the present indicative of *as* is often used for the finite verb form, *e.g.*, *asti...dṛṣṭaḥ* « is seen » [D 70]; and in the Lalitavistara and in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with the imperfect of *bhū*, *e.g.*, *aham...magadheṣu prakrānto'bhūt* « I went to Magadha » [L 299]; *samādhiṃ samāpanno'bhūt* « was absorbed in meditation » [S 19].

---

[1] *cintayāmāsa, cintayāmāsuḥ, anuvicintayāmāsa, āmantrayāmāsa, abhipravarṣayāmāsuḥ, abhipravādayāmāsuḥ, ārocayāmāsuḥ, niryātayāmāsuḥ, pravartayāmāsa, saṃpreṣayāmāsuḥ, avalokayāmāsa, pravartayāmāsuḥ, dhārayāmāsuḥ, vedayāmāsuḥ, deśayāmāsuḥ, prajvālayāmāsa, pratiṣṭhāpayāmāsa, ādīpayāmāsa.*

[2] In the Raghuvaṃśa two such instances occur : *taṃ pātayāṃ prathamam āsa papāta paścāt* " (the arrow) felled it and then fell itself " [9.61] ; *prabhraṃśayāṃ yo nahuṣaṃ cakāra* " who caused Nahuṣa to fall " [13.36].

Peculiar as well as interesting is the following instance from the Buddhacarita, where the finite verb *asmi* "I am" has been used for the regular pronoun *aham* : *mā bhūn matis te nṛpa kācid anyā niḥsaṃśayaṃ tad yad avocam asmi* "may you have no other thought, O king; certain it is that I have said" [1.72]. This idiom appears sporadically in the epics as well as in classical Sanskrit. Mallinātha, in his commentary on the Kirātārjunīya [3.6], says that *asmi* is an indeclinable used for the first personal pronoun. He quotes the Gaṇavyākhyāna as his authority and cites an example : *dāse kṛtāgasi bhavaty ucitaḥ prabhūṇāṃ pādaprahāra iti sundari nāsmi dūye* "a kick to the offending servant is proper for the masters : so I do not grudge, O beautiful lady". There are other examples too : *candragrahaṇena vinā nāsmi rame* "unless you take the moon I do not play". Occasionally *asti* is used for the third person. Boehtlingk and Roth quote the Vāmanapurāṇa (5.2.82) for a corresponding use of *asi* for the second person. This idiom has evident connection with the periphrastic future forms, *dātāsmi* and *dātāham* "I shall give"—the latter form occurring sporadically in the epics.

THE MODES.

The Optative.

As in Old Indo-Aryan the optative was often used for the future : *yaś ca me dharmaṃ deśitam ājānīyāt na ca māṃ sa viheṭhayet* "he who shall understand the *dharma* taught by me, shall not hate me" [L 524]. *yadā tvaṃ naradatta śṛṇuyā*[1] *buddho loka utpanna iti tadā tvaṃ gatvā tasya śāsane pravrajeḥ*[1] *tat te bhaviṣyati dīrgharātram arthāya hitāya sukhāya* "when you, Naradatta, shall hear that the Buddha has come into the world, then you shall go and take the holy order under him; it shall for long conduce for your benefit, good and happiness" [L 123].

[1] Hortative Future.

In the following instance the optative is correlated to the future : *sa ced asāv imaṃ dharmaṃ śroṣyaty ājñāsyati tasyaivāhaṃ prathamaṃ dharmaṃ deśayiṣye na ca māṃ sa viheṭhayet* « if he hears and understands, to him shall I first divulge my *dharma*; (and) he shall not spite me » [L 524].

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka the optative has regularly been used in narration; *e.g.*, *tad yathāpi nāma śāriputreha syāt kaścid eva grāme vā nagare vā...gṛhapatiḥ...mahac cāsya niveśanaṃ bhavet...ekadvāraṃ ca tan niveśanaṃ bhavet...tasya ca puruṣasya bahavaḥ kumārakāḥ syuḥ*, etc. « as there may be, O Śāriputra, in a village or in a town a householder...his residence may be big...it may have only one door...the man may have many boy children... » [72-76]; *tad yathāpi nāma kulaputrāḥ kaścid eva vaidyapuruṣo bhavet...tasya...bahavaḥ putrā bhaveyuḥ sa ca vaidyaḥ pravāsagato bhavet*, etc. « as it is, O gentlemen, there may be a physician...he may have many sons and that physician may have gone abroad » [320-322].

In the following instance the optative is an equivalent of the imperfect : *sā tena ceṣṭālalitena bhartuḥ śāṭhyena cāntarmanasā jahāsa | bhavec ca ruṣṭā kila nāma tasmai lalāṭajihmām bhrukuṭiṃ cakāra ||*[1]

The Imperative.

The imperative is very rarely used in a future sense and appears correlated with the future : *mātare samāgacchatu mā iha anāhāro mariṣyati* « let him join the mother, so that he may not die of starvation » [Miii 131-32]. *mādharmeṇa rājyaṃ kāraya mā narakaparāyaṇo bhaviṣyasi* « do not rule unrighteously; (therefore) do not be destined for the hell » [D 59].

The negative practice *mā* is very often construed with the imperative : *mā bhavatu* « be it not » [M]; *mā vilamba* « do not tarry » [M]; *mā...tiṣṭhata* « do not stand » [S 106]; *mā bhavanto'smin ..abhiramadhvam* « do not make merry in this » [S 79].

[1] " She, at that gracefully expressed disloyalty of her husband, laughed within herself; she was angry at him for show, and (hence) put up a frown with the forehead tucked " [Saundarananda, 4.15]. See the Conditional, *infra*.

In the Lalitavistara *mā* is very often construed with the aorist.[1]

The passive imperative occurs several times in the Lalitavistara : *iyaṃ bhagini suvarṇapātrī kiṃ kriyatām* « what, O sister, should be done with this cup of gold » [335]. It hardly occurs in other texts.

The Conditional.

The conditional does not occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit proper. In the Mahāvastu an instance occurs where the future indicative is correlated with the future optative, in the sense of the conditional : *yadi tathāgato'nuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho na bhaviṣyati saṃsāre saṃsaranto bhagavanto yattakā etāni chattrāṇi tattakāni cakravartirājyāni kārayiṣyet* « had the Tathāgata not attained the perfect supreme knowledge, the lord, dwelling in the world, would rule over so many imperial dominions as there are umbrellas here » [Mi 267].

In the Saundarananda the conditional has once been replaced by the optative : *tāṃ sundarīṃ cen na labheta nandaḥ sā vā niṣeveta na taṃ natabhrūḥ | dvandvaṃ dhruvaṃ tad vikalaṃ na śobhetānyonyahīnāv iva rātricandrau* « had not Nanda won her, or had she, the arch-browed one, not accepted him, surely the couple, thus eclipsed, would have suffered (in beauty) like the night and the moon divorced from each other » [4.7].

In the Buddhacarita the conditional occurs in one instance : *yadi hy ahreṣiṣyata bodhayan janaṃ kṣuraiḥ kṣitau vā'py akariṣyata dhvanim | hanusvanaṃ vā'janayiṣyad uttamaṃ na cā'bhaviṣyan mama duḥkham īdṛśam* « if (the horse) had neighed

---

[1] The negative particle *mā* is used with—

(1) the aorist (as in the classical Sanskrit) ;

(2) the imperative (as sometimes in the classical Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *mā jalpa sāhasini* " do not talk, O daring lady ") ;

(3) the future : *mā me ..bhaviṣyati* " may it not be " [M] ; *mā iha anāhāro mariṣyati* " may he not die here of starvation " [Mm 131-32] ;

(4) the present : *mā me bhūya āgacchasi* " do not come to me again " [Mi 244] ; *so'pi taṃ bhikṣum dṛṣṭvā śaṅkī saṃvṛtto mā me bhikṣu imamhi adhiṣṭhānamhi dūṣayatīti* " he too, on seeing the *bhikṣu*, became anxious, (thinking,) ' may he not defile this place ' " [Mi 244]. *mā'si tṛṣitaḥ, mā tṛṣito'si* " be not thirsty " [D 9, 11],

waking people, or had it raised sound by (striking) the hoofs on the ground, or had it made loud sound of the bit in its mouth, such sorrow would not have been mine » [8.41].

The Precative.

The only occurrence of the precative that I have noted occurs in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka where it has been used along with the future and not differentiated in sense from the future: *yo me jyeṣṭhaṃ dharmam anupradāsyaty arthaṃ cākhyāsyati tasyāhaṃ dāso bhūyāsam* « he who would import to me the best *dharma* and teach (it) and explain the meaning (of it), to him I shall be a slave » [257]. One instance occurs in the Buddhacarita: *bhūyād ayam bhūmipatir yathoktaḥ* « may he be a king as predicted » [1.53].

THE PARTICIPLE.

[i] The Passive Past-Participle.

In the passive constructions the past participle occurs in all the texts. As in classical Sanskrit the participle with the verbs meaning to go is used in the active voice, *e.g.*, *manda-mandaṃ saṃprasthitaḥ* « he went away slowly » [D 7].

[ii] The Possessive Past-Participle.

The use of the possessive past-participle for the finite verb in the active constructions does not seem to occur in the Lalitavistara[1] where it occurs only as adjectives [116, etc.], nor in the Mahāvastu. It does occur in other texts; *e.g.*, *sa...brahmacaryaṃ saṃprakāśitavān* « he manifested the religious studentship » [S 18]; but it is not so frequent as the passive participle.

[iii] The Perfect Participle.

The following are the perfect participles used in the different Buddhistic Sanskrit texts.

[1] One instance however occurs in L.—*anuṣṭhitavantaḥ* [476].

In the Buddhacarita: *ūcivān* «said» [3.43]; *upeyivān* «came» [5.8]; *sameyivān* «came» [5.10]; *upajagmivān* «arrived» [12.2]; *tasthuṣī* «sat» [7.36].

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka the only occurrence is *upeyivān* [257]. All these are used for the finite verb.

It does not occur in the Mahāvastu.

THE CONJUNCTIVE.

The most striking thing about the conjunctive in Buddhistic Sanskrit is its absolute use, *i.e.*, its not having the same subject as the finite verb. This is incorrect according to Sanskrit grammar no doubt, yet there are many such instances available in Vedic as well as in classical Sanskrit.[1] It is found even in the works of Aśvaghoṣa, which, strictly speaking, do not belong to Buddhistic Sanskrit proper. Thus: *tam prekṣya kasmāt tava dhīra vāṣpaḥ* «seeing him why, O firm one, (does) your tears (flow)?» [B 1.68]; *ato me dhyānāni labdhvāpy akṛtārthataiva* «so though obtaining the *dhyānas*, still (there is) my unsuccess» [B 1.82]; *na cāpy akṛtvā bhavati siddhiḥ* «not having done, the success cannot come» [L 41 (G)]; *tān dṛṣṭvā tasya kāruṇyam utpannam* «seeing them his pity was excited» [D 7]; *śrutvā...kiyantaṃ kuśalam bhavet* «having heard (it) how much good can accrue?» [S 345 (G)]; *sarvasya janasya tāṃ dṛṣṭvā ghṛṇā utpadyati* «on seeing her abhorrence comes over to all men» [Mi 352].

In classical Sanskrit the conjunctive is sometimes used absolutely with the negative particles *mā* and *khalu* [P 3.4.18]. A similar idiom sometimes appears in Buddhistic Sanskrit; *e.g.*, *kiṃ tarhi devāṃś ca manuṣyāṃś ca saṃvācya* «what is the good of having lived among the gods and men?» [D 70].

---

[1] *taṃ hainaṃ dṛṣṭvā bhīr viveda* "seeing him fear came upon (them)" [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 11.6.1.7]; *tān bhūmau patitān dṛṣṭvā...mahāṃs trāso 'bhavan mama* "seeing them fallen on the ground a great fear arose in me" [Rāmāyaṇa, 3.21.10]; *raso'py asya paraṃ dṛṣṭvā nivartate* "seeing the Supreme his desire vanishes" [Gīta]; *dilīpānantaraṃ rājye taṃ niśamya pratiṣṭhitam | pūrvam pradhūmito rājñām hṛdaye'gnir ivotthitaḥ ||* "hearing of him as established in his dominions...the fire...became aflame" [Raghuvaṃśa, 4.2].

A chain of conjunctives is very often used instead of separate sentences with finite verbs (as also is the case in the latest stage of Sanskrit). An extreme example is the following : *sa khalu aham bhikṣavaḥ anupūrveṇa kāyabalasthānaṃ janayitvā sujātaye grāmikāye madhupāyasaṃ gṛhītvā nāganandīkālasamaye yena nadī nairañjanā tenupasaṃkramitvā nadyāṃ nairañjanāyāṃ gātrāṇi śītalīkṛtvā yena svastiko yāvasikaḥ tenopasaṃkramitvā svastikaṃ yāvasikaṃ tṛṇamuṣṭiṃ yācitvā yena bodhiyaṣṭi tenopasaṃkramitvā bodhiyaṣṭiye purato anyatarāya tṛṇasaṃstaram prajñapayitvā bodhiyaṣṭiṃ triṣkṛtyo pradakṣiṇīkṛtvā niṣīdi paryaṅkam ābhuñjitvā ṛju prācīnābhimukho purimaṃ kāyam praṇidhāya pratimukhāṃ smṛtim upasthāpayitvā* « then I, O *bhikṣus*, generating physical strength and vigour, (and) accepting sweet porridge from the village maiden Sujātā, (and)...going to the river Nairañjanā, (and) cooling the limbs in the river Nairañjanā, (and) going over where Svastika Yāvasika (was), (and) begging a handful of straw of Svastika Yāvasika, (and) going over where the Bodhi plant (was), having strewn the straw before the Bodhi plant, (and) having thrice circumambulating the Bodhi plant, sat down (after) having squatted, (and) having made the body rigid and straight, looking towards the east, (and) having resorted to favourable memory » [Mii 131].

The conjunctive is sometimes used for the finite verb : *kācit parasparasya upagṛhya kācid vāmadakṣiṇāto vikṣiptagātrā kāsāñcit mukhāto lālā sravati* « some (women) embraced each other : some (had) their bodies reclining towards the right or left; (and) some had their mouths watering » [Mii 159]; *sarve te eva rūpeṣu dvipādeṣu puṇyakṣetreṣu kuśalāni kṛtvā* « they all did good for such...fields of goodness » [Mii 183].

THE VERBAL PHRASE.

[See Periphrasis : p. 47f., *supra*].

The different case relations are expressed by means of verbal phrases consisting of the conjunctives. Thus—

āgamya « having come » : *yā kācid asmākaṃ śrīsaubhāgyasampat sarvāsau buddham bhagavantam āgamya* « whatever

beauty, fortune or wealth we have, all those are owing to the lord Buddha » [D 95]; *mālatīm āgamya* « due to Mālatī » [Mi 313].

ārabhya « beginning », « regarding »; see *supra*.

upādāya « taking »: *tam eva divasam upādāya* « from that very day » [D 25]; *yad upādāya rājā vipravāsito tād upādāya devo na varṣati* « since when the king was banished since then the god does not rain » [Miii 44].

uddiśya « having detected » ; see *supra*.

niśritya « resorting to »: *dakṣiṇaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati* « remained in the right side of the womb » [D 98].

saṃdhāya « having fixed »: *tam...saṃdhāya* « with reference to it » [D 89].

sthāpayitvā « having kept aside, excepted »: *sthāpayitvā bāhubalam* « bodily strength excepted » S [79].

Other phrases :

iti kṛtvā « thus having done », « therefore », « because » *dāsakaś cirāyatīti kṛtvā pālako'bhihitaḥ* « as the servant was making late, Pālaka was addressed » [D 5]; *na ca vaireṇa vairāṇi śāmyante iti kṛtvā imaṃ ślokaṃ uvāca* « he uttered the verse because (he thought that) enmities are not removed by enmity » [Mi 157].

ādau kṛtvā « taking at the lead » : *manasāpi tāsām pramadottamānāṃ rāgo notpadyate sarvapuruṣeṣu bhartāram ādau kṛtvā* « of these best of women (illicit) love does not appear even at heart because of (their king) their husband at the top, *i.e.*, because they have the highest regard for the husband, they give never even a thought to disloyalty » [Mi 272].

samitim asamitiṃ kṛtvā « making the meeting no meeting; *i.e.*, dissolving the meeting » [D 41].

so'haṃ tasya vacanam avacanaṃ kṛtvā mahāsamudram avatīrṇaḥ « I, disregarding his advice, set sail in the ocean » [D 41].

Compound verbs : *śleṣaṃ dattvā* (for *śliṣṭvā*) « having embraced » [D 64]; *prahāraṃ dattvā* (for *prahṛtya*) « having

beaten » [D 31]; *śraddhayā gacchanti* (for *śraddadhati*) « believes » [D 17].

THE SENTENCE.

The Divyāvadāna shows a peculiar idiom of suppressing the finite verb; *e.g.*, *pūrveṇa krośamātraṃ gatvā mahat candanavanam* « there is a great forest of sandalwood on going just a *krośa* to the east » [113]; *tatra tena puruṣeṇa tāmrapaṭṭaiḥ pādau baddhvā tān parvatān vīryabalena laṅghayitvā sapta kṣāranadyaḥ...sapta kṣāranadīḥ samatikramya triśaṅkur nāma parvataḥ* « there the man having mailed his feet with copper sheet, and (then) having crossed these mountains by might, seven rivers of acid (would appear before him);...crossing the seven rivers of acid the mountain called Triśanku (appears) [D 106].

In the Mahāvastu a verb is sometimes repeated in the same sentence probably for emphasis: *syāt khalu punar bhikṣavo yuṣmākam evaṃ syāt* « thus, O *bhikṣus*, it may occur to you » [ii 72, etc.]. *Cf. uttiṣṭha pāpa caura asti nāma tvaṃ rājakulaṃ dharṣayasi* « rise, you villain thief, you indeed (dare to) break into the royal palace » [ii 168].[1]

In the Mahāvastu is found the idiom that obtains in the narrative prose of classical Sanskrit—the idiom of suppressing the finite verb in the opening sentences of a narrative; *e.g.*, *kaliṅgeṣu dantapuraṃ nāma nagaram* « in the province of Kaliṅga there (was) a city called Dantapura » [Miii 361]; *asmakeṣu godāvarī nadī* « in the country of the Asmakas there (is) the river Godāvarī » [Miii 363].

THE CORRELATIVES.

The following correlatives occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit:—

yāvat...tāvat « as long...so long » this is the order of the

[1] It may be that *iti* is understood and *asti* has for its nominative *etat* understood. *Iti* is very often suppressed in Buddhistic Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *asrauṣīt...uttiyasya śreṣṭhisya dhītā abhiyo bhikṣur bhagavatā...samyaksambodhaye vyākṛto* "the daughter of the merchant Utttiya heard that the *bhikṣu* Uttiya has been instructed by the lord in the perfect realisation" [M 44].

correlatives in classical Sanskrit but in Buddhistic Sanskrit the order is generally reversed : *sa sārtha tāvads gato yāvat prabhātam* « the caravan set out then when it was dawn » [D 5]. *na tāvad aham punarapi kapilavastu mahānagaram pravekṣyāmi yāvan me nānuttarā samyaksambodhir abhisambodhyā* « so long I shall not enter the great city of Kapilavastu as long as the perfect realisation (still remains) to be realised by me » [S 282]. Sometimes *tāvat* is omitted : *svapiti kumāro maharṣe muhūrtam āgamaya yāvad utthāsyati* « the prince sleeps, O great sage; wait a moment till the prince wakes » [S 117].

yena...tena « where...there » : *yena bhagavāṃs tenāñjalim praṇamya* « having bowed to the direction where the lord (was) » [L 6, 7]. Sometimes *tena* is suppressed : *te'pi sarve yena bodhimaṇḍapraṇatā abhūvan* « all of them bowed to the direction of the Bodhi seat » [L 341]. Sometimes *yena* is correlated to *tatra* : *yena daridravīthī tatrāsmākam āhāracīvaram alpakṛcchreṇaivotpadyate* « where (there is) the slum there our food and raiment can easily be got » [S 103].

api . api « both...and » : *api bhikṣavo vītarāgatvād api paryupāsitatvāt* « both for loss of attachment, O bhikṣus, and for reverence » [D 57].

yac ca...yac ca « both...and » : *yac ca kāśyapena samyaksambuddhena yac caitarhi bhagavatā* « both by Kāśyapa the perfectly Awakened One and by the lord now » [D 77].

yenāntareṇa...tenāntareṇa « while...then » : *yenāntareṇa pañca śākyakumāraśatā mātāpitṝṇām mitrajñātisālohitānāṃ ca pratisammodenti tenāntareṇa upāli prathamataram pravrajito* « while the five hundred Śākya youths were remonstrating with their parents, kinsmen and relatives, in that interval Upāli was the firstto take holy orders » [Miii 180].

THE PADAS OF CAṆḌĪDĀSA

II

1. In the Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa we have the following in the song No. 335 (*vide* p. 148) :—

পীরিতি বলিয়া একটী কমল
রসের সায়র মাঝে।
প্রেম পরিমল লুবধ ভ্রমর
ধাওল আপন কাজে॥
ভ্রমর জানয়ে কমল-মাধুরী
তেঁই সে তাহার বশ।
রসিক জানয়ে রসের চাতুরী
আনে করে অপযশ॥
সই, এ কথা বুঝিবে কে।
যে জন জানয়ে সে যদি না কহে
কেমনে ধরিব দে॥
ধরম করম লোক-চরচাতে
এ কথা বুঝিতে নারে।
এ তিন আখর যাহার মরমে
সেই সে বুঝিতে পারে॥
কহে চণ্ডীদাস শুন হে নাগরি
পীরিতি রসের সার।
পীরিতি রসের রসিক নহিলে
কি ছার জীবন তার॥

But in the University manuscript No. 3436, we have a similar pada attributed to Narahari :—

পীরিতি বলিয়ে একটী কমল
রূপীমু হীয়ার মাঝে।
প্রেম-পরিমল লোভিত ভ্রমর
ধায়ল আপন কাজে॥

ভমরা জানয়ে কমল মাধুরি
তেয়ি সে তাহার বস।
রসিক জানয়ে রসের চাতুরি
আনে কহে অপজস ॥
সুজন কুজন জে জন না জানে
তাহারে কহিব কি।
পরানে পরানে জে জন মীলয়ে
তাহারে পরাণ দি ॥
ধরম করম লোক চরাচর
এ কথা বুঝিতে নারে।
জাহার রিদয়ে এ তিন আখর
সেই সে বুঝিতে পারে ॥
কহে নরহরি শুনগো সুন্দরি
পীরিতি রসের সার।
পীরিতি রসের রসিক নইলে
কি ছার জীবন তার ॥

These two padas are almost similar with the exception of lines 9-12 and the names of the authors in the colophons. It should be observed that in the colophon নরহরি rhymes with সুন্দরি in the pada of the University manuscript quoted above, but in the Parisad edition we have কহে চণ্ডীদাস শুনহে নাগরি where there is no rhyming at all. Though instances are not wanting where two half lines of the Tripadi metre do not rhyme, yet when we have rhyme in such half lines, it indicates a better metrical sound. Here are some instances of typical rhyming :—

চণ্ডীদাসের মন মরুক সে জন
পর চরচায় থাকে ॥ Song No. 337.
চণ্ডীদাস বলে ভাঁড়াইলা ভালে
ধন্য রাধা ঠাকুরাণী ॥ Song No. 333.
চণ্ডীদাসে কয় হিয়ায় সহয়
সকলি গরল হৈল।
কিছু কিছু সুধা বিষগুণা আধা
চিরজীবী দেহ কৈল ॥ Song No. 339.

But in the cases like

খাইতে খাইছি শুইতে শুইছি
আছিতে আছয়ে ঘরে।
চণ্ডীদাসে কয় ইঙ্গিত পাইলে
আগুন ভেজায় ঘরে॥

Song No. 336.

it is to be seen whether any change have been made in ইঙ্গিত পাইলে before we can be sure about the absolute correctness of the pada. The padas attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa are multiplying day after day, and an idea has gained ground that greater the number of padas collected, the higher is the credit due to the compiler. The time, however, has now come to apply critical tests to find out the real author of a song. The observation of the rhyming in the colophons may supply valuable data to come to the right conclusion in some cases, with, of course, verification from other sources. Here in the song under review, it is to be observed that the song is attributed to নরহরি in the University manuscript. We also find that rhyming there is good. It may, therefore, be suggestive of the song being originally composed by নরহরি and not by Caṇḍīdāsa.

2. In the University manuscript No. 3436, we have the following pada ascribed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

রসের ভজন রস আস্বাদন
যুনহ রসীক ভাই।
শ্রীরূপের মত সেই সতসিদ্ধ
ছয় তত্ত্ব জাতে পাই॥
জুগল ভজন তাহার জাজন
বেদবিধি অগোচর।
ব্রজভাব লয়ে ভজন কোরিলে
সেই পায় গীরিধর॥
ভজন লক্ষণ শুন সাবধান
কিবল বিস্বাষ মূল।
সাধুগুরু সেবা নিজ আত্মা সপা
ইহাতে না হয় ভুল॥

চণ্ডীদাসে কয় ভজন এ হয়
রাখিহ হিদয় মাঝে।
কোরিলে প্রকাশ হবে সর্ব্বনাশ
জাইতে নারিবে ব্রজে ॥

But in the Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa we do not find a song of this nature included in 830 songs published under the name of that great poet. This makes us doubtful about the real author of the song. Moreover, we have pointed out before that invocation to Śrī Rūpa furnishes a test for finding out the real author of a song. Śrī Rūpa, whether it signifies Rūpa Goswāmī, or the chief Sakhī of Rādhā, is an innovation in the Vaiṣṇava songs introduced by poets who are much later in date than Caṇḍīdāsa. In fact Śrī Rūpa was never mentioned with great reverence by the earlier Vaiṣṇava poets. As we find Śrī Rūpa mentioned reverentially in the song under review, we are inclined to believe that this song was never composed by the poet Caṇḍīdāsa. This is the second test that puts us in doubt about the real author of this song.

Then about the subject matter of the song. Caṇḍīdāsa sang about the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in immortal verses, without any reference to mysticism that developed latter on, and all his songs invariably deal with that matter in that way. Then came a time, when Vaiṣṇavism largely borrowed from the Tantric principles of mystic worship. It was at about this time that the idea of spiritual culture based on sexual relationship crept into the Vaiṣṇava society. In the song under review we have—

জুগল ভজন তাহার জাজন
বেদবিধি অগোচর।

which shows that the author of the song advocated this sort of mystic practices. The last two lines—

কোরিলে প্রকাশ হবে সর্ব্বনাশ
জাইতে নারিবে ব্রজে ॥

clearly show the mystic nature of worship adopted by the poet.

But this is to be noted that the songs of Caṇḍīdāsa on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa are generally void of such mystic references.

By applying the above-noted three tests, we are led to believe that the song was composed, not by Caṇḍīdāsa, but by some other poet, and that it is comparatively modern.

N.B. Many songs have in this way passed in the name of Cāṇḍīdāsa, who is also supposed to be the author of many Rāgātmikā padas collected towards the end of the Pariṣad edition. But if one carefully traces the gradual growth of Vaiṣṇava theology from the time of Caitanya Deva down to the end of the seventeenth century, one cannot fail to observe how from a secular and romantic form of love, Vaiṣṇavism has drifted towards Tāntrikism in later times. The sexual romance which was condemned by Caitanya Deva, came to be regarded as the best means of effecting emancipation in subsequent time. To worship Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa with devotion was the aim and object of the earlier Vaiṣṇavas, but their descendants in later times thought of enjoying free love in the company of Parakīyā women in order to realise in person the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Thus, instead of worshipping God, they became the worshippers of love, and many mystic practices crept into the Vaiṣṇava society. It was at this time that songs like the Rāgātmika padas began to be composed. The authors of such padas had the necessity of passing their songs in the name of Caṇḍīdāsa in justification of their questionable practices. We reserve a detailed treatment of this important matter for a future issue but it is sufficient for our purpose for the present to say that many songs, like the one under review here, have passed in the name of Caṇḍīdāsa and that no reliance can be put on the name in the colophon without taking the help of other critical tests.

3. In the University manuscript No. 3436, we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

ষুনগো সজনি হামারি বাত।
প্রেম করিবি ষুজন সাত॥
ষুজন পীরিতি পাসান রেখ।
পরিনামে কভু না হয় ঠেক॥
ঘসীতে ২ মলয়া সার।
দুগুণ সৌরব বাড়এ তার॥

চণ্ডীদাসে কহেএ কথা বটে।
সুজন পীরিতি কভু না তুটে ॥

This song has been published in the Parisad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa in the following form :—

শুনগো সজনি আমার বাত।
পীরিতি করবি সুজন সাত ॥
সুজন পীরিতি পরাণ রেখ।
পরিণামে কভু না হবে টোট ॥
ঘষিতে ঘষিতে চন্দন সার।
দ্বিগুণ সৌরভ উঠয়ে তার ॥
চণ্ডীদাসে কহে পীরিতি রীতি।
বুঝিয়া সজনি করহ প্রীতি ॥

Song No. 784.

The lines 2 and 3 of the manuscript song are decided improvements over those of the Parisad edition. There the rhyming is perfect and the sense is clear, so the manuscript version should be adopted.

4. In the University manuscript No. 3436, we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

তিন পুরুসে হইল রতি, একা হোল প্রাণ।
বিসম সমীস্যা হল নইল সমাধান ॥
কারে বা ভজীব আমী কারে বা ছাড়িব।
এক দেহ এক প্রাণ কারে সমপ্রীব ॥
এক দোসে কষ্ট পাই দুতিয় সংসার।
তৃদোস হইলে প্রাণ না থাকিব আর ॥
কম্প ১ বাত ২ প্রীর্ত্তি ৩ জদি সব সাম্যক ধরে।
লাখ ২ কবিরাজে কি করিতে পারে ॥
নিদান তীকিস্বা তার দক্ষ রসায়ন।
এই মত তিকীস্বা মোরে সর্ব্ব জন ॥
কৃষ্ণ নাম রটনায় রটুক রটনা।
গজভরি পুরুক মোর মনের বাসনা ॥

শ্রবণে ২ সুখ মুরলির গান।
শুনিতে ২ জাচক অবধ পরাণ॥
চণ্ডীদাসে কহে যুনহে সাধক ভাই।
দোহার ভজনে সে দোহাক পাই॥

We find no trace of a song of this nature in the Parisad edition of Caṇḍidāsa. The last line shows that the author advocates mystic worship. The composition also lacks the sweetness of Caṇḍidāsa. We are, therefore, of opinion that the song is the work of some other poet.

5. In the University manuscript No. 3436, we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍidāsa :—

আপনা বুঝিয়ে যুজন দেখিয়ে
পীরিতি করিবে তায়।
পীরিতি রতন রাখিহ জতন
জেমতি সমান জায়॥

হায় পীরিতি বিসম বড়।
মরমে ২ দড়াইতে পার
তবে সে পীরিতি দড়॥
যুজনে কুজনে পীরিতি করিলে
সদাই দুখের ঘর।
আপনার সুখে জে করে পীরিতি
তাহারে জানিহ পর॥

ভমরা সমান আছে বহুজন
মধু লোভে করে প্রীত।
মধু পান করি উড়িয়ে পলায়
তেমতি তাহার রীত॥

মরণে জীবনে জীবনে মরণে
জীয়ন্তে মোরিল জারা।
পীরিতি বচন নিতি নৈতন
জতনে রাখিল তারা॥

আপনা বাজিতে সাধ কর চিতে
সুজনে ২ আস।
এজন মমনু উজন মমোনু (?)
এমতি দুহার ভাস ॥
যুজনে ২ অখণ্ড পীরিতি
যুনিয়ে জে করে আশ।
ধুবিনি সঙ্গিত চণ্ডীদাস প্রীত
বাসুলি বচনে প্রকাশ ॥

This song has appeared in the following form in the Parisad edition of Candidāsa :—

আপনা বুঝিয়া সুজন দেখিয়া
পীরিতি করিব তায়।
পীরিতি রতন করিব যতন
যদি সমানে সমানে হয় ॥

সখি হে, পীরিতি বিষম বড়।
যদি পরাণে পরাণে মিশাইতে পারে
তবে সে পীরিতি দঢ় ॥
ভ্রমরা সমান আছে কত জন
মধুলোভে করে প্রীত।
মধু পান করি উড়িয়ে পলায়
এমতি তাহার রীত ॥
বিধুর সহিত কুমুদ পীরিতি
বসতি অনেক দূরে।
সুজনে সুজনে পীরিতি হইলে
এমতি পরাণ ঝুরে ॥
সুজনে কুজনে পীরিতি হইলে
সদাই দুখের ঘর।
আপন সুখেতে যে করে পীরিতি
তাহারে বাসিব পর ॥

মরমে মরমে জীবনে মরণে
জীয়ন্তে মরিল যারা।
নিতুই নূতন পীরিতি রতন
যতনে রাখিল তারা॥
আপন পীরিতি সুজন বাঁধিতে
সুজনে পীরিতে আশ।
ও যেন মো বিনে মজল অমনি
এমতি দোহার ভাষ॥
সুজনে সুজনে অনন্ত পীরিতি
শুনিতে বাড়ে যে আশ।
তাহার চরণে নিছনি লইয়া
কহে দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস॥

Song No. 783.

Now, a word about the name of the author in the colophon. In the Pariṣad edition the song is clearly attributed to Dvija Caṇḍīdāsa, but in the manuscript version we have the following lines :—

যুজনে ২ অখণ্ড পীরিতি
যুনিয়ে জে করে আশ।
ধুবিনি সঙ্গিত চণ্ডীদাস প্রীত
বাসুলি বচনে প্রকাশ॥

vs.

সুজনে সুজনে অনন্ত পীরিতি
শুনিতে বাড়ে যে আশ।
তাহার চরণে নিছনি লইয়া
কহে দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস॥

Pariṣad Edition.

Here, in the first version, the love between Caṇḍīdāsa and the washer-woman has been cited as an example of pure love between two persons (a man and a woman) who are spiritually "good." The song seems to have been written by a poet unknown, who in the last few lines simply gave an illustration of pure love, and nothing else. It may be that the name of Caṇḍīdāsa appearing

in the last line but one was taken advantage of by the manipulator and the last two lines were changed in such a way as to accommodate Caṇḍīdāsa as the author of the song. Even leaving this question aside, it must be admitted that the song is interesting in other ways also. It supplies many alternative versions throughout and these compared with the Pariṣad version of the song, can help to bring out the sense in a more clear way. In the Pariṣad edition we have only one alternative version given, and that is of the last four lines in the following way :—

সুজনে সুজনে অনন্ত পীরিতি
শুনিয়ে যে করে আশ।
তাহার নিছনি দিয়ে ত পরাণী
কহে দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস॥

Herein also it should be observed that the song has been attributed to Dvija Caṇḍīdāsa. It is, thus, evident that the author of the Pariṣad edition had no knowledge of a song like that quoted above from the University manuscript. The love of Caṇḍīdāsa and the washer-woman was held pure, not during the life-time of Caṇḍīdāsa, for we know of his being outcasted for this offence by the society, but after his death for aught we know. This suggests that the song might also have been composed when Parakīyā love became the characteristic feature of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal.

6. We have the following pada in the University manuscript No. 3436 :—

পীরিতি নগরে বসতি কোরিব
পীরিতে বান্ধিব ঘর।
পীরিতি কপাট দুয়ারে বসাব
পীরিতে শুয়াঁব কাল॥
পীরিতি উপরে সয়ন কোরিব
পীরিত বালিস মাথে।
পীরিত বালিসে আলিস ছাড়িব
থাকিব পীরিতি সাথে॥

পীরিতি বেসর পরিব নাসীকা
দুলাব নয়ান কোনে।
জসদানন্দনে ভনএ পীবিতি
পীরিতি কেহ না জানে।

But in the Parisad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa we have two padas of this nature :—

পীরিতি নগরে বসতি করিব
পীরিতে বাঁধিব ঘর।
পীরিতি দেখিয়া পড়সী করিব
তা বিনু সকল পর॥
পীরিতি দ্বারের কপাট করিব
পীরিতে বাধিব চাল।
পীরিতি আসকে সদাই থাকিব
পীরিতে গোঁয়াব কাল॥
পীরিতি পালঙ্কে শয়ন করিব
পীরিতি শিথান মাথে।
পীরিতি বালিসে আলিস ত্যজিব
থাকিব পীরিতি সাথে॥
পীরিতি সরসে সিনান করিব
পীরিতি অঞ্জন লব।
পীরিতি ধরম পীরিতি করম
পীরিতে পরাণ দিব॥
পীরিতি নাসার বেশর করিব
দুলিবে নয়ান কোণে।
পীরিতি অঞ্জন লোচনে পরিব
দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস ভণে॥ Song No. 386.

And

পীরিতি নগরে বসতি করিব
পীরিতে বাঁধিব ঘর।
পীরিতি পড়সী পীরিতি প্রেয়সী
অন্য সকলি পর॥

পীরিতি সোহাগে এ দেহ রাখিব
পীরিতি করিব বল।
পীরিতির কথা সদাই কহিব
পীরিতে গোঁয়াব কাল ॥
পীরিতি পালঙ্কে শয়ন করিব
পীরিতি বালিশ মাথে।
পীরিতি বালিসে আলিস করিব
রহিব পীরিতি সাথে ॥
পীরিতি সায়রে সিনান করিব
পীরিতি জল যে খাব।
পীরিতি দুখের দুখিনী যে জন
পরাণ বাঁধিয়া দিব ॥
পীরিতি বেশর নাসাতে পরিব
রহিব বন্ধুয়া সনে।
হৃদয় পিঞ্জরে পীরিতি থুইব
দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস ভণে ॥

No. 390.

These three padas are excellent illustrations of how the padas have been handled at different times by unknown authors. The first two lines are almost similar in all the three padas, but the third and fourth lines of the pada of the manuscript version are practically substitutes of the seventh and eighth lines of the two padas of the Parisad edition. That some lines have been omitted in the pada of the manuscript version is quite evident from the rhyming of ঘর of the second line with কাল of the fourth line. The two padas of the Parisad edition clearly show that this fourth line should be in all probability the eighth line of the complete pada that we find in the Parisad edition.

Then the lines 5-8 of the pada of the manuscript version are practically the same as the lines 9-12 of the two padas of the Parisad edition. But importance centres in *the last four lines* of the three padas. The manuscript version has—

পীরিতি বেসর পরিব নাসীকা
দুলাব নয়ান কোনে।
জসদানন্দনে ভনএ পীরিতি
পীরিতি কেহ না জানে॥

The Parisad edition has—

পীরিতি নাসার বেশর করিব
দুলিবে নয়ান কোণে।
পীরিতি অঞ্জন লোচনে পরিব
দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস ভণে॥

No. 386.

And

পীরিতি বেশর নাসাতে পরিব
রহিব বন্ধুয়া সনে।
হৃদয় পিঞ্জরে পীরিতে থুইব
দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস ভণে॥

No. 390.

The name জসদানন্দন in the colophon of the manuscript version is somewhat misleading. With ভণে closely following it, it seems as if it is the name of the author of the song. If this contention be true then it must be said that there is reasonable doubt about the author of the song The battle is to be fought between জসদানন্দন and দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস for the authorship of the song, but the laurel of victory cannot at this stage be offered to any of them without further consideration with more reliable data.

But it should be observed that the two songs of the Parisad edition are almost similar, with of course very slight variations here and there. We cannot understand why these two songs have been treated as separate songs in the Parisad edition. They should have been treated as the same song with different readings here and there. But these two songs manifest another very important truth about manipulation. Suppose the song No. 386 was written by Caṇḍīdāsa. It cannot be said that he then found the necessity of writing the song No. 390, for the two are almost similar, and

no reasonable purpose can be served by his doing so. The most probable contention is that one of the two songs having been written by Dvija Caṇḍīdāsa, the other was composed by other persons who added words and phrases to the original, until the new one assumed somewhat a different appearance. These two songs have thus been considered separate by the author of the Pariṣad edition.

7. In the University manuscript No. 3436, we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

1. মরম কহিতে ধরম না রহে
বেদবিধি নহে রস।
3. না হৈব সতী না হৈব অসতী
না হব পরেরি বস॥
5. কুলটা হইব কুল না ছাড়িব
কলঙ্কে ভাসীব নিতি।
7. হেরি অন্য পতি তাতে কাম রতি
তাহাতে বলাব সতি॥
9. জলেতে ডুবিব সীনান কোরিব
এলাএ মাথার কেস।
11. সুমুদ্রে পসীব নির না ছুইব
দুখ সুখ নহে শেস॥
13. অন্যের পরশে সিনান করিব
তবে সে পীরিতি সাজে।
15. কহে চণ্ডীদাস মনের উল্লাস
থাকিব রমণি মাঝে॥

We find that this song is a mixture of the songs No. 797 and 798 of the Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa. We quote here below the song No. 798.

1. মরম কহিতে ধরম না রয়
নাহি বেদ বিধি রস।
3. সতী যে হইবে আগুনি খাইবে
না হবে অন্যের বশ॥

5. যে জন যুবতী কুলবতী সতী
সুশীল সুমতি যার।
7. হৃদয় মাঝারে নায়ক লুকায়ে
ভবনদী হয় পার॥
9. কুলটা হইবে কুল না ছাড়িবে
কলঙ্কে ভাসিবে নিতি।
11. পাইয়া কাম রতি হবে অন্য পতি
তাহাতে বলাব সতী॥
13. স্নান না করিব জল না ছুইব
এলাইয়া মাথাব কেশ।
15. সমুদ্রে পশিব নীরে না তিতিব
নাহি সুখ দুঃখ ক্লেশ॥
17. রজনী দিবসে হব পরবশে
স্বপনে রাখিব লেহা।
19. একত্র থাকিব নাহি পরশিব
ভাবিনী ভাবের দেহা॥
21. অন্যের পরশে সিনান করিব
তবে সে রীতি সাজে।
23. কহে চণ্ডীদাস এ বড় উল্লাস
থাকিব যুবতী মাঝে॥

Song No. 798.

The lines 1-2 of the manuscript version are almost similar to those of the song No. 798 of the Pariṣad edition. Then the lines 5-12 of the manuscript version are almost similar to the lines 9-16 of the song No. 798 of the Pariṣad edition. Then the last four lines of those two songs are also almost similar. It should be observed that lines 3-4 of the manuscript version have no counterpart in the song No. 798 of the Pariṣad edition quoted above, but

their similarity can be traced in the song No. 797 of the Parisad edition, where the lines 26-27 run thus :—

হইবি সতী না হবি অসতী
না হইবি কাহার বশ।

vs.

না হৈব সতী না হৈব অসতী
না হব পরেরি বস।

Manspt. version.

It should also be observed that the lines 17-20 of the song No. 798 of the Parisad edition have no counterpart in the song of the manuscript version. It is, thus, quite evident that these three songs are interesting evidences of manipulation. Besides, the manuscript version also supplies important readings which can help us a great deal towards the better understanding of the song. As for instance we have

নাহি বেদ বিধি রস।

in line 2 of the Song No. 798 of the Parisad edition, but in the Manuscript version we have this line as follows :—

বেদ বিধি নহে বশ।

which is quite clear. One version can help the other in this way.

8. In the University manuscript No. 3436 we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

পীরিতি নগরে চল গো সজনি
বসতি কোরিব মোরা।
মরম না জানে ধরম বাখানে
বাহিরে রোহুক তারা ॥
বাহির দুয়ারে কপাট লাগায়ে
ভীতর দরজা খলা।
নিসাড়ি হইয়ে চলগো সজনি
আন্ধার কোরিয়ে আলা ॥

আলার ভিতরে কালাটী দেখিবে
চৈকি রাখিবে হেথা।
সে দেশের কথাটী এদেশে আইলে
মরমে পাইবে বেথা॥
সে দেশে এদেশে অনেক আন্তর
জানএ সকল লোকে।
সে দেশে এদেশে মীসামীসী আছে
এ কথা কোয়না কাকে॥
মনের রতন বাহির না কোর
যতন কোরিএ রেখ।
বিরল পাইলে কপাট খুলিয়ে
নয়ান ভোরিয়ে দেখ॥
সহজ মানুষ সে দেশে পোসেচে
আমরা কুলেরি বালা।
সে দেশে কীসের কুলের গরব
জীখানে চিকন কালা॥
কহেচণ্ডীদাস ভালই বলেচ
তোমার চরণে গড়।
কুলের মুখেতে আগুন লাগায়ে
আমারে লইয়ে চল॥

A song of this nature is not found in the songs of Caṇḍīdāsa collected in the Pariṣad edition. But in the Rāgātmikā Padas printed towards the end of the book, we have songs breathing forth similar sentiments.

Compare

তিমির আন্ধার যে হইয়াছে পার
সহজ জেনেছে সে।

Song No. 793.

with

নিসাড়ি হইয়ে চলগো সজনি
আন্ধার কোরিয়ে আলা

Compare

হইবি কুলটা কুল ত্যজিবি
ভাবিতে ভাবিতে দেহা।

Song No. 797.

with

কুলের মুখেতে আগুন লাগায়ে
আমারে লইয়ে চল॥

And

সে দেশে কীসের কুলের গরব
জীখানে চিকন কালা।

It should also be observed that the idea of doors in the lines—

বাহির দুয়ারে কপাট লাগায়ে
ভীতর দরজা খলা।

is similar to that of the Amṛtarasāvalī contained in the lines—

বাহিরে তাহার একটী দুয়ার
ভিতরে তিনটী আছে।
চতুর হইয়া দুইকে ছাড়িয়া
থাকিবে একের কাছে॥

This sort of mysticism is the characteristic of the post-Chaṇḍīdāsa age. In Dr. Sen's Bengali Typical Selections, Part II, pp. 1001-2, we have a similar pada with Caṇḍīdāsa as its author in the colophon :—

1. মরম না জানে ধরম বাখানে
এমনে আছয়ে যারা।
3. কায নাই সখি তাদের কথায়
বাহিরে রহুন তারা॥
5. আমার বাহির দুয়ারে কপাট লেগেছে
ভিতর দুয়ার খোলা।
7. তোরা নিসাড় হইয়া আয় না সজনি
আঁধার পেরিলে আলা॥

9. আলোর ভিতরে কালাটি আছে
চৌকি রয়েছে সেথা।
11. ও দেশের কথা এ দেশে কহিলে
লাগিবে মরমে ব্যথা॥
13. তোরা পরপতি সনে শয়নে স্বপনে
সদাই করিবি লেহা।
15. তোরা সিনান করিবি নীর না ছুঁইবি
ভাবিনী ভাবের দেহা॥
17. কহে চণ্ডীদাসে এমতি হইলে
তবেত পীরিতি সাজে।
19. তোরা না হইবি সতী না হবি অসতী
থাকিবি রমণী মাঝে॥

This song when compared with the one just quoted before it, gives interesting materials for discussion. In the first four lines it should be observed that the third and the fourth lines of the manuscript version are respectively the first and fourth lines of the song of the Typical Selections, whose second and the third lines are wanting in the manuscript version. The lines 5-12 are almost similar in the two songs, and then begin variations. It should be observed that in the manuscript song, the continuity of thought has been maintained throughout, there being no break in the discussion of this country and of the land beyond, in the last part of the song after the poet has introduced the theme in the lines 11-12. But in the Typical Selections, it is otherwise. We have seen that the same theme of this country and of the land beyond has also been introduced there in lines 11-12, but the rest treats of a different subject, the counterpart of which cannot be found in the manuscript song. Some traces of these lines can, however, be found in other songs attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa, as the following discussion will show :

Compare

পরপতি সনে শয়নে স্বপনে
সদাই করিবি লেহা।

Lines 13-14 (T. S. Song)

with

রজনী দিবসে হব পরবশে
স্বপনে রাখিব লেহা।
Lines 17-18 (Song No. 798 P. E.)

And compare

সিনান করিবি নীর না ছুঁইবি
ভাবিনী ভাবের দেহা।
Lines 15-16 (T. S. Song)

with

একত্র থাকিব নাহি পরশিব
ভাবিনী ভাবের দেহা।
Lines 19-20 (No. 798) above

or

সমুদ্রে পশিব নীরে না তিতিব
Line 15 (Do.)

Then about the last four lines, we have

কহে চণ্ডীদাসে এমতি হইলে
তবে ত পীরিতি সাজে।
তোরা না হইবি সতী না হবি অসতী
থাকিবি রমণী মাঝে॥
Lines 17-20 (T. S. Song)

This may be compared with the following two quotations :—

অন্যের পরশে সিনান করিব
তবে সে পীরিতি সাজে।
কহে চণ্ডীদাস এ বড় উল্লাস
থাকিব যুবতী মাঝে॥
Lines 21-24 of Song No. 798.

And

অন্যের পরশে সিনান করিব
তবে সে রীতি সাজে।
কহে চণ্ডীদাস মনের উল্লাস
থাকিব রমণী মাঝে॥

Lines 13-16 of a pada of the University manuscript No. 3436 quoted before.

It should also be observed here that the line

না হইবি সতী না হবি অসতী

and the first line of the song

মরম না জানে ধরম বাখানে

can also be traced in the above-noted manuscript song, as—

না হইব সতী না হবি অসতী

Line 3.

And মরম কহিতে ধরম না রহে

Line 1.

These are interesting evidences of manipulations, and show that sometimes one song has been composed of the materials of other songs.

9. In the University manuscript No. 3436, we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍidāsa :—

কী নারি পুরুস ভুবনে রহ।
তাহাতে রসীক আছএ কেহ॥
সভাই না জানে পীরিতি রিত।
রসীক নাগরি বুঝএ প্রীত॥
রসীক নাগর রসীক নারি।
দোহে দোহা রোহু রসেতে গারি॥
জে নারি না জানে রসেরি রিত।
ব্রথাই তাহার স্বরির চিত॥
সে দেহ রাখে কিশের তরে।
কাষ্ঠের পুতলি বহিয়ে মরে॥
জেমন রোসীক করএ সঙ্গ।
সেই সে জানএ রসের রঙ্গ॥
রসের সন্ধান জানএ জে।
তা সম চোতুর আছএ কে॥
যুনহ যুবতি কহি যে কথা।
রসিক পাইলে রহি সে তথা॥

চণ্ডীদাস কহে পীরিতি বানি।
সপনে না ছেড় রসীক মুনি॥

We have not yet come across a pada like this attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa in any collection of songs of the poet that have been printed.

10. In the Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa, the following song is attributed to the poet :—

মানুষ মানুষ সবাই বলয়ে
মানুষ কেমন জন।
মানুষ রতন মানুষ জীবন
মানুষ পরাণ-ধন॥
ভুবনে ভুলয়ে এ সব লোক
মরম নাহিক জানে।
মানুষের প্রেমা নাহি জীব কে
মানুষে সে প্রেমা জানে॥
যে জন মানুষ সে জানে মানুষ
মানুষে মানুষ চিনে।
এ লোক মানুষ এ দুয়ের বল
মানুষে মানুষ জানে॥
মানুষ যারা জীয়ন্তে মরা
সেই ত মানুষ সার।
মানুষ লক্ষণ মহাভাগ্যবান্
মানুষ সবার পর॥
মানুষ নাম বিরল ধাম
বিরল তাহার রীতি।
চণ্ডীদাসে কহে সকলি বিরল
কে জানে তাহার রীতি॥

Song No. 819.

But in the University manuscript No. 3436 we have this song attributed to Kṛṣṇadāsa :—

মানুষ ২ সভাই বলএ
মানুষ কেমন জন।
মানুষ রতন মানুষ জীবন
মানুষ পরান ধন॥
ভরমে ভুলএ সব লোক জনে
মরম নাহীক জানে।
লোক মানুস এ দুই আখর
মানুষ মানুস চিনে॥
মানুষ জারা জীয়ন্তে মরা
সেই সে মানুস সার।
মানুস লোক্ষণ মহাভাবগণ
মানুষে মানস জার॥
মানুস জে জন কহিবে কথন
কে বুঝে তাহার রিত।
শ্রীনন্দনন্দন রসীক জীবন
তাহা কর সদা প্রীত॥
সহজ পীরীত সহজ চরিত
সহজে সহজ বাসী।
সান্ত কৃষ্ণদাস রিদে অভিলাস
সহজে মন রহু পসি॥

The first four lines of those two songs are almost similar. The fifth line of the manuscript version is a decided improvement upon that of the song of the Pariṣad edition. There we have—

ভুবনে ভুলয়ে এ সব লোক
মরম নাহিক জানে।

but the manuscript has

ভরমে ভুলএ সব লোক জনে
মরম নাহীক জানে।

The sense is here quite clear in the manuscript song. Then begin numerous variations, but from a comparative study of the two songs it is not difficult to understand that the manuscript

version is all along clearer in sense than the other. As for instance, the lines 15-16 of the song of the Parisad edition are—

মানুষ লক্ষণ মহাভাগ্যবান্
মানুষ সবার পর।

But the manuscript has—

মানুস লোক্ষণ মহাভাবগণ
মানুষে মানস জার।

The name of the author in the colophon is another mos important point. We find from the manuscript version that this Kṛṣṇadāsa was a Sahajiyā (*vide* the last line). The song also reveals many characteristics of the Sahajiyā doctrine. As to the real author of the song, we reserve judgment in anticipation of more reliable materials.

11. In the University manuscript No. 3436, we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa—

পীরিতি বলিয়ে এ তিন আখর
ভুবনে আনিল কে।
মোধুর বলিয়ে ছানিয়ে খাইতে
তিতায় তিতিল দে॥

সই, এ কথা কহন নয়।
হীআর ভিতরে বসতি করিয়া
কখন কি জানি হয়॥
পীয়াক পীরিতি প্রথম আরতি
অতুল অবধি সেষ।
এবে নিদারুন সমন সমান
দআর নাহিক লেস॥
কপট পীরিতি আরতি বাজায়ে
সাধিল আপন কাজে।
লোক চরাচর কুলের থাথার
জগত ভরিল জে॥

হইতে ২ অধিক হইল
সহিতে ২ মনু।
ভাবিতে ২ তোনু জর ২
কালি হইয়ে গেনু ॥
পীরিতি এমতি না জানিয়ে রীতি
পরিনামে কিবা বয়।
পীরিতি পরানে কহে যুথ যুথ
চণ্ডীদাসে ইহা কয ॥

This song has appeared in the following form in the Parişad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa :—

পীরিতি বলিয়া এ তিন আঁখর
ভুবনে আনিল কে।
মধুর বলিয়া ছানিয়া খাইনু
তিতায় তিতিল দে ॥
সই এ কথা কহিব কারে।
হিয়ার ভিতর বসতি করিয
কখন কি জানি করে ॥
পিয়ার পীরিতি প্রথম আরতি
তাহার নাহিক শেষ।
পুন নিদারুণ শমন সমান
দয়ার নাহিক লেশ ॥
কপট পীরিতি আরতি বাড়ায়ে
মরণ অধিক কাজে।
লোক চরচা কুল রক্ষা দায়
জগত ভরিল লাজে ॥
হইতে হইতে অধিক হইল
সহিতে সহিতে মনু।
কহিতে কহিতে তনু জর জর
পাগলী হইয়া গেনু ॥

এমন পীরিতি না জানি এ রীতি
পরিণামে কিবা হয়।
পীরিতি পরম দুখময় হয়
দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাসে কয়॥

Song No. 334.

A comparative reading of these two versions contributes to the better understanding of the meaning of the song, and is thus helpful in solving difficulties.

12. In the University manuscript No. 3436 we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

সতের সঙ্গতি জাহার বসতি
তেমতি বরন হয়।
অসত্য বাতাস অঙ্গেতে লাগিলে
সকলি পালাএ জায়॥
সনার ভিতরে তামা জদি থাকে
তেমতি বরন দেখি।
রাগের ঘরেতে বৈধি থাকিলে
রসিক নাহিক লেখি॥
রসিক জনার প্রাণ জেমন করিছে
একথা কহিব কায়।
টলীলে না টলে এমতি দেখিলে
তবে সে কহিবে তায়॥
এমন সাধব জাহারে দেখিবে
তাহার নিকটে বসি।
চণ্ডীদাসে কহে জনমে ২
তাহার হইব দাসি॥

This song has appeared in the following form in the Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa :—

সতের সঙ্গে পীরিতি করিলে
সতের বরণ হয়।
অসতের বাতাস অঙ্গেতে লাগিলে
সকলি পলায়ে যায়॥

সোণার ভিতরে তামার বসতি
যেমন বরণ দেখি।
রাগের ঘরেতে বৈদিগ থাকিলে
রসিক নাহিক দেখি ॥

রসিকের প্রাণ যেমতি কান্নয়ে
এমতি কহিব কারে।
টলিয়া না টলে এমতি বুঝায়ে
মরম কহিব তারে ॥

এমতি করণ যাহার দেখিব
তাহার নিকটে বসি।
চণ্ডীদাস কয় জনমে জনমে
হয়ে রব তার দাসী ॥

Song No. 791.

A comparative study of these two versions is helpful in understanding the meaning of the song.

13. In the University manuscript No. 3436 we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

ওরতি এরতি একর্ত্ত কোরিয়া
সেখানে সে রতি থুবে।
রতি ২ দোহে একর্ত্ত করিলে
সেখানে দেখিতে পাবে ॥

স্বরূপ আরপ এই রস কুপ
সকল সাধন পর।
স্বরূপ বুঝিয়া সাধন কোরিলে
সাধক হইবে পার ॥

প্রেম সাম রস বস্তুর নিবাস
ধাতু রতি সব তায়।
সাতাসি দ্বারে আবরন আছে
বুঝিতে বিসম দায় ॥

তার পরে দুই দুয়ার আছয়ে
প্রাপ্তী বস্তু তার পরে।
এ সব নিগুড় বুঝিতে বিসম
কি বলো বুঝিতে নারে॥
ইহার করন জানে জেই জন
স্বরূপে আরপে রয়।
সদ্‌গুরু কৃপায়ে জানিলে কারণ
সিদ্ধ বস্তু প্রাপ্ত হয়॥
বাসুলি কৃপায়ে সকলি জানিএ
স্বরূপ আরপ কোরি।
কিপা কোরি মোরে আশ পুরায়ল
স্বরূপ রজক নারি॥
সেই রজকিনী আমার জননি
সেবিয়া তাহার পায়।
কহে চণ্ডীদাস কৃপা করি রাখ
রাখহ আপন কায়॥

We have no parallel of this song in the Parisad edition of Candidāsa. We have two more songs of this nature in the manuscript, which are quoted below :—

14. সাধকে আরুতি স্বরূপে বসতি
সাধন দুয়ারে রয়।
না বুঝি স্বরূপে দেহরতি আসি
তাহাতে উদয় হয়॥
রূপের স্বরূপে দেহরতি বিন্দু
জদি বা সেস্থানে মিলে।
প্রাপ্তীর হুঙ্কারে বহুত জনম
তাহাকে নরকে ফেলে॥
না জানিয়া মন্ত্র কালিয়া ভুজঙ্গ
সাহসে ধরেজে করে।
নাহী মন্ত্রলেস জারিব কেমনে
জননে জনিয়ে মরে॥

দুই কুম্ভ মেলা আগমেতে খেলা
পবনেতে বল ধরে।
না জানে সাতাব ডুবে কুম্ভ তার
মরে উঠু ডুবু কোরে॥
গগনের চাঁদে ধরিবারে ছাদে
উভু বাহু করি ধায়।
তেমতি না জানে স্বরূপ সাধন
এ বড় বিসম দায়॥
স্বরূপে আরপ সাধনের ভুপ
জেমন করাত ধার।
দুকুল ছেদয়ে মুল উথাড়িয়ে
তবে সে সাধন সার॥
এমন আরপ থাকে জদি লেস
তবে সে তাহার হয়।
রজকিনি গুরু হইতে হইল
চণ্ডীদাসে ইহা কয়॥

No trace of this song is found in the Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa.

15. পুরুষের দেহ তাগ করিএ
প্রীকিতি স্বরূপ হবে।
তবে জানিহ রাধার স্বরূপ
রিদয়ে দেখিতে পাবে॥
প্রিকিতি হইলে প্রিকিতি মিলএ
পুরূস দেহেতে নাই।
আছএ পরেস সোধন কোরিলে
তুরিতে পাইবে ভাই॥
রাগের স্বরূপ শ্রীমতি রাধিকে
একান্ত কোরিএ থুবে।
তবে সে স্বরূপ ভাবিতে ভাবিতে
তাহার নিকটে জাবে॥

কহে চণ্ডীদাস চৈত্ররূপার
রাগের উদয় হয়।
রজকিনী মোর রাগ অনুগত
রিদি মাঝে সদা রয়॥

No trace of this song also is found in the Parisad edition of Candidāsa.

16. The following songs are also attributed to Candidāsa in the University manuscript No. 3436 :—

একটী ব্রহ্মাণ্ড ভুবন তিন।
তাহার মাঝেতে পুরুষ তিন॥
মধ্যে সরবর কমল ফুল।
তাহার মাঝেতে ভজন মূল॥
পদ্মফুলে জেন মাতাল অলি।
ভজন রতির বিহিত বলি॥
কহে চণ্ডীদাস সুজন সঙ্গ।
দীবসে ২ বাড়িবে রঙ্গ॥

---

17 প্রেম সরবর রতির ঢেউ।
একর্ত্ত ভজন না জানে কেউ॥
চাতক মাতিল সুধার আসে।
প্রেম জলে বৈসে স্রতেতে ভা[illegible]
কে হরিত ভব আপন গুনে।
রতির সভাব সে দিনে জানে॥
রতিতত্ত্ব জার আশ্রয় হয়।
রতি প্রভাব চণ্ডিদাসে কয়॥

চিন্তামুনি ভুমি ভুবন সার।
ভুবনে তুলনা নাহিক জার॥
রঙ্গরতি তাহা প্রভাব খানি।
রঙ্গরতি তার সভাব জানি॥

রঙ্গের প্রভাব জেমন হয়।
রাত্ত দিন রঙ্গ সাতেতে রয়॥
চণ্ডীদাসে সদা ভাবয়ে মনে।
সদত থাকিব রঙ্গের সনে॥

---

19. তর্ত্তের প্রভাব জাহাতে জানি।
গুনরতি তাহার ভাবেতে আনি॥
তর্ত্তগুন তার হিন্দোল ধারা।
জে জানে সে জানে জেনেচে তারা॥
ধারার দুয়ারে নলিনী দলে।
নব বৃন্দাবন তাহারে বলে॥
সে রতি তাহার প্রভাব হয়।
মুঞ্জরি রতি চণ্ডিদাসে কয়॥

---

20. বিলাস গুণেতে বিলাস রাস।
বিলাস গুণেতে দেহেতে বাস॥
বিলাস রাস রসিক সনে।
মদন মোহন কেহ না জানে॥
মদন মোহন জাহারে বলি।
সে জন তাহাতে করএ কেলি॥
চণ্ডীদাসের রতি এই সে হয়।
বিলাস রতি বিলাস কয়॥

---

21. নবরসে রতি প্রভাব হয়।
দিনে দিনে রতি প্রেম উদয়॥
উদয় ভাবের জেমত কথা।
কহিতে এ সব লাগএ বেথা॥
ব্রহ্মার দরজ কে আর লবে।
লবঙ্গ স্বরূপ একর্ত্ত হবে॥

লবঙ্গ স্বরূপ একর্ত্ত মেলি ।
চণ্ডীদাসে কহে ডুবিলাম আমি ॥

These songs are like those included in the Ragātmikā padas of which the following is a sample :—

চৌদ্দ ভুবনে ভুবন তিন ।
সপ্ত আখর তাহার চিন ॥
দুইটী আখরে সদা পীরিতি ।
তিনটী পরশে উপজে রতি ॥
নির্জ্জন কাননে আছয়ে ঘর ।
দুইটী আখর পাঁচের পর ॥
কনক আসন আছয়ে তাতে ।
মনসিজ রাজা বৈসয়ে যাতে ॥
etc. etc. Song No. 815.

22. In the Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa we have the following version noted in the song numbered 764 :—

1. নিত্যের আদেশে বাশুলী চলিল
সহজ জানাবার তরে ।
3. ভ্রমিতে ভ্রমিতে নান্নুর গ্রামেতে
প্রবেশ যাইয়া করে ॥
5. বাশুলী আসিয়া চাপড় মারিয়া
চণ্ডীদাসে কিছু কয় ।
7. সহজ ভজন করহ যাজন
ইহা ছাড়া কিছু নয় ॥
9. ছাড়ি জপ তপ করহ আরোপ
একতা করিয়া মনে ।
11. যাহা কহি আমি তাহা শুন তুমি
শুনহ চৌষট্টি সনে ॥
13. বস্তুতে গ্রহেতে করিয়া একত্রে
ভজহ তাহারে নিতি ।
15. বাণের সহিত সদাই যুজিতে
সহজের এই রীতি ॥

17. দক্ষিণ দেশেতে না যাবে কদাচিতে
যাইলে প্রমাদ হবে।
19. এই কথা মনে ভাব রাত্রি দিনে
আনন্দে থাকিবে তবে ॥
21. রতি [illegible]কীয়া যাহারে কহিয়া
সেই সে আরোপ সার।
23. ভজন তোমারি রজক ঝিয়ারি
রামিনী নাম যাহার ॥
25. বাশুলী আদেশে কহে চণ্ডীদাসে
শুনহে দ্বিজের সুত।
27. একথা লবে না না জানে যে জনা
সেই সে কলির ভূত ॥

But in the University manuscript No. 288, we have this pada noted in the following way :—

1. নিত্যের আদেশে বাসুলী চলিল
সহজ জানাবার তরে।
3. ক্ষিতে ২ নারগ্রাতে
প্রবেস জাইয়া করে ॥
5. বাসুলি আসিয়া চাপড় মারিয়া
চণ্ডিদাসে কহি কয়।
7. সহজ ভজন করহ জাজন
ইহা ছাড়া আন নয় ॥
9. ছাড়ি জপ তপ সাধহ আরপ
একতা করিয়া মনে।
11. জাহা বলি আমি তাহা সুন তুমি
সুনহ সচিষ্ট মনে ॥
13. বসুতে গ্রহেতে একতা করিয়া
ভজহ তাহাই নিতি।
15. বানের সহিতে সদাই যজিবে
সহজের এই নিতি ॥

17. দক্ষিণ দিগেতে কদাচ না জাবে
জাইলে প্রমাদ হবে।
19. এই কথা মনে ভাব রাত্র দিনে
আনন্দে থাকিবে তবে॥
21. পরকীয়া রতি জাহারে কহয়ে
সেই সে আরপ সার।
23. তোমার আরপ রজক ঝিয়ারি
রামিনি বলিয়ে জারে॥
25. বাশুলি আদেসে কহে চণ্ডিদাসে
শুনহ দ্বিজের সুতা।
27. একথা লহরি না জানে জে জনা
সেই সে কলীর ভুতা॥

Note the points of disagreement that exist between the two versions noted above. The following require attention. In the third line the name of the village নান্নুর, has been written as নারগ্রাতে in the University manuscript, which is evidently a mistake of the scribe. Then in the 9th line we have সাধহ আরপ in the University manuscript in the place of করহ আরোপ of the Parisad version. This সাধহ is a more appropriate word here, for a sense of spiritual culture is signified by the word, while করহ does not particularly give out this sense. The 12th line is more important. We have সচিষ্ট মনে here in the University manuscript in the place of চৌষট্টি সনে of the Parisad version. শুনহ চৌষট্টি সনে may of course mean something in the mystic language, but শুনহ সচিষ্ট মনে is quite clear and free from all mysticism. Then in the line 15, we have সদাই যজিতে in the University manuscript in the place of সদাই যুজিতে of the Parisad edition. Now, these two versions convey opposite meanings. The latter signifies fighting with বাণ, which symbolically means five senses in the mystic language. This means that the worshipper should always try his utmost to keep his senses under control. But সদাই যজিবে signifies that the worship is to be conducted with the help of the five senses, an idea which is so very popular with the Vaiṣṇavas. In the line 21, we have জাহারে কহয়ে in the University manuscript in the place of যাহারে কহিয়া of the Parisad edition. The sense of the line becomes quite clear with জাহারে কহয়ে, which thus means "what is called Parakiyā Rati,"

but the sense becomes obscure with the Pariṣad edition. Hence the manuscript version is more happy here, as also is তোমার আরপ in the line 23. In the line 27, we have এ কথা লবে না, না জানে যে জনা, where এ কথা লবে না does not give a definite sense with the rest of the sentence. Here the manuscript has এ কথা লহরি, which clears up all difficulties.

23. The following pada is found in the University manuscript No. 288 :—

রামিনি কহিছে কথা।
সুনহ জগত মাতা ॥
ভজন কহিলে মোরে।
এ দেহ সপিলাম তোরে ॥
আমি ত রজক জাতি।
তিহোঁ দ্বিজ অধিপতি ॥
সেবেতে ভাঙ্গিয়ে জাবে।
তখন প্রেমের বাধক হবে ॥
দ্বিগটি আখরে সাধিব কাকে।
বুঝিয়া কহিবে জন্মিব জাকে ॥
কয়টি আখরে সামান্য যজি।
কয়টি আখরে বিসেষে ভজি ॥
চণ্ডিদাস দ্বিজ পূজিত হয়।
আমার আরপ সদত নয় ॥
দ্বিগটি আখরে সামান্য জজ।
তৃতিয় আখরে বিসেষে ভজ ॥
বাসুলি কহিছে এই সে সার।
কহিলাম বাছা বেদান্ত পার ॥

No trace of this pada can be found either in the Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa, or in those of the Bangabāsī and Vasumatī.

24. The following Pada is attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa in the University manuscript No. 288 : —

কখন এসে কখন জায়
পদ চিহ্ন নাঞি।
নাসা থাকে আসা করে
গন্ধ নাহি পাই ॥

হাবার কথা কালা বুঝে
কোন অনুসারে।
রাধা বিনে জত গোপী
কে দেখেছে তারে ॥
দ্বিতিয়ের চন্দ্র সসি
দেখে সর্ব্বজন।
প্রতিপদের চন্দ্র খানি
দেখে কোন জন ॥
নীল চন্দ্র লাল চন্দ্র
সেত চন্দ্র ঘটা।
হিঙ্গুল বরণ চন্দ্র
তার সসি গোটা গোটা ॥
নক্ষত্র উদিত তায়
নব লক্ষ কুটী।
নিত্য বৃন্দাবনের এই
চাঁদের পরিপাটি ॥
চাঁদের বনে বসে থাকে
সে পরে চাঁদের মালা।
ভেবে চিন্তে বুঝে দেখ
তার নাম কালা ॥
কালা বলে বসে থাকে
তার নাম হাবা।
দ্বিজ চণ্ডিদাসে ভনে
তার লাগি কোথা পাবা ॥

25. The following pada is attributed to Candidāsa in the University manuscript No. 288 :—

সহজ মানুষ কোথাও নাই।
খুজিলে তাহারে নিকটে পাই ॥
জোনিতে জনম তাহার নয়।
তাহার জনম রাগেতে হয় ॥

রাগেতে জনম বিসম বড় ।
রাগানুগা তারে কহিয়ে দড় ॥
মড়ার সঙ্গে সমন্দ করে ।
তবে সে মড়াতে স্বম্বন্দ ধরে ॥
মড়ার সঙ্গে সতত বাস ।
এ তনু ছাড়ল তাহারি আস ॥
মড়াতনু যদি কাটয়ে বা ।
তবে সে লাগয়ে প্রেমের বা ॥
মহাজনে কহে অমিয়া বাসী ।
মোর মন রহু সহজে পসি ॥
চণ্ডিদাসে কহে এ রস গুড় ।
বুঝয়ে রসিক না বুঝে মুড় ॥

pp. 3-4.

These poems are also not found in any available edition of Caṇḍīdāsa.

26. In the Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa, the following poem is attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

রসিক নাগরী রসের মরা ।
রসিক ভ্রমর্ প্রেম পিয়ারা ॥
অবলা মুরতি রসের বাণ ।
রসে ডুবু ডুবু করে পরাণ ॥
রসবতী সদা হৃদয়ে জাগে ।
দরশ বাড়ায়া পরশ মাগে ॥
দরশে পরশে রস প্রকাশ ।
চণ্ডীদাস কহে রস-বিলাস ॥

Song No. 778.

But in the University manuscript No. 288, this song is attributed to Hari Caraṇa Dāsa in the following form :—

রসিক নাগরি রসের মরা ।
রসিক ভমরা প্রেম পেআরা ॥
অবলা মুরুতি রসের বান ।
রসে ডুবু ডুবু করয়ে প্রাণ ॥

রসবতি সদা হৃদয়ে জাগে।
দরস বাড়াঞা পরস মাগে॥
দরসে পরসে রস প্রকাষ।
আসা করে হরিচরণ দাস॥

p. 5. Song No. 18.

27. In the University manuscript No. 288, the following pada is attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa :—

প্রেমের পিরিতি কিসে উপজীল
পিরিতি কেন হয়।
এই কথা বড় মরমে জাগিল
কহিতে বাসি যে ভয়॥
প্রেম সুখ দুই কীসে উপজিল
কোথা বা তাহার ধাম।
পিরিতি কি বটে কেবা সে আনিল
আমারে কহিবে শ্যাম॥
হাসি নন্দ সুত কহিতে লাগিলা
সুন বৃকভানু সুতা।
পিরিতি অমুল্য ইহা কেবা জানে
কেবা সে পাঞাছে কোথা॥
কমল উপরে সুধার জনম
তাহার উপরে সুধা।
রসিক ভ্রমর খুজি খুজি খায়
যাহার হইঞাছে খুধা॥
নেহের উপরে নেহের জনম
তাহার উপরে নেহ।
কহে চণ্ডিদাস সেই সে বুঝিবে
চতুর রসিক যেহ॥

p. 5. Song No. 19.

This pada is not found in any of the available editions of Caṇḍīdāsa exactly in this form, but fragmentary portions can be traced in the other songs of Caṇḍīdasa. The first line of the song

is exactly the last line of song No. 787 of the Pariṣad edition There we have :—

প্রেমের পীরিতি কিসে উপজিল
প্রেম সে বলিব কারে।
কেবা কোথা পাইল কেবা সে দেখিল
এ কথা বলিব কারে ॥

And then compare—

হাসি নন্দসুত কহিতে লাগিলা
সুন বৃকভানু সুতা।
পীরিতি অমুল্য ইহা কেবা জানে
কেবা সে পাঞাছে কোথা ॥

of the manuscript version with—

শুনি নন্দসুত কহিতে লাগিল
শুন বৃকভানু-ঝি।
সহজ পীরিতি কোথা তার স্থিতি
আমি না জেনেছি শুনেছি ॥

of the song No. 792, ll. 5-8, of the Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa.

28. The following song is attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa in the Pariṣad edition :—

মানুষ মানুষ ত্রিবিধ মানুষ
মানুষ বাছিয়া লহ।
সহজ মানুষ অযোনি মানুষ
মানুষ সংস্কার দেহ ॥
সংস্কার যেই ব্রহ্মাণ্ডেতে সেই
সামান্য তাহার নাম।
মরনে জীবনে করে গতাগতি
ক্ষীরোদ সায়রে ধাম ॥
গোলোক উপরে অযোনি মানুষ
নিত্যস্থানে সদা রয়।
তাহার প্রকাশ বৈকুণ্ঠের পতি
লীলা কায়া যেবা হয় ॥

তাহার উপরে নিত্য বৃন্দাবন
সহজ মানুষ জানে।
আনন্দ ঘটনে রহে দুইজনে
দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস ভণে ॥

Song No. 818.

But in the University manuscript No. 288, this song is attributed to Narottama in the following form :—

1. মানুষ মানুষ ত্রিবিধ প্রকারে
মানুষ বাছিয়া লেহ।
সহজ মানুস অজনি মানুস
সমস্কারা মানুস দেহ ॥
5. সমস্কার জেই ব্রহ্মাণ্ডে সেই
সামান্য মানুষ নাম।
জীবনে মরনে গতাআত তার
ক্ষীরোদ সায়রে ধাম ॥
9. গোলক ভিতরে অজনি মানুষ
ভিন্ন স্থানে সদা রহে।
তাহার প্রকাষ বৈকুণ্ঠের পতি
লীলাকরি যেই হয়ে ॥
13. গোলক উপরে দিব্য বৃন্দাবন
সহজ মানুষ জন।
আনন্দে মগন রহে দুইজন
নরত্তম ইহা কন ॥

Song No. 22.

In line 9, গোলক ভিতরে of the manuscript is a more reasonable version than গোলক উপরে of the Parisad edition, for we have গোলক উপরে again in line 13, wherein resides the Sahaja Mānuṣa, the ideal Sahaja Being, whose place is above Golaka.

29. The following pada is attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa in the Parisad edition of the songs of the poet :—

বঁধু, কি আর বলিব তোরে।
অলপ বয়সে পীরিতি করিয়া
রহিতে না দিলি ঘরে ॥

কামনা করিয়া সাগরে মরিব
সাধিব মনের সাধা।
মরিয়া হইব শ্রীনন্দের নন্দন
তোমারে করিব রাধা॥
পীরিতি করিয়া ছাড়িয়া যাইব
রহিব কদম্ব-তলে।
ত্রিভঙ্গ হইয়া মুরলী বাজাব
যখন যাইবে জলে॥
মুরলি শুনিয়া মোহিত হইয়া
সহজ কুলের বালা।
চণ্ডীদাস কয় তখনি জানিবে
পীরিতি কেমন জ্বালা॥

Song No. 742.

But the following pada is attributed to Jñāna Dāsa in the Calcutta University manuscript No. 327 :—

বন্ধু হে, কি আর বলিব তোরে।
অলপ বএসে পিরিতি করিআ
রহিতে নারিলাঙ ঘরে॥
কামনা করিয়া সাগরে মরিব
সাধিব মনের সাধা।
মরিয়া হইব শ্রীনন্দের নন্দন
তোমারে করিব রাধা॥
পিরিতি করিয়া ছাড়িয়া জাইব
রহিব কদম্ব-তলে।
ত্রিভঙ্গ হইয়া মুরুলি পুরিব
জখন জাইবে জলে॥
মুরুলি শুনিঞা মুরুছা হইবে
সহজে কুলের বালা।
জ্ঞানদাস কহে তবে সে জানিবে
পিরিতি বিসম জালা॥

Song No. 4.

29. The following pada is attributed to Candidasa in the Parisad edition of the songs of the poet :—

পীরিতি রসের সাগর দেখিয়া
নাহিতে নামিলাম তায়।
নাহিয়া উঠিয়া ফিরিয়া চাহিতে
লাগিল দুখের বায় ॥
কেবা নিরমিল প্রেম-সরোবর
সুধাময় তার জল।
দুখের মকর ফিরে নিরন্তর
প্রাণ করে টলমল ॥
গুরুজন-জ্বালা জলের সেহলা
পড়সী জিউল মাছে।
কুল পানীফল কাঁটাতে সকল
সলিল ঢাকিয়া আছে ॥
কলঙ্ক পানায় সদা লাগে গায়
হানিয়া খাইল যদি।
অন্তর বাহিরে কুটু কুটু করে
সুখে দুখ দিল বিধি ॥
কহে চণ্ডীদাস শুন বিনোদিনি
সুখ দুখ দুটি ভাই।
সুখের লাগিয়া যে করে পীরিতি
দুখ তার ঠাঁই ঠাঁই ॥

Song No. 387.

But the same song appears in the Calcutta University manuscript No. 327 in the following form :—

পিরিতি রসের সাএর বলিআ
নাইতে উঠিনু তায়।
নাহিআ উঠিতে ফিরিআ চাহিতে
লাগিল দুখের বায় ॥

কে না সিরজীল পিরিতি সাএর
শুকমল তার জল।
দুখের মকর দেখিআ সকল
প্রাণ করে টলবল॥
ঘরে গুরুজন পানির সিউলি
পরসি জিয়ল মাছে।
কুল পানিফল কাটায সকল
সলিল ঢাকিআ আছে॥
কলঙ্ক পানায় সদা লাগে গায়
ছানিঞা খাইনু জদি।
অন্তরে বাহিরে কুটু ২ করে
সুখে দুঃখ দিল বিধি॥
চণ্ডিদাসে কহে শুন বিনোদিনি
শুখ দুখ দুটী ভাই।
শুখের লাগিয়া পিরিতি করিলে
দুখ জায় তার ঠাঞি॥

Song No. 3.

The portions noted below contain important variations. In some cases the versions of the University manuscript are more explicit. As in lines 9 and 10, we have in the Parisad edition—

গুরুজন-জ্বালা জলের সেহলা
পড়সী জিউল মাছে।

But in the University manuscript we have—

ঘরে গুরুজন পানির সিউলি
পড়সি জিয়ল মাছে।

When we have পড়সি in line 10, the version ঘরে গুরুজন is more appropriate, for thereby a clear comparison is made between the persons of the own household and those of the neighbouring houses. By গুরুজন of the Parisad edition, this comparison is not clearly brought forth

Then in the last line, দুখ তার ঠাঁই ঠাঁই of the Parisad edition is not more happy than দুখ জায় তার ঠাঞি of the University manuscript.

30. The following pada is attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa in the Pariṣad edition of the songs of the poet :—

পীরিতি বলিয়া একটি কমল
রসের সায়র মাঝে।
প্রেম পরিমল লুবধ ভ্রমর
ধাওল আপন কাজে ॥
ভ্রমর জানয়ে কমল-মাধুরী
তেঁই সে তাহার বশ।
রসিক জানয়ে রসের চাতুরী
আনে করে অপযশ ॥
সই, এ কথা বুঝিবে কে।
যে জন জানয়ে সে যদি না কহে
কেমনে ধরিবে দে ॥
ধরম করম লোক-চরচাতে
এ কথা বুঝিতে নারে।
এ তিন আঁখর যাহার মরমে
সেই সে বুঝিতে পারে ॥
কহে চণ্ডীদাস শুন হে নাগরি
পীরিতি রসের সার।
পীরিতি রসের রসিক নহিলে
কি ছার জীবন তার ॥

Song No. 335.

But the same pada is attributed to Narahari in the University manuscript No. 327 in the following form :—

পিরিতি বলিয়া একটী কমল
রসের সাএর মাঝে।
প্রেম পরিমল লুবধ ভ্রমর
ধাওল আপন কাজে ॥
ভ্রমর জানএ কমল মাধুরি
তেঞি সে তাহার বস।
রসিক জানএ রসের চাতুরি
আনে করে অপজস ॥

সৈ, এ কথা কহিব কে।
জেই জন জানে সেই সে কহিব
কেমনে ধরিব দে॥
ধরম করম লোক-চরচাএ
এ কথা বুঝিতে নারে।
এ তিন আখর জাহার অন্তরে
সেই সে বুঝিতে পারে॥
ভনে নরহরি শুনহ সুন্দরি
পিরিতি রসের সার।
পিরিতি রসের রসিক নহিলে
কি ছার জিবন তার॥

Song No. 6.

We have pointed out before that this pada is also attributed to Narahari in another manuscript. So, Narahari seems to be the real author of the song.

31. The following pada is attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa in the Pariṣad edition of the songs of the poet :—

প্রেমের পীরিতি কিসে উপজিল
প্রেম সে বলিব কারে।
কেবা কোথা পাইল কেবা সে দেখিল
এ কথা বলিব কারে॥
পাতের ফুলে ফুলের কিরণ
তাহার মাঝারে যেই।
তাহাতে অনেক যতনে নিঙ্গাড়ে
যুবক রসিক সেই॥
প্রেমের চাতুরি চতুর হইয়া
তিনের কাছেতে থাকে।
চারিটি আখর হরিতে পূজিতে
তাহে যেবা বাকি থাকে॥

তাহার বাকিতে প্রেমের আখর
পীরিতি আখর জড়।
সকল আখর জড় করি দেখ
প্রেমের আখর দড়॥
ছয়টি আখর মূল করি দেখ
তাহার ঘুচাই দুই।
চণ্ডীদাস কহে এ কথা বুঝিবে
রসিক হইবে যেই॥

Song No. 787.

But this song appears in the following form in the University manuscript No. 327 :—

প্রেমক পীরিতি কিসে জনমিল
প্রেম সে বলিব কারে।
কেবা কোথা পাল্য কেবা সে দেখিল
এ কথা কহিব তোরে॥
পাতের ফুলকে ফুলের কিরণ
তাহার মাঝারে জেই।
তাহারে অনেক জতনে লিখোতে
চতুর রসিক সেই॥
প্রেমক চাতুরি চতুর হইয়া
তিনের কাছে সে থাকে।
চারি সে আখরে হরিতে পুরিতে
তাহে জেবা বাকি থাকে॥
তাহার বাকিতে প্রেমের আখর
পিরিতি আখর জড়।
ছয়টী অক্ষর জড় করি দেন
প্রেমের কথাটী দড়॥
ছয়টী অক্ষর মনে করি দেখ
তাহার ঘুচাই দুই।
কহে চণ্ডীদাস ইহা কে বুঝিব
চতুর রসিক সোই॥

Song No. 7.

32. In the University manuscript No. 2386, we have the following Pada attributed to Narahari :—

পিরিতি বলিয়ে একটি কমল
রূপীহু হিয়ার মাঝে।
প্রেম পরিমল লোভিত ভ্রমর
ধায়ল আপন কাজে॥
ভ্রমরা জানএ কমল-মাধুরি
তেঞি সে তাহার বস।
রসিক জানএ রসের চাতুরি
আনে কহে অপজস॥
সুজন কুজন জে জন না জানে
তাহারে কোহিব কি।
পরানে ২ জে জন মিলয়ে
তাহারে পরান দি॥
ধরম করম লোক চরাচর
একথা বুঝিতে নারে।
জাহার রিদয়ে এ তিন আখর
সেই সে বুঝিতে পারে॥
কহে নরহরি শুনগো সুন্দরি
পিরিতি রসের সার।
পিরিতি রসের রসিক নহিলে
কি ছার জিবন তার॥

In the Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa a similar Pada is attributed to the poet :—

পীরিতি বলিয়া একটী কমল
রসের সায়র মাঝে।
প্রেম পরিমল লুবধ ভ্রমর
ধাওল আপন কাজে॥
ভ্রমর জানয়ে কমল-মাধুরী
তেঁই সে তাহার বশ।
রসিক জানয়ে রসের চাতুরী
আনে করে অপযশ॥

সই, একথা বুঝিবে কে।

যে জন জানয়ে সে যদি না কহে
কেমনে ধরিব দে ॥
ধরম করম লোকচরচাতে
একথা বুঝিতে নারে।
এ তিন আঁখর যাহার মরমে
সেই সে বুঝিতে পারে ॥
কহে চণ্ডীদাস শুন হে নাগরি
পীরিতি রসের সার।
পীরিতি রসের রসিক নহিলে
কি ছার জীবন তার ॥

Song No. 335.

Among other differences in the two versions quoted above, the following are important :—

In the University manuscript No. 2386, we have—

সুজন কুজন সে জন না জানে
তাহারে কোহিব কি।
পরাণে ২ জে জন মিলয়ে
তাহারে পরান দি ॥

But in the Parisad edition of Caṇḍidāsa, we have the following in the place of the portion noted above :—

সই, একথা বুঝিবে কে।
যেজন জানয়ে সে যদি না কহে
কেমনে ধরিব দে ॥

Then, towards the end, we have in the manuscript :—

কহে নরহরি শুনগো সুন্দরি
পিরিতি রসের সার।

But in the Parisad edition, we have

কহে চণ্ডীদাস শুন হে নাগরি
পীরিতি রসের সার।

In a previous report we have already noted that in the University manuscript No. 3436, this pada has also been attributed to Narahari in the following form :—

পীরিতি বলিয়ে একটী কমল
রূপীনু হীয়ার মাঝে।
প্রেম পরিমল লোভিত ভ্রমর
ধায়ল আপন কাজে॥
ভমরা জানএ কমল মাধুরী
তেয়ি সে তাহার বস্য
রসিক জানএ রসের চাতুরি
আনে কহে অপজশ॥
সুজন কুজন জে জন না জানে
তাহারে কহিব কি।
পরানে পরানে জে জন মীলয়ে
তাহারে পরান দি॥
ধরম করম লোক চরাচর
এ কথা বুঝিতে নারে।
যাহার রিদএ এ তিন আখর
সেই সে বুঝিতে পারে॥
কহে নরহরি যুনগো সুন্দরী
পীরিতি রসের সার।
পীরিতি রসেব রসীক নইলে
কি ছার জীবন তার॥

It should be observed that the two versions quoted from the two manuscripts are almost similar, and both of them differ from the song of the Pariṣad edition in the same manner. In both the manuscripts the song is attributed to Narahari, but in the Pariṣad edition, Caṇḍīdāsa is said to be the author of the song.

It should be observed that in two other songs noted in the University manuscript No. 2386, we have in the colophon Narahari mentioned in the following manner—

কহে নরহরি ষুনগো ষুন্দরি
পিরিতি রসেরি সার।
পীরিতি রসের রসিক নহিলে
কি ছার জিবন তার ॥

p. 1.

And

কহে নরহরি শুনলো যুন্দরি
পিরিতি রসেরি সার।
এ সব রসের রসিক না হোলে
এ ছার জিবন তার ॥

p. 2

Further research may show if কহে নরহরি শুনগো যুন্দরি etc., is an expression peculiar to Narahari.

33. In the University manuscript No. 2865, the following pada is attributed to Tarani Ramana—

পিরিতি বলিয়া এ তিন য়াঁখর
বিদিত ভুবন মাঝে।
জাহারে পসিল সেই সে মজিল
কি তার কলঙ্ক লাজে ॥
বেদ বিধি পর সব অগোচর
ইথে কি জানিবে আনে।
রসে গরগর রসের অন্তর
সেই যে মরম জানে ॥
দোহার অধর সুধারস পানে
তাহে উপজিল পি।
নঞানে ২ বান বরিখনে
তাহে উপজিল য়ি ॥

হিয়াএ ২ পরস করিতে
তাহে উপজিল তি।
ই তিন আখর মুনি মনহর
ইহার তুলনা কি ॥
তাহে সুখ দুখ সদাই অমুমুখ
সকলি সুখের পাড়া।
তরুণি রমন করে নিবেদন
মরিলে না জায় ছাড়া ॥

Song No. 2.

We have already noticed that in the University manuscript No. 1111, this pada is also attributed to Taraṇi Ramaṇa in the following form—

পিরিতি বলিআ তিনটী আখর
বিদিত ভুবন মাঝে।
জাহারে পসিল সেই সে মজিল
কি তার কলঙ্ক লাজে ॥
দুহার অধর সুধারস পানে
তাহে উপজিল পি।
নআনে ২ বান বরিখানে
তাহে উপজিল রি ॥
হিআয় ২ পরস করিতে
তাহে উপজিল তি।
এ তিন আখর অতি মনহর
ইহার তুলনা কি ॥
তাহে দুখ সুক হয় পরতেক
সদাই সুখের পারা।
তরনি রমন করে নিবেদন
মরিলে না জায় ছাড়া ॥

p. 187.

These two padas are almost similar. In the manuscript No. 1111, the following four lines are omitted—

বেদবিধি পর সব অগোচর
ইথে কি জানিবে আনে।
রসে গরগর রসের অন্তর
সেই সে মরম জানে॥

There are minor other differences such as—

ই তিন আখর মুনি মনহর
Ms. No. 2865.

for এ তিন আখর অতি মনহর
Ms. No. 1111.

and তাহে সুখদুখ সদাই অসুমুখ
সকলি সুখের পাড়া।
Ms. No. 2865.

for তাহে দুখ সুক হয় পরতেক
সদাই সুখের পারা।
Ms. No 1111.

Neglecting such minor differences, and those of the four lines quoted above, we can say that these two Mss. have the same song quoted in each.

But in the Parisad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa, a similar pada is attributed to this poet in the following form—

পীরিতি বলিয়া এ তিন আঁখর
বিদিত ভুবন মাঝে।
তাহে যে পশিল সেই সে জানিল
কি তার কুল-ভয়-লাজে॥
বেদবিধি পর সব অগোচর
ইহা কি জানে আনে।
রসে গরগর রসের অন্তর
সেই সে মরম জানে॥

দুঁহুক অধর সুধারস বাণী
তাহে উপজিল পী।
হিয়ায় হিয়ায় পরশ করিতে
তাহার তুলনা কি ॥
কহে চণ্ডীদাস শুন বিনোদিনী
পীরিতি রসের ভোর।
পীরিতি করিয়া ছাড়িতে নারিবে
আপনি হইবে চোর ॥

Song No. 385.

It should be observed that the four lines lost in the manuscript No. 1111, which we have pointed out before, are found in the song of the Pariṣad edition, so that we can assume that the full song must be like one quoted from the manuscript No. 2865. The Pariṣad edition has omitted

নঞানে ২ বান বরিখনে
তাহে উপজিল রি।

and has changed the rest in the following manner—

হিয়ায় হিয়ায় পরশ করিতে
তাহার তুলনা কি।

for হিয়াএ ২ পরশ করিতে
তাহে উপজিল তি।
ই তিন আখর মুনি মনহর
ইহার তুলনা কি ॥

of the manuscript No. 2865.

About the last four lines wherein are inserted the names of the poets, we have already discussed in a previous report. Suffices it to note in this place that we have this song attributed to Taraṇi Ramaṇa in two manuscripts.

34. In the University manuscript No. 2394, the following pada is attributed to দীন চণ্ডীদাস (Dina Caṇḍīdāsa) in the following form —

সৈ কি আজু দেখিনু রঙ্গ।
আজু গিয়াছিনু জোমুনা সিনানে
দুই চারি সখি-সঙ্গ ॥

একে কাল দেহ বসন ভূসন
চুড়াটি টালিএ বামে।
হেরম্ব অম্বুজ তাহে য়ারপিত
বেড়িয়া কুসুম দামে॥
তার মাঝে দিয়া মউরের পাখা
হেলিচে দুলিচে বায়।
জেমন রবির শুতার তরঙ্গ
লহরি তেমতি প্রায়॥
তাহে সসধর মলয় চন্দন
তার মাঝে গোরচনা।
তাহার সোরব প্যায়া য়লিকুল
তাহে করে য়ানাগনা॥
নাসা খগ জিনি কিবা করগনি
এ দুটি নখিলে নয়।
আকর্ণ পুরিত সে দুটি লোচন
চঞ্চল সভিত হয়॥
কটাক্ষ মিসালে হাসির হিলোলে
য়মিয়া বরিখে রাশি।
দেখিয়া সে রূপ হেন মনে করি
সদা থাকি দিবানিশি॥
গলে বনমালা কিবা করে য়ালা
জমুনা দুকুল ভরি।
পিতবাস য়তি কাঞ্চন মুরতি
করেতে মুরলি ধরি॥
এতদিন বসি গোকুল নগরে
না দেখি না শুনি কানে।
এমন মুরতি গড়ে কুন বিধি
দিন চণ্ডিদাসে ভণে॥

Song No. 1.

In the Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍidāsa, this pada is attributed to Dvija Caṇḍidāsa (দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস) in the following form—

সই, কি আজু দেখিল রঙ্গ।
আজু গিয়াছিনু যমুনার কূলে
দুই চারি জন সঙ্গ ॥

এক কালা দেহ বসন ভূষণ
চূড়াটি টলিয়া বামে।
হেরম্ব অম্বুজ তাহে আরোপিত
বেড়িয়া কুসুম দামে ॥

তার মাঝ দিয়া ময়ূরের পাখা
হেলিছে দুলিছে বায়।
যেমন রবির সুতার তরঙ্গ
লহরী তেমতি প্রায় ॥

তাহে শশধর মলয় চন্দন
তার মাঝে গোরোচনা।
তাহার সৌরভ পেয়ে অলিকুল
করে আসি আনাগোনা ॥

নাসা খগ জিনি * * * *
এই দুই নখিলে নয়।

আকর্ণ পূরিত সে দুটি লোচন
চঞ্চলে শোভিত তায় ॥

কটাক্ষ মিশালে হাসির হিল্লোলে
অমিয়া বরিখে রাশি।

দেখিয়া সেরূপ হেন মনে করি
সদা থাকি নিশি দিশি ॥

গলে বনমালা কিবা করে আলা
যমুনা দুকূল ভরি।

পীতবাস অতি কাঞ্চন মূরতি
করেতে মূরলী ধরি ॥

এতদিন বসি গোকুল নগরে
না দেখি না শুনি কাণে।
এমন মূরতি গড়ে কোন বিধি
দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস ভণে॥

Song No. 56.

These two versions are almost similar, and by comparing the two redactions, it is perfectly clear that they are the two versions of the same song, for both of them contain the same number of couplets, and wordings are mostly of the same nature. But in the University manuscript we have "Dina Caṇḍīdāsa" in the colophon in the place of Dvija Caṇḍīdāsa of the Pariṣad edition. This is an important point for careful investigation. Whether "Dina Caṇḍīdāsa" and "Dvija Caṇḍīdāsa" are the epithets of two different persons, or the different epithets of the same person? In the Pariṣad edition of Caṇḍīdāsa, songs Nos. 155, 461, 483, 484, 515, 516, 517 etc., are attributed to Dina Caṇḍīdāsa. But in the song under review we observe a very peculiar tendency, for, Dina Caṇḍīdāsa of the Ms. has been changed into Dvija Caṇḍīdāsa in the Pariṣad edition. If they are two separate persons, the song of one has passed in the name of another.

But even without going into that controversy, the manuscript version supplies many important alternative readings, *e.g.*,

for, সই, কি আজু দেখিল রঙ্গ।
আজি গিয়াছিনু যমুনার কূলে
দুই চারি জন সঙ্গ॥

of the Pariṣad edition, we have

সৈ কি য়াজু দেখিনু রঙ্গ।
আজু গিয়াছিনু জোমুনা সিনানে
দুই চারি সখি সঙ্গ॥

in the Ms., which is undoubtedly more sweet, and appropriate. Besides, in the Pariṣad edition we have a gap after

নাসা খগ জিনি * * *
এই দুই নখিলে নয়।

which is filled up in the manuscript as follows—

নাসা খগ জিনি কিবা করগনি
এ দুটি লখিলে নয়।

Here কিবা করগণি perhaps stands for কিবা কুরঙ্গিণী, and is at the beginning of a sentence which ends with

চঞ্চল সোভিত হয়।

These four lines stand thus—

নাসা খগ জিনি কিবা করগনি (কুরঙ্গিনী)
এ দুটি লখিলে নয়।
আকর্ণ পূরিত সে দুটি লোচন
চঞ্চল সভিত হয়॥

Which perhaps means that the eyes of deer can not stand a comparison with the beautiful eyes of Kṛṣṇa. The inferiority becomes at once evident by casting a glance at the eyes of Kṛṣṇa, for therein you will always find his eyes, extended up to the ears, bright with a transparancy and mixed with a tinge of fear, which is at once attractive and beautiful. I do, therefore, prefer the reading চঞ্চল সভীত হয় to চঞ্চলে শোভিত তায় of the Pariṣad edition.

35. In the University manuscript No. 2394 ; the following pada is attributed to Caṇḍidāsa in the following form—

সৈ কি হল্য কালারি জালা।
রাত্রি দিন হেন সদা উচাটন
সপনে দেখিয়া কালা॥
মুদিত লোচনে জদি বা ঘুমাই
হিদয়ে কানুরে দেখি।
মনের মরম তুমারে কহিনু
সুনগো মরম সখি॥
ঘরে নাহি মন সদা উচাটন
কি হল্য মোরে বা ব্যাধি।
কি করি সজনি বাচিতে সংসয়
কহনা ইহার বুদ্ধি॥

সদয় হৃদয়ে য়ামার পরান
কানুর চরনে বান্ধা।
সেজনার পিরিতি পাড়ার পড়সি
সদাই করয়ে বাধা॥
দুরে রহু তার আদর পিরিতি
সে জনা য়াখির বালি।
না জাব সে ঘর পাড়ার পড়সি
দেই দেকু গালাগালি॥
চণ্ডিদাস বলে লোকের বচনে
কিবা সে করিতে পারে।
য়াপন হৃদয়ে মনের মানসে
নিরবধি ভজ তারে॥

Song No. 2

In the Parisad edition of Candidāsa this pada has appeared in the following form—

সই, কি হইল কালার জ্বালা।
রাত্রিদিন মন সদা উচাটন
স্বপনে দেখিয়ে কালা॥
মুদিত লোচনে যদি বা ঘুমাই
হৃদয়ে কানুরে দেখি।
মনের মরম তোমারে কহিনু
শুন গো মরম সখি॥
ঘরে নাহি মন মন উচাটন
কি না হৈল মোর ব্যাধি।
কি জানি জীবন বাঁচিতে সংশয়
কহ না ইহার বুধি॥
সদাই হৃদয় আমার পরাণ
কানুর চরনে বাঁধা।
যে জন পীরিতি পাড়ার পড়সী
সদাই করয়ে বাধা॥

দূরে রহু তার আদর পীরিতি
সেজন আঁখির বালি।
না যাব সে ঘর পাড়ার পড়সী
দেই যত গালি॥
চণ্ডীদাসে কহে লোকের বচন
কিবা সে করিতে পারে।
আপনা হৃদয়ে মনের মানসে
নিরবধি ভজ তারে॥

Song No. 324.

In the Sahitya Pariṣad edition there is no note for any alternative reading published with the poem. But in the University manuscript, the following portions show variations, so that the two versions may be really helpful for preparing a better version of the poem. As for instance, we have in the Pariṣad edition—

ঘরে নাহি মন মন উচাটন
কিনা হৈল মোর ব্যাধি।

but the manuscript supplies—

ঘরে নাহি মন সদা উচাটন
কি হল্য মোর বা ব্যাধি।

Here the repetition of মন twice in the same line is omitted, and the last line supplies also a good alternative version.
In the Pariṣad edition we have

না যাব সে ঘর পাড়ার পড়সি
দেই যত গালাগালি।

but in the manuscript, the last line appears as

দেই দেকু গালাগালি।

whereby the defect in rhyming is satisfactorily eliminated.

36. In the University manuscript No. 2394, we have the following song attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa thus—

শুনগো মরম সখি।
কানুর পিরিতে পরান না রহে
বড় পরমাদ দেখি॥

কিবা সে কুদিনে দেখিনু সে জনে
নয়ান পসারি দুটী।
সেই দিন হতে আন নাহি চিতে
পিরিতি য়ানলে ছুটী॥
য়ান সে য়ানলে বারি ঢালি দিলে
তখনি নিভায়্যা জায়।
মনের য়াগুন নিভাইব কিসে
দিগুন জলয়ে তায়॥
বন জে পুড়য়ে বনের য়াগুনে
দেখয়ে জগত লোকে।
এ বড়ি বিসম সুনগো সজনি
জলে উঠে মিনি ফুকে॥
হের দেখ সখি অঙ্গে হাত দিয়া
উঠিছে বিরহ আগি।
সে স্বাম বিছাদে শুধা দেহ সখি
সদা কান্দে তার লাগি॥
চণ্ডিদাস কহে শুন বিনোদিনি
মিছাই ভাবনা কর।
স্বামের কলঙ্ক রতন করিয়া
হৃদয়ে জতনে পর॥

Song No. 4.

But in the Sāhitya Pariṣad edition, we have this song in the following form—

শুনগো মরম-সখি।
কানুর পীরিতি পরাণ না রহে
বড় পরমাদ দেখি॥
কিবা সে কুদিন দেখিল সেহনে
নয়ান পসারি দুটি।
সেই দিন হতে আন নাহি চিতে
পীরিতি আনলে ছুটি॥

আন সে আনল বারি ঢালি দিলে
তখনি নিবায়ে যায়।
মনের আগুন নিবাইব কিসে
দ্বিগুণ জ্বালিয়ে তায়॥
বন পোড়ে বলে বনে আগুনি
দেখয়ে জগৎ লোকে।
এ বড়ি বিষম শুনগো সজনি
জ্বলে উঠে বিনি ফুকে॥
হের দেখ সখি অঙ্গে হাত দিয়া
উঠিছে বিরহ আগি।
সে শ্যাম-বিচ্ছেদে ক্ষুধার বিষাদে
সদা কাঁদি তার লাগি॥
চণ্ডীদাসে বলে শুন বিনোদিনি
মিছাই ভাবনা কর।
শ্যামের কলঙ্ক যত পরিবাদ
হৃদয়ে যতনে ধর॥

Song No. 326.

The following portions contain important variations—
In the Pariṣad version we have

কিবা সে কুদিন দেখিল সেহনে
নয়ান পসারি দুটি।

But in the manuscript we have

কিবা সে কুদিনে দেখিনু সেজনে
নয়ান পসারি দুটি।

So, we find that the manuscript version is more satisfactory in respect of rhyming and sense. In the Pariṣad edition, we have

বন পোড়ে বলে বনে আগুনি

but in the manuscript, we have

বন জে পুড়য়ে বনের য়াগুনে etc.

Again, in the Pariṣad edition, we have

শ্যামের কলঙ্ক যত পরিবাদ
হৃদয়ে যতনে ধর।

but the manuscript, we have

স্যামের কলঙ্ক রতন করিয়া
হৃদয়ে জতনে পর ॥

In both these cases the manuscript versions seem to be more correct and happy.

27. In the University manuscript No. 2394, we have the following pada attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa in the following form—

সোই বড় পরমাদ দেখি।

কালা কানু সনে পিরিতি করিয়া
নিরবধি ঝুরে য়াঁখি ॥
কাহারে কহিব মনের য়াগুন
জলিয়্যা ২ উঠে।
জেমন কুঞ্জর বাউল হইলে
য়ংকুশ ভাঙ্গিয়া ছুটে ॥
কিসে নিবারিব নিবারিতে নারি
বিসম কানুর লেঠা।
হেন মনে করি উচ্চস্বরে কান্দি
তাহে গুরুজন কাঁটা ॥
জাইয়া নৃভিতে হয়ে এক চিত্তে
সদা ভাবি কালা কানু।
বিরলে বসিয়া ঝুরিয়া ঝুরিয়া
কবে হারাইব তোনু ॥
ধিবর দেখিয়া জলে জত মিন
সে জন তরাসে কাঁপে।
য়ামার তেমতি এ ঘর বসতি
গরজে ২ ঝাপে ॥
ঘরে গুরুজন বলে কুবচন
জদিবা সহিতে পারি।
জাহার লাগিয়া এতেক সহিব
সে রহে ধৈরজ ধরি ॥

চণ্ডিদাস বলে শুন বিনদিনি
সকল সফল মানি।
তুমি সে কালার কালিয়ে তুমার
জগতে সভাই জানি॥

Song. No. 5.

In the following portions variations occur with the printed version of the Pariṣad edition, (*vide* song No. 327, p. 145). There we have—

সই, বড়ই প্রমাদ দেখি।
কানুর সনে পীরিতি করিয়া
* * * *
যাইয়া নিভৃতে বসি এক ভিতে
* * * *
বিরলে বসিয়া ঝুরিতে ২
* * * *
যেমন তরাসে কাঁপে।
* * * *
গরজি গরজি ঝাপে॥
* * * *
সকলি স্বপন মানি॥

38. In the University manuscript No. 2394, we have the following pada attributed to Candidāsa thus—

সোই পুরিল বিসম বাঁসি।
বাহির করিতে জতন করিনু
মরমে রহিল পসি॥
তেরহ নয়ান বানের সন্ধান
না বাজে এমন নয়।
বাজিলে যন্তরে য়াকুল করয়ে
জতনে পরান রয়॥

নাহি দিবানিশি মন জে করিছে
একথা কহিব কায়।
মোনের য়াগুন জলিছে দিগুন
কেবা পরতিত জায়॥
য়াধুয়া পোখুরে জেন মিন থাকে
ঝম্পএ ধিবর জালে।
তেন য়াছি য়ামি এ ঘর করনে
গুরুজন জত বলে॥
খুরের উপর বসতি রাধার
নড়িতে কাটয়ে দে।
আমার দুখের য়াচার বিচার
একথা বুঝিবে কে॥
সঙ্খ বনিকের করাত জেমন
দুদিগে কাটীয়া জায়।
তেমুতি য়ামার গুরুজন কাটে
দিন চণ্ডিদাসে গায়॥

Song No. 6.

In the following portions variations occur with the printed versions of the Parişad edition, (*vide* song No. 269, p. 124).

সই, পশিল বিষম বাঁশী।

* * * *

তেরছ নয়ানে বাণের সন্ধানে
না বাজে এমনি নয়।

* * * *

নাহি দিবানিশি যেমন করিছে

* * * *

কেনা পরতীত যায়॥
আঁধুয়া পুকুরে যে মীন থাকয়ে

* * * *

তেন আছি হাল * * *

* * * *

ক্ষুরের উপরে রাধার বসতি
নড়িতে কাটয়ে দেহ।
* * * *
একথা বুঝিবে কেহ॥
বণিক জনার করাত যেমন
* * * *
* * * গুরুজনা কাটে
দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস কয়॥

The most important variation occurs in the last line, where, in the Pariṣad edition, we have—

দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস কয়॥

for দিন চণ্ডিদাসে গায় of the manuscript version. This is a point of enquiry whether দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস and দিন চণ্ডীদাস are two persons or the same man using different modes of expressions. The other important variations are—

সঙ্খবণিকের করাত জেমন

of the manuscript, for বণিক জনার etc., of the Pariṣad edition. The former is more clear, and therefore, preferable.

Also ক্ষুরের উপর বসতি রাধার of the Ms., seems to be more satisfactory in respect of rhyming than ক্ষুরের উপরে রাধার বসতি of the Pariṣad edition.

Also compare

জেন মিন থাকে *vs.* যে মীন থাকয়ে

and তেরছ নয়ানে বানের সন্ধানে

vs.

তেরছ নয়ান বাণের সন্ধান

etc. etc.

39. In the University Manuscript No. 2394, the following pada is attributed to Caṇḍīdāsa, thus—

রাগ কামদ

কালিয়া ২ বলিয়া ২
জনমে কি ফল পানু।
হিয়া দগদগি পরান পুড়নি
মোনের য়াগুনে মনু॥

গোকুল নগরে কে বা কি না করে
তাহারে নাহিক বাধা।
সে সব যুবতি কুলবতি সতি
স্বাম কলঙ্কীনি রাধা॥
এ ঘর করন বিধি নিদারুন
পিরিতি পরের বসে।
হেন করে মন হউক মরন
কি য়ার গোরব জসে॥
বাহির হইতে লোক চরচাতে
বিস জে হইনু ঘরে।
পিরিতি করিয়া জগতে বৈরিয়া
য়াপনা বলিব কারে॥
রাধিকা বলিয়া নাম নাহি ধরে
থুইলে এমতি মলে।
চণ্ডিদাস বলে সভারে পাইব
বান্ধুয়া সদয় হলে॥

S. C. No. 7

In the following portions variations occur with printed version of the Parisad edition (*vide* song No. 365, p. 159), —

শ্রী

* * * *
তাহে কি নিষেধ বাধা।
সতী কুলবতী সে সব যুবতী
হাম কলঙ্কিনী রাধা॥
* * * *
আর যত অপযশে॥
বাহির বেড়াতে * * *
বিষম হইল ঘরে।
পীরিতি বলিয়া যতেক বৈরী
আপন বলিব কারে॥

রাধা মেনে কেহ নাম নাহি লবে
এখানে অমনি মলে।
* * * *
বঁধু আপনার হলে॥

In most of these places the manuscript version is more correct and satisfactory.

The following pairs are good specimens for comparative study—

40. রাগ বড়ারি

কত ঘর বাহির হইব দিবারাতি।
বিসম হইল কালা বন্ধুর পিরিতি॥
খাইতে না রুচে য়ন্ন স্থির নহে মন।
বিস মীসাইল জেন এ ঘর করন॥
পাসরিতে চাই জদি পাসরা না জায়।
তুসের য়ানল জেন জলিছে হিয়ায়॥
হাসিতে ২ খল পিরিতি করিয়া।
নাহি জানি দিবা নিসি মরিয়া ঝুরিয়া॥
পিরিতি এমন বন্ধা জানিব কেমনে।
তবে কেনে পিরিতি বাড়াব স্বাম সনে॥
পিরিতি গরলে মোর হেন দশা হৈল।
যা ছিল সনার তোনু কাল হয়্যা গেল॥
পিরিতি বিচ্ছেদে পাপ পরান না রয়।
এমতি পিরিতি দিন চণ্ডিদাসে কয়॥

University Ms. No. 2394, Song 8.

But there are variations with the following version of the Pariṣad edition :—

শ্রী

কত ঘর বাহির হইব দিবা রাতি।
বিষম হইল কালা কানুর পীরিতি॥
খাইতে না রুচে অন্ন শুইতে না লয় মন।
বিষ মিশাইলে যেন এ ঘর করন॥

পাসরিতে চাহি যদি পাসরা না যায়।
তুষের অনল যেন জ্বলিছে হিয়ায়॥
হাসিতে শ্যামের সনে পীরিতি করিয়া।
নাহি যায় দিবানিশি মরয়ে ঝুরিয়া॥
পীরিতি এমন জ্বালা জানিব কেমনে।
তবে কেন বাড়াই লেহা কালিয়ার সনে॥
পীরিতি গরলে মোর হেন গতি ভেল।
আছিল সোনার দেহ হৈয়া গেল কাল॥
তিলেক বিচ্ছেদ পাপ পরানে না সহে।
এমন পীরিতি দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাসে কহে॥

Song No. 366, p. 159.

41. রাগ ধানসি

কি বুকে হইল দারুণ ব্রথা।

সে দেশে জাইব জথা না শুনিব
পাপ পীরিতের কথা॥

পিরিতি বলিয়া এ তিন য়াঁখর
কে বলে পিরিতি ভাল।

হাসিতে ২ পিরিতি করিয়া
কান্দিতে জনম গেল॥

কুলবতি হয়া কুল তিয়াগিয়া
জে জনা পিরিতি করে।

তুঁসের য়াগুন জেন সাজাইয়া
তেমতি পুরিয়া মরে॥

রাই বিনদিনি জেমন দুখিনি
প্রেমে ছল ছল য়াঁখি।

চণ্ডিদাস বলে কানুর পিরিতি
জিবন সংশয় দেখি॥

University Manuscript No. 2394, Song No. 9.

But in the Parisad edition we have it in the following form :—

পট মঞ্জরী

কি বুকে দারুণ ব্যথা।
সে দেশে যাইব যে দেশে না শুনি
পাপ পীরিতের কথা॥

সই, কে বলে পীরিতি ভাল।
হাসিতে হাসিতে পীরিতি করিয়া
কাঁদিতে জনম গেল॥
কুলবতী হৈয়ে কুলে দাঁড়াইয়ে
যে ধনী পীরিতি করে।
তুষের অনল যেন সাজাইয়া
এমতি পুরিয়া মরে॥
হাম অভাগিনী এ দুখে দুখিনী
প্রেমে ছল ছল আঁখি।
চণ্ডীদাস কহে যেমতি হইল
পরাণ সংশয় দেখি॥

Song No. 309, p. 138.

42. রাগ রামকেলি

য়ার কি জিবের সাদ।
ইকুল উকুল দুকুল ভরিয়া
বড় হল পরমাদ॥
সাশুড়ি ননদি গঞ্জে নিরবধি
তাহা বা কহিব কত।
পাড়ার পরসি ইঙ্গিত আকারে
কুবচন বলে জত॥
য়বলা পরানে এত কি বা সহে
শুনগো সুজন সোই।
মনের বেদনা জতেক জাতনা
য়াপনা বলিয়া কই॥

এ ঘর করম কুলের ধরম
ভরম সরম গেল।
কলঙ্কিনি বলি জগত ভরিল
নিশ্চয় মরন ভেল॥
চণ্ডিদাস বলে শুন বিনদিনি
সে স্থাম তুমারি বটে।
কি করিতে পারে গুরু দুরুজনে
কাল সাপ আছে বাটে॥

U. Ms. No. 2394, Song No. 10.

But in the Parisad edition, we have—

সই, কি আর জীবনে সাধ।
এ কুল ও কুল দুকুল ভরিয়া
বাড়াইলা পরমাদ॥
শাশুড়ী ননদী গঞ্জে দিবা রাতি
তাহা বা সহিব কত।
পাড়ার পরশী ইঙ্গিত আকারে
কুবচন বলে যত॥
অবলা পরাণে এত কিনা সয়
শুন গো পরাণ সই।
মনের বেদনা যতেক যাতনা
আপন বলিয়া কই॥
এ ঘর করণ কুলের ধরম
ভরম সরম গেল।
কলঙ্কিনী বলে জগৎ ভরিল
নিশ্চয় মরণ ভেল॥
চণ্ডীদাস বলে শুন শুন রাই
সে শ্যাম তোমার বটে।
কি করিতে পারে গুরু দুরুজনা
কানু সে রয়েছে বাটে॥

Song No. 298.

43. সুই রাগ (১)

সোই রহিতে নারিনু ঘরে।
নিরবধি বলে কানু কলঙ্কিনি
এ কথা কহিব কারে॥
ঘরে গুরুজনে জত য়াছে মনে
কালার কলঙ্ক সারা।
বিরলে বসিয়া সেখানে জাইয়া (২)
নয়নে বহিছে (৩) ধারা॥
কি করিব বল ইহার উপায়
শুন গো মরম সখি।
এ পাপ পরান সদাই চঞ্চল
ঘরে স্থির নাহি থাকি॥
বিস ভেল গেহ (৪) ভোজন না রুচে
ঘুম সে (৫) নাহিক হয়।
স্বাম পর সঙ্গ বিনা (৬) নাহি ভাই (৭)
জিবন (৮) তা পানে রয়॥
গৃহ কাজে চিত না হয় বাঞ্ছিত (৯)
কালার ভাবনা বাড়া (১০)।
চণ্ডিদাসে বলে কালার পিরিতে (১১)
সকলি হইল (১২) হাড়া॥

U. Ms. No. 2394, Song No. 11.

The following are the variations with song No. 328, p. 146 of the Pariṣad edition :—

(১) শ্রী	(২) বসিযা	(৩) গলয়ে
(৪) গৃহ	(৫) বাদ	(৬) বিনে
(৭) ভায়	(৮) শ্রবণ	(৯) বেকত
(১০) গাঢ়া	(১১) পীরিতি	(১২) হইবে

44. শ্রীরাগ (১)

সোই মরিব গরল খেয়া (২)।

কালার (৩) পিরিতি বিসম বিয়াধি
য়ামারে ঘিরিল (৪) গিয়া ॥

কত বা (৫) সহিব য়বলা পরানে
কুবচনে ভাজে দে (৬)।

মনের বেদনা বুঝে কুন (৭) জনা
য়ানে কি বুঝবে যে (৮) ॥

হেন মনে করি বিস খেয়া মরি
দুরে জাউ জত দুখ।

যখন (৯) রমনি কুলের কামিনি
সভার হউক সুখ ॥

কত বা (১০) সহিব লোকের বচন (১১)
সহিতে হইনু কালি।

হেন মনে করি এ ঘর করনে
দিয়ে (১২) সে য়াগুন জালি ॥

চণ্ডিদাসে বলে পিরিতি যেমন (১৩)
বিসম প্রেমের লেহা।

পিরিতে য়ারতি জার উপজল
তার কি থাকয়ে (১৪) দেহা ॥

U. Ms. No. 2394, Song No. 12.

The following are the variations with the song No. 329 of the Parisad edition :—

(১) ধানশী (২) খেয়ে (৩) কানুর (৪) বেরল
(৫) না (৬) ভাজা দেহ (৭) কোন্ জনা (৮) আন কি বুঝিবে কেহ,
(৯) অথলা (১০) না (১১) সেই কুবচন (১২) দিব
(১৩) এমন (১৪) আছয়ে

45. জথা রাগ (১)

কুলের ভরম সরম ধরম
সকল হইনু (২) ছাড়া।
হাসিতে ২ পিরিতি করিনু
এবে সে হইল বড়া (৩) ॥
কে জানে এমন পরিনামে হবে (৪)
পাইব এমন দুঃখ।
তবে কি লিখিতে (৫) করিতাম রতি (৬)
এ হেন পিরিতের (৭) সুখ ॥
জে দেখিয়া (৮) ধারা প্রাণ হব ছারা (৯)
বাঁচিতে সংসয় ভেল।
য়াছিল আমার সনার বরন
কালি জে (১০) হইয়া গেল ॥
চণ্ডীদাসে বলে শ্যামের পিরিতি
জে ধনি করিছে (১১)।
য়াদরে (১২) পিরিতি করিয়া জে ধনি (১৩)
কেবা কথা (১৪) ভাল য়াছে ॥

U. Ms. No. 2394, Song No. 13.

The following are the variations with song No. 388 of the Parisad edition :—

(১) শ্রী (২) হৈল (৩) গাঢ়া (৪) হব (৫) পীরিতি
(৬) করিমু আরতি (৭) প্রেমের (৮) এই দেখি (৯) প্রেম হৈল হারা
(১০) কাল (১১) করিয়াছে (১২) আদর (১৩) সে জন
(১৪) কোথা

46. রাগ বড়াড়ি (১)

য়ার (২) কিছু কয্য না গো।
য়ামার সকলে বজর পড়ল
নন্দঘোসের পো ॥ (৩)

কে জানে পড়িব(৪) এত পরমাদ (৫)
সপনে নাহিক জানি।
তবে কি তা সনে বাড়াতাম (৬) মরমে
যখন (৭) কুলের ধনি ॥
সয়নে স্বপনে য়ান নাহি মনে
দেখিয়া কালিয়া কানু।
বিরহ বিয়াধি কত দিনে জাব (৮)
কবে সে তেজিব তনু ॥
সুনহে (৯) সজনি হেন মনে গুণি (১০)
গরল ভুখিয়া মরি।
কহে চণ্ডিদাসে কহি তুয়া পাসে
গুপতে গুমুরি মরি ॥ (১১)

U. Ms. No. 2394, Song No. 14.

The following are the variations with song No. 330 of the Parisad edition :—

(১) ধানশী (২) সই, আর
(৩) সকল বজর পাড়িয়া পরল গোকুলে নন্দের পো ॥
(৪) পাইব (৫) অপবাদ (৬) বাড়ানু (৭) যবন
(৮) কত না সহিব (৯) শুনহ (১০) করি
(১১) তবে ঘুচে তাপ বিষম সন্তাপ
গোপতে গুমরি মরি।
কহে চণ্ডীদাস হিত আশ্বাস
পীরিতি এমতি রীত।
কেন এত তুমি করিছ বিরোদ
ক্ষণেক ধৈরজ চিত ॥

47. রাগ য়াসয়ারি (১)
কি (২) কাজ এ ছার ঘরে।
স্যাম নাম নিতে না পারি গ্রিহেতে
তবে তারা হেদে মরে ॥

কুল (৩) কুলটনি য়াছে কলঙ্কিনি
গোকুলে যতেক জনা।
সে সব যুবতি তারা বলে কত
দেখাইয়া সতি পনা (৩) ॥
কেবল রাধার পরিবাদ সার
সে সব কুলের মণি।
লোক চরচাতে মন ২ নিতে (৮)
কি ছার পড়সি শুনি ॥ (৫)
আমি সে লয়াছি শ্যাম হেম মালা
হৃদয়ে পরিয়াছি।
চণ্ডিদাসে বলে শ্যাম সুনাগর
ভজহ কিসরি শুরি ॥

U. Ms. No. 2394, Song No. 15.

The following are the variations with song No. 331 of the Parisad edition :—

(১) ধানশী (২) সই, কি
(৩-৩) পরিষৎ-গ্রন্থে নাই।
(৪) মনু মনু মনু, (৫) গণি।
কহে যত জন শত কুবচন
সে বহি লইয়াছি।
চণ্ডীদাস কহে শ্যাম সুনাগর
ভজহ কিশোরী গোরী।
লোক-পরিবাদ মিছা যত হয়
গোকুলে গোপের নারী ॥

48. রাগ সুই (১)
বিরলে নিসিতে য়াছিনু সুসিয়া
সুনগো মরম (২) সখি।
নিসিতে য়াসিয়া দিল দরসন
সে শ্যাম কমল (৩) য়াখি ॥

পেয়া বহু ধন য়মূল্য রতন
থুইতে নাহিক ঠাঞি।
কুন্ খানে থুব এ হেন (৪) সম্পদ
মনে (৫) পরতিত নাঞি॥
জত ছিল তাপ দুরে গেল পাপ
বিরহ বেদনা জত। (৬)
রাখে পেয়া ধন য়মূল্য রতন (৭)
ইহা বা রাখিব কত॥ (৮)
য়াজু নিসি দিন ভেল সুভক্ষন
বোন্ধুয়া মিলল কোলে।
রাই (৯) বিনদিনি কহে য়াধবানি
হাসিয়া ২ বলে॥
না পাই কহিতে বিরল হইয়া
মোনে মোর জত য়াছে।
চণ্ডিদাসে বলে য়াসি প্রিয়া মিলে (১০)
সে কথা কহিবে পাছে॥

U. Ms. No. 2394, Song No. 16

The following are the variations with song No. 200 of the Parisad edition :—

(১) বসিয়া আছিল শুতিয়া (২) পরাণ (৩) কমল নয়ান
(৪) সে হেন (৫) মোর
(৬) যতি (৭) আমার তেমন
(৮) ইহা না রাখিব কতি (৯) রাই (১০) মোরে

SOME CENTRAL PROBLEMS OF THE RIG-VEDIC HISTORY: AND THE VEDIC SCHOLARS.

BY DR. N. K. DUTT, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.)

The Rig-veda has long been a favourite study of scholars and antiquarians both in the east and in the west. Unfortunately, however, a good deal of confusion and misconception still prevails among Vedic scholars even on some of the central problems of the Rig-vedic History. "It is the boast of inductive philosophy," observed Professor H. H. Wilson, long ago, in the preface of his translation of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, "that it draws its conclusions from the careful observation and accumulation of facts, before it ventures upon speculations. This procedure has not (however) been observed in the investigation of the mythology and the traditions of the Hindus .....and the most erroneous views have been confidently advanced" on flimsy grounds and inadequate data. And "no nation has, in this respect, been more unjustly treated," adds Professor Maxmüller (Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 6), "than the Indian. Not only have general conclusions been drawn from the most scanty materials, but the most questionable and spurious authorities have been employed without the least historical investigation or the exercise of that critical ingenuity which, from its peculiar character, Indian Literature requires more than any other." These solemn utterances were penned many decades ago. But they have been a cry in the wilderness. In certain fields of literary activities the state of things is, in fact, almost as bad as ever; and the wild utterances and speculations of the Vedic scholars on such important problems as the Genealogy of King Sudās, the Identity of the 'Five Tribes,' so frequently mentioned in the Rig-veda, the Object and Destination of the celebrated

Expedition of the Bharatas, under Viśvāmitra, across the Vipāś and Śutudri, the famous War of the Ten Kings, and the like are instances in point. Neither Yāska, nor the great commentator Sāyaṇa has thrown any light whatever on many of these problems. And the imagination of the Western Vedic scholars has, in many cases, simply run amok; and confusion now stands worse confounded.

The Bharatas at War with the 'Five Tribes.'

In R. V. III, 53, 24, Viśvāmitra describes Sudās and his forces as "the sons of Bharata" Bharatasya putrāḥ. In R. V. III, 33, 12, we find that the Bharatas, under Viśvāmitra, crossed the rivers Vipāś and Śutudri at their junction, "desirous of cows." In R. V. III, 53, 11, Viśvāmitra is found commanding his kinsmen, the Kuśikas, to "let loose the charger of Sudās in war (for conquest)"; and in the 16th Rik of the same hymn, we find Viśvāmitra praying, "May (the goddess) Sasarpari forthwith procure us, in abundance, *the treasures (or food) gathered in the land of the 'Five Tribes,'*" abharaṭ tūyam ebhyaḥ adhi śravaḥ Pānchajanyāsu kṛṣṭiṣu.

Again, in R. V. VI, 61, 12, Sarasvatī has been described as "the cause of the prosperity of the 'Five Tribes,'" Panchajātā vardhayantī. Subsequently, in R. V. VII, 33, 6, we are told that "the Bharatas were fewer in number and were surrounded by the enemies," and that, at this crisis, Vasiṣṭha became their leader and guide, and "the forces under the Tṛtsus multiplied in number." In the 3rd Rik of the same hymn we are further told that "on account of the hymns offered by the Vasiṣṭhas, Indra saved Sudās in the War of the Ten Kings." In R. V. VII, 18, 17, we are again told that "Indra then caused a lion to be killed by a goat," tāt sinhaṃ chit petvena jaghāna Indraḥ, "and procured Sudās immense riches." Now, it is quite clear from above that the

expedition of the Bharatas, under Viśvāmitra, was directed against the 'Five Tribes' then dwelling on the banks of the Sarasvatī; and that, after the Bharatas had crossed the rivers Vipās and Śutudri, they were surrounded by the enemies, and that, at this crisis, Vasiṣṭha joined the Bharatas with his Tṛtsu forces. And lastly, we are told that King Sudās, with the aid of the Tṛtsus under Vasiṣṭha, ultimately inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemies in the War of the Ten Kings, and obtained immense riches.

Professor A. A. Macdonell, following in the footsteps of Muir and Zimmer, had, however, in his History of Sanskrit Literature (1900), completely distorted the history of this period, and described the Bharatas as "among the enemies of Sudās," and "defeated by Sudās and his Tṛtsus," and the 'Five Tribes' as "allied with Sudās in the great battle." What a strange distortion of history! Professor Macdonell, with several of his co-workers, in the field, had, in this connection, committed many other equally unpardonable blunders as well (*ibid*, pp. 151-153). The Vedic Index by Keith and Macdonell was published twelve years later (1912). And although passing for a great authority on all matters connected with Ancient India, the Vedic Index also abounds in grave historical blunders, and several of these are mere repetitions of Professor Macdonell's old blunders. We propose to examine the Vedic Index in what follows, and to point out some of these absurd blunders.

The Genealogy of King Sudās.

King Sudās, the Vedic Index tells us (Vol. II, p. 454), "is known as Paijavana; and Yāska accordingly (the) calls him son of Pijavana; then Divōdāsa must be his grand-father. Or, if Divōdāsa be his father, Pijavana must be his remote ancestor. But the former alternative is more probable." *The above short extract contains quite as*

many as three palpable blunders. In R. V. VII. 18, 22, we are most clearly told that Sudās was the grandson of king Devavān, (Devavataḥ naptā), and the son of Pijavana, also known as Divōdāsa. The Rik in question describes the munificence of King Sudās, and runs thus:—Devavataḥ naptuḥ .....Sudāsaḥ Paijavanasya dānam. *Here Sudās is clearly described as the son of Pijavana and the grandson of Devavān.* In the 25th Rik of the same hymn, the Maruts have been invoked to serve Sudās "as they had served his father Divōdāsa," Divōdāsaṃ na pitaraṃ Sudāsaḥ, and to protect " the house of the son of Pijavana," Paijavanasya ketam. From this latter Rik it is evident that Divōdāsa was only another name of Pijavana, " *Divōdāsa iti Pijavanasya eva nāmāntaram,*" as Sāyaṇa also clearly points out. The authors of the Vedic Index evidently never came across these significant and important Riks; and hence the blunders. *But is it not a matter of very great surprise that such important Riks have hitherto escaped the notice of all modern Vedic scholars?*

The Vedic Index further describes Sudās as " a Bharata King of the Tṛtsu family " (Vol. II, p. 5). Here having represented Sudās as " a Bharata king," Professor Macdonell has corrected one of his old blunders. But the correction is only partial; *and the Vedic Index is distinctly wrong in describing Sudās as "of the Tṛtsu family."* " There can be little doubt," the Vedic Index tells us, in this connection, "that Ludwig's view of the identity of the Bharatas and the Tṛtsus is practically correct.....More precisely Oldenberg (in Buddha he took Ludwig's view, p. 405) considers that the Tṛtsus are the Vasiṣṭhas, the family singers of the Bharatas; while Geldner recognises (Vedische Studien, 2, 136, etc.), with perhaps more probability, in the Tṛtsus the royal family of the Bharatas..... .....Hillebrandt (Vedische Mythologie, i, 111) sees in the connection of the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas a fusion of two tribes." But this last-mentioned view, adds the Vedic Index, " is not supported by any evidence beyond

the fact that, in his opinion, some such theory is needed to explain Divōdāsa's appearing in connection with Bharadvāja family, while Sudās, his son or perhaps grandson, is connected with the Vasiṣthas and the Viśvāmitras (Vol. II, p 95)." In this extract the Vedic Index has cited four different views bearing on the relation between the Bharatas and the Tṛtsus; and its authors are evidently at a loss to understand which one of them to accept as correct. And after a good deal of hesitation and wavering, they have at last accepted the most erroneous view, and have, with Geldner, identified the Tṛtsus with "the royal family of the Bharatas." The Vedic Index has elsewhere (Vol. I, p. 322) also repeated this blunder, and described the Bharatas as "the subjects of the Tṛtsus." But this is clearly wrong. Viśvāmitra, as already noticed, has described Sudās and his men as "the sons of Bharata," Bharatasya putrāḥ, or as "the Bhārata people," Bhārataḥ Janaḥ, Viśvāmitrasya rakṣati vrahmedaṃ Bhāratam Janaṃ (R. V. III, 53, 24, and 12); and among his utterances we nowhere meet with any reference to the Tṛtsus. This alone clearly suggests that the Tṛtsus were, in all probability, not in any way originally connected with the Bharatas. Subsequently, however, when Vasiṣṭha assumed the leadership of the Bharatas, he joined the latter with his Tṛtsu forces; and Sudās, with the aid of the combined Tṛtsu-Bharata forces, ultimately defeated the 'Five Tribes' on the banks of the Sarasvatī. In this connection, Vasiṣṭha himself clearly tells us (R. V. VII. 83, 6) that when Sudās was hard pressed by the enemies, in the War of the Ten Kings, "two kinds of people" invoked Indra and Varuṇa for protection; and they (Indra and Varuṇa) "saved *Sudās together with the Tṛtsus*," pra Sudāsam āvataṃ Tṛtsubhiḥ saha. The expression, "you two (O Indra and Varuṇa) *saved Sudās, together with the Tṛtsus*," is highly significant: *and it quite clearly proves that Sudās was not a Tṛtsu, and that the Tṛtsus were merely his allies. In the expression "two kinds of people." Ubhayāsaḥ, "dviprakārāḥ Janāḥ," as Sāyaṇa puts it,*

we have a still more emphatic declaration of the same fact. " The two kinds of people," referred to here, were, as Sāyaṇa himself points out, Sudās, with his Bharata forces, and " his allies, the Tṛtsus," Sudāḥsangō rājā tatsahāyabhutāḥ Tṛtsavaścha evam dviprakārāḥ Janāḥ. This Rik, *therefore, completely demolishes the myth concocted by Geldner, and uncritically accepted by the authors of the Vedic Index, and their followers.* The connection of the Bharatas with the Tṛtsus was, therefore, clearly " a fusion " between two distinct clans, as was faintly seen by Hillebrandt long ago. *But the Vedic Index has rejected the right track faintly foreshadowed by Hillebrandt, and followed a wrong guide.*

Again, in R. V. VII, 83, 4, Vasiṣṭha has himself clearly described the Tṛtsus as a family of singers or hymn-makers. " In the war (of the Ten Kings)," he here tells us, " you two (O Indra and Varuṇa,) heard the invocations of the Tṛtsus, and saved Sudās; and *the ministration of the Tṛtsus bore its fruits,*" satyā Tṛtsūnām abhavat purōhitiḥ. Here Vasiṣṭha himself clearly tells us that the Tṛtsus were merely related to the Bharatas as their family singers and allies, and *not as their royal family,* as the Vedic Index has wrongly assumed with Geldner. The R. V. VII, 33, 6 also clearly proves this. Here we are clearly told that when Sudās, with his Bharata forces, under the leadership of Viśvāmitra, was surrounded by the enemies in the great War, Vasiṣṭha, with his Tṛtsu forces, joined him, and assumed the leadership of the combined Tṛtsu-Bharata forces. The expression " Vasiṣṭha became their leader and high-priest," abhavat cha puraḥ etā Vasiṣṭhaḥ, is highly significant, and clearly proves that the connection of the Bharatas with the Tṛtsus was merely a fusion between two different clans.

Moreover, immediately after the death of King Sudās, severe hostilities, we know, broke out between his descendants, the Saudāsas, and the Vasiṣṭhas (*cf.* the Kauṣi. Brāh. iv. 8; the Panchavimśa Brāh., iv. 7, 3, VIII, 2, 3, etc. See also the

Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 275-276). The Saudāsas wanted to have the Viśvāmitras restored to their lost position of dignity as the family singers of the Bharatas, soon after the death of Sudās, when the great War was over, and the services of the Tṛtsus were, it seems, no longer required. The Vasiṣṭhas evidently opposed this attempt tooth and nail. And this led to an outbreak of severe hostilities between the Saudāsas and the Vasiṣṭhas. If Sudās really belonged to the Tṛtsu family, such a conflict between the Saudāsas and the Vasiṣṭhas would have been simply impossible. *And the very fact that such a conflict was at all possible also clearly proves the utter absurdity of the hypothesis that Sudās and the Saudāsas belonged to the Tṛtsu family.*

The Expedition of the Bharatas under Viśvāmitra.

The Vedic Index, like the History of Sanskrit Literature, is quite silent on the object and destination of the Expedition of the Bharatas, under Viśvāmitra, across the Vipāś and the Śutudri. Viśvāmitra, in his prayer to the goddess Sasarparī has, however, as already noticed, most clearly told us (R. V. III. 5, 3, and 16) that the conquest of the 'Five Tribes' was the object of the expedition. The 'Five Tribes dwelt, as already seen, on the banks of the Sarasvatī; and the Bharatas had to cross the rivers Vipāś and Śutudri *from the west.* The Vedic Index, however, tells us that Viśvāmitra, "in his raid for cows," crossed the aforesaid rivers "*from the east,* as Pischel points out, and *not from the west,*" as held by Roth, Geldner, and Bloomfield (Vol. II, p. 310). Here also the Vedic Index is distinctly wrong, and so is Pischel. In R. V. VII, 18, 8, we are told that Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu endeavoured to drown Sudās and his Bharata forces (then evidently about to march against the 'Five Tribes') by breaking open the embankment of the Paruṣṇī from behind. This clearly shows that on the eve of the outbreak of the War of

the Ten Kings, *the Bharatas dwelt on or near the eastern bank of the Paruṣṇī*, the modern Rāvī. And this also explains why Viśvāmitra has in his address to the Vipāś and the Śutudri, declared to have reached the rivers "from a distance, (dūrāt) with carts and chariots of war," and why he solicited the rivers to "bend low" and to "be easily fordable," to enable the Bharatas to fight the 'Five Tribes' on the Sarasvatī. *It is quite clear from all these that on the eve of the outbreak of the War of the Ten Kings, the Bharatas dwelt on the eastern bank of the Paruṣṇī, and that on reaching the rivers Vipāś and Śutudri, they crossed them from the west, and not from the east.* In R. V. VII. 83, 1, we are also clearly told that the expedition of the Bharatas had marched "*eastward*," prāchā. Evidently, therefore, here also both the Vedic Index and Pischel are distinctly wrong. *Here also the authors of the Vedic Index have rejected the right track faintly foreshadowed by Roth, Geldner and Bloomfield, and followed a wrong guide.*

The War of the Ten Kings.

But who were the ten kings combined against Sudās in the Great War of the Ten Kings? In that Great War, Sudās, we are told (R. V. VII, 82, 1), had to fight "both Aryans and non-Aryans," Dāsā ārjāni cha. The expedition of the Bharatas under Viśvāmitra was, as we have seen, directed against the 'Five Tribes' on the Sarasvatī. But when the Bharatas marched, or were about to march, towards the Vipāś and the Śutudri, Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu, as just noticed, attempted to drown Sudās and his forces by diverting the waters of the Paruṣṇī. But the attempt failed, and the waters of the Paruṣṇī, we are told, "flowed along its proper channel and not otherwise, and Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, and Druhyu were themselves drowned, with (many of) their children," in their efforts to drown Sudās with his forces, and Anu, with his children or men, alone escaped the common

disaster (R. V. VII, 18, 8-12), In this connection the Rig-veda tells us that "the charger of Sudās reached its destination," and that "Indra subjugated (or destroyed) *the garrulous (or chattering)* enemies for the *human king* Sudās." Here Sudās, is described as a "human king," and Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu as his *garrulous or chattering enemies. This clearly proves that the enemies of Sudās referred to above were "other than men", i.e., non-Aryans.* In the Rig-veda, the non-Aryans, have actually been described as "chatterers," tuviravāḥ, (X. 99, 6), "Vahuśavdāḥ," as Sāyaṇa puts it, and as Amānuṣāḥ (X. 22, 7 and 8). Again, in R. V. VIII, 4, 1, Indra is said to be "*despatched by men" against Anu's son and against Turvaśa.* The expression, "Thou art despatched by men against Anu's son and Turvaśa," nṛṣūtaḥ asi ānave, asi Turvaśe, is also quite significant. Both Roth and Grassman are, therefore, right in treating the Anus as "*a people foreign to the Aryans*" (*cf.* Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 22). But our contention is that, not only the Anus, but all the five peoples, described here as the chattering or garrulous enemies of the "human king" Sudās, were non-Aryans.

It is, therefore, quite clear that Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druyhu and Anu, the *chattering enemies of the human king Sudās, were all non-Aryans, and formed the five non-Aryan members of the Coalition of the Ten Kings against Sudās, in the Great War, and that the 'Five Tribes' on the Sarasvatī were the remaining five members of the Coalition. And these latter, as we shall see presently, were all Aryans.* And this fully accords with the fact that the Coalition consisted of "both Aryans and non-Aryans." The five non-Aryan members of the Coalition alone dwelt on the western bank of the Paruṣṇī, while attempting to drown the Bharatas under Sudās, and were "the western neighbours" of the Bharatas and not the 'Five Tribes,' as the Vedic Index wrongly tells us (Vol. II, p. 136). These latter lived far away from the

Bharatas on the Saraswatī. *It is, therefore, also distinctly wrong to describe the 'Five Tribes' as "the neighbours" of the Bharatas, and much more as their "western neighbours."*

Professor Macdonell is not, however, prepared to accept the statement that Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu were all non-Aryans. "Even if Vadhrivāchaḥ did mean garrulous," says Professor Macdonell, referring to the present writer's view, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (January, 1921, p. 131) "how could he (Mr. Dutt) possibly prove that these enemies were non-Aryans?.....What reason has he to suppose that Śruta does not here mean 'famous,' and Briddha 'old'?... .....But even if all these five are proper names, how is it, supposing them to belong to non-Aryans, that they are apparently all Sanskrit?" From what has been stated above the objection contained in the first part of the above extract has evidently no legs to stand upon. In the Rig-veda the non-Aryans have often been described as "other than men," amānuṣāḥ, and also as "chatterers" or "garrulous," tuviravāḥ. The *chattering* enemies of the *human* king Sudās must have, therefore, been non-Aryans, or else they would not have been described as "chatterers," vadhrivāchaḥ and Sudās as "human." The objection contained in the second part of the above extract is too puerile to deserve any reply. The five terms, Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu, are evidently proper names denoting the chattering enemies of king Sudās, who attempted to drown the Bharatas in the waters of the Paruṣṇī. *It is, therefore, most absurd to treat these terms as attributives, as suggested in the above extract.* "But even if all these five terms are proper names," asks Professor Macdonell, "how is it, supposing them to belong to non-Aryans, that they are apparently Sanskrit?" But do the terms really look like Sanskrit? Even if some of them appear to be so, others such as Druhyu and Kavaṣa, are hardly so. Again, proper names, we know, often vary in their structures and pronunciations

according to linguistic variations. Some of the non-Aryans, we also know, were subsequently admitted into the Aryan fold. Turvaśa and Jadu, for instance, were non-Aryans, dāsā Jaduḥ Turvaśaścha (R. V. X 62, 10). *But though non-Aryans, and "unaccustomed to ablutions," asnātārā, they were afterwards "admitted to the ablutionary rites," apārayat (R. V. IV. 30,17).*[1] The Rig-veda also tells us that after his accomplices had been drowned in the waters of the Paruṣṇī, Anu sought for and obtained the friendship of Sudās. *And this clearly explains the supposed riddle why Turvaśa, though a non-Aryan, subsequently appears as "an worshipper of Indra", with an Anu prince (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 316).* Moreover, the assumption of the identity of race from the identity of speech has long been discarded by the Anthropologists as erroneous. In fact, "the ethnological value of comparative philology," to use the words of the famous French anthropologist, Broca, "is extremely small." It, therefore, follows that even if some non-Aryan appellations really look like Sanskrit, no ethnic significance can be attached to them.

The Vedic Index has also committed several other blunders in this connection. Bharadvāja has described the War of the Ten King as "the Great War" (VI. 46, 4, and 13). But the Vedic Index describes it as "a battle" which "took place on the Paruṣṇī" (Vol. I, p. 320). The battle on the Paruṣṇī was only one of the many incidents of the War of the Ten Kings; and the main battles of the campaign, and at least two such battles are clearly recorded in the Rig-veda, took place on the tract of land between Śutudri and the Sarasvatī. In one of these battles, the Bharatas, as already noticed, were about to be surrounded by the 'Five Tribes'; and in the second battle, Sudās, with the aid of the Tṛtsus, under Vasiṣṭha, inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemies, and obtained "immense

[1] This Rik has been grossly misunderstood by several scholars. (See Dr. A. C. Das's Rig-Vedic India, p. 35.) Sāyaṇa, however, has given the correct meaning.

riches" (R. V. VII. 18,17), "the treasures gathered in the land of the 'Five Tribes' (R. V. VII. 72,5), the goal of the expedition of the Bharatas, under Viśvāmitra (R. V. III, 53,16). It is, therefore, a complete distortion of history to describe the Great War of the Ten Kings as a mere *battle on the Paruṣṇī.*

"There was another fight," says the Vedic Index, "on the Yamunā with Bheda, the Ajās, Sigrus, and the Yakṣus"; and "as Yamunā and Paruṣṇī represent the two opposite ends of the territory of the Tṛtsus, it is difficult to see," adds the Vedic Index, "how the Ten Kings could be confederated." But in a matter like this, continues the Vedic Index, "absolute numerical accuracy cannot be insisted on" (Vol. I, p. 321). *This extract also contains at least three palpable blunders.* First, it is clearly wrong to describe the battle, with Bheda and his associates, on the Yamunā, as an incident of the War of the Ten Kings. The Great War ended with the final overthrowal of the 'Five Tribes' on or near the Sarasvatī. And the battle, with Bheda and his allies, on the Yamunā, was evidently fought some time after the termination of the War of the Ten Kings. In R. V. VII, 95, 5, we find Vasiṣṭha soliciting the Sarasvatī to accept his hymns, and expressing a strong desire for residence, with his men, on her shores, adorned with excellent riches, "like sheltered trees on her banks". The expression, "we shall dwell on thy banks like sheltered trees," upastheyāma śaraṇaṃ na vṛkṣam, is highly significant. We, again, find two Bharatas, Devaśravā and Devavāta, invoking Agni to shine forth brightly, adorned with riches, in the houses of those dwelling on the banks of the Dṛṣadvatī, the Sarasvatī and the Āpayā (R. V. III, 23, 4). It is evident from all these that after the final overthrowal of the 'Five Tribes,' the Tṛtsu-Bharatas settled on their newly-conquered territory. *The battle, with Bheda and his allies, on the Yamunā, was, therefore, evidently a new conflict with new enemies.* And the authors of the Vedic Index have also been obliged to

admit this in some other connection. Here the Vedic Index frankly admits that Sudās defeated Bheda and his allies on the Yamunā "*apparently in a second battle after the battle of the Ten Kings*" (Vol. II, p. 110). Here is a clear admission that the battle on the Yamunā with Bheda and his associates was a new conflict with new enemies some time after the conclusion of the War of the Ten Kings. *Here then are two distinctly contradictory views advanced side by side in the Vedic Index; and of these two statements the former is clearly wrong.* Hopkins has also wrongly described the battle with Bheda, on the Yamunā, as an incident of the War of the Ten Kings. But, it is still more amusing to note that to get rid of the difficulty pointed out by us, Hopkins has held thar Yamunā is here only another name for the Paruṣṇī. (India, Old and New, p. 52). The above extract also contains two more palpable blunders. On the eve of the outbreak of the War of the Ten Kings, Bharatas lived, as already noticed, on or near the eastern bank of the Paruṣṇī. And it was only on the termination of the Great War that the Bharatas, and not the Tṛtsus, their allies, had their kingdom extended from the Paruṣṇī to the Sarasvatī and her tributaries. It is, *therefore, absurd to hold that even on the eve of the outbreak of the Great War, the Paruṣṇī and the Yamunā formed "the two opposite ends" of the territory of the invading king.* And lastly, the Bharatas, it appears, first came in contact with the Tṛtsus after they had crossed the Vipās and the Śutudri. The latter joined the Bharatas, under Sudās, merely as their allies, and are everywhere mentioned in the Rig-veda as such; and Vasiṣṭha, the Great Tṛtsu leader, has always described himself as the leader of the Tṛtsu-Bharata forces, under King Sudās, and as an ally of the Bharatas under Sudās. *It is, therefore, a still graver blunder to describe the Paruṣṇī and the Yamunā as "the two opposite ends of the territory of the Tṛtsus."* The Vedic Index has, as already noticed, wrongly described the Bharatas as "the subjects of the Tṛtsus."

The expression, Tṛtsūnāṃ viśaḥ, in R. V. VII, 33, 6, simply means the men, *i.e.*, the forces, under the Tṛtsus, or under the Tṛtsu leader Vasiṣṭha, and not "the subjects of the Tṛtsus," as the Vedic Index wrongly holds. And the word, Viśaḥ, has frequently been used in this sense in the Rig-veda (*cf.* Viśaḥ mānuṣīḥ in III, 6, 3; also in VII. 5, 2; haviṣmatīḥ Viśaḥ in VIII. 13, 16; marudvatīḥ Viśaḥ in VIII, 13, 28; Asiknīḥ Viśaḥ in VII. 5, 3; Dāsīḥ Viśaḥ in X. 11, 148; Viśaḥ namante in IV. 50, 8; Ye Viśaḥ in VII, 7, 6 and in VII. 9, 2, etc., etc.). The Tṛtsus formed a clan by themselves, distinct from the Bharatas, as Vasiṣṭha himself has clearly told us, in R. V. VII. 83, 4. They subsequently joined the Bharatas, as their allies, and led them to victory in their conflict with the 'Five Tribes.'

The Identity of the 'Five Tribes'.

But who were the 'Five Tribes'? The ancient scholars have thrown no light whatever on this knotty problem. The Aitareya Brāh. (III, 31) has taken the expression to mean "gods, men, Gandharvas and Apsarasas, snakes and the Fathers." According to Yāska, it means either the four castes, with the Niṣādas as the fifth (Nirukta, III, 8), or the Gandharvas, fathers, gods, Asuras and Rākṣasas. Sāyaṇa has simply followed Yāska. Occasionally, however, he has taken the expression to denote "five kinds of men" (*cf.* his commentary on R. V. V. 86, 2; VII. 15, 2). Sometimes again he has taken it to mean "men of different directions" (*cf.* his commentary on R. V. VIII. R. V. VIII. 32, 22). The Śatap. Brāh. in XIII, 5, 4, 14, and the Aitareya Brāh. in VIII, 23, have, however, correctly described the 'Five Tribes' as "opposed to the Bharatas." The very fact that the 'Five Tribes' dwelt on the Sarasvatī, and that the Bharatas, under Viśvāmitra marched against them, and ultimately, with the aid of the Tṛtsus, defeated them, and captured

their treasures clearly proves the absurdity of all the aforesaid meanings, except the last. But the light thrown here is also very inadequate; and one naturally wants to know who they were. Unfortunately the Western Vedic scholars have also failed lamentably in dealing with this question. Roth took the term to denote "the Aryans as the middle point and the people of the north, the east, the west and the south by whom they were surrounded," *i.e.*, all the peoples of the earth; and Geldner and Muir have simply followed suit. "The phrase, *five races*," says Muir, "is a designation of all nations," the Aryans with the nations of the four regions of the world round about them (Sans. Texts, Vol. I, p. 176). Professor Maxmüller, in his "India: What can it teach us," has taken it to mean Aryans, as the "people of five nations" (p. 96, foot-note). "The conquerors themselves," says Rapson, "are called comprehensively the 'five peoples'" (Ancient India, p. 40). Zimmer has held that the term stands for the Aryans alone, and in particular the Anus, the Druhyus, the Yadus, the Turvaśas, and the Purus, mentioned together in R. V. I. 108, 8. The Vedic Index has uncritically accepted Zimmer's view, although it says in one place "who are meant by the 'Five Tribes' is very uncertain." (See Vol. I, pp. 385, 466-68.) And this is the generally accepted position to-day. Dr. A. C. Das, in his Rig-Vedic India, has, however, identified the 'Five Tribes' with the Anus, the Druhyus, the Turvaśas, the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas (p. 118).

But none of these views is tenable. The 'Five Tribes,' as we have seen, dwelt on the Sarasvatī; and Bharadvāja describes Sarasvatī as "the cause of the prosperity of the 'Five Tribes.'" We also learn from the Rig-veda itself that they were all Aryans. The R. V. VI. 11, 4, for instance, tells us that the 'Five Tribes' "worshipped Agni with offerings of clarified butter like a human guest." And this explains why Agni is described in the Rig-veda (IX. 66, 20)

as "belonging to the 'Five Tribes,'" pānchajanyaḥ. Again, in R. V. X. 53, 4, and 5, the 'Five Tribes' are described as "partakers of sacrificial food," urjādaḥ, and as "offerers of sacrifices," Yajniāsaḥ. In R. V. IX, 14, 2, we are further told that the 'Five Tribes' formed "a confederacy of (five) allied peoples," Savandhavaḥ Panchavrātāḥ. Now, it is quite clear from all these that the 'Five Tribes' were a confederacy of five allied Aryan tribes, who, on the eve of the outbreak of the War of the Ten Kings, dwelt on the Sarasvatī, and were subsequently defeated by the Bharatas, another Aryan clan, previously dwelling on the Paruṣṇī, with the aid of the Ṛtsus.

The authors of the Vedic Index have, however, following in the footsteps of Zimmer and Hopkins, as already noticed, identified the 'Five Tribes' with "the Anus, the Druhyus, the Yadus, the Turvaśas and the Purus"; and the only reason the learned scholars have deemed necessary to advance in support of their contention is that these five peoples are "mentioned together in R. V. I. 108, 8" (Vol. 22, p. 436). *But the Anus and the Druhyus lived, as we have seen, on the western bank of the Paruṣṇī, and were among the five non-Aryan members of the Coalition of the Ten Kings,* who attempted to drown the Bharatas, under Sudās, by diverting the waters of the Paruṣṇī. The R. V. X, 62, 10 further tells us, as also noticed before, *that the Yadus and the Turvaśas were also non-Aryans,* Dāsā Yadus Turvaśaścha. Thus, of the five aforesaid peoples, wrongly identified with the 'Five Tribes,' the Anus, the Druhyus, the Yadus, and the Turvaśas were all non-Aryans, and the Purus alone, as we shall see presently, were Aryans, dwelt on the Sarasvatī and belonged to the Panchajana group Of the former four again, the Anus and the Druhyus dwelt, as noticed before, on the Paruṣṇī; and the Yadus and the Turvaśas probably dwelt originally in the south-western Punjab (R. V. VI, 20, 12). *Evidently therefore it requires the skill of a conjurer to present groups of*

peoples so widely removed from one another culturally, ethnically and geographically as belonging to one identical group of peoples, having the same culture and same ethnic type, and living, side by side, as friends and neighbours!. And yet Professor Macdonell and many of his co-workers in the field have actually attempted such a feat!! Dr. L. D. Burnett has also, in his "Antiquities of India," wrongly described the Druhyus and the Turvaśas as Aryans.

But is any further specification of the 'Five Tribes' possible? "Owing to the fragmentary and obscure nature of the evidence regarding the 'Five Tribes' and their relation with King Sudās," says Professor Macdonell (J. R. A. S., January, 1921, p. 129), "this cannot, in fact, be done." The required evidences are not, however, really as "fragmentary" or "obscure" as Professor Macdonell thinks. These, in fact, lie scattered broadcast on the pages of the Rig-veda itself. And what is needed is only a historical insight, and an eye for significant details so often ignored by many an eager theoriser on Indian Antiquity.

The 'Five Tribes,' as we have seen, were a confederacy of five allied Aryan peoples dwelling on the Sarasvatī. And in R.V. VIII, 21, 18, we actually meet with a distinct reference to a settlement of several allied Aryan kings, dwelling on the banks of the Sarasvatī, with Citra as their head. King Citra, we are told, "poured his wealth on the dependent kings, on the Sarasvatī, like showers of rains," Citra it Rājā rājakāḥ it anyake yake Sarasvatīm anu: parjyanyaḥ iva tatanat hi vṛṣṭyā sahasram ajutā dadat. The expressions, "gave thousands and tens of thousands" and "poured his wealth like showers of rains." are highly significant; and the recipients here, we are told, were a number of dependent kings, rājakāḥ, dwelling on the Sarasvatī, Sarasvatīm anu. In R. V. X. 60, 3-4, we are again told that king Asamati was the Over-lord of the 'Five Tribes,'

and king Ikṣāku was their governor, and that king Asamati, "whether with sword in hand or not, had his enemies prostrated before him like buffaloes (before a lion)," and that under him, "the 'Five Tribes' *were as happy as in heaven*," *divi iva Pancakṛṣṭayaḥ*. Again, in R.V. VIII. 5, 38, the 'Five Tribes' are said to be "under the feet of Kaśu, the son of Cedi"; and in Rik 39 of the same hymn, we are further told, "none have followed the path trodden by the Cedis," Yena ime yanti Cedayaḥ, anyo na it. Now, it is clear from all these that the Cedis were the most powerful member of the Pancajana group, and that not only Kaśu, but probably Citra and Asamati also belonged to the Cedi line of kings. The Ṛṣis of the Kaṇva family are connected with both Citra and Kaśu. This also supports our contention. The Ikṣākus, one of whom was the Governor of the 'Five Tribes,' under King Asamati, also belonged to the 'Five Tribes,' and originally dwelt on the Sarasvatī. The R.V. VIII, 19, 36, describes Trasadasyu, a Puru king, as "an Aryan, and a protector of the good," Arjaḥ satpatiḥ. In Rik 32 of the same hymn, Agni is again described as "belonging to Trasadasyu" Trāsadasyavaḥ. Agni is also described, in the Rig-veda, as already noticed, as "belonging to the 'Five Tribes,'" Pāncajanyaḥ. Vasiṣṭha also refers to a Puru defeat by Sudās in R.V. VII, 8, 4. Evidently, therefore, the Purus, with their kings Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, and Kuruśravaṇa also belonged to the Pancajana group. Again, the Kathaka Saṃhita (XXI, 10) tells us that Bharadvāja had founded a new kingdom for Pratardana. And we learn from the Kauṣi. Up. (III, 1) that Pratardana was a son of king Divodāsa, Pratardanaḥ Daivadāsiḥ, and, therefore, a brother or half-brother of Sudās. And in R.V. VI, 61, 14, we find Bharadvāja actually soliciting the Sarasvatī to accept his friendship and to grant him and his people a happy residence on her banks. "O Sarasvati," prays he, "lead us to great prosperity, and do not oppress us with floods; *accept our friendship and residence. May we not go to inferior*

places from thee." The expression, "accept our friendship and residence," Yuṣasva naḥ sakhyāḥ veśyā ca, is quite significant. In Rik 12 of the same hymn we also find Bharadvāja, as already noticed, praising the Sarasvatī as 'the cause of the prosperity of the 'Five Tribes.'" Again, in R. V. VI, 16, 8, we find Bharadvāja claiming Kṣataśrī, the son of Pratardana, as his protégé and patron, and praying for his prosperity and victory in war. In R.V. VI, 20, 1 and 10, we, moreover, find Bharadvāja praying for a heroic, victorious son being born to the Puru king, Purukutsa. Again, in R. V. VI, 25, 3, and VI, 75, 19, we find Bharadvāja and his son, Pāyu, describing the enemies, then advancing against the 'Five Tribes,' evidently the Bharatas, under Sudās, as "our relations," Yāmayaḥ, and as "our own," naḥ svaḥ, respectively, and the latter invoking the gods to "punish those, who, though relations, are coming to destroy us from a distance" (*cf.* also VI, 5, 4, 19, 12 and 13). It is clear from all these that the kingdom which Bharadvāja had founded for Pratardana was on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and that Pratardana and the detachment of the Bharatas who had accompanied him, were in alliance with the Purus and other Aryan kings on the Sarasvatī, and belonged to the Pancajana group. *And this also explains the supposed riddle how Bharadvāja, originally connected with Divodāsa, subsequently appears to be among the 'Five Tribes,' the enemies of Sudās, in the War of the Ten Kings.* Thus the 'Five Tribes' consisted of these peoples :—(1) The Cedis, (2) the Purus, (3) the Ikṣākus, (4) the detachment of the Bharatas under Pratardana and Kṣataśrī, and (5) lastly probably a fifth Aryan tribe, with Tṛvṛṣṇa and Tṛyaruṇa as their kings (R. V. V, 27, 1). In R. V. V, 27, 3, we find Atri, though connected with Tṛyaruṇa, also offering his services to the Puru king, Trasadasyu, at the latter's request; and this could not have been possible unless the two kings were allied together.

Contradictions in the Vedic Index.

The Vedic Index also abounds in instances of flagrant self-contradictions. Some of these have already been mentioned. And we shall mention here a few more instances, which are as follows :—

1. The Pancaviṁśa Brāh. (XV, 3, 7) describes Bharadvāja as the Purōhita of Divōdāsa. The Kathaka Saṁhitā tells us, as already noticed, that Bharadvāja gave Pratardana a kingdom. This kingdom was founded, as we have seen, on the bank of the Sarasvatī. The Kauṣi. Up. (III, 1) describes Pratardana, as a son of Divōdāsa. But the Vedic Index tells us that "it is not necessary to suppose that the same Bharadvāja is meant in both the cases, and that Pratardana was a son of Divōdāsa" (Vol. II, 98). But on page 31, Vol. II of the Vedic Index, we are, again, told that "it is said that Pratardana Daivadāsi went to Indra's world through death in battle. The patronymic connects him with Divodāsa, and the mention of Bharadvāja as his priest supports this connection." *Thus the validity of a statement is frankly admitted on page 31, but is seriously questioned only a few pages later.*

2. According to the Vedic Index, the Anus were a member of the Pancajana group. On page 22, Vol. I, the Anus are described as dwelling "on the Paruṣṇī." On page 436, Vol. II, however, the Pancajanas are described as dwelling "on the Sarasvatī." *This is also clearly self-contradictory.* The truth is that the Anus, though an ally of the 'Five Tribes' in the War of the Ten Kings, were themselves non-Aryans, and belonged to a group of five non-Aryan tribes, and dwelt, with the Śrutas, the Kavaṣas, the Druhyus and Briddhas, on the Paruṣṇī, whereas the 'Five Tribes' dwelt on the Sarasvatī.

3. Sudās is described, on p. 5, Vol. II, as "a Bharata king of the Tṛtsu family," and in Vol. II, p. 454 as "the

Tṛtsu king." On page 322, Vol. I, the Bharatas are, again, described as "the subjects of the Tṛtsus." But on this latter page the Tṛtsus are also described as "allied with the Sṛnjayas." On p. 470, Vol. II, we are further told that the Sṛnjayas, "and their allies, the Tṛtsus, were in the Madhyadeśa." But R. V. IV, 15, 4, tells us that the Sṛnjayas were the descendants of Devovāta who was a Bharata (R. V. III, 23, 2). Evidently, therefore, in the aforesaid statements the Vedic Index first holds that the Bharatas were "the subjects of the Tṛtsus," and later on describes the Tṛtsus as the allies of the Sṛnjayas, the descendants of Devovāta, a Bharata. *These two contradictory views have been advanced, side by side, in the Vedic Index; and it seems, its learned authors are not even aware of the flagrant self-contradiction involved in the statements.* Hillebrandt thinks that in early times the Sṛnjayas and Divōdāsa were neighbours (*cf.* Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 470). *But he too has failed to see that both Divōdāsa and the Sṛnjayas were Bharatas.*

It is needless to multiply instances. But we shall probably be told that "consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds," and that if great poets can claim freedom from all restrictions, niraṅkuśatvam, why not also great antiquarians?

The Identity of the Sarasvatī.

The modern Sarasvatī is a small river. But in the Rig-veda the Sarasvatī has been described as a large and powerful river "flowing from the mountains into the sea." And this has caused a great confusion among the Vedic scholars as to the identity of the Sarasvatī. Roth is of opinion that with a few solitary exceptions, such as R. V. III, 23, 4, where it is mentioned with Dṛṣadvatī, and R. V. X, 68, 9, and X, 75, 5, where the name of Sindhu also occurs, the Rig-vedic Sarasvatī must be identified with the Indus. Zimmer, Ludwig and Griffith have accepted Roth's view. Maxmüller and Lassen have, however, rejected this view, and identified the Rig-vedic

Sarasvatī with the modern Sarasvatī. In the Rig-vedic age, says Maxmüller (Sacred Books 32, 60), the Sarasvatī was a large river, as large as the Sutlej, and it then actually reached the sea, either in union with Indus or direct. The Vedic Index, however, holds that "there is no conclusive evidence of there having been any great change in the size or course of the Sarasvatī, though it would be impossible to deny that the river may easily have diminished in size. But there are no strong reasons to accept the identification of the later and the earlier Sarasvatī throughout" (Vol. II, p. 436). This is a mere echo of Roth's view. Mr. Ragozin has also, in his Vedic India, given expression to the same view. Referring to the Rig-vedic description of the Sarasvatī as "flowing from the mountains into the sea," yatī giribhyaḥ āsamudrāt (VII, 95, 2), he tells us, after Roth and Macdonell, that Samudra here means "not the sea or ocean but the broad expanse formed by the re-union with the Indus of the 'Five rivers,' whose waters are brought to it by the Panchanada" (Vedic India, p. 268, foot-note). He, accordingly, thinks that this passage may be taken as a clear proof in support of "the positive identification of the Sarasvatī with the Indus" (*ibid*, p. 208). But this view is clearly wrong. The Tait. Saṁhitā (VII, 2, 1, 4), the Śatap. Brāh. (I, 4, 1, 14), the Kauṣi. Brāh. (XII, 2, 3), the Aitareya Brāh. (II, 19, 1, 2), the Pancaviṁśa Brāh. (XXV, 10, 1) have all identified the Rig-vedic Sarasvatī with the modern Sarasvatī, which, having run its short upper course, is now lost into the sands of the Rajputana desert. And the place of its disappearance has, in later Sanskrit literature, acquired the designation of Vinaśana (*cf.* Pancaviṁśa Brāh. XXV, 10, 6; Jaiminīya Up. Brāh. IV, 26; etc.). The Mahābhārata (IX, 37, 1) also tells of the disappearance of the Sarasvatī, Jatro naṣṭā Sarasvatī. There are also unmistakable marks of the old river bed still discernible in the sands. And these marks clearly prove that the Sarasvatī was, in ancient times, really a very large

river, flowing directly into the sea. This is also quite evident from what we have said above. The Bharatas, on the eve of the outbreak of the War of the Ten Kings, lived on the Indus Valley, on or near the eastern bank of the Paruṣṇī. Subsequently, as we have seen, they reached the Vipāś and the Śutudri, after a weary march, crossed the rivers, and marched *eastward*, prāchā, to fight the Pancajanas on or near the Sarasvatī. And after the final overthrowal of the 'Five Tribes,' the Tṛtsu-Bharatas, as we have seen, settled on their newly conquered territory. In R. V. VII, 95, 5, we find Vasiṣṭha actually soliciting, as noticed before, the Sarasvatī to accept his hymns, and to grant him and his people, the Tṛtsu-Bharatas, a happy residence on her shores, "like sheltered trees on the bank." And in Rik 2 of the very same hymn, the Sarasvatī has been described as "flowing from the mountains into the sea." *The Sarasvatī so described by Vasiṣṭha was clearly a distinct and independent river situated far away from the Indus group of rivers to their east. It must, therefore, be identified with the modern Sarasvatī. And here we are clearly told by Vasiṣṭha that, in the Rig-vedic age, it actually flowed into the sea.* The Rig-veda also tells us that Śudās next defeated Bheda and his allies on the Yamunā. From all these it is quite evident that the Sarasvatī, described by Vasiṣṭha as "flowing into the sea," occupied a position intermediate between the Śutudri and the Yamunā. And she has actually been assigned this exact position in R. V. X, 75, 5, where all the principal rivers known to the Rig-vedic Aryans are invoked and enumerated from the east to the west, as Gangā, Jamunā, Sarasvatī, Śutudri, etc., etc. *Evidently, therefore, the Rig-vedic Sarasvatī was exactly the same as the modern Sarasvatī, only very much larger than what it is to-day.* In the Rig-veda this very Sarasvatī has also been described as "*the greatest of the rivers*," nadītamā (II, 41, 16), and as "the greatest of the streams," Apasām apaṭtamā (VI, 61, 13); and in Riks 7 and 8 of this latter hymn, it is

described as "terrific," ghorā, and as "possessing infinite prowess," Yasyāḥ anantaḥ amaḥ. The very designation of Vinaśana assigned to the place of its disappearance, however, tells the story of its subsequent decay and transformation into the present form. So it is quite clear that in the Rig-vedic age, the Sarasvatī was really a very large river, and it then actually flowed into the Arabian Sea, and that subsequently, for causes not known to us, its fertile valley grew into a desert, and the river dwindled into its present form.—The R. V. has also described the Sarasvatī as the *seventh of the group of rivers, known as the Saptanadyaḥ*, Sarasvatī saptathī (VII, 36, 6). It is, therefore, ridiculous to identify Rig-vedic Sarasvatī with the Indus. It was, in ancient time, really a very large river, and fell into the sea.

But Dr. A. C. Das has, in his Rig-Vedic India (Calcutta, 1921), formulated a most novel and extravagant hypothesis in this connection. Recent geological investigations have proved that, in the remote past, the distribution of land and water in the world was quite different from what it is to-day, and that a considerable portion of the present Rajputana desert was then under waters. When this sea, called by the Geologists the Rajputana Sea, disappeared nobody can say. But it is believed that "the Aravallis are but the depressed and degraded relics of a more prominent mountain system which stood in the Palaeozoic times on the edge of the Rajputana Sea" (Imperial Gazetteer of the Indian Empire, Vol. I, pp. 1-2, 1907), and that "the tertiary and secondary strata stretch from Sind, beneath the sands of the desert, towards the flank of the Aravalli" (Ency. Brit., Vol. XXII, p. 866, Eleventh edition). Dr. Das has accordingly inferred that the Rajputana Sea "lasted, at all events up to the end of the Tertiary epoch." And as there is no sea in the neighbourhood of the present Sarasvatī, he has concluded that the Sarasvatī, in the Rig-vedic age, must have fallen into the Rajputana Sea, and that, therefore, the

particular hymn wherein the Sarasvatī is described as "flowing into the sea," and the other similar hymns must have been composed when the Rajputana Sea was in existence *i.e.*, "more than tens of thousands of years ago, if not hundreds of thousands or millions" of years ago " (see Rig-Vedic India, pp. 7-8). In this connection he further tells us that, in the Rig-vedic age, "there was no large river like the Indus in the eastern part of the Punjab; and that the Sarasvatī, the Ganges and the Yamunā (flowing into the Rajputana Sea and Eastern Sea respectively) *were only small streams in comparison with the Indus*" (*Ibid*, p. 32; the italics are mine). But all these are most extravagant assumptions. The Rig-veda has most clearly described the Sarasvatī, as already noticed, as "the greatest of the rivers" nadītamā, and as "terrific," ghorā and "possessing infinite prowess" and as "flowing into the sea." Evidently, therefore, it was then at least as large as the Indus, and must have, therefore, fallen into the Arabian Sea, or else it could not have been described as "the greatest of the rivers." Dr. Das is also clearly wrong in treating the hymn VII, 95, as among the oldest of the Rig-vedic hymns. The very fact that it was composed on the Sarasvatī, after the final defeat of the Pancajanas, most unmistakably proves its later origin. But as we must identify the sea mentioned in that hymn with the Arabian Sea, the extravagant hypothesis of its having been composed at least "tens of thousand years ago," when the Rajputana Sea was in existence, at once falls to the ground. It is one thing to hold that the Rig-veda is the oldest literary relic extant of the Aryan world. But it is quite a different thing to say that some of its hymns must have been composed at least *tens of thousand years, nay hundreds of thousand years ago*. The other arguments Dr. Das has introduced in support of this extravagant hypothesis are also equally weak and fantastic. But we have no space to discuss them here.

The Kurus and the Pāncālas.

In R. V. VII, 95, 5, we find Vasiṣṭha, as already noticed, thus soliciting Sarasvatī : "O Sarasvatī, accept our prayer; we shall dwell on thee, adorned with excellent riches, like sheltered trees on thy banks." In Rik 6 of the same hymn, he again solicits the Sarasvatī to procure him, the hymn-maker, food, and always to " protect us with thy protection." In R. V. X, 53, 4 and 8, we again meet with a most significant utterance. The Pancajanas are here passionately enjoined to go across the Aśmānavatī flowing in front, in search of a new happy home, leaving behind the memories of all sorrows and sufferings." And it seems to be quite clear from the aforesaid passages that on the final overthrowal of the 'Five Tribes' on or near the Sarasvatī, the Bharatas settled on their newly-conquered territory with their allies, the Tṛtsus, and that the Pancajanas left their old home, in search of a new happy home elsewhere. And it appears that the victorious Bharatas, or probably the Tṛtsu-Bharatas, now assumed the new appellation of the Kurus, and that thenceforward their newly-conquered territory came to be known, in history, as Kurukṣetra, the land of the Kurus. The Mahābhārata consistently describes the royal family of the Kurus as Bharatas. And this strongly supports our contention. The 'Five Tribes,' it also appears, in their search for a new home, ultimately settled on the Gangetic Valley under the new name of the Pāncālas. Subsequently the Bharatas also moved further eastward for fresh conquests, and at last settled on the Gangetic Valley, side by side with the Pāncālas. And in the Śatap. Brāh. (XIII, 5, 4, 11, 21) we actually find the Bharatas winning victories over the Kāśis, and offering sacrifices to the Yamunā and the Ganges. It was in the lands of the Kurus and the Pāncālas on the Gangetic Valley that the Brāhmaṇas and the earliest Upaniṣads were composed, and the Hindu culture took its

shape. Weber, therefore, seems to be quite correct in identifying the Pāncālas with the 'Five Tribes' (*cf.* Indian Literature, pp. 10, 90, 114, 125, etc.). But the Vedic Index has rejected this view as "not very probable" (Vol. I, p. 469). Following in the footsteps of Oldenberg, the Vedic Index has also held a different view about the identity of the Kurus. There was a Puru king, known as Kuruśravaṇa (R. V. X, 33, 4). He was the son of king Trasadasyu. The Vedic Index, accordingly, tells us that "it is probable, as Oldenberg suggests (Buddha, 403-4), that the Purus were afterwards known as the Kurus. Moreover, it is likely that the Tṛtsu-Bharatas, who formed so powerful a people in the Rig-veda and were the enemies of the Purus, later on coalesced with them to form the Kuru people. The Bharatas appear as a very prominent people of the past in the Brāhmaṇas; but in later literature they disappear altogether from the list of the nations. This also lends support to the above supposition." "According to the Śatap. Brāh. (XIII, 5, 4, 7)," adds the Vedic Index, "the old name of the Pāncālas was Krivi, which looks like a variant of Kuru" (see Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 165-168). In the above extracts three different views have been advanced side by side; and the authors of the Vedic Index seem to be at a loss to know which one of them is to be accepted as valid. The term Kuruśravaṇa, according to Oldenberg, means "the Glory of the Kurus," and the first two of the three aforesaid hypotheses are entirely based on this interpretation of the term. But the question is why should the term Kuruśravaṇa be at all taken to mean "the Glory of the Kurus"? *Kuruśravaṇa may also mean "the chastiser of the Kurus." And in this latter sense alone the term fits in with the context.* In R. V. X, 33, 4, Kuruśravaṇa is described as unrivalled in munificence. Evidently, therefore, Kuruśravaṇa must have been a rich and mighty king, and a great defender of the honour of the Purus. *This renders the hypothesis of a*

crushing Puru defeat during his life-time, and a consequent fusion of the Purus with the Bharatas, most improbable. The passionate appeal, noticed above, enjoining on the Pancajanas to go out in search of a new happy home elsewhere renders the aforesaid hypothesis still more absurd, and almost entirely untenable. The Mahābhārata also consistently treats, as already noticed, the Kuru kings and princes as Bharatas. *And this renders all the three hypotheses referred to above equally untenable.* The passage in question in the Śatap. Brāh., contains a list of the celebrators of Aśvamedha Sacrifice. And in that list, amongst others, the name of Kraivya Pāncāla, a "Pāncāla rājā," is mentioned as one of the celebrators of Aśvamedha Sacrifice. Kraivya is here evidently a proper name, as was long ago pointed out by Eggeling (*cf.* his Sacred Books, 397, 398). The same Brāhmaṇa describes Kraivya Pāncāla, in the very same connection, as "the Overlord of the Krivis" (*ibid*, p. 398). It does not, therefore, at all follow that "the old name of the Pānchālas was Krivi" And it is still more absurd to regard 'Krivi' as "a variant of Kuru." We are, accordingly, driven to the conclusion that, in all probability, the victorious Bharatas or the Ṛtsu-Bharatas, while settling on the banks of the Sarasvatī, assumed the new appellation of the Kurus. This view has also the weighty support of the Mahābhārata, which should on no account, be lightly set aside.

The Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda: an untenable position.

(A criticism of Mr. B. G. Tilak's views.)

The Earliest Home of the Aryans in India.

It is universally admitted that at least about 4,000 years ago, a race of fair-complexioned and stalwart men, who called themselves 'Ārjyas,' entered India, from the North or North-West, in hordes, settled gradually, and spread themselves over

the tract of land now covered by the eastern Afghanistan, the Punjab, and probably Patiala and the northern Rajputana. It was here, in this sacred land of 'seven rivers,' "Sapta-Sindhavaḥ," that the holy Riks originally flashed forth like fragrant flowers under the bright and genial rays of the vernal sun, and the ancient Hindus fought their earliest battles, defeated, and in part, subjugated, the non-Aryan aborigines, originally found in possession of the soil, performed sacrifices, and offered, in hymns, their earliest prayers to their gods and goddesses, the elemental powers and bright and conspicuous Objects of Nature, and carried on various other activities of their life, and laid the very foundation of their future society, future religion, and future philosophy, and that the Rig-veda, the oldest known record of the Aryan world, took its shape.

In the Rig-veda, the Indus and its tributaries, and the Sarasvatī and its tributaries have been mentioned, in no less than a hundred different Riks, by different Ṛṣis, in various connections. In X, 75, 4, the Indus has been beautifully described as moving at the head of two groups of rivers, like a king leading his armies in war. In the same Rik, the said tributaries are again represented as making noise, and as constantly gathering round the Indus with waters like mother-cows approaching their calf with milk. The Rik runs as follows:

Abhi tvā Sindhō śiśum it na mātarō vāśrāḥ arṣanti payasā iva dhenavaḥ:

Rajeva yudhvā nayasi tvam it sicau yat āsām agraṃ pravatām inakṣasi.

And the Ṛṣis have not kept us in the dark as to all specific details regarding these two federal systems of rivers. In the 5th and 6th Riks of the same Sūkta, these two systems of rivers have been distinctly mentioned by name, and we have been told that the eastern federal group consisted of the Śutudri (Sutlej), Paruṣṇī (Irāwati), Asiknī (Chenab), Bitastā

(Jhilam), and Ārjīkiā (Beas), the five rivers of the Punjab, and that the western group consisted of the Tristamā, the Susartu, the Rasā, the Śweti, the Kubhā (the Kabul river), the Gomatī (Gomal), the Mehatnu, and the Krumu (Kurum), the rivers of the eastern Afghanistan. Many of the rivers of the last-mentioned group have long been lost in the sands, and have completely disappeared. In the third Rik of the same Sūkta, the Indus has, again, been represented as advancing, constantly 'roaring like a bull,' Vṛṣavō na rōruvat. The glories of the Sarasvatī have been extolled in three entire hymns of the Rig-veda (*vide* VI, 61; VII, 95, and 96); and one entire hymn (*vide* X, 75) has been devoted to the Indus, and another to the Śutudri and the Vipāś combined together (*vide* III, 33). The expression, Sapta-Sindhavaḥ, or Sapta-Nadyaḥ, 'the seven rivers,' occurs, in the Rig-veda, in various forms in, at least, ten different Riks. But it is difficult to state positively which particular seven rivers were exactly implied by the expression. The expression 'Hapta Hindu,' which is the Persian synonym for 'Sapta Sindhavaḥ,' occurs also in the Āvestā; and it is believed to have been used to signify the seven rivers that then watered the regions now covered by the Eastern Afghanistan and a considerable portion of the Punjab. And hence it appears that the term 'Sapta-Sindhavaḥ' was, in all probability, originally meant to imply the Kabul river, the Indus, and its five tributaries in the Punjab. But it is evident that later on, as the wave of the Aryan migration advanced more and more eastward, the Kabul river was left out of consideration, and the Sarasvatī took its place in the group. And this change in the significance of the expression seems to be quite clear from the passage, Sarasvatī saptathī Sindhumātā, 'the Sarasvatī, the mother of the rivers, is the seventh,' occurring in VII, 36, 6. And this evidently means that the Indus with its five tributaries in the Punjab, and the Sarasvatī were subsequently regarded as forming the group of rivers denoted by the term 'Sapta-Sindhavaḥ,' and that of

these the Sarasvatī was the seventh in position. The Rig-veda also describes the Sarasvatī as Saptasvasā 'one of the seven sisters,' and as Saptadhātuḥ, 'having seven limbs.' It is, therefore, quite evident that later on the Sarasvatī came to be regarded as the last member of the group of rivers known as the Sapta-Nadyaḥ, and that it was an independent river lying to the east of the Indus group. The Rig-veda also contains repeated references to the sacrifices performed and the battles fought on the banks of many of these rivers. In VI, 61, 14—and there are many such Riks in the Rig-veda—we find Ṛṣi Bharadvāja expressing a longing for the continuance of his residence on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and soliciting the river to lead him and his people to prosperity. The said Rik runs as follows:—

Sarasvati avi naḥ neṣi vasyaḥ payasā mā naḥ ādhak:
Juṣasva naḥ sakhyāḥ veśyā ca mā tvat kṣetrāṇi
araṇāni ganma.

"O Saraswati, lead us to great prosperity, and do not oppress us with floods. Accept our friendship and residence. May we not go to inferior places from thee." Again, in III, 23, 4, we find Ṛṣis Devaśravā and Devavāta invoking Agni to shine forth brightly, adorned with riches, in the houses of those dwelling on the banks of the Dṛiṣadvatī, the Sarasvatī, and the Āpayā. The Rik runs as follows:—

Dṛṣadvatyāṃ mānuṣe āpayāyāṃ Sarasvatyāṃ vairaṭ
agne didīhi.

Now, it is quite clear from these and similar other references that the regions watered by the Indus and the two systems of its tributaries to the west and the east, the Sarasvatī and its tributaries—the tract of land now covered by eastern Afghanistan, the Punjab, and the tract of land south of Ambala—constituted the earliest home of the Aryan

settlers in India, and formed the main scene of the many-sided activities and achievements of their life. It was here, in this sacred land of 'seven rivers,' that the early Aryan settlers in India fought, as has already been stated, their early battles, vanquished, and, in part, subjugated the non-Aryans they found in possession of the soil, cultivated their fields, and carried on various other vocations of their life, performed sacrifices, and offered, in hymns, their earliest prayers to their gods and goddesses, the Sun (Savitā), the Storm (Maruts), the Fire (Agni), the Dawn (Uṣā), Indra, Varuṇa, the Sky, the Indus, the Sarasvatī and so on—and it was here that the hymns of the Rig-veda were composed, and the very foundation of the future society, the future religion, and the future philosophy of the Hindus was laid down. In the Rig-veda, however, we meet with occasional, though very rare, references to the Yamunā and the Ganges; and it is evident from them that isolated bands of Aryans even went beyond the most easterly limits of the early Aryan settlement referred to above. In the whole of the Rig-veda, Yamunā has, however, been mentioned thrice only, once together with the Ganges (X, 75, 5), and twice separately (V, 52, 17; and VII, 18, 19), and the Ganges has been referred to only once more, and even that indirectly (VI, 45, 31). And from the paucity of such references, it is quite clear that when the Rig-veda took its shape, the Colony of the Aryans had not generally spread beyond the eastern limits of the tract of lands watered by the Indus and its tributaries, and the Sarasvatī, the Dṛṣadvatī and the Āpayā—the region then known as 'Brahmāvarta.'

The Rig-veda, moreover, contains references to mountains as well as to seas. The Indus, the Sarasvatī and the Śutudri are all described as having issued from the mountains and flown into the sea. In X, 121, 4, the Himalayas are specifically mentioned, together with the sea. The Rik runs as follows:—

Yasya ime Himavantaḥ mahitvā, yasya samudraṃ
rasayā saha āhuḥ.

"The sages call these snow-capped mountains and the sea, with the rivers, the emblems of His (Prajāpati's) glory."

In X, 34, 1, the mountain Mujabat is mentioned, and is described as the abode of the Soma plant. And the later Vedic literature appears to have identified it with one of the mountains to the south-west of Kashmir, close to the Kabul Valley. And these references only lend an additional support to the conclusion we have already arrived at with regard to the earliest home of the Aryan settlers in India.

The Supposed Climatic Difficulties.

Now, though it is quite clear, from what has already been stated above, that the Eastern Afghanistan, the Punjab and its neighbourhood formed the primitive home of the early Aryan settlers in India, and that it was here that the Rig-veda took its shape, there is one great difficulty against this theory. The Punjab dawns are, no doubt, gorgeous and beautiful. But the natural features and the climatic conditions of the Punjab of the present day do hardly correspond to those mentioned in the Rig-veda. The periodic monsoons, with their heavy showers and terrific storms, and the grand displays of elemental strifes, so frequently referred to in the Rig-veda, are conspicuous by their absence in the Punjab as we know it. But this difficulty is not, after all, a very formidable one, though apparently it appears to be so. It is quite evident that the Punjab of to-day is not what it was thousands of years ago. Many of its old and large rivers have, as is evident from the presence of the traces of very ancient river-beds among the sands, in the neighbourhood of the Punjab, long ceased to exist, and been swallowed up in the deserts; and with these changes in topography, the climatic conditions of the country must have also undergone a great change. When these rivers were in existence, the climatic conditions of the country must have been quite different from what they are now, and that they

were then, in all probability, exactly the same as those found in the Rig-veda.

In view of the existing climatic difficulties, Prof. Hopkins is, however, of opinion that the hymns offered to Varuṇa and Uṣā, believed to be the oldest of the Vedic hymns, were alone composed in the Punjab, and that the rest of the hymns must have been composed in the neighbourhood of the sacred river Sarasvatī, south of Ambala, where alone the climatic conditions closely resemble, even now, those mentioned in the Rig-veda. Prof. Macdonell has also accepted this view. But if the climatic conditions and the natural features of the tract of land to the south of Ambala do, even now, correspond to those of the Rig-vedic times, it is quite probable that when the rivers of eastern Afghanistan as well as the Sarasvatī, the Dṛṣadvatī, and the Āpayā were in the zenith of their glory, similar conditions prevailed throughout the Punjab and its entire neighbourhood. Thus the climatic difficulties referred to above are more apparent than real. Again, there is absolutely no reason to think that only the hymns offered to Varuṇa and the Dawn were composed in the Punjab, and that the rest of the hymns were composed elsewhere. Besides, the view that the hymns offered to Varuṇa and the Dawn are among the oldest of the Vedic hymns is open to serious psychological difficulties. In the Rig-veda, Varuṇa, the all-embracing Sky above, has been conceived and represented as the Lord and Creator of the universe, and as "the great upholder of the physical and moral order." He is the king of all existences (VII, 8, 7), and supports the entire universe (VIII, 41, 3), and pervades all directions (VIII, 41, 7). He has given strength to the horses, milk to the cows, and resolution in the hearts of men (V, 85, 2). He absolves men from their sins, and is the preserver of all sacred resolutions. Now, conceptions like these are extremely complex and abstract in their character. And hence it is difficult to treat the hymns offered to Varuṇa as

amongst the earliest of the Vedic hymns. Moreover, the hymns offered to Varuṇa by Vasiṣṭha, during the War of the Ten Kings, were, we know, of later origin. We must, accordingly, conclude that when the various systems of rivers mentioned in the Rig-veda were in existence, the climatic conditions of the Punjab were quite different from what they are now, and that they then exactly resembled the conditions mentioned in the Rig-veda, and found, even now, as Mr. Hopkins himself admits, in the neighbourhood of modern Ambala. Thus the so-called climatic difficulties are more apparent than real. And we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that Eastern Afghanistan, the Punjab and the tract of land south of modern Ambala formed the earliest Home of the Aryans in India.

The Aryans came from without India.

But it is admitted on all hands that the early Aryans came and settled in the Punjab and its neighbourhood from without.[1] In the Rig-veda itself, we come across what appear to be traces of early migrations of the Aryans, in hordes, into the country, in search of fertile lands for habitation. The Rig-veda contains some hymns addressed to Pūṣā. Pūṣā is, according to Yāska, the Sun, conceived as the Protector of things, sarveṣāṃ bhūtānāṃ gopāyitā ādityaḥ. Roth also regards Pūṣā to be "a solar deity" in character. According to Professor Maxmüller, Pūṣā is "the Sun as viewed by the shepherd." In some of the hymns Pūṣā has been represented as the Guide and Protector of the travellers. In some of the Vedic hymns, again, he has been conceived as the Protector and Guide of the shepherd, as well as of the cattle, and has, accordingly, been represented as 'seated on a

[1] Dr. A. C. Das, in his "Rig-Vedic India" has, however, held that the 'Sapta-Sindhu was the original home of the Aryans. But his contention, as we shall show hereafter is untenable and absurd.

goat,' Ajāśvaḥ, or Chāga-Vāhanaḥ. Thus, stripped of all figures, Pūṣā, in the Rig-veda, seems to mean the Rising Sun. The Rising Sun is both the Guide and Protector of the travellers as well as of the shepherd. In some of the hymns, Pūṣā has been invoked as 'the Son of the Cloud.' Why the Rising Sun was represented as the 'Son of the Cloud,' it is not very difficult to see. The effect of the night on the sun resembles greatly that of the cloud upon it. The sun, moreover, appears, on its rising, actually to come out of the womb of the mother Night, as it were. And hence evidently is the origin of the conception. We quote below some extracts from one of the hymns (R. V. I, 48) offered to Pūṣā which appear to be of great historical significance. In this hymn we find Ṛṣi Kaṇva Ghaura invoking Pūṣā, the Rising Sun, for safe guidance and protection, on a journey for pleasant and fertile tracts of land, through unknown dangers, across unknown regions. The extracts are as follows, and will speak for themselves :—

Saṃ Pūṣan adhvanaḥ tira vi aṃhaḥ vimucaḥ napāt :
Sakṣvā Deva pra naḥ puraḥ. 1,42,1.

"O Pūṣan, help us to reach our destination, and remove all dangers from the way. O Son of the Cloud, do thou march before us."

Abhi sujavasaṃ naya na navajvāraḥ adhvane :
Pūṣan iha kratuṃ vidaḥ. 1,42,8.

"O Pūṣan, lead us to a fertile tract of land, covered with green grass and trees. Let there be no new dangers (or troubles) on the way. Thou knowest the means of our protection on this journey."

Yaḥ naḥ Pūṣan aghaḥ vṛkaḥ duḥśevaḥ ādideśati,
Apa sma tat pathaḥ jahi. 1,42,2.

"O Pūṣan, remove the wrong-doer from our path, who strikes and plunders, and seeks to force us to take the wrong path (the path pointed out by him)."

Ati naḥ saścataḥ naya sugā naḥ supathā kṛnu :
Pūṣan iha kratuṃ vidaḥ. 1,42,7.

"Remove from us those coming to intercept us on the way. Lead us by easy and pleasant paths. O Pūṣan, thou knowest the means of our protection on this journey."

These evidently seem to refer to an early Aryan migration in search of fertile lands. Here is another significant extract from another hymn, wherein Indra and Bṛhaspati have been invoked for guidance and protection, on a journey, in search of cows, through unknown lands :—

Agavyutiḥ kṣetram āganma devāḥ urvī satī bhūmiḥ
aṃhūraṇā abhūt :
Vṛhaspate pracikitsva goviṣtau jaritre Indra panthām.
VI, 47,20.

"O gods, we have come to a tract of land where cows do not graze. The extensive region gives shelter to Dasyus alone. O Bṛhaspati, give us instructions in our search for cows. O Indra, show the way to thy worshippers."

It appears from the above Rik, that a band of the Aryans, having been out in search of wild cows, for purposes of domestication (or lost cows), accidentally came on a tract of land where cows did not graze, and which gave shelter to Dasyus alone. They, accordingly, prayed to Bṛhaspati and Indra for protection and safe guidance. The expression, Agavyutiḥ kṣetraṃ, 'a tract of land where cows do not graze,' probably stands for a desert or a marshy land ; and it is not unlikely that it refers to a tract of land through which the Aryans had to pass on their way to their new settlement in the Punjab and its neighbourhood.

But though it is almost universally agreed that the Aryans came and settled in India from without, yet very little is definitely known about their original home. The language of the Rig-veda closely resembles the Avestan, the Greek, and the Slavonic languages. There is also some affinity between the Vedic language and the Indo-Germanic tongues spoken by many of the modern nations of Europe. The social and religious traditions of the Hindus also seem to have much in common with those of Persia and ancient Europe. There is, besides, a close affinity in physical features and the size of the skull between some sects of the Hindus and the Persians as well as many of the modern nations of Europe. And from these affinities, it has naturally been inferred that the ancestors of these various peoples must have, in some remote past, lived together as members of one united and undivided family of men, inspired by the same hopes and aspirations, and knit together by the ties of one common language, one common blood, and one common culture. But as to the original home of the united Aryans, the thinkers are widely divided in their opinions. The old "Central Asia" theory has, of late, been greatly discounted. And various considerations have led some scholars to shift the site of the primitive home of the Aryans from the plains of Central Asia to Northern Germany or still further to Scandinavia. Recent geological researches have proved that, during the Inter-Glacial period, the distribution of land and water about the North Pole was quite different from what it is now, and that, in those early times, there existed a circumpolar continent, with Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen and the other existing islands of the Arctic Sea as its parts, and that until the advent of the last Glacial epoch, these regions enjoyed a temperate climate, and were inhabited by men. These and various other considerations have led Professor Rhys to maintain that the undivided Aryans originally lived, in all probability, in some tract of land within the Arctic

Circle, "somewhere to the North of Finland and the neighbourhood of the White Sea." Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak has, in his "Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda," likewise, sought to establish that the undivided Aryans lived somewhere "within a few degrees of the North Pole," where alone "a day or a night of six months, and a long continuous dawn of several days' duration, with its revolving splendours," known, in his opinion, to the Vedic Ṛṣis, through traditions, could have been possible. Mr. Tilak is, however, of opinion that the traditions of the original Polar Home have been "better preserved in the sacred books of the Brahmins and the Parsis" than in those of the West. And he has, accordingly, concluded that it is not unlikely that the primitive home of the Aryans was "located to the North of Siberia rather than to the north of Russia or Scandinavia."

Mr. Tilak's contention untenable.

The theory of the Arctic Home of the Aryans is, however, widely regarded now as scientifically untenable. But be it what it may, Mr. Tilak's position that there are clear and unmistakable references to Arctic phenomena in the Rig-veda is not at all tenable. In what follows we shall carefully discuss and examine Mr. Tilak's views, and shall endeavour to prove conclusively that there are no traces of "a long day or a night of six months, and a continuous dawn of several days' duration" or of any other Arctic phenomena in the Rig-veda, and that, therefore, there is absolutely nothing in the Rig-veda to show that the prehistoric ancestors of the Vedic Ṛṣis ever lived in or about the Arctic Pole.

The supposed Traces of the long Arctic Night.

In the first place, we shall consider if the Rig-veda really contains any traces of a long Polar night. Under this

head Mr. Tilak has mainly relied on the following expressions in support of his position :—

1. Tamasaḥ antāḥ. VII, 67,2.
"The ends of darkness."

2. Uru aśyām abhayaṃ jyotiḥ mā naḥ dīrghāḥ abhinaśan tamisrāḥ. 11,27,14.

"May I reach the broad fearless light ; may not long darkness overtake us."

3. Urmye naḥ sutarā bhava. X,127-6.

"O Night, be auspicious unto us."

"The expression, 'ends of darkness,' 'Tamasaḥ antāḥ,'" says Mr. Tilak, "is very peculiar, and it would be a violation of idiom to take this and other expressions indicating long darkness to mean nothing more than long winter nights, as we have them in the temperate or the tropical zone. .....The anxiety manifested," in the above-mentioned passages, "for the disappearance of the long darkness is unmeaning, if the darkness never lasted for more than twenty-four hours," the maximum duration of the longest winter nights in those regions (*vide* The Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda, p. 126). "If the night was not," adds Mr. Tilak,....." unusually long, where was the necessity for entertaining any misgivings about the coming dawn ?..... It was not the long winter nights that the Vedic bards were afraid of. .....It was something else, something very long, so long that though you knew it would not last permanently, yet, by its very length it tired your patience, and made you long for, eagerly long for, the coming dawn. In short, it was the long night of the Arctic region.....which the Vedic bards knew by tradition" (*vide* The Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda, pp. 129-131).

Now, let us see if the passages cited by Mr. Tilak do really support his position. Of the above-mentioned three expressions, two, as we shall see presently, have absolutely nothing to

do with any fears whatever arising from the darkness of the night. And although the third shows that the Vedic Ṛṣis were really afraid of the darkness of the night, yet Mr. Tilak's inference about the cause of the same is entirely fictitious and unhistorical. The first of the said Riks, when fully stated runs thus: —

Aśōci agniḥ samidhānaḥ asme upadṛśan tamasaḥ cit antāḥ: Aceti ketuḥ Uṣasaḥ purastāt. VII. 67,2.

"Sacrificial fire has been kindled by us. Verily the ends of darkness are seen, and the banner of the Dawn is visible in the east."

Now, Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha is the author of the Rik under notice; and the Rik contains an invocation to the twin gods, Aswins, to come and accept the offerings prepared for them. The twin brothers are the symbolical representation of the twilight of the early dawn; and they have to be worshipped in the very early hours of the day, before the expiry of the darkness of the night, and the appearance of the day In the Rik in question, we, accordingly, find Vasiṣṭha, one morning, shortly before the daybreak to have thus invoked the twin gods, with sacrificial fire kindled before him :—

"The ends of darkness are seen, and the banner of the Dawn is visible in the east. And we are awaiting you two, O Aswins, with the sacrificial fire kindled before us."

Evidently, therefore, there is absolutely no reference here to any fears whatever arising from the darkness of the night, or anything of the sort. Moreover, the expression, Tamasaḥ antāḥ, 'the ends of darkness,' here clearly refers to the darkness of the night which was then about to dawn, and at the end of which Vasiṣṭha was actually engaged in offering sacrifices to the Aswins, with sacrificial fire kindled before him. Evidently, therefore, the phenomenon described here is purely Indian in character.

But yet, Mr. Tilak has most solemnly told us that "the expression, 'ends of darkness,' 'Tamasaḥ antāḥ,' is very peculiar," and that "it would be a violation of idiom" to take it to mean nothing more than the darkness of the night "in the temperate or the tropical zone" !!

The same remark also applies to the second of the aforesaid Riks, which runs as follows :—

Adite Mitra Varuṇa ut mṛla yat vaḥ vayaṃ cakṛma kat cit āgaḥ :

Uru aśyām abhayaṃ jyōtiḥ Indra mā naḥ dīrghāḥ abhinaśan tamisrāḥ.

"O, Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa, graciously pardon us, if we have committed any sins unto you. O Indra, may I reach the broad fearless light, and may not long darkness overtake us."

Now, Ṛṣi Śiśu is the author of the Rik under notice. In it the Ṛṣi has been represented as engaged in soliciting the gods to forgive him and his kinsmen all their transgressions, if any, and to bestow on them the blessings of a happy life in the world to come. Here the expression, Uru abhayaṃ jyotiḥ, 'the broad fearless light,' simply means the heaven, the domain of perpetual light, Yatra jyotiḥ ajasraṃ, as it is characterised in IX, 112, 7, and where death and, therefore, fear cannot enter, Amṛte loke (IX, 112,7); and Dīrghāḥ tamisrāḥ, 'long darkness,' simply means the darkness of the region intended for the wicked after death, Gambhīraṃ padaṃ (IV, 5, 5). In fact, to understand the real significance of the aforesaid expressions, one must take them in the light of the Rig-vedic conception of heaven and hell. The Rig-veda describes the domain intended for the good after death as one of eternal and unending sunshine and joy, Lokāḥ yatra jyotiṣmantaḥ jatra tṛptiḥ (IX, 112, 9 and 10), and the region, meant for the residence of the wicked

after death, as covered with unending darkness, Gambhīraṃ padaṃ (IV, 5, 5). And this explains why the Ṛṣi solicited the gods to lead him and his men, after their death, to the region of broad and fearless light, Uru abhayaṃ jyotiḥ, and to save them from long darkness, Dīrghāḥ tamisrāḥ, the torments of a life in hell, Gambhīraṃ padaṃ. Evidently, therefore, this Rik also does not help Mr. Tilak even in the least.

But be it what it may, there are, no doubt, passages in the Rig-veda—and the third of the Riks mentioned above is one of this kind—which show clearly that the Ṛṣis were really afraid of the darkness of the night, and that they, at times, even prayed to their gods and goddesses for deliverance from the same, and for the appearance of the dawn. To understand, however, what made them mortally afraid of the darkness of the night, one must enter into the history of the times, and try to understand the circumstances under which the Ṛṣis then lived and worked. The history of the times is writ large on the pages of the Rig-veda itself. And the Rig-veda most clearly tells us that the non-Aryans, vanquished in open war, often took refuge in forests and mountain fastnesses, and that, at times, taking advantage of the darkness of the night, they came out of their hiding-places, and attacked the invaders, and, whenever possible harassed them, and plundered their food and cattle. The Ṛṣis, being strangers in a strange land, were unable to meet these nightly attacks, or to punish their enemies, as long as the darkness lasted. On the approach of the dawn however, they took up arms, rushed upon the enemies, and either killed or drove them away. And this clearly explains why the Ṛṣis were so afraid of the darkness of the night, and why they often prayed to their deities for deliverance from the same, and for protection during its continuance. But to our great misfortune, none of the Vedic scholars, eastern or western, have, in their efforts to discover the causes of such apprehensions, fully entered into the

history of the times ; and the real causes of these nightly apprehensions have not, therefore, been yet satisfactorily explained by any one. Sāyaṇa suggested that they were due to misgivings caused by long winter nights ; and the western scholars have simply accepted Sāyaṇa's suggestion. It has further been suggested by some that " to the old Vedic bards night was as death, since they had no means, which a civilised person in the twentieth century possesses, of dispelling the darkness of the night by artificial illumination," and that it was the absence of artificial illumination that made the Ṛṣis eagerly long for the appearance of the light of the dawn. But both these explanations are extremely absurd and preposterous. The modern savages, who are much more backward than the Vedic Ṛṣis, are not at all known to suffer from any such apprehensions at night. Had these apprehensions, as Mr. Tilak aptly observes, anything to do with the absence of artificial illumination, or the mere length of the ordinary winter nights, as we have them here in the temperate or the tropical zone, similar apprehensions would have certainly been visible among the modern savages as well. But in accounting for the causes of the nightly apprehensions of the Vedic Ṛṣis, Mr. Tilak has gone from one extreme to another, and has concluded that they must be due to the recollection of the horrors of the darkness of the long Polar nights which had oppressed their remote ancestors in their Polar homes in some prehistoric and bygone age. Mr. Tilak has not evidently cared to enter into the history of the times. Had it not been for this, he would have clearly seen that the nightly misgivings of the Ṛṣis had absolutely nothing to do with the supposed recollection of the Polar darkness, the imaginary cause to which Mr. Tilak has attributed them, and that they, on the contrary, proceeded from such causes as would have frightened any of us, even now, under similar circumstances. But unfortunately Mr. Tilak, an astute scholar though he was, has, in the treatment

of his subject, adopted an extremely questionable method. He had had the Arctic Home theory already into his mind ; and he has, it appears, gone about picking out such passages from the Rig-Veda as, he thought, would fit in with the said theory, and lend a support to it. But in so doing, Mr. Tilak has not deemed it necessary either to look into the context of the passages cited by him in support of his position, or to enter into the history of the times. It is, therefore, no wonder, if Mr. Tilak, thus misled by his geological bias, has fallen into grievous blunders, and been led into conclusions extremely far-fetched, absurd and unhistorical.

The nightly apprehensions of the Vedic Ṛṣis were real, and were due to causes equally real. But to discover these causes, one must, as we have sai l, turn to the history of the times, writ large, as has already been stated, on the pages of the Rig-Veda itself. In the very Rik, for instance, where the Ṛṣi prays the goddess Night to be auspicious unto him and his men—and this is the only relevant Rik, mentioned by Mr. Tilak, under this head, in support of his position,—the Rig-Veda also most clearly tells us why the Ṛṣis were afraid of the darkness of the night. The said Rik,—and Mr. Tilak has only quoted half of it, and he alone can say why,—runs as follows:—

यवय वृक्यं वृकं यवय स्तेनम् ऊर्मे ।
अथ नः सुतरा भव ॥ X, 127, 6

(Yavaya vṛkyaṃ vṛkaṃ yavaya stenam ūrme : atha naḥ sutar bhava.)

'Remove, O Night, the Rākṣasīs, the Rākṣasas and the thieves ; and then be auspicious unto us.'

Here the use of the word "अथ," (atha), then, is very significant. It clearly shows that the Ṛṣis were, at night, greatly afraid of the non-Aryans, whom they called by such

names as Rākṣasas, Dasyus, and the like, and that they had often to pray to their deities for protection against their nightly depredations. Here is another equally significant Rik, wherein the goddess Dawn was invoked, under similar circumstances, for protection :—

दूरे अमित्रम् उच्छ उर्वीं गव्यूतिम् अभयं कृधि नः । VII, 77, 4.

(Dūre amitram uccha urvīṃ gavyutim abhayaṃ kṛdhi naḥ.)

'Shine forth, O Dawn, scattering the enemies, and render our pasture lands free from fear.' In the following Rik, we are still more clearly told why the Ṛṣis so eagerly longed for the appearance of the Dawn :—

विश्वम् अस्याः ननाम चक्षसे जगत्ज्योतिः कृणोति सुनरी ।
अप द्वेषः मघोनी दुहिता दिवः उषा उच्छत् अप स्रिधः ॥ I, 48, 8.

(Viśvam asyāḥ nanāma cakṣase jagatjyotiḥ kṛṇoti sunarī :
Apa dveṣaḥ maghonī duhitā divaḥ Uṣā ucchat apa sṛdhaḥ.)

'The whole world is doing homage to the wealthy goddess Dawn, the Daughter of the Sky, for her appearance; for she, the excellent Guide, dispels the darkness, and scatters the enemies and the oppressors.' Again, in I, 50, 2, we are told;—

अप त्ये तायवो यथा नक्षत्राः यन्ति अक्तुभिः ।

(Apa tye tāyavo yathā nakṣatrāḥ yanti aktubhiḥ.)

'(On the approach of the sun, the Revealer of the world,) the stars disperse, with the night, like those well-known thieves.'

Here the word, "त्ये," tye, 'those,' is very significant. It clearly shows that thieves referred to here were well-known to the Ṛṣis, and that their nightly depredations were matters of very common occurrence. Again, in the

Rig-Veda, the Dawn is often characterised as "यावय-द्वेषाः," yāvayaddveṣāḥ, "the Scatterer of the enemies," and also as "जीरा रथानाम्," Jīrā rathānām, "One who sends forth chariots of war," and as "सुनरी," "the excellent Guide."

Now, the fore-going passages and expressions, combined together, give us a clear and faithful history of the times. The Rig-Veda, therefore, clearly tells us that the non-Aryans, by their nocturnal visits, often made the nights extremely unsafe, and compelled the Ṛṣis eagerly to long for deliverance from the darkness of the night and the appearance of the dawn. It is, therefore, quite clear that the nightly aprehensions of the Ṛṣis had absolutely nothing to do with the recollection of the supposed darkness of the Polar nights, the hypothetical cause to which Mr. Tilak attributes them. Evidently, therefore, Mr. Tilak's contention stands absolutely nowhere.

Mr. Tilak's contention is not only unhistorical, but it is extremely unpsychological at the same time. The prospect of a present or coming danger alone can create consternation. The mere recollection of dangers supposed to have been experienced by one's prehistoric ancestors in some remote and prehistoric age, but not having even the remotest chance of repeating themselves in the future, can, by no means, give rise to any apprehensions whatever. "A painted devil," says Shakespeare, "frightens none but a child or a lunatic." The Vedic Ṛṣis were neither boys of immature understanding nor lunatics. They, on the contrary, were men of very strong common sense, and were so much advanced in civilization as to have solved, as Mr. Tilak himself admits, even "the question of the equation between the solar and lunar year with sufficient accuracy." The Ṛṣis knew fully well that the nights of the country they lived in, were short, and that there was absolutely no chance of their ever being oppressed with the long darkness of the Polar nights in their Indian homes. So even if it be admitted that the prehistoric

ancestors of the Vedic Ṛṣis had really lived in the Arctic Pole, and that the Vedic Ṛṣis were, by tradition, aware of the great length of the Polar nights, still it is extremely absurd to maintain that, on the approach of the night, the recollection of the long Polar darkness frightened the Vedic Ṛṣis in their Indian homes. So Mr. Tilak's position is, on the very face of it, entirely unpsychological as well.

The Supposed Traces of the Long Polar Dawns.

We shall now consider if the Rig-Veda really contains any traces of long and continuous dawns of several days' duration with their revolving splendours, visible only in Polar regions. Here is one of the most important Riks mentioned by Mr. Tilak, under this head, in support of his position:—

कियति आ यत् समना भवति याः व्युषुः याः च न्यूनं व्युच्छान् ।
अनु पूर्वाः कृपते वावशाना प्रदीध्याना जोषम् अन्याभिः ॥ I, 113, 10.

(Kiyati ā yat samanā bhavati yāḥ vyuṣuḥ yāḥ ca nyūnaṃ vyucchān : anu pūrvāḥ kṛpate vāvaśānā pradīdhyānā joṣam anyābhiḥ.)

'How long have the Dawns been with us—those that have arisen, and those that shall arise? The present Dawn, desiring us light, is imitating those that have gone before. The exceedingly bright Dawn of the present shall likewise be imitated by others to come.'

Now, this Rik, taken by itself, disjoined from the context, may, no doubt, lead one to think that the Dawn referred to here was probably really a long Dawn, which, though seen rising continuously for several days, was not yet fully flashed forth. And this is exactly how Mr. Tilak has taken it. But read in the light of the context, it lends absolutely no support to Mr. Tilak's contention. In the very next Rik, for instance, we are clearly told that the Dawn referred to in

the Rik under notice, was an Indian Dawn, which is seen every morning rising in the east. The Rik runs thus :—

इयुः ते ये पूर्वतराम् अपश्यन् उषसम् मर्त्यासः ।
अस्माभिः उ नु प्रतिचक्ष्या अभूत् आ उ ते यन्ति ये अपरीषु पश्यान् ॥
I, 113, 11.

(Iyuḥ te ye pūrvatarām apasyan Uṣasam martyāsaḥ : Asmābhiḥ u nu praticakṣyā abhūt ā u te yanti ye aparīṣu paśyān.)

'Those, who saw the Dawn in the past, are dead. She is *now visible to us.* Those, who will see her hereafter, are yet to come (are not yet born).'

Now, Ṛṣi Kutsa is the author of this as well as of the preceding Rik. And we are clearly told here that the Dawn in question was one which was then actually seen by the Ṛṣi shining before him. Evidently, therefore, the very expression, "अस्माभिः उ नु प्रतिचक्ष्या अभूत्," asmābhiḥ u nu praticakṣyā abhūt, "she is now visible to us," conclusively proves that the phenomenon described here was one that was actually present before the Ṛṣi, and, therefore, purely Indian in character. The thirteenth Rik of the same Sūkta is still more significant. It runs as follows :—

"शश्वत् पुरा उषाः व्युवास देवी अथः अद्य अइदं वावः मघोनी ।
अथः व्युच्छात् उत्तरान् अनु द्यून् अजरा अमरा चरति स्वधाभिः ॥"
I, 113, 13.

(Śaśvat purā Uṣāḥ vyuvāsa Devī athaḥ adya idaṃ vāvaḥ maghonī: athaḥ vyucchāt uttarān anu dyūn ajarā amarā carati svadhābhiḥ.)

'Formerly the goddess Dawn flashed forth every day. The wealthy Dawn *now shines here.* She will blaze forth hereafter during the coming days. She has (thus) been shining by her own lustre, *ever the same,* from all eternity.'

Now, Ṛṣi Kutsa is the author of this Rik as well. And here we are most clearly told that formerly, "पुरा," (Purā), the Dawn 'rose every day,' "शश्वत् व्युवास," (śaśvat vyuvāsa), and that she has been 'ever the same' from all eternity, "अजरा अमरा" (ajarā amarā). Now, as applied to the Polar Dawn which shines only for thirty days continuously, and then becomes invisible for the rest of the year, the expression "शश्वत् व्युवास" (śaśvat vyuvāsa), 'rose daily,' is entirely meaningless. Again, it is quite evident from the expression "अजरा अमरा" (ajarā amarā), 'ever the same from all eternity,' that Ṛṣi Kutsa was aware of only one kind of Dawn, namely, the Dawn that rose daily, "शश्वत् व्युवास" (śaśvat vyuvāsa). It is, therefore, evident that the Ṛṣi was not even aware of the very existence of the Polar Dawn which rose for thirty days continuously, then became invisible for the rest of the year. Had it not been so, he would certainly have been the last person to say that formerly the Dawn *rose every day, and that she has ever been the same from eternity.* The supposed discovery of a reference to the Polar Dawn in the Rik under notice must, therefore, be a fiction pure and simple. So the Dawn referred to in the Rik under notice must needs be an Indian Dawn, which, as Kutsa himself says, "अद्य इदं व्यावः" (adya idaṃ vyāvaḥ), was then shining before him, and which rose daily, "शश्वत् व्युवास" (śaśvat vyuvāsa).

The next important Rik, mentioned by Mr. Tilak, under this head, runs as follows:—

अव्युष्टाः इत् नु भूयसीः उषसः । 11, 28, 9.

(Avyuṣṭāḥ it nu bhūyasīḥ Uṣasaḥ).

'Verily, many are the Dawns that have not flashed forth at all.'

This expression also, if taken by itself, cut off from the context, appears to lend some support to Mr. Tilak's contention, as if the dawn referred to here was really a Dawn,

which, though seen rising continuously for several days, was not yet fully flashed forth. But a mere glance at the context will most conclusively prove that it means something quite different. The two parts of the Rik,—and Mr. Tilak has only referred to the latter portion, and he alone knows why,—combined together, run thus :—

परा ऋणा सावीः अध मत्कृतानि मा अहं राजन् अन्यकृतेन भोजम् ।
अव्युष्टाः इत् नु भूयसीः उषसः ॥

(Parā ṛṇā sāvīḥ adha matkṛtāni mā ahaṃ rājan anyakṛtena bhojam : avyuṣṭāḥ it nu bhūyasīḥ Uṣasaḥ.)

'O Varuṇa, absolve me from my paternal and personal debts. O King, may I not live on others' earnings. Verily, *many of the Dawns* (*my Dawns*) have not at all flashed forth.'

Now, in this Rik we find Ṛṣi Gṛtsamada or Kurma,—the authorship of the Rik is uncertain—invoking Varuṇa to absolve him from his personal as well as paternal debts, and not to make him a burden upon others for his subsistence. And incidentally the Ṛṣi has told us that so great were the miseries, the debts had caused him, that many of his Dawns (*i.e.*, days), though dawned, seemed not to have dawned at all, "व्युष्टाः अपि अव्युष्टकल्पाः," (vyuṣṭāḥ api avyuṣṭakalpāḥ), as Sāyaṇa puts it. Evidently, therefore, the expression "भूयसीः उषसः," 'many Dawns,' here simply means '*many of my Dawns*'; and that as such, it refers to the events of the Ṛṣi's own life, and has absolutely nothing to do with any Polar Dawn or anything of the sort.

The most important Rik, mentioned by Mr. Tilak, under this head, runs as follows:—

तानि इत् अहानि बहुलानि आसन या प्राचीनम् उदिता सूर्यस्य ।
यतः परि जारः इव आचरन्ती उषः दृष्टे न पुनः यती इव ॥ VII, 76, 3

(Tāni it ahāni vahulāni āsan yā prācīnam uditā Sūryasya;
Yataḥ pari jāraḥ iva ācarantī Uṣaḥ dadṛkṣe na punaḥ yatīḥ iva.)

'Many were the splendours (of the Dawn), that lay spread before the Sun, and on account of which, O Dawn, thou lookest like a faithful and devoted wife, *always moving close in front of her husband*, and not like a faithless woman, *moving far away from her husband*.'

Here, the word "Ahāni," has been used in its literal sense of "splendours," "तेजांसि" (tejāṃsi); and it is exactly in this sense of the term that the Dawn has frequently been described, in the Rig-Veda, as "अहना" (Ahanā), 'the goddess having splendours.' But not satisfied with the above interpretation of the word given by Sāyaṇa, Mr. Tilak has urged that here the word should be taken in its ordinary sense of 'days.' And thus understood, the expression, says Mr. Tilak, must mean as follows:—

"Many were the days that preceded the rising of the Sun, and through which the Dawn was seen moving about as after a lover, and not like a faithless woman who forsakes her husband." "It is therefore clear," adds Mr. Tilak, "that the verse in question expressly describes *Dawn lasting for many days*, which is only possible in the Arctic regions."

But here also Mr. Tilak has been misled by his scientific bias. In the Rik under notice, the Dawn has clearly been represented as *moving close in front of the Sun*, with her beauties fully laid bare before the gaze of her beloved, and, therefore, as looking like a faithful and devoted wife, "जारः इव आचरन्ती" (jāraḥ iva ācarantī). Now, evidently such a description can only apply to the short-lived Dawn visible in tropical and temperate countries; and it loses all its significance, when applied to the long Polar Dawns. In Polar regions, the Dawn rises long before the appearance of the Sun, and there is a long interval between the first appearance of the

Dawn, and the rising of the Sun. The Polar Dawns, therefore, can, by no means, be characterised as "जारः इव आचरन्ती" (jāraḥ iva ācarantī), 'moving close in front of the beloved like a faithful wife.' The Polar Dawn, which is visible long before the rising of the Sun, and which spreads her splendours in regions far away from the Sun, does, on the contrary, look like a faithless wife, "यतीः इव" (yatiḥ iva), who wanders far away from her beloved, with her beauties laid bare to the lustful gaze of others. Evidently, therefore, the Dawn referred to here must needs be a short-lived Indian Dawn, which is followed by the Sun in quick succession, and which alone can, therefore, with propriety, be characterised as always moving close, like a devoted wife, "जारः इव" (jāraḥ iva), in front of her beloved husband, with her beauties fully laid bare to his wistful gaze. Mr. Tilak's interpretation evidently makes the Rik extremely prosaic and entirely meaningless. The word, "अहानि" (Ahāni), in the Rik under notice, must, therefore, be taken in Sāyaṇa's sense of "तेजांसि" (tejāṃsi), 'splendours.' Profs. Roth, Grassman, and several other Western scholars have also fully admitted the soundness of this interpretation. Evidently, therefore, the Dawn referred to here must be a short-lived Indian Dawn, which alone can, with propriety, be described as, "जारः इव आचरन्ती" (jāraḥ iva ācarantī) 'moving close in front of her beloved like a devoted wife.' Here is another Rik, with the same conception running through it, though somewhat differently expressed :—

सूर्यः देवीम् उषसम् रोचमानां मर्य्यः नयोषाम् अभ्येति पश्चात् ।

(Sūryaḥ devīm Uṣasaṃ rocamānāṃ maryyaḥ na yoṣām abhyeti paścāt.)

'The Sun follows the beautiful Dawn, as a man (lover) follows a woman (his lady-love).'

Now, descriptions like these do, evidently, apply to a

short-lived Dawn alone, and become totally meaningless, when applied to the Polar Dawn.

Again, Ṛṣi Vaśiṣtha is the author of the Rik, under notice. Here the Dawn has been represented *as then actually seen* by the Ṛṣi moving close in front of her beloved like a devoted wife, "जारः इव आचरन्ती दृक्षे" (jāraḥ iva ācarantī dadṛkṣe). The expression, "जारः इव आचरन्ती दृक्षे" (jāraḥ iva ācarantī dadṛkṣe), 'thou *art seen* moving like a devoted wife', clearly shows that the Dawn described here was a Dawn which was then actually being seen by the Ṛṣi. Such a Dawn must needs be an Indian Dawn ; and it can have absolutely no reference to a Polar Dawn or anything of the sort.

We have yet to consider one other characteristic of the Dawn. The Rig-Veda has, in several places, referred to the circular motion of the Dawn, and represented it as moving like a wheel. Referring to these descriptions, Mr. Tilak tells us that "a dawn in the temperate or the tropical zone is visible only for a short time on the eastern horizon, and is swallowed up, in the same place, by the rays of the rising sun ;" and that "it is only in the Polar regions that we see the morning lights revolving along the horizon for some day-long periods of time " ; and that, therefore, "if the wheel-like motion of the dawn mentioned in the Rig-Veda, has any meaning at all, we must take it to refer to the revolving splendours of the dawn in the Arctic regions." Mr. Tilak has regarded this as one of his most invulnerable points. But we shall see, from what follows, that the supposed invulnerability of the point is a myth, pure and simple. The most important Riks, mentioned under this head, are as follows :—

1. प्रति स्तोमेभिः उषसं वसिष्टाः अबुध्रन् ।
विवर्त्तयन्तीम् रजसी समन्ते आविष्कृण्वतीम् भुवनानि विश्वा ।

(Prati stomebhiḥ Uṣasaṃ Vasiṣṭhāḥ abudhnan :
Vivarttayantīm rajasī samante āviṣkṛṇvatīm bhubanāni viśvā.)

'The Vasiṣṭhas, with their hymns, rouse the Dawn at the horizon (the end of heaven and earth)—the Dawn about to go round the earth, along a circular path, revealing the same.'

2. उषः प्रतीची भुवनानि विश्वा ऊर्ध्वा तिष्ठसि ।
समानमर्थं चरणीयमाना चक्रमिव नव्यसि आवृत्स्व ॥ III, 61, 3.

(Uṣaḥ pratīcī bhuvanāni viśvā ūrddhvā tiṣṭhasi :
Samānamartham caraṇīyamānā cakramiva navyasi
avavṛtsva.)

'O Dawn, thou art on high, and art coming towards the earth. O newly-born (Dawn), desiring to go along the same path, roll thou like a wheel.'

Now, Vasiṣṭha is the author of the former of the two afore-said Riks. In it, the Vasiṣṭhas are represented as engaged in reciting their hymns and thereby rousing the goddess Dawn from her sleep, as it were, and making her appear on the eastern horizon. The conception of rousing the deities from their sleep, with hymns, is not at all uncommon in the Rig-veda. In X, 40, 3, for instance, we come across the following :—

प्रातः जरेथे जरणा इव कापया ।

(Prātaḥ jarethe jaraṇā iva kāpayā).

'O Aświns, you two are roused, in the morning, with hymns, like two old kings'

In the Rik under notice the Dawn has, likewise, been represented as being roused from her sleep by the Vasiṣṭhas, with their hymns. And we are, at the same time, told that the Dawn, which was thus being roused from her sleep, was the very Dawn that was then about to go round the earth, bathing it with her own light. Now, the Dawn that can possibly be represented as being roused by the Vasiṣṭhas must

needs be an Indian Dawn. Evidently, therefore, the expression, "विवर्त्तयन्तीं भुवनानि विश्वा" (vivarttayantīṃ bhuvanāni viśvā) 'going round the earth,' must be taken as having been applied to the very Dawn which was being roused from her sleep by the Vasiṣṭhas with their hymns. Mr. Tilak's contention, therefore, stands absolutely nowhere. In fact, here the word, "विवर्त्तयन्तीम्" 'going round,' must be regarded as applied to "उषसम्," the Dawn, roused by the Vasiṣṭhas. The Dawn in question must needs, therefore, be an Indian Dawn.

Again, in the Rik, under notice, the epithets, विवर्त्तयन्तीम् (vivarttayantīm) 'moving round,' and "आविष्कृण्वतीम् (aviṣkṛṇvatīm) 'revealing,' must both be taken as connected with "भुवनानि विश्वा" (bhuvanāni viśvā), 'the entire world.' The Dawn has, therefore, clearly been described here as "विवर्त्तयन्तीम् भुवनानि विश्वा" (vivarttayantīṃ bhubanāni viśvā) 'moving round the entire earth,' evidently over the head of the observer as it were, "*in a perpendicular plane like the wheel af a chariot*," bathing it with her own light, "आविष्कृण्वतीम् भुवनानि विश्वा" (aviṣkṛṇvatīṃ bhuvanāni viśvā). But such a description does not at all apply to the Polar Dawn. The Polar Dawn always moves, as Mr. Tilak himself says, "*in a horizontal plane like a potter's wheel*," and her movement is always confined to the horizon ; and the expression, "bathing the entire earth with her light," does not at all apply to her. And hence the Dawn described here must needs be an Indian Dawn which the Vasiṣṭhas roused from her sleep, and was, on her way, *to go round the earth*, bathing it with her own light, over the head of the observer. It is true, as Mr. Tilak observes, that nowhere on earth, the dawn is actually seen moving over the head of the observer, from the east to the west, like the sun or the moon, in a perpendicular plane. But nevertheless, in a tropical or temperate country, the Dawn is not actually "swallowed up by the rising Sun," as Mr. Tilak assumes. In the Rik in question, the Dawn is, on the contrary, conceived as continuing to move, though unseen, fast followed by the Sun. And

this is what makes it possible for the Dawn to reappear, every morning, on the eastern horizon similarly pursued by her lover. The conception of the Dawn ever fleeing from the embrace of the Sun has been frequently alluded to in the Rig-veda ; and the story of Urvaśī pursued by Pururavā is a well-known allegorical representation of the same. Again, in I, 124, 3, we have been most clearly told :—

एषा दिवः दुहिता पुरस्तात् ऋतस्य पन्थाम् अनु एति साधु प्रजानती इव ।

(Eṣā Divaḥ Duhitā purastāt ritasya panthām anu eti sādhu prajānatī iva.)

'This Dawn, the daughter of the Sky, always moves straight (well) in front of the Sun along his path, aware of his desire as it were.' The conception of the Dawn, moving, *though unseen*, in a perpendicular plane over the head of the observer, from the east to the west, has, therefore, absolutely nothing unusual in it. Mr. Tilak's apprehensions are, therefore, entirely groundless and hypothetical. The Dawn referred to here must needs, therefore, be an Indian Dawn.

These remarks also apply, with equal force and cogency, to the second of the above-mentioned Riks. Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra is the author of that Rik. And in it the Dawn has been represented *as having been actually seen by Viśvāmitra on the horizon*, and, at the same time, as going round the earth along the same path. The very expression " ऊर्ध्वा तिष्ठसि " (ūrdhvā tiṣṭhasi), 'thou art on high,' most conclusively proves that the Dawn described here must also be regarded as an Indian Dawn, pure and simple.

The Supposed Traces of the Polar Day in the Rig-Veda.

We shall now consider if the Rig-Veda really contains any traces of the long Polar day. " The most explicit statement

about the long day," says Mr. Tilak, "is found in X, 138, 3. In the said Rik, the Sun is said to have unyoked his car, not at the sunset or on the horizon, but *in the midst of heaven*, there to rest for some time. A long halt of the Sun in the midst of the heaven is here clearly described; and we must take it to refer to the long day in the Arctic region."

Now, here also, we are extremely sorry to observe, Mr. Tilak has, in the interest of a theory, been entirely led astray. The Rik in question runs as follows :—

वि सूर्यः मध्ये अमुचत् रथं दिवः विदत् दासाय प्रतिमानम् आर्यः ।
दृढानि पिप्रोः असुरस्य मायिनः इन्द्रः व्यास्यत् चक्रवान् ऋजिस्वना ॥

(Vi Sūryaḥ madhye amucat ratham divaḥ vidat Dāsāya
pratimānam Āryaḥ.
Dṛḍhāni Piproḥ asurasya māyinaḥ Indraḥ vyāsyat
cakṛvān Ṛjisvanā.)

' The Sun unyoked his car in the mid-sky. The Arya got an opportunity for retaliation against the Dasa. Indra, with the aid of King Ṛjisvan, overthrew the strong forts of Pipru, the conjuring Asura.'

Now, the expression, "**वि सूर्यः मध्ये अमुचत् रथं दिवः**" (Ví Surya madhye amucat ratham divaḥ), ' the Sun unyoked his car in the mid-sky,' does, no doubt, clearly indicate a " long halt of of the Sun " in the mid-sky. But what is "**दिवः मध्ये**" (divaḥ madhye) ' in the midst of the heaven ' ? It certainly means *the sky over the head of the observer*. The Rik, under notice, therefore, clearly tells us that the Sun came to a standstill in the mid-sky, over the head of the observer. But in the Polar regions, such a position of the Sun is physically impossible. During the long Polar day of six months' duration, the Sun must, on the contrary, always be seen lying in an inclined

position, and never directly over the head of the observer. And hence 'the halt of the Sun in the mid-sky,' mentioned in the Rik, under notice, can never be taken as referring to any Arctic phenomenon whatever. And hence Mr. Tilak's so-called "explicit statement" about a long Polar day is, after all, a myth, pure and simple.

Again, the said Rik distinctly tells us that the afore-said halt of the Sun took place when Indra was engaged in demolishing the forts of Pipru, with the King Ṛjisvan, and that, having taken advantage of the increased length of the day caused by the afore-said halt of the Sun, Indra and Ṛjisvan succeeded in overthrowing the forts of Pipru. Now, Ṛjisvan was, evidently, an Indian (Aryan) king. Evidently, therefore, the said halt of the Sun, no matter what it means, must needs be an Indian phenomenon, pure and simple.

But what does the Sun's supposed halt in the mid-sky really mean? Does it refer to any mysterious and extra-ordinary event? Or is it merely a figurative description of a very common and ordinary occurrence? A moment's reflection will show that the Sun's supposed halt in the mid-sky, and his descent from the car, mentioned in the Rik, is only a poetical representation of an every day optical phenomenon, seen in a country like India. Here in India, every morning the Sun is first seen on the eastern horizon, seated on his golden car, as it were. The Solar car is, however, soon seen fast moving upwards. But on reaching the mid-sky, at noon, the Solar car seems to stop altogether, and the Sun shines more brightly than before, as if descended from the car to rest for a while. Now, this apparent daily halt of the Sun in the mid-sky, at noon, has evidently been poetically described in the Rik, under notice, as the Sun's descent from his car. Evidently, therefore, this Rik also deals with an Indian phenomenon, and has absolutely no reference to the long Polar day.

Another Supposed Invulnerable Point.

We shall now consider another of Mr. Tilak's supposed invulnerable points ; and this shall be our last. This is what Mr. Tilak tells us on this point :—

"In the Rig-Veda, I, 24. 10, the constellation of Ursa Major (Rikṣas) is described as being placed 'high' (uccā) ; and as this can only refer to the altitude of the constellation, it follows that it must have been over the head of the observer," which is possible only in circumpolar regions. "The said Rik, therefore," adds Mr. Tilak, "unmistakably refers to a Polar phenomenon." But here as well, as we shall see presently, Mr. Tilak's conclusion is hopelessly weak and untenable. The Rik in question runs thus :—

अमी ये ऋक्षाः निहितासः उच्चा नक्तं दद्दृश्रे कुह चित् दिवा इयुः ?
अदब्धानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि विचाकशत् चन्द्रमा नक्तम् एति ॥

(Amī ye ṛkṣāḥ nihitāsaḥ uccā naktaṃ dadṛśe kuha cit
divā iyuḥ :
Adavdhāni Varuṇasya vratāni vicākaśat candramā
naktam eti.)

'Those stars (or constellation known as Saptarṣi Mandal), that are placed on high, are visible at night. But where do they go during the day ? The ways of Varuṇa are inviolable. At his commands the moon shines at night.'

Now, the word "ऋक्षाः" (Ṛkṣā) means both stars in general as well as the constellation Saptarṣi Mandal ; and Sāyaṇa has mentioned both these meanings. But of the two senses, here the first alone, evidently, fits in with the context. In this very Rik there is also a reference to the rising of the moon. Again, in the 8th Rik of the same Sūkta, we have been told :—

उरु हि राजा वरुणः चकार सूर्याय पन्थाम् अनु एतवे ।

(Uru hi rājā Varuṇaḥ cákāra Suryāya panthām anu etave.)

'Verily the King Varuṇa has made the wide path for the Sun to follow.'

'The Sun, the Moon, and the Stars obey the great Varuṇa and rise and set at his commands'—This is, evidently, the meaning of the Riks. The word "ऋक्षाः" (Ṛkṣā), in the Rik mentioned above, must needs, therefore, be taken to mean stars in general rather than any particular group of them; and in this sense alone the word properly fits in with the context. And if taken in this sense, Mr. Tilak's contention stands nowhere.

But even if we take the word in Mr. Tilak's sense, still his conclusion does not at all follow. The word 'उच्चा' (Uccā) simply means 'on high,' 'in the sky above'; and Sāyaṇa also has taken the word in this sense. This word has, moreover, been frequently used, in the Rig-Veda, exactly in this sense. So the word, 'Uccā,' simply means 'on high,' and it cannot be treated as identical with 'over head.' Mr. Tilak's conclusion, therefore, does not at all follow.

Again, in the Rik, in question, the words "नक्तम्" (Naktam), and "दिवा" (Divā), have been used side by side. And this clearly shows that the state of things referred to here applies to a country where days and nights follow one another in quick succession. In fact, the exclamation,

'अमी ये ऋक्षाः नक्तं दृश्ये कुह चित् दिवा इयुः'?

"those stars (or members of Saptarṣi Mandal) are seen at night; but where do they go during the day?"—becomes entirely meaningless in a country where day and night lasts each for six months at a stretch. Similarly, the expression, 'अनु एतवे' (anu etave), 'to follow,' in the passage 'वरुणः चकार सूर्याय पन्थाम् अनु एतवे' (Varuṇaḥ cakāra Suryāya panthām anu etave), 'Varuṇa made the path for the Sun to follow' also loses all its significance, when applied to a country, where the

Sun shines continuously for six months at a stretch. 'अनु एतवे,' 'to follow,' evidently implies a rapid succession of day and night. And the phenomena described here must needs, therefore, be purely Indian in character.

Again, Ṛṣi Shunaḥśepa is the author of the Rik in question. And the word 'अमी' (amī), 'those,' is applied to objects,—here stars in general or members of a particular group of them, as the case may be,—directly seen at a distance. In the Rik in question, we accordingly find the Indian Ṛṣi Sunaḥśepa, in some remote past, to have looked at the sky one night, and thus exclaimed with wonderment:—

"अमी ये ऋक्षा: नक्तं दृष्टगे कुह चित् दिवा इयु: ?"

'Those stars (or members of the constellation Ṛkṣā), that are visible at night, where do they go during the day?' An Indian phenomenon must have clearly been referred to here. The very use of the word, 'अमी' (amī), 'those,' unmistakably proves that the things signified by it were then actually seen by the Ṛṣi. The Rik, under notice, therefore, cannot have any reference whatever to any Polar phenomenon. Thus Mr. Tilak's contention entirely falls to the ground.

Mr. Tilak is an erudite scholar. But unfortunately, he has, in the treatment of his subject, shown an unscholarlike contempt for the context, and the history of the times, and, in the interest of a theory, has, with the magic of his imagination, endeavoured, in vain, to build up a huge mountain out of a mere mole-hill; and the results have been simply disappointing and disastrous. The present writer met Mr. Tilak in London in 1920, and presented him a copy of his work, "The Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda: an Untenable Position." And it is very interesting to note that the erudite scholar, now silent in death, was fully satisfied with the present writer's criticisms of his work, and most frankly admitted the validity and correctness of every one of them.

Professor Macdonell's New Claim Examined.

The present writer, in his "Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda : an Untenable Position," published some years ago, briefly discussed and pointed out some of the historical blunders committed by Prof. Macdonell, together with the blunders committed by the late Mr. B. G. Tilak in his "Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda." In the preparation of the articles, of which the afore-said work was a reprint, it was not, however, possible for the present writer to consult the Vedic Index published in that very year ; and, in dealing with Prof. Macdonell's blunders, he was obliged to gather his materials from the Professor's History of Sanskrit Literature. But the Vedic Index also abounds, as has clearly been demonstrated in these pages, in gross and palpable historical blunders ; and, what is still more surprising, some of these are mere repetitions of Professor Macdonell's old blunders. But unable to extricate himself from his extremely ugly position, Professor Macdonell has, in a Review of our said work, in the J. R. A. S. (January, 1921), endeavoured to hoodwink the reading public and to silence all honest criticism by all sorts of vituperations and insinuations. Mr. Dutt "seems to be fully convinced," says he, in his Review (p. 129), "that his conjectures on the obscure question of the 'Five Tribes' represent historical certainty.....Mr. Dutt asserts that the present writer is, in this connection, 'entirely wrong,' is 'guilty of unpardonable confusion,' has committed 'another serious blunder,' and that 'Dr. Macdonell's account is full of gross historical blunders' (Arctic Home : Untenable Position, pp. 33-37). These strictures are directed against the very brief account of the tribes of the Rig-Veda given in my History of Sanskrit Literature, which was published twenty years ago (1900). Some of my suggestions there put forward *may be erroneous.* But perhaps Mr. Dutt is not aware that in criticising any writer's views, he ought to take the latest

statements of these views into consideration." "Such a statement," adds Professor Macdonell, "is to be found in Professor Keith and my Vedic Index.....in which all the *evidences concerning the 'Five Tribes' and their relation with King Sudās are collected and discussed*" (the italics are mine).

The above extract is an excellent index of Professor Macdonell's mentality. In his History of Sanskrit Literature, he has, as already noticed, completely distorted the history of the great War of the Ten Kings, and has described the Bharatas as "the enemies of Sudās," and as "defeated by Sudās and his Tṛtsus," and the 'Five Tribes' as "allied with Sudās," and has also committed many other equally gross and palpable blunders. And yet he simply tells us, in the above extract, that some of his statements in that work "*may be erroneous.*" *But why "may be," and not "have been"?* In the concluding lines of the above extract his mentality is still more in evidence. *Here the learned Professor has advanced a new claim, without even the faintest of efforts to substantiate its validity, and has pretended to suggest that in the Vedic Index his old blunders, if any, have all been corrected, and all available light has been thrown on the problems in question, and that the present writer, having judged him by his earlier utterances, has done him a grave injustice.* But we have carefully examined the Vedic Index in these pages. And it is evident from what we have shown *that Professor Macdonell's new claim is all moonshine and a mere make-believe.* In the foregoing pages, we have examined his latest utterances on the subject, and culled, with care, some specimens of the "ripest fruits" Professor Macdonell and his co-workers in the field, have kept in store for the students of the Rig-Vedic History. And we leave it to Professor Macdonell himself to judge if he and his comrades have reasons to be proud of them. The much vaunted results of 'the Vedic research' have, we are constrained to observe, not unoften proved as unavailing as a broken reed, or the guidance of a blind

seeking to lead another blind. And in many cases, including the cases pointed out in these pages, the work done in the past badly needs complete overhauling.

Disputed Interpretations of Some Riks.

But there are men who cannot take criticisms and defeats in a scholarly and sportsmanlike spirit. Though vanquished, they will argue, and often argue with increasing heat and tenacity. And the result is that when arguments fail, they resort to subterfuges, insinuations, nay even to vituperations. The very halting manner in which Professor Macdonell has advanced his new claim, in the above extract, clearly shows that he himself is also fully conscious of its utter hollowness. He, accordingly, feels that he very badly needs something more tangible and positive to ward off his opponent's 'blows,' and to produce a contrary impression. And on the plea of a few so-called "mistranslations," in connection with some minor and trivial side-issues, he has, in his own characteristic way, at once rushed to the conclusion that the present writer's efforts to extract history from the Rig-veda have proved completely futile! "What strikes me most forcibly both in the Arctic Home, and in Mr. Dutt's criticism of it," exclaims the learned Professor, in his Review, with an air of triumph, "is the futility of efforts to extract history from the Rig-Veda without possessing the necessary philological equipment. Historical conclusions of any value can be based solely on exact translations, which can only be produced by intimate familiarity with the grammar, the syntax, the metre, the accent, the vocabulary and the mythology of the Rig-Veda. Neither Mr. Tilak nor his critic shows any such qualifications." (*Ibid*, p. 128.) Here is another index of Professor Macdonell's mentality. The opening lines of the above extract contains a mere truism, which nobody has any interest to dispute or deny. But a careful perusal of the contents of these pages,

as well as of those of our work referred to above will fully convince every impartial and honest enquirer that our "efforts to extract history from the Rig-Veda" have not at all proved futile, and that, therefore, Professor Macdonell's diatribe and harangue does not affect us even in the least. In fact, in the face of the historical conclusions we have extracted from the Rig-Veda, no honest reader can, we are sure, attach any importance whatsoever to Professor Macdonell's heroics and make-believes. *The learned Professor has, on the problems discussed in these pages, woven, in the name of history, a veritable cob-web of his own. The less, therefore, does he speak of the conditions and requirements of valid historical conclusions the better.*

But what are, after all, the so-called "mistranslations" which have made Professor Macdonell so wild and vociferous? He has specifically mentioned four instances of so-called "mistranslations" in our work, which are as follows :—

1. "The line, Urviṃ gavyutiṃ abhayaṃ kṛdhi naḥ (VII, 77, 4), is translated (in Mr. Dutt's work), 'render our pasture lands free from fear.' Here," observes the learned Professor gravely, "one of the primary rules of grammar is infringed, an adjective in the neuter (abhayaṃ) being made to agree with a feminine substantive (gavyutiṃ). The correct translation is, 'make wide pasture, (make) safety for us.'" But Professor Macdonell has here evidently counted without his hosts. We are surprised to see that it has not at all occurred to him, even after it has been pointed out by us, that the word, abhayaṃ, has been used here as *an adverb, modifying the verb, kṛdhi*, in the sense of "so as to be free from fear," *abhayaṃ yathā syāt tathā kṛdhi*. The great commentator Sāyaṇa has taken the term exactly in this sense. Our interpretation of the passage also accords much better with the context than the one suggested by Professor Macdonell. In the Rig-Vedic age, the non-Aryans, vanquished in open war, often came out of their hiding-places, in the darkness of the night, and attacked

their invaders, and, whenever possible, plundered their food and cattle. The Ṛṣis, being strangers in a strange land, were unable to meet these nocturnal attacks, and punish their enemies as long as the darkness lasted. On the approach of the Dawn, however, they took up arms and killed or drove away the enemies. And this explains, as already noticed, why in the Rig-vedic age, the Ṛṣis were so terribly afraid of the darkness of the night, and why they often so eagerly prayed for the return of the Dawn, and for protection during the night. This also explains, as also noticed before, why the Dawn has been described in the Rig-Veda as "the scatterer of the enemies," yāvayaddveṣāḥ, and also as "the despatcher of the chariots of war," jīrā rathānām. The passage, under notice, contains a prayer of this description. "Shine forth, O Dawn," the Ṛṣi prays here, "scattering the enemies, and render our pasture lands free from fear." Evidently, therefore, our rendering of the passage is perfectly correct; and Professor Macdonell himself is wrong. In Tait. Up. (II, 7) we also meet with an exactly similar use of the word, abhayaṃ, similarly followed by a noun in the feminine gender, pratiṣṭhāṃ. The passage runs thus :—Yadā hi evaiṣaḥ etasmin.....anilaye abhayaṃ pratiṣṭhāṃ vindate : atha saḥ abhayaṃ gato bhavati. "When he (the worshipper) *fearlessly secures his station* in the Infinite Spirit," we are told here (Yadā.....abhayaṃ pratiṣṭhām vindate), "he obtains fearlessness." Here Śankara has also taken the word, "abhayaṃ," as an adverb modifying the verb, "vindate." *In the Rik in question the word "abhayam," has similarly been used as an adverb, modifying the verb "kṛdhi."* But does Professor Macdonell mean to say that both Sāyaṇa and Śankara are also ignorant of "the primary rules of grammar"? He may say whatever he likes. But nobody will attach any value to his *ipse-dixits*.

Dr. A. C. Das has, in his Rig-Vedic India, advanced a most astounding hypothesis in this connection. The Sapta-Sind

he tells us, was *the original home of the Aryans; and the term, "black-skinned Dāsas," so frequently mentioned in the Rig-veda, says he, "does not refer, as wrongly" supposed, to the existence of black-skinned non-Aryans of the Dravidian or Kolerian stocks in Sapta-Sindhu," but to the savage nomadic Aryans "who, on account of their savage state and want of culture," were called "black" by their "advanced brethren"* (pp. 121-123). This is a most extravagant hypothesis. In the Rig-Veda the Ṛṣis describe themselves as "white-skinned," (VII, 33, 1) and their enemies, the original children of the soil, as "black-skinned" (IV, 16, 16). Some of these latter have also been described as "of deformed face" or "without language," anāsaḥ (V, 29, 10), as "copper-coloured," and as "Yelling Piśācīs" (I. 133, 5), or as "yelling like dogs" (I, 18 ', 4). In R. V. I, 130, 8, Indra is praised for having killed the black-skinned "by taking out their black-skin"; and in VII, 5, 6, Agni is praised for having expelled the Dasyus "*from their homes for the benefit of the Aryans.*" Passages like these clearly prove that the Sapta-Sindhu was not the original home of the Aryans, and that the Aryans came and settled here as conquerors. The expression, "you have, O Fire, expelled the Dasyus from their homes for the benefit of the Aryans," alone most conclusively proves the utter absurdity of Dr. Das's contention (also see IV, 26, 2; VI, 25, 2)

2. "The rendering of the line, apa dveṣaḥ maghonī duhitā divo Uṣā ucchad apa sridhaḥ (', 48, 8), is," observes Professor Macdonell, "the wealthy goddess Dawn (Maghoni may be taken to mean either 'wealthy' or 'beauteous,' as Sāyaṇa himself points out), the daughter of the Sky, scatters the enemies, and oppressors. This should be 'May the beauteous daughter of Heaven, Dawn, drive away (with her light) hatred, away hostilities.' The form 'Ucchad' is, of course not indicative, but injunctive." Here also the learned Oxford Professor has overshot his mark. The verb, 'Ucchad,' though injunctive in form, *is here indicative, and not*

injunctive ; and the past tense form hasbeen used here for the present tense, " Cchandasi luṇ, loṇ, lit iti, vartamāne loṇ." "Vahulaṃ Cchandasi" amāṇjoge api iti adāgomābhāvaḥ," as Sāyaṇa puts it. The expression, āpa ucchad, accordingly, means here, to use Sāyaṇa's own word, " apavarjayati," scatters away. In the preceding part of this very Rik, the expression, jyotiṣkṛnoti, " dispels darkness," occurs. And both the verbs, "dispels darkness," jyotiṣkṛnoti, and "scatters away" (the enemies), apa ucchad, have the Dawn as their common subject. Evidently, therefore, here also we are correct, and Professor Macdonell himself is wrong. Moreover, the words, 'dveṣaḥ' and 'sṛdhaḥ,' have clearly been used here, as Sāyaṇa also has pointed out, *as abstract for the concrete*, in the sense of 'the enemies' and 'the oppressors.' Is it not, therefore, most ridiculous to treat our interpretations, as wrong, and to interpret them as 'hatred' and 'hostilities,' as the learned Professor has done ?

3. "The hemistich, 'apa tye tāyavo yathā nakṣatrā yanti aktubhiḥ' (1, 50, 2), is rendered," says Prof. Macdonell, " those well-known thieves (tye tāyavaḥ) disperse with the night like the stars'....The passage must be translated 'away, like thieves, go those stars with the night." The difference is very slight. But yet why should the word 'tye,' " those," be at all taken with the word 'stars,' nakṣatrā, occurring in the last part of the expression, instead of being taken with 'thieves,' tāyavaḥ, immediately following it ? The expression, 'tye tāyavaḥ,' " those thieves," alone concerns us here. And the very use of the epithet 'those,' tye, here clearly shows that the nocturnal depredations of the thieves in question were of frequent occurrence then, and that it was these that made the Rig-vedic Ṛṣis so terribly afraid of the darkness of the night. Evidently, therefore, the 'historical conclusion' we have drawn from these and similar other passages stands entirely unshaken. And Professor Macdonell himself has also been obliged frankly to admit the validity of

this conclusion in his Review (p. 129). Why then so much fuss about nothing ?

4. And lastly, "'chakram iva.....āvavṛtsva' (III, 61, 3) is translated 'thou movest like a wheel'; it should be 'roll hither like a wheel.'" We accept the criticism. The error was evidently due to oversight. But is it not most ridiculous to suggest that this has, even in the slightest degree, actually affected our historical conclusion ? What concerns us here is the apparent circular movement of the Dawn referred to in the passage. The Dawn is described here as actually seen by Viśvāmitra on the eastern horizon, and as invoked by him to move round (over the head) like a wheel (like the wheel of a chariot). The present writer has, accordingly, concluded that the Dawn referred to in this Rik must needs be "*an Indian Dawn*" *and not* "*an Arctic Dawn*," as Mr. Tilak has erroneously held (for details see "Arctic Home : an Untenable Position," pp. 85-86) ; and the slight inaccuracy in the rendering of the passage, concerning the mood of the verb, cannot, even in the least, affect this conclusion. Why then so much noise about nothing ?

PROFESSOR MACDONELL ENTANGLED IN "IGNORATIO ELENCHI."

Professor Macdonell has, in his long Review, referred to above, nowhere ventured directly to question or challenge the validity of even a single of our historical conclusions, whether drawn against Mr. Tilak or against his own self. We have already referred to Prof. Macdonell's unwilling admission of the many historical blunders in his History of Sanskrit Literature pointed out by us. As regards the validity of our historical conclusions against Mr. Tilak, he is, however, more frank in his admission. "The refutation of so far-fetched a theory (as the Arctic Home theory of Mr. Tilak)," says Professor Macdonell, in his Review under notice (p. 127), "presents no great difficulties ; but as far as I am aware, no Western Vedic Scholar has ever

attempted the task." "*It is, however, satisfactory,*" *adds he,* "*that an Indian should have undertaken it; for his countrymen may thus be more easily prevented from accepting the extraordinary conclusions of the Arctic Home. Mr. Dutt* (*in his* "*Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda: An Untenable Position*") *has in reliance on sound and common-sense arguments satisfactorily accomplished his purpose.*" (The italics are mine.) This is a frank admission of the soundness of our historical conclusions drawn against Mr. Tilak. He has also indirectly admitted, as we have seen, the validity of our conclusions drawn against himself. Thus, Professor Macdonell has, in his Review in question, accepted, directly or otherwise, every one of our historical conclusions as valid. *But the Oxford Professor fails to see that it is one thing to point out hair-splitting differences, and* "*mistranslations,*" *fancied or real, often more fancied than real, in the rendering of isolated passages here and there, and that it is quite a different thing to show that these differences and so-called* "*mistranslations*" *have actually vitiated the historical conclusions drawn in particular connections. The latter is a thing to be proved, and can, under no circumstances, be assumed merely from the supposed presence of the former.* And yet Professor Macdonell has, throughout his long Review in question, been actually guilty of such grotesque assumptions, *and has thus been unconsciously involved in the vicious fallacy of* Ignoratio Elenchi. All the afore-said four passages, alleged to have been mistranslated by us, have been introduced in our work in connection with the examination of Mr. Tilak's position. And according to the learned Professor's own frank admission, the historical conclusions we have drawn against Mr. Tilak have been quite valid, and *based* "*on sound and common-sense arguments.*" In the face of such a clear admission, what does, we ask, Professor Macdonell gain by pointing out hair-splitting differences and so-called "mistranslations," in the rendering of isolated passages here and there? *To characterise*

our historical conclusions as based "on sound and common-sense arguments," and in the same breath, to describe our efforts to extract history from the Rig-Veda as "futile" is indeed a most monstrous procedure! The learned Oxford Professor has, in the extract quoted above, grown very furious and noisy. *But unfortunately he forgets that noise and eloquence is one thing, and logic and sense is quite a different thing, and that even 'cart-loads' of sound and fury cannot be the substitute for a grain of sense and reason.* Noise and fury may, for a time, prevail with a child or a fool, but reason alone commands conviction and respect.

Professor Macdonell's mentality is still more in evidence in his criticisms of the typographical errors that have crept into the transliteration portion of our afore-said work. The articles of which the said work is a reprint were published in the "Dacca Review" (Dacca), in 1914-16. Unfortunately, however, the Dacca Review press possessed no types for diacritical marks. And this has made a mess of the entire transliteration portion of our work. Moreover, neither at the time of the publication of the articles, nor in the preparation of the reprints, we were given any opportunity for looking over the proofs; and this has been clearly stated in the Preface of the work. And the printer's devils had necessarily an entirely free hand in the execution of their task. But a drowning man will eagerly catch at a straw. These typographical errors have, accordingly, given Prof. Macdonell a new base, and a very strong base he seems to think, for launching his last frantic attack against us in his Review. "Mr. Dutt's inaccuracy," exclaims he in this connection, "is very conspicuous in the transliteration of the numerous stanzas quoted from the Rig-Veda. These are printed without diacritical marks, without accents..... ..Druhyus becomes Druhsus (p. 34) ... .Tṛtsus becomes Tristus (p. 30)... .....The river Śutudri is variously mentioned as the Satudri (p. 25), Satadru (p. 3) and Sutadri (p. 10), the river Paruṣṇī is at least five times

called Purushni....." (J. R. A. S., January, 1921, pp. 130-131). Now, the very nature of these errors clearly shows—and even a blind man can see it,—that the errors were entirely due to the ill-equipment of the press and the printer's devils. But such a conclusion will not suit Professor Macdonell's purpose. They are, accordingly, brandished, in spite of his prior admissions to the contrary, with shouts of 'hurrah,' as a 'clear proof' of the present writer's want of scholarship, as well as of the unsoundness of the historical conclusions drawn by him! But what have such errors, we ask, at all to do with scholarship? Transliteration is a purely mechanical art; and even a duffer can acquire proficiency in it in a week's time. Why then so much fuss, we ask once again, about nothing? Professor Macdonell, however, in his own characteristic way, thinks that he has, in these typographical errors in the transliteration portion of our work, discovered a 'clear proof' of our want of scholarship as well as of the unsoundness of our historical conclusions !! Forgetful of his prior admissions, he, accordingly, repeats his diatribe, and exclaims that his detailed criticism has shown "how foolish it is for students of the Rig-Veda, who do not possess the necessary equipment, to engage themselves prematurely in 'research,' which they otherwise delude themselves into thinking 'historical,' and what little value there can be in scholarship which lacks the fundamental qualities of consistency and exactness." (*Ibid*, p. 131.)

Professor Macdonell's heroics will, we are sure, deceive no wary reader. But nevertheless we must say in reply that his criticisms have proved absolutely nothing against us. He has, no doubt, pointed out a few so-called "mistranslations," and some errors in transliteration in our work. But he has nowhere, in his long Review, made even the faintest of efforts to show that these have, in any way, affected the soundness of any of our historical conclusions. He has, on the contrary, directly or otherwise, admitted the validity of every one of our conclusions, while directly dealing with the same. *But in*

the very next moment, he has conveniently forgotten clean his prior admissions, grown furious at trifles and forthwith declared the very same conclusions as totally rotten and unsound! This is, to say the least, a most monstrous procedure.

Evidently, therefore, Prof. Macdonell's criticisms have proved absolutely nothing against us. And we have stated our position quite clearly in the foregoing pages. All they have, on the contrary, proved is *that his own Review has been a monstrous production, vitiated throughout by deliberate and wanton deviations from the real points at issue, and reckless advancement of false and fantastic claims, not backed even by the faintest of efforts to establish them, by grotesque assumptions and vicious fallacies, as well as by glaring inconsistencies and self-contradictions.* Having assiduously sown and grown thistles, even an Oxford Professor has no right to expect, much less to claim, a rich harvest. And yet Professor Macdonell has actually advanced such a preposterous claim. And as to the " value " of his own ' historical ' conclusions on the points under notice, the less said the better. *The learned Oxford Professor has, in his aforesaid Review, endeavoured to hide his failures under a veil of rhetorics. But the mask is too transparent to deceive anybody, and to afford the Oxford savant the protection he so eagerly seeks.*

In conclusion, we feel constrained to observe, once again, that the much-vaunted results of ' the Vedic Research ' have not unoften proved as unavailing as a broken reed, and that in many cases, including the cases discussed here, the work done in the past badly needs complete overhauling.

Aspects of Bengali Society

CHAPTER XII. [1]

EDUCATION.

(From the Pre-Mahomedan to the Mahomedan Period.)

A.

During the latter period of the Hindu and the earlier part of Moslem rule the general system of education in Bengal was one which was greatly suitable to the existing conditions of society. Although education had received a great impetus at the hands of the State in the days of Buddhism, as a consequence of which monasteries had become great receptacles of learning, it deteriorated to some extent with the decay of Buddhism and the advent of Pauranik Hinduism. However, the Hindu Rajas who undertook to revive the old Vedic rites, became great patrons of Sanskrit learning—henceforth almost exclusively monopolised by the Brahmins. With the advent of the Moslems, the Buddhistic Universities with their huge libraries became extinct owing to the destructive spirit of the followers of Islam in dealing with all institutions of the Kafirs. The state support being withdrawn, education now depended mainly upon the village communities, rich people and learned men who kept the torch of culture burning as best as they could by their own efforts. The following pages will show the condition of education not only of the Mahomedan period but also of the age prior to it. A considerable period is covered by the subject, though we fail to assign a definite chronological datum in all cases, for the obvious reason of lack of historical materials.

There were, as usual, everywhere, two courses of studies—one Primary and the other Higher. Education supplementing the primary, was somewhat different in its type from that of the present-day system. This kind of education was almost invariably technical and vocational suiting the tastes and capabilities of people of different castes.

[1] In continuation of the Chapters published in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XIV.

The course for elementary education consisted of easy primers. The period of study was perhaps not fixed for this course but together with the secondary or advanced course it would extend normally up to seven years. The elementary course probably covered not more than three years as is the practice now-a-days. The ceremony of Hāte-Khaḍi ('হাতে খড়ি') formed an important and interesting part when a boy first entered his student-life.

The following were the writing materials :—

(1) কুটা—A small piece of straw or reed.
(2) খড়ি—Chalk.
(3) ধূলা—Dust or sand.
(4) কঞ্চি—Thin twig of bamboo.
(5) মস্যাধার—Inkpot.
(6) কলাপাতা—Banana-leaf.
(7) তালপাতা—Palmyra-leaf.
(8) ভূর্জ্জপত্র—The bark of Bhūrjja tree.
(9) তুলট কাগজ—Stained paper dressed with sulphate of arsenic.

The slate, pencil, as well as the black-board were unknown in the primary schools of old Bengal before the advent of the English. In place of a black-board, a student had to write on the floor (of the class-room) strewn over with sand. The first stage of writing would be completed in this way : a piece of straw would be used as the pen. In Dayārām's 'Sāradā-Maṅgal' we learn the story of a prince who was once put to such a great stress that he had to perform the servile function of supplying sand and straw to students in a school-room. From the nature of his work, fellow-students nick-named him "Dhulā-Kuṭyā" (ধুলা-কুট্যা), *i.e.*, 'supplier of sand and straw.'[1] Ordinarily, amongst various punishments inflicted

[1] (*i*) *Cf.* the condition of a poor student in America at the present day. He will do the work of a common servant in his college and thereby meet the expenses of his studies. President Garfield of America was one of such students.

(*ii*) The following shows the spirit of just indignation with which a student looked upon the notorious rod of the pedagogue from which not even a prince was exempted :

পাঁজি খড়ি খুন্সি পুথি, পাপিষ্ঠ বেতের বাড়ি, পাইলে ফেলাই সরোবরে।

(Fain would I throw into water of the tank, the accursed books, the pens and the teacher's rod.)

(*iii*) See Dr. Sen's "ঘরের কথা ও যুগ সাহিত্য" in which "চন্দ্রকালীর বাল্য ইতিহাস" (the Early Days of Chandrakālī) describes in vivid terms, the student-life of old days.

for inattention, the above, shewing the great humiliation to which a prince was subjected, will illustrate one of the reformatory systems then in vogue.

Having finished writing with straw or reed on sand or dust, a student would attempt writing with chalk (খড়ি). With this also one had to write on the floor. In the beginning letters of bigger size would be attempted until the hand would be set in a way fit to write smaller letters.

At this stage banana and palmyra leaves as also 'Bhūrjja-Patra' (ভূর্জ্জপত্র) would serve the purpose of paper. On them the pieces of reeds [1] or bamboo-twigs or quills of birds like those of peacocks and geese as are seen even now, would be used as pens to write with. The ink used on the occasion would be made locally with 'Haritakī' (the yellow myrobalan), Bahe.ā (the beleric myrobalan) and the soot of country-made iron-lamp. This ink would last an incredibly long period—even a few centuries.[2]

On further progress regular paper would be used for writing purposes. This paper would be made locally of cotton by a class of men generally known as the 'Kāgajī' (paper-maker). A folio of this paper made at Bikrampur in the District of Dacca, would be half a cubit in breadth and a cubit and a half in length. The colour was light yellow and the paper would be called 'Tulat' paper (*lit.* paper made of cotton).[3] Though China is credited with the invention of paper very early, still the credit of Bengal lies in the use of paper, perhaps of her own invention, and unquestionably of her own manufacture. Bengal used from very early days either the paper of her own make or contented herself with the use of leaves which were both durable and suitable for the purpose.

The old 'Punthis' or manuscripts would consist of either the Palmyra-leaves [4] or 'Tulaṭ' paper and would be preserved in cases

[1] *Cf.* the pen made of the stem of papyrus plant in ancient Egypt. See Breasted's Egypt.

[2] See History of Bikrampur (বিক্রমপুরের ইতিহাস) written in Bengali by Jogendra-nath Gupta, pp. 330-333.

[3] See the above work.

[4] In the interior of Bengal banana-leaves and palmyra-leaves as well as 'Tulaṭ' paper are still in use.

Cf. the practice in Orissa where palmyra-leaves have been favoured in place of paper from time immemorial.

known as the 'Khuṅgis' (খুঙ্গি), which were considered indispensable when the punthis were to be carried from place to place.

About the course of primary studies it may be said that it consisted generally of a knowledge of the alphabet, rudimentary knowledge in spelling, reading and rather a working knowledge of practical Arithmetic. The latter consisted of the tables known as 'Kaṛākiyā' (a table of cowry-reckoning), 'Gandākiā' (the table of gaṇḍās; a method of counting by gaṇḍās or fours), Kāthākāli,[1] Bighākāli,[2] etc. With the advent of the Mahomedans in this country, Persian also formed an important part of the curriculum. The institutions for studies in Persian were called the Maktabs. The Persian teacher or the Munshi would take up his class in the morning and evening and the Guru would take up his at noon.[3]

A pāṭhśālā would either have a separate building of its own or would sit in some spacious building attached to a rich man's house or even under a tree if accommodation of that sort would not be available in a village.[4] The indigenous schools provided no chairs, no benches, no stools and no black-boards. A student had to bring his own mat, an inkpot and a pen for his use, while the teacher would sit on a footstool, being surrounded by his pupils. The arrangement was suitable to a poor country like India from

[1] Kāṭhā—A measure of land, which is, in lineal measure, 4 cubits or 6 feet, but in square measure 320 sq cubits or 720 sq. ft. In surveying, ascertaining the area of a plot in kāṭhās is called Kāthākāli, while the table of kāṭhās is called Kāthākiyā.

[2] Bighākāli—In surveying, ascertaining the area of a plot of land in Bighās is called Bighākāli. A bighā is a lineal measure, 80 cubits long or about 40 yds.; also a square measure, 80 cubits square, *i.e.*, about 1,600 square yds. or nearly one-third of an acre.

[3] See Jogendranath Gupta's বিক্রমপুরের ইতিহাস, pp. 330-333.

[4] A pāṭhśālā would sometimes be built at some cost and made artistic in construction. See the Mahābhārata by Dvija Abhirām, 'বিচিত্র চৌখণ্ডী শাস্ত্রশালা.' (The schoolroom was square in size and made very artistic in appearance.)

For simplicity of old schools *cf.* the age of the 'Ṛṣis,' when a 'Brahmachārin' was educated in the house of his preceptor.

Though in the ordinary pāṭhśālās, the boys sat squatting on the floor, yet in higher schools attached to a rich man's mansion, a sort of wooden gallery was raised for students. In the poem of Sakhishona by Fakir Ram Kavi-bhushan we find that the princess who sat on a higher place in the gallery dropped her pen below which was picked up by the son of the police prefect who sat in a lower bench of the gallery leading to a humorous conversation which latterly led to courtship.

the economic point of view. Though primary education was not free as is now seen in many Western countries, still the cost was not at all burdensome. Fees were generally paid in kind. Occasional presentation of kitchen vegetables to the guru or helping him in his domestic work or payment in kind (or money) in the religious ceremonies of his house, were considered enough for a student.

In one respect the Pāṭhśālās of Bengal bore resemblance to those of the sister-institutions of Europe. It was with regard to punishments. The kindergarten system is a quite recent innovation. There was a time in every country, whether Occidental or Oriental, when the teacher would implicitly follow the maxim of "spare the rod and spoil the child" with extreme harshness. Bengal was never an exception to this. Thus we learn the following in the Sāradāmaṅgal of Dayārām :—

"When neither the pupil would learn nor the preceptor could make an impression by softer means, recourse was taken to a free use of the rod, and the guru was seen waiving his cane in the air. Sometimes he would bind a young lad, hand and foot, and at others he would throw his whole weight on the unfortunate victim, sitting down, for a time, on his tender breast. Such punishments were in everyday use, suiting the whims of the pedagogue." [1]

The following items of punishments were prominent in old days :—

(1) Caning (for minor offences).

(2) Binding hand and foot.

(3) Binding and putting the offending lad flat on the floor and then sitting on his breast.

This was perhaps done after the well-known process of putting a stone known as 'জগদ্দল পাথর' (*lit.* a stone heavy enough to crush the earth—here heavy) used to be put on the breast of a culprit in the prison-house of a king.

Besides the above we learn of some further kinds of punishments which were current in the schools of Bengal even as late as the 19th

[1] শিখিতে না পারে তবু শিখাইতে না পাবে।
মারিয়া বেতের বাড়িএ বেন্ধ্যা রাখে।
কভু কভু বেন্ধ্যা রাখে বুকে বস্যে রয়।
উচিত করয়ে শাস্তি যে দিন যে হয়॥
—দয়ারামের সারদামঙ্গল

century. These were, according to Mr. Adam[1] who visited a number of schools of this province in 1834, fourteen in number. Among the punishments noted by him, the more noticeable were the following :—

(1) ত্রিভঙ্গী—Subjecting the offender to an agonising posture. The legs were stretched to their utmost capacity and the upper part of the victim's body was kept erect, making a triangle of him from ত্রিভঙ্গ, *lit.* 3 bends).

(2) নাড়ুগোপাল—In which the body was reduced to crawling, with one hand raised up halfway between crawling and squatting.

(3) সূর্য্যমুখো—Requiring a boy to keep standing facing the sun.

(4) কপাল চিরিয়া দেওয়া—Scratching the offender's forehead with the sharp point of a paddy causing the part to bleed. Boys were subjected also to ant-bites and to the painful sensation caused by the touch of Bichuti plant—a kind of nettle (*Tragia involucrata*)—as we hear from old men of the villages.

It seems from the above that primary schools were run in the past almost exactly on the same lines as they are to-day in the obscure nooks of Bengal. The Kindergarten system has very little hold on the Pāṭhśālās even of the present day, though it is being adopted in some of our secondary schools. Although primary education was not free here as it is now in the West, still it had its benefits, as the whole community realised its responsibility to maintain the Gurumahāśaya. The education that was imparted was quite practical and it made a village boy fit to earn his pittance to whatever calling Providence called him. Primary education in those days brought the prince and the peasant, the Brahmin and the Sudra, to the same level, without the least difference or distinction. We find reference to this state of things in many old Bengali poems, chiefly in folklore. The beginner often, after acquiring elementery education, received technical knowledge at his home in the particul r craft followed by his ancestors. Those students who wanted to have a better literary education read the old Bengali poems such as Caṇḍī Kāvya and Annadā Maṅgal and made a further advance in Mathematics under the redoubted Gurumahāśaya.

[1] See বিক্রমপুরের ইতিহাস by Jogendranath Gupta, p. 333.

The vocational and technical education was vitally related to the primary education. The boys often found an opportunity to acquire knowledge of technical matters at their own homes fitting the calling of their ancestors.

We get an insight into the vocational education in the Caṇḍī Kāvyas and the Manasā-Maṅgal poems. The following is taken from the Caṇḍī Kāvya by Dvija Harirām who flourished in the 16th century.

[1] "Near the Brahmins reside the astrologers. On finishing their bath in the morning they take their seats on the tanned skin of a deer, for the purpose of studying the astrological works. Some read the annotations on astrology known as the Bhāswatī-dīpikā and some study রাশিচক্র (the zodiac). Some again draw the figure of

[1] ব্রাহ্মণ সমীপে বৈসে দৈবজ্ঞের পাড়া।
প্রভাতে করিয়া স্নান ফেলি মৃগছড়া॥
ভাস্বতী দীপিকা কেহ পড়ে রাশিচক্র।
সূর্য্য সিদ্ধান্ত দেখি কবে গ্রহচক্র॥
নূতন পঞ্জিকা কেহ বিচারে বসিয়া।
গ্রহস্ফুট করে বাখ্যে সাবধান হয়্যা॥
বালকের কোষ্ঠী কেহ লিখে দশাক্রম।
গ্রহদৃষ্টি বলাবল কোন গ্রহ সম॥
পঞ্জিকা পড়য়ে কেহ নগরে নগরে।
গ্রহদোষ দিয়া কার চালু কড়ি হরে॥
বন্ধ্যা মৃতবৎসা দেখায় আসি হাত।
চালু কড়ি দান কর হব পুত্র সাত॥
তৃতীয় প্রহর বেলা গগনেতে হয়।
চালু কড়ি ডালি বড়ী লয়্যা ঘরে যায়॥
আইল অম্বষ্ঠগণ সমাদর পায়্যা।
বীরের আজ্ঞায় বস্তে ঘর বাড়ী লৈয়া॥
ধন ধান্য দিল রাজা বাহন ভূষণ।
একান্ত হইয়া করে গ্রন্থ অধ্যয়ন॥
চিকিৎসা দর্পন কেহ পড়য়ে নিদান।
বিজয় রক্ষিত টীকা করে অনুমান॥
চক্রদত্ত পড়ে কেহ দ্রব্যগুণাগুণ।
ধাতুমারণ করে যন্ত্র করি তূন॥

the planets after consulting the work Suryya-siddhānta (the celebrated writer of which was Aryyabhatta). Others again discuss the forecast in the almanac of the new year while some calculate carefully the true position of a planetary body in the zodiac. Some one of the profession draws the horoscope of a boy mentioning therein the aspect or position of the planets at birth and at different ages. He never forgets to calculate the relative strength of each planet and mentions carefully which is for, which is against, and which is neutral, in shaping the fortunes of the boy concerned. Some take their round in the town reading the almanac and defraud people of their money by showing the evil influences of planets over them, and the frightened souls propitiate the men by giving presents. Women who are barren or who lose their children frequently, come to them to have their palms examined by these men. These astrologers then advise them to come with such presents as money and rice. According to these men this is the only way of being blessed with children. In this way the astrologers earn their living and return home in the afternoon. The Ambaṣṭhas came to settle (in Kaliṅga) being respectfully invited by the king. The king presents them with valuable gifts and conveyances (elephants and horses) and ornaments. They are great scholars and remained merged in study. Some read Cikitsā-darpaṇ, and some read Nidān (pathology), while some peruse the commentations of Bijay Rakṣit. Some read Cakradatta [1] and some again read applied chemistry. Some reduce metals for preparing drugs and medicines and some weigh them. With various ingredients they prepare *'Rasāyanas'* [2] and pills

পিত্তধাতু অমৃত দিয়া করে রসায়ন।
ধারণ-বটিকা বাঁধে দিয়া কষায়ন॥
নগরে চিকিৎসা করি পায় নানা ধন।
আনন্দে পালন করে নিজ পরিজন॥
—দ্বিজ হরিরামের চণ্ডী কাব্য।

[1] Cakradatta—a medical book—was written by Cakrapāṇidatta (a Bengali) who flourished in the middle of the eleventh century, during the reign of Nayapāla.

[2] Rasāyana—"যজ্জরা-ব্যাধি-বিধ্বংসি ভেষজং তদ্রসায়নম্" (A medicine which destroys infirmities of old age and disease). The word also means Chemistry.

with astringent juice (Kasāyana .[1] They carry on their profession in the town and maintain their families in joy.

During the Buddhist times the portals of higher learning were thrown open to all people irrespective of caste in the monasteries, the laymen had to turn Bhikṣus to be entitled to a seat there. When Buddhism declined, the old school of Hinduism was not strict in admitting pupils to Sanskrit *tols*. The merchants had free access there as we find in the Chaṇḍimangals.

We shall try to show in the following lines the extent of efficiency in cultural education in this country and the courses that were taught in the *tols* or colleges. Besides Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali and Bengali were taught in Sanskrit *tols*. Hindi was the *lingua franca* during Moslem period, and Bhāratchandra says that he had acquired a knowledge of Hindi in a *tol*.

The proper age for beginning higher studies was perhaps twelve when a student after finishing his school-course desired to continue further studies. Thus, we learn in the auto-biography of Kṛttivās (15th century) —

"When I completed my eleventh year and entered the age of twelve, I started for the north to prosecute my studies further." [2]

Although no fee was charged in *tols* yet there was the practice of presenting the Guru with some gifts on the student's completion of education. Thus, we find the following in the above auto-biography :—

"I thought first to acquire a full course of higher education on completion of which I returned home by paying fees (dakṣiṇā) to my preceptor." [3]

The defaulter in this respect was threatened with punishment in the next life, it not in the present one—says Dayārām.

[1] Kasyāna—কষায় means astringent. It may also mean to colour.

[2] এগার নিবড়ে যখন বারতে প্রবেশ।
হেনকালে পড়িতে গেলাম উত্তর দেশ॥
—কৃত্তিবাসের রামায়ণে তদীয় আত্মচরিত।

[3] বিদ্যাসাঙ্গ করিতে প্রথমে হৈল মন।
গুরুকে দক্ষিণা দিয়া ঘরকে গমন॥
—কৃত্তিবাসী রামায়ণে তদীয় আত্মচরিত।

"In my previous life I received education from my Guru but did not pay my fees due to him. For this just reason mother Saraswati (the goddess of learning) put me to so much troubles."[1]

Sanskrit was mainly taught in the *tols*. The subjects were generally six in number according to the time-honoured custom. These were probably Kāvya (Poetry), Vyākaraṇ (Grammar), Jyotish (Astronomy or Astrology), Chhanda (Rhetoric), Nirukta (Lexicon) and Darsan (Philosophy). The students used to learn these six subjects. Thus in Saradāmangal—

"I desired to acquire knowledge in the six Sāstras and the Bhāgavata."[2]

Besides these there were many other subjects in which a student had to acquire proficiency. The following lines are given to furnish an idea of the range of subjects taught in the *tols* of Old Bengal.

"[3] The Rajah of Benares sent his son to a guru for learning the Sāstras. The prince began to read Āgam and Nigam (*i.e.*, the Tantric Literature) and the holy Bhāgavata. He also did not omit

[1] পূর্ব্বেতে পড়িয়া পাঠ না দিল দক্ষিণা।
অতেব করিল মাতা এত বিড়ম্বনা॥
—দয়ারামের সারদামঙ্গল।

[2] ষট্‌শাস্ত্রে বিদ্যা পাব সত্য কর সাতে।
সুরভিস্বরূপ যেন শ্রীভাগবতে॥
—সারদামঙ্গল, পৃঃ ১৩৯২।

That paying a parting fee was prevalent even in the days of Mahābhārat may be gleaned from the story of Utanka who suffered so much in finding a Kundal or earring for the wife of his Guru, who demanded it.

[3] এইমতে ধন্বন্তরি জন্মিল সংসারে।
লক্ষ্মী অধিষ্ঠান হৈল সে রাজার ঘরে॥
দিনে দিনে বাড়ে যেন চন্দ্রের সমান।
কাশীরাজা মহোৎসবে কৈল নানা দান॥
শাস্ত্র অনুসারে সব কৈল সংস্কার।
গুরুর নিকটে দিল শাস্ত্র জানিবার॥
আগম নিগম পঠে ভগবত পুতা।
নানান পুরাণ পঠে ভগবদ্গীতা॥
সকল সংহিতা পঠে কাব্য-পরকাশ
জানিল সকল শাস্ত্র যত ইতিহাস॥

to read the different Purānas. He besides studied all the Samhitās, Prosody, *e.g.*, Kāvya Prakas, Itihāsas (chronicles), the Vedānta and the Yoga System of Philosophy. He did not omit to acquire a full knowledge of all the Sāstras not even the Tantras as he worshipped the goddess Kāli with mystic rites, the God Siva blessed him by imparting the mystic knowledge known as the 'Mahajñān' and the Gārudi-Samhitā."[1]—Manasāmangal by Bansidās, Birth of Dhanwantari.

At another place, *e.g.*, in the Chandi Kāvya of Dwija Harirām we learn that—

[2]"In the morning the Brahmins bathe and worship their household deities. Then some of them studied Lexicon,[3] some Gitā and some six systems of Philosophy. Some of them discuss Āgam and Nigam and some hear the discourses on them."

বেদান্ত পঠিয়া পঠে যোগাস্ত বিচার।
কালিকা সাধন কৈল অনেক প্রকার॥
তুষ্ট হৈয়া মহাদেব বর অধিষ্ঠাতা।
মহাজ্ঞান দিলা আর গারুড়ী সংহিতা॥
—দ্বিজ বংশীদাসের মনসামঙ্গল, ধন্বন্তরির জন্ম।

[1] This samhitā or science treats of cure in cases of serpent bites.

প্রভাতে করিয়া স্নান পূজে দেব ভগবান্
কেহ পূজে দেব পঞ্চানন।
শব্দশাস্ত্র কেহ গীতা মীমাংসা করয়ে কথা
কেহ পড়ে ছয় দরশন॥
আগম নিগম কথা কেহ বসি কহে তথা
কেহ বসি করএ শ্রবণ।
—হরিরামের চণ্ডীকাব্য।

[3] The Hindus made it a point to study Lexicography along with Grammar before they attempted to read Literature. Amarkoş was generally committed to memory.

See also for text-books the story of Kanka and Lila (p. 258, Vol. I, Bengali) of the Mymensingh Ballads, and Chaitanyamangal by Vrindāvan Dās in which books read by Chaitanya Deva are given.

In the Chandikāvya of Kavikankan Mukundarām we get an elaborate description of text-books read in the *tols* of bygone days (16th century). Thus :—

"Sreepati Datta paid his constant attention to the studies of the Sāstras. He always read and wrote with deep attention. His retentive memory increased every day. He studied the commentary known as 'Rakshit-Panjikā-Tikā,'[1] the Nyāya philosophy, the Encyclopaedia,[2] commentaries on the Gaṇas[3] (Gaṇavritti) and the commentary on Paṇini's Grammar called Ujjval-vritti.[4] He also finished reading the works of Vāmana,[5] Daṇdi[6] and Pingala[7] (containing various metres). He also took much interest in the study of the poetical works of Bhāravi[8] and Māgha,[9] which gladdened the heart of his well-wishers. After going through the grammatical commentary Durghata-Vritti,[10] he became prominent in the gathering of the learned wherein he always engaged himself in discussing and debating abstruse matters of dispute. His constant subjects of study among various others were Bhatti's works,[11] Lexicon, Jaimini's Mahābhārat, Meghduta,[12] Naisadh,[13] Kumarasambhava,[14]

[1] A commentary on medical works by Vijay Rakṣit.

[2] Among the Encyclopaedia the most widely read was "Amarkoṣ" by Amar Sinha.

[3] In the Sutras of Paṇini "Gaṇas" are particular sets of words which are treated in a particular way. Gaṇavritti means a treatise or commentary on the Gaṇas.

[4] A commentary on Paṇini's Grammar.

[5] Two works stand in the name of Vāmana (evidently two persons)—one is a commentary (known as Kasika-vritti), 650 A.D. on Paṇini's Grammar and another is a work on Rhetoric called "Kavyālankār-vritti" (8th century).

[6] Daṇdi (end of 6th century) was a celebrated poet and rhetorician. His poetical work "Dasakumar-charitam" and the work on rhetoric called "Kavyādarsa" are well-known.

[7] Pingala was the author of a work dealing chiefly with post-Vedic Prosody called "Chhandah-Sutra."

[8] Bhāravi, the poet of "Kirāt-Arjuniam" (6th century A.D.).

[9] Māgha, the poet of "Sisupāl-Vadha" (9th-10th century A.D.).

[10] The Durghaṭa-Vritti is a commentary on Paṇini's Grammar (7th century).

[11] Bhartrihari (died 651 A.D.) wrote the poem of Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya.

[12] Meghaduta (The Cloud-messenger), a poem by Kālidāsa (5th century A.D.).

[13] "Naisadha"—a poem, composed by Sriharṣa (7th century).

[14] The poem Kumārasambhava was written by Kālidāsa.

Raghuvamsa,[1] and the Rāghava-Pāndaviya.[2] Besides these he also became very proficient in Ratnāvali[3] and Sāhitya-Darpaṇ[4] [5].

[1] The poem Raghuvamsa was also written by Kalidāsa.

[2] Rāghava-Pāndaviya, a poem by Kavirāja (800 A.D.).

[3] Sriharṣa was the author of the drama Ratnāvali (1st half of the 7th century A.D.).

[4] Sāhitya-Darpaṇ (a work on Rhetoric) was written by Viswanāth Kavirāj (about 1450 A.D.).

N.B.—In the Chandrikāvya (Bangabāsi Ed). We find also the following names among others :—

(1) Mālati-Mādhav by Bhavabhuti (1st half of the 8th century A.D.).

(2) The Nitisāra (a work on Politics) by Kāmaṇdaka (about 100 A.D.).

(3) The Prose romance Vasava-Dattā by Subandhu (early 7th century A.D.).

From the above it may be seen that in regard to high education the portals of learning were not shut to the inferior castes as they could sit at the feet of a Brahmin guru by the side of a Brahmin boy and receive a thorough training in various Sāstras.

৬ পড়য়ে শ্রীপতি দত্ত বুঝয়ে শাস্ত্রের তত্ত্ব
রাত্রি দিন করিয়া ভাবনা।
নিবিষ্ট করিয়া মন লিখে পড়ে অনুক্ষণ
দিনে দিনে বাড়য়ে ধারণা॥
রক্ষিত পঞ্জিকা টীকা ন্যায় কোষ নানা শিক্ষা
গণবৃত্তি শব্দের বর্ণনা।
জানিতে সন্ধির তত্ত্বি পড়িল উজ্জ্বল বৃত্তি
বিদ্যা বিনা নহে অন্যমনা॥
করিয়া বামন দণ্ডী পড়িয়া করিল খণ্ডী
নানা ছন্দে পড়িল পিঙ্গল।
করি দৃঢ় অনুরাগ পড়িল ভারবি মাঘ
বন্ধুজনে বাঢ়ে কুতূহল॥
পড়িয়া দুর্ঘট বৃত্তি ধীর সভায় পুরোবর্ত্তী
নিরন্তর করয়ে বিচার।
দিবানিশি যত্নবান্ পড়ি ভট্টি অভিধান
পুথি শুনি বিবিধ প্রকার॥
জৈমিনি ভারতপূত কাব্য পড়ে মেঘদূত
নৈষধ কুমারসম্ভবে।
দিবানিশি নাহি জানি পড়ে রঘু শ্বেতবাণী
রাঘব পাণ্ডবী দেবে॥

The Tantra Sāstras formed a peculiar feature in the subjects of study before the advent of Chaitanya Deva and the ascendancy of Vaiṣṇavism in the 15th-17th centuries. The Tantras (otherwise known as Āgam) were perhaps the religious and literary legacy from Buddhism[1] in Bengal, although it originally came from outside, perhaps from China. Mystic knowledge such as the 'Mahājñān' and 'Āḍāi-Putijñān' was its peculiar feature. In it is also found the peculiar term 'Āḍāi-Akshar' to denote mystic writing. These terms have been repeatedly mentioned in the Maynāmati songs and the Dharmamangal poems.

The Bhakti cult as inculcated by the Vaiṣṇavas gave rise to a literary school which though it expressed itself mainly through the medium of Sanskrit also gave a great impetus to Bengali. In one of the most famous work of the Vaiṣṇavas, *e.g.*, Chaitanya Charitāmrita (17th century) of Kriṣṇadās Kavirāj, Sanskrit was employed for the purposes of a commentary while the body of the book was written in Bengali. Besides this work, 'Chaitanya Bhāgabata,' 'Chaitanya Mangala,' the Kaḍcha (of Govindadās) and other Bengali works as also the Sanskrit works by Rupa, Sanātana and Jiva deserve special mention as referred to in the Vaiṣṇava literature.[2]

Navadwip was the centre of Sanskrit learning from the days of Hindu rule. Even under the Mahomedans it occupied that pre-eminent position and became the seat of Navya-Nyāya (the new school of Nyāya Philosophy) which attracted students from all parts of India. The educative value of the place increased tenfold with the advent of new Vaiṣṇavism which emanated from this place. We get the following description of the place during the boyhood of Chaitanya Deva (15th century) in the 'Chaitanya

অব্যাহত কাব্য পড়ি অভ্যাস করিল বড়ি
রত্নাবলী সাহিত্যদর্পণে।
—কবিকঙ্কণের চণ্ডীকাব্য।

[1] See Sastri's Introduction to Modern Buddhism by N. Vasu.

[2] See the First Taranga of Bhaktiratnākara by Narahari Chakravarti and Prem-Vilāsa by Nityānanda Dās, 12th and 13th Vilāsa, pp. 135, 138, 154 and 174.

Bhāgavata' of Vrindāvan Dās who flourished in the 16th century.

[1] "Who can adequately describe the prosperity of Navadwip? At each of her landing ghats, which were many, numberless people thronged to bathe. Amongst them people of all ages might be seen. By the grace of Saraswati (the goddess of learning) all people of Navadwip acquired scholarship. Such was the enthusiasm for learning that even a young scholar would challenge his veterans to a free intellectual debate. People from different countries flocked to Navadwip. Here they completed their education. The Professors could be counted by lakhs,[2] so what is to be said of the number of pupils?" There is some substantial truth in the statement made above by the poet.

For subtle emotions the Vaiṣṇava Lyrics have a unique position. These are expressed oftentimes in a peculiar dialect called the Braja Buli. Their intellectual subtleties are proved by the Navya Nyāya which made the colleges of Nadiya ahead of all other colleges of India, inviting students from all parts of it to this redoubted centre of learning. The works of Raghunāth Siromaṇi and Jagadish are well-known. The Bengalis proved their talents for reasoning so marvellously that the Chaitanya Bhāgavata asserts that in the *tols* of Navadwip even a boy often challenged veterans for a debate in logic in the 15th century ("বালকে হো ভট্টাচার্য্য

[1] নবদ্বীপের সম্পত্তি কে বর্ণিবারে পারে
একো গঙ্গাঘাটে লক্ষলোক স্নান করে॥
ত্রিবিধ বয়সে একো জাতি লক্ষ লক্ষ।
সরস্বতী দৃষ্টিপাতে সভে মহা দক্ষ॥
সবে মহা অধ্যাপক করি গর্ব্ব ধরে।
বালকে হো ভট্টাচার্য্য সনে কক্ষা করে॥
নানা দেশ হৈতে লোক নবদ্বীপে যায়।
নবদ্বীপে পড়িলে সে বিদ্যারস পায়।
অতএব পড়ুয়ার নাহি সমুচ্চয়।
লক্ষ কোটি অধ্যাপক নাহিক নির্ণয়॥
—বৃন্দাবন দাসের চৈতন্য-ভাগবত।

[2] The word 'lakh' in old Bengali was never used to denote the specified number of mathematical figure but was a common word to indicate a large number.

সনে কক্ষা করে"). It is for completing their high education in logical studies that the students of other provinces of India assembled in the far-famed Nadia *tols*.

Debate in a society of learned men was very common in those days. An youth after passing his examination in a *tol*, which was sometimes very stiff [1] would not think his education properly complete unless and until he maintained his position as a specialist in a particular subject for which he got his degree, by an open debate with the scholars of established reputation. The extensive touring that was required on the part of one desiring discussion, was known as দিগ্বিজয় ভ্রমণ ! Perhaps the intellectual Bengalis took to this sort of দিগ্বিজয় (*lit.* world-conquest) and aspired for academic victory when they had lost their independence and their chances for political victories. The defeated Pandit had to acknowledge formally in a written document his own defeat which was termed 'জয়পত্র' or 'letter of Victory.' The discussion on controversial matters on such an occasion as between দ্বৈতবাদ and অদ্বৈতবাদ was known as 'বিচার' or 'discussion'. We know the celebrated Sankarāchāryya went on such a campaign to establish অদ্বৈতবাদ while Chaitanya Deva incidentally did the same and established দ্বৈতবাদ. His conquest over Kesab Kasmiri is a well-known event in the Vaiṣṇava history. Similar[2] episodes also exist in connection with the life of Rupa-nārāyaṇa who on one occasion challenged Rupa and Sanātana, but was ultimately vanquished by Jiva Goswami, all of whom settled in Brindāvan, and on another occasion acted as a judge in a hot debate between Rajah Narasimha Ray of Pakkapalli and Narottam. The local noblemen were always great patrons of such discussions, and not only on stray occasions but also regularly such discussions

[1] Perhaps the stiffest examination of those days was known as 'শলাকা পরীক্ষা'. The student was first required to examine a MS. carefully. He did it for a little time. Then needle was passed through a word of the book—the whole book was thus pierced through. Then the student by his retentive memory could tell through what words of each page the needle passed. We know the celebrated Basudev Sārbabhauma passed this examination. *Cf.* also some novel methods of examinations in China.

[2] See the Prem-Vilāsa by Nityānanda Dās (the 19th Vilāsa) and Narottam-Vilāsa by Narahari Chakravarti.

were fostered by the rich whose courts thronged with the erudite Pundits. The whole society was great admirers of such debates.

Physical culture was essential to complete one's education. Thus in the Padmā Purāna of Bansidas (16th century) we get the following:—

[1] "The boy gradually increased in years like the *Kalā* or digits of the moon and the lotus blossoming in a tank. Passing through some ceremonies the boy began his student-life at the age of four (rather early). The merchant's son was given the education of a Prince. Thus he was trained in the art of using arms, in poetry and in the various sāstras. He became expert in the lore of various sāstras and passed his time often in discussing topics with the learned men. He became practised in riding horses and elephants and revelled in hunting excursions when he wore the dress of a warrior. At this time he took a bow and a quiver full of arrows. He also learned the art of wrestling with great care and never allowed himself to pass his time idly."

Padmāpurāna by Bansidas, p. 363 (about Lakshmindra).

The training of the Bengalis in spiritual matters was given by various means. The Kathakatās, the Kirtans and the Jātrās

[1] দিনে দিনে বাড়ে বালা, যেমন চন্দ্রের কলা,
পথ যেন বাড়ে সরোবরে।
মহারঙ্গ কুতুহলে, চারি বৎসরের কালে,
পুত্রের কঠিনী দিল করে॥
যেমন রাজার নীত, পাঠে হৈল সুশিক্ষিত,
অস্ত্রবিদ্যা কাব্যকলা আর।
নানা শাস্ত্রে বিচক্ষণ, লইয়া পণ্ডিতগণ,
সদা করে শাস্ত্রের বিচার॥
অশ্ব হস্তী পৃষ্ঠে গতি, মৃগয়ায় হৃষ্টমতি,
লৈয়া তূণ তীর ধনু সাজ।
মল্লবিদ্যা পরিশ্রম, করিতে হৈল সক্ষম,
ক্রমে ক্রমে হৈল যুবরাজ॥
—বংশীদাসের পদ্মাপুরাণ, পৃঃ ৩৬৬।

See also Alaoal's Padumavat (ed. by Maulvi Hamidullah Marhum), pp. 118-123 (16th century), for physical culture, and pp. 123-127 for literary attainments of the past.

disseminated spiritual truths amongst all people and the children heard from their grandmothers and other elderly female relations stories from the Mahabharata, the Bhagabata and the Ramayana which helped the growth of their spiritual nature. The songs of Ramprasad and of Fakirs were constantly in the air to develop the same.

Education of Women.

B.

Education of women once attained a high development in this country. Bengal being once a stronghold of Buddhism, her women received education almost equally with men. The glimpses of society to be found in the folk-lore and writings of the village-poets, confirm this point in no uncertain manner. Although at the time of Pauranik reaction caste-system and Brahmanism retarded the cultural progress of our women, still the tradition was not altogether lost as we see how the force of character and standard of education of women continued almost unchanged, from the works of the Bengali poets of a later age. There was a time when women were not only intellectually trained like men but also in physical culture matched the opposite sex.

Instances abound in the folk-lore of Bengal to show that girls used to read in the same schools with boys. Thus in the story of Pushpamālā in 'Thākurmār-jhuli' by D. R. Mitra we find a princess and a Kotowal's son reading in the same school.[1]

That the girls were sent to the Pāthsālā may be gleaned from such old songs as the 'Songs of Raja Govindachandra' composed in the first half of the 11th century. Thus we find Maynamati, the mother of Raja Govindachandra, saying :—

"While I was unmarried and consequently lived in the house of my father I was initiated into the mystic knowledge of 'Mahājñān' by

[1] See Sen's Folk Literature of Bengal, p. 210. See also D. R. Mitra's Thakurmar-jhuli and Fakirram Kavibhusan's story.

(In giving illustrations we shall quote accounts both from legends and historical works. As they all point to the same conclusions, we believe that the legends also had a historical foundation).

the sage Gorakshanath. When, one day, I returned from the Pāthsālā (school) I happened to meet the sage with his sixteen hundred disciples."[1]

Again in the Sāradāmangal by Dayārām (17th century) we find five princesses—daughters of the King of Baidev reading in a Pāthsālā with a prince.[2]

We might at least infer from these evidences that there was a system providing instruction in the primary stage to boys and girls (even perhaps as late as the 17th century) in the same school. Although we read of female education in the works written in the Mahomedan period, we suppose they referred mostly to a previous age, *e.g.*, the Hindu period.

In the seclusion of women within the four walls of the harem, their opportunities for receiving education became considerably circumscribed. Female education, as the present statistics show, is at a low ebb in Bengal, but it was certainly not so during the Hindu period as will be evident from the newly discovered Mymensingh Ballads.[3]

Some examples taken from different works of old Bengali literature at this place will show to what extent literacy prevailed among women in the different sections of the society in this province.

In the legend of Chandrahās we find a girl, Bishayā by name, adding a letter to the word 'Vis' (বিষ-poison) which made it imply her own name. The girl who was a minister's daughter, fell in love with a young man named Chandrahās under peculiar circumstances. She saved his life from the machinations of her father by clever

[1] যেকালে জনক গৃহে আছিলাম আমি।
মোরে জ্ঞান দিয়াছেন গোর্ক্ষনাথ মুনি।
পাঠশালে পড়ি আমি যাই নিকেতন।
ষোল শত যোগী লইয়া গোরক্ষ গমন।

—গোবিন্দচন্দ্রের গান।

[2] See Sāradāmangal by Dayārām.

[3] See Introduction to the Mymensingh Ballads, pp. lxxix-lxxx. (The cases of Chandrāvati, Maluā, Kamalā and Kājalrekhā).
See also the Descriptive Catalogue by Mr. Long.

manipulation of a letter and ultimately got herself married with him.[1]

In the Chandikavyas we find a story in which there was a merchant having two wives. When, at one time he remained absent from home, the elder wife being jealous of the younger got a forged letter purported to be written by their husband to the elder wife, instructing her to oppress the younger wife. The latter glancing at the letter did not fail to discern the fraud at once, as she well knew the handwriting of her husband. Thus we find in Kavikankan Mukundaram's Chandikavya the following:—

[2] "The two (*e.g.*, the maid-servant of Lahanā, the elder wife, and her neighbour Lilāvati) conferred together as a result of which the latter woman (being expert in handwriting) forged the letter of the merchant Dhanapati. First she wrote 'Swasti' (স্বস্তি) and then addressed Lahanā as 'অশেষ মঙ্গলধাম' just as Dhanapati would address his second wife Khullanā. Khullanā seemingly read the letter being requested by Lahanā, but she suspected the genuineness as it differed in some respect from the style of her husband's handwriting. Khullanā said to Lahanā smiling "Sister, I am not at all afraid as somebody else must be cutting jokes with me by writing such a letter.

[1] নয়নের কজ্জল লইল সুবিধানে।
লেখিল বিষয়া দান দিহত মদনে॥
—ঘনশ্যামদাসের মহাভারত।

Visayā took collyrium carefully from her eyes and added the letter 'য়া' to the word 'বিষ' (poison) implying that the girl should be given in marriage to the young man Madan conveying the letter.

Similar devices are also found elsewhere. In the Padmāpurān by Bansidas, p. 66৩. we find the lines 'কিছু কিছু দুগ্ধ অন্ন শীঘ্র করি খায়্যা। পত্র লেখে নখ অগ্রে গার রক্ত দিয়া॥' Herein a letter was written with the help of one's blood and a finger nail. *Cf.* also the case of the girl in love with a young man named Chandmirā in a story of the same name current in West Mymensingh.

[2] লীলাবতীর পত্র লিখন
দুইজনে একস্থানে করিয়া যুকতি।
কপট প্রবন্ধে পত্র লেখে লীলাবতী॥
স্বস্তি আগে লিখিয়া লিখিল ধনপতি।
অশেষ মঙ্গলধাম লহণা যুবতী॥

Hear me, O Sister, the merchant (our husband) writes a different hand. I suspect this letter as the work of some cunning fellow."

We find in the Chandikavyas, a fowler's wife exhibiting her sound knowledge of the Pauranic stories in her conversation with her husband Kālketu. Thus said Fullarā:—

[1] "You are not rich enough even to possess a cowshed. Then how dare you elope with another man's wife? The ten-headed Ravana was killed by Rama for stealing his wife Sita. The Demon-King Sumbha stole Sachi (wife of Indra, the King of the gods). The world could not bear such inequity and thus he was ruined with his family. I do think you are also going on the same course of destruction."

Chandikavya by Dwija Hariram.

With the name of Chandidās, the divine poet of the 14th century, is indissolubly connected a washerwoman named Rāmī, whose love for the poet is still looked on with admiration by the people. Thus Rāmī who was both a lover and a poetess expressed the pang of her heart on hearing that the poet being a Brahmin would forsake her and re-enter his own order by performing an expiation ceremony.

লহণার বোলে ত খুল্লনা পঢ়ে পাতি।
হাসেন খুল্লনা ছন্দ দেখি ভিনুভাতি॥
বলে দিদি ইথে আমি না করি তরাস।
কেবা পত্র লিখে মোরে করে উপহাস॥
শুন দিদি সাধুর অক্ষর ভিনু ছন্দ।
কেবা পত্র লিখে মোরে করিয়া প্রবন্ধ॥

—কবিকঙ্কণের চণ্ডীকাব্য, পৃঃ ১৩৮

[1] নহ কিছু ধনবান্ দেখি না গবালি খান
হরিয়ে আনিলে করে কান্তা॥
সীতা হরে দশশির মাল্য তারে রঘুবীর
শচী হর্য্যে ছিল শুম্ভ রায়।
পৃথিবী না সহে ভার বংশনাশ হৈল তার
হেন বুঝি মরিবার উপায়॥

দ্বিজ হরিরামের চণ্ডীকাব্য।

[1] "Where do you go, Lord of my heart, by neglecting me? Without seeing you, I am in an ocean of grief and cannot restrain myself any longer. From my girlhood I have dedicated my body to you and never think of anybody else as my mate. Say, what fault have you found with me that you will leave me and go to Mathura?"

There was a day when even public women earned fame for their qualifications like Vāsabadattā in Sanskrit Literature. Hirānati and Surikshā are two typical examples of such women in Bengal. The following lines are quoted from the Maynamati songs to show the standard of education attained by Hirā :—

[2] "Hāḷi Siddhā loudly cried, 'I want to pawn my disciple (the King's son) for the paltry sum of twelve cowries. If I get this small sum, I shall buy Gānjā and smoke.' On hearing this the fallen woman could no longer stay inside her house but came out and called in the mahajan (money-lender) of the market-place to be a witness in the transaction. She also supplied the writing materials (literally the inkpot, pen and the document-paper) and the twelve cowries after duly counting them. The woman began to write commencing with all the formalities of a letter such as the year, date and the auspicious letter 'Sri' (শ্রী) according to the wishes of the Siddhā. She duly mentioned about the twelve cowries and the name of god Dharma. After finishing her part of the transaction she delivered

[1] কোথা যাও ওহে প্রাণবঁধু মোর
দাসীরে উপেক্ষা করি।
না দেখিয়া মুখ ফাটে মোর বুক
ধৈরয ধরিতে নারি॥
বাল্যকাল হ'তে এ দেহ সঁপিনু
মনে আন নাহি মানি।
কি দোষ পাইয়া মথুরা যাইবে
বলহে সে কথা শুনি॥
—রামমণি, বঙ্গসাহিত্য-পরিচয়, প্রথম ভাগ, পৃঃ ১০০৩।

[2] বার কড়া কড়ি থাকিয়া বান্ধা থুইবার চাই।
বার কড়া কড়ি পাইলে গাঁজা কিনিয়া খাই॥
এই কথা শুনিয়া নটী না থাকিল রৈয়া।
বন্দরের সাউদ মহাজনক আনিল ডাকিয়া॥

the pen to the Siddhā who put his signature into the document. The woman made over the twelve cowries to the Siddhā and the latter handed over the document to her. From that day the king became a bond-man of the public woman."

As for the other public woman Surikshā of the Dharmamangal poems it may be said that pages have been devoted incidentally to show the high standard of education acquired by her. The acrostic questions of this woman to prince Lausen are very famous.[1]

It is needless to add any more examples. But we cannot but mention the name of Khanā in this place. With all the legends that enshrouded her in mystery we cannot forget the pithy sayings on astronomical and astrological observations which stand against her name in Bengali from time immemorial. Thus the lines about the lunar eclipse, span of life, etc., are household words in this country [2] and

দোয়াত খত কলম যোগাইল আনিয়া।
বার কড়া কড়ি নটী আনিল গণিয়া॥
লেখ লেখ বলিয়া হাড়ি হুকুম ভালা দিল।
সন তারিখ শ্রী কাগজত লিখিল॥
ঐ বার কড়া কড়ি কাগজত লিখিল।
ধর্ম্মর নামটা কাগজত লিখিল॥
ঐ কলম ফেলাইয়া দিল হাড়ির বরাবর।
যেন মতে হাড়ি সিদ্ধা হস্তত কলম পাইল।
রাম রাম করিয়া দস্তখত করিয়া দিল॥
বার কড়া কড়ি গণিয়া হাড়ির হস্তত দিল॥
ঐ দিন হৈতে ধর্ম্মী রাজা বন্ধন পড়িল।
ঐ খত তুলিয়া নটীর হস্তত দিল॥
—মাণিকচন্দ্ররাজার গান।

[1] See Dharmamangal poems by Ghanarām.
It is not possible to quote the questions as these lines and many others deal with Sex-Psychology.

[2] চন্দ্রগ্রহণ।
"যে যে মাসের যে যে রাশি।
তার সপ্তমে থাকে শশী॥
সেই দিন যদি হয় পৌর্ণমাসী।
অবশ্য রাহু গ্রাসে শশী॥"—খনা।

do credit not to her name only but to the whole womanhood of Bengal.

It is sufficiently clear from the above that education was disseminated broadcast into the country and women participated in them unreservedly. Perhaps this condition referred to a period when the Mahomedans did not arrive in Bengal.

The women besides being literate were good artists and adepts in the needle-work and cooking. The following few illustrations will furnish some idea in this respect.

It seemed that painting and drawing were specially the women's sphere. Thus we find the following in the story of Kājalrekhā (Mymensingh Ballads) which will clearly prove to what extent painting was cultivated by the women of this province in byegone days.[1] [2]

"She (Kājalrekhā) kept handfuls of rice of a very fine quality—the Shāli—under water until they were thoroughly softened. Then she washed them carefully and pressed them on a stone. She prepared a white liquid paste with them and first of all she drew the adored feet of her parents which were always uppermost in her mind. She next drew two granaries taking care to paint the footsteps of

"কিসের তিথি কিসের বার।
জন্মনক্ষত্র কর সার॥
কি কর শ্বশুর মতিহীন।
পলকে আয়ু বারদিন॥"—খনা।

[1] The description here refers to a kind of painting known as the 'Ālipanā'-painting or more properly drawings executed on the floor with the help of a sort of liquid prepared from crushed rice. The description here is graphic giving in detail the kind of painting once prevalent in the country. Although the example is taken from poetic fiction still in substance the description seems to have some truth behind it giving historical side-light. The 'Ālipanā'-painting still exists to some extent in the country-side showing even now the high-watermark of feminine efficiency in the matter of painting.

[2] কাজলরেখা আঁকিল—
উত্তম সাইলের চাউল জলেতে ভিজাইয়া।
ধুইয়া মুছিয়া কন্যা লইল বাটিয়া॥
পিটালি করিয়া কন্যা পরথমে আঁকিল।
বাপ আর মায়ের চরণ মনে গাঁথা ছিল॥

the harvest goddess in the paths leading to them, and she introduced at intervals fine ears of rice drooping low with their burden. Then she drew the palace of the great God Siva and his consort Pārvatī in the Kailas Mountain. In the middle of a big lotus leaf she painted Vishnu and Lakshmi seated together, and on a chariot drawn by the royal swans she painted the figure of Manasā Devi from whom all victories proceeded. Then she drew the figures of the witches and the Siddhās who could perform miracles by tāntrik practices and next—of the nymphs of heaven. She drew a Sheora grove (*Prophis Aspera*) and under it the figure of Bana Devi (the Sylvan Deity). Then she painted Rakshā-Kāli—the Goddess who saves us from all dangers. The warrior-god Kārtikeya and the writer-god Ganes she drew next with their respective *bāhans* or animals they rode. And then Ram and Sita and Lakshman were drawn by her admirably. The great Chariot Puspaka—the mythological aeroplane—was sketched in her drawings and the Gods Yama and Indra were also introduced in this panorama.

She next painted the sea, the sun and the moon and last of all an old dilapidated temple in the middle of an woodland with the picture of a dead prince inside it. She drew all figures excepting her own. The figures of the needle-prince and of his courtiers were all there, but not any of her own.

When the painting was finished she kindled a lamp fed by sacred butter and then she bowed down with her head bent to the ground."

Kājalrekhā (Mymensingh Ballads), pp. 268-69.

জোরা টাইল আঁকে কন্যা আর ধানছড়া।
মাঝে মাঝে আঁকে কন্যা গিরলক্ষ্মীর পারা॥
শিবদুর্গা আঁকে কন্যা কৈলাস ভবন।
পদ্মপত্রে আঁকে কন্যা লক্ষ্মীনারায়ণ॥
হংসরথে আঁকে কন্যা জয়া বিষহরী।
ডরাই ডাকুনী আঁকে কন্যা সিদ্ধবিদ্যাধরি॥
বনদেবী আঁকে কন্যা সেওরার বনে।
রক্ষাকালী আঁকে কন্যা রাখিতে ভুবনে॥
কার্ত্তিক গণেশ আঁকে কন্যা সহিত বাহনে।
রামসীতা আঁকে কন্যা সহিত লক্ষ্মণে॥

When we speak of painting we cannot forget another sphere in which our women of old days excelled. It was the needle-work. Our old literature is full with the description of exquisite embroidery and needle-work on cloths wrought by women and worn by ladies of fashion. All the Pauranik tales would be illustrated by being woven on clothes. Even to-day Dacca is noted for the profession of needle-work carried on by her female population. To what extent Bengali women practised it from generation to generation may be seen from the excellent country-blankets (কাঁথা) made by them from worn-out rags. These contain representations of animals, flowers, leaves, etc., and show what perfection they have attained in the matter. Their credit is also due to the fact that with very ordinary materials they would make something which would attract the admiration of all. Their tact and resourcefulness were also no less praiseworthy. In one instance we perhaps catch a glimpse of historical sidelight when we learn in the Dharmamangal poems, that when Surikshā the public woman was compelled to supply articles of leaves to Lāusen whom she loved, she did it with perfect ease. The leaves were turned into plates, glasses and cups with decorative pictures on them, as if by magic wand. Thus we

গঙ্গাগোদাবরী আঁকে হিমালয় পর্ব্বত।
ইন্দ্র যম আঁকে কন্যা পুষ্পকের রথ॥
সমুদ্র সাগর আঁকে চান্দ আর সুরযে।
ভাঙ্গা মন্দির আঁকে কন্যা জঙ্গলের মাঝে॥
শেজেতে শুইয়া আছে মরা সে কুমার।
কেবল নাই সে আঁকে কন্যা ছবি আপনার॥
সুইচ রাজার ছবি আঁকে পাত্রমিত্র লইয়া।
নিজেরে না আঁকে কন্যা রাখে ভাড়াইয়া॥
আলিপনা আইক্যা কন্যা জ্বালে ঘিরতের বাতি।
ভূমিতে লুটাইয়া কন্যা করিল পন্নতি॥

—কাজলরেখা, ময়মনসিংহ-গীতিকা, পৃঃ ৩১৬-৩১৭।

The Bengali translation of the Sanskrit work Govinda-Lilāmrita, by Jadunandan Das, also describes incidentally the skill of women in the sphere of painting in the old days. In spite of poetic excesses there is surely some truth in the description.

find in the Dharmamangal poems by Ghanarām (pp. 123-124) :—
[1] "Suriksha brought in a very fine needle and with it made two big plates and cups no less than a hundred in number for serving curries with their help. On them she made very nice pictorial representations and finally made glasses for serving drinking water with such tiny things as tamarind leaves."

Dancing as an art was once much cultivated in this country. In the Manasāmangal poems, the heroine Behulā was given the epithet *'Nāchuni.'*[2] She was thus known as 'Nāchuni Behulā' or Dancing Behulā. In the poems mentioned above we learn that even the life of her dead husband was conceded by the gods through her dancing. Illustrations about dancing may be quoted from a number of works of old Bengali literature. We quote below only one example from the Padāvali by Dukhini :—

[3] "Oh moon-faced one, dance to this tune—(here the tune is given).
'So nimbly should thy feet move, that the anklets must not sound.
"The ornaments shall not jingle nor the Sāri rustle,

[1] "সুক্ষ্মতর তৎপর আনিয়া খড়িকা।
হাতাহাতি পত্র সিঞে সুরিকা নায়িকা॥
পরিসর পত্রের রচিল দুই আল।
খুরি বাটী ব্যঞ্জন যোগাতে কালে কাল॥
নানা চিত্র বিচিত্র নির্ম্মাণ পরিপাটী।
পঞ্চাশ ব্যঞ্জন সাজে শতাধিক বাটী।
রচিত তেতুলপত্রে পরিপূর্ণ বারি॥"

—ঘনরামের ধর্ম্মমঙ্গল, পৃঃ ১২৩-১২৪।

[2] See Manasāmangal poems by Bansidas, p. 609.

[3] না হবে ভূষণের ধ্বনি না নড়িবে চীর।
দ্রুতগতি চরণে না বাজিবে মঞ্জীর।
বিষম সঙ্কট তালে বাজাইব বাঁশী।
ধনু-অঙ্কের মাঝে নাচ বুঝিব প্রেয়সী॥
হারিলে তোমার লব বেশর কাঁচলি।
জিনিলে তোমারে দিব মোহন মুরলী॥"

—পদাবলী (দুঃখিনী)।

See Sen's Introduction to the Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Vol. I, pp. 34-35 The mode of dancing in it and in many other illustrations are very interesting showing the modes of Indian dancing.

To this bow-shaped spot your dancing must be confined.
If you fail, your beshara (nose-ornament) and your richly embroidered Kanchuli (bodice) will be at stake. But if you succeed, my beloved, my own dear flute will be yours."

That dancing which was cultivated as an art in the Hindu times and which in fact was one of the indispensable qualifications of a fashionable woman in society, was disparaged in later times till its culture became utterly extinct, is due to the forcible abduction of Hindu women, whose reputation for singing and dancing created desire in Moslem aristocracy to seize them for their harems—a fact which will be borne out by evidences of the Mymensing ballads and other records.

In higher education—the women rivalled men with admirable success. Our old literature and folk-lore abound with such illustrations. The Princess Vidyā of the story of Vidyāsundar may be taken as the type of girls which was once the ideal of society. It might be that these girls received education from eminent teachers in their own homes without taking admission into any tol. It is interesting to find these girls challenging others in literary discussions and defeating them. Thus we find in the story of Vidyāsundar the following about Vidyā :—

[1] " Hear attentively, O King, about the story of a king of this place who reigned here in the past. The name of the king was Bir Singha. He had a daughter named Vidyā who earned a good reputation about her peerless beauty and great erudition. She made a promise that he who will defeat her in a scholarly debate will be her

[1] শুন রাজা সাবধানে, পূর্ব্বে ছিল এই স্থানে,
বীরসিংহ নামে নরপতি।
বিদ্যা নামে তার কন্যা, আছিল পরম ধন্যা,
রূপে লক্ষ্মী গুণে সরস্বতী॥
প্রতিজ্ঞা করিল সেই, বিচারে জিনিবে যেই
পতি হবে সেই সে তাহার।
রাজপুত্রগণ তার, আসিয়া হারিয়া যায়,
রাজা ভাবে কি হবে ইহার॥
—ভারতচন্দ্রের অন্নদামঙ্গল (বটতলা-সংস্করণ),
২৫২ পৃষ্ঠা

band. On hearing this princes of different countries visited Bir Singha's place and engaged the princess in the discourse, but alas, all were discomfited by her. At this the king, her father, became quite distressed with the thought of finding a suitable bridegroom."

The following lines will show the nature of discussion in which the girls got themselves engaged with their opponents. The subjects practically covered all branches of the Sāstras. Princess Vidyā of the Vidyāsundar story began to discuss many knotty problems with Prince Sundar (her future husband) thus :—

[1] " Both the Prince and the Princess were personages of great erudition and as such when they talked, they talked on the niceties of various branches of the Sāstras. They argued on Grammar, Lexicon, Literature, Drama, Rhetoric and various other subjects. .....Then topics of Philosophical disputations were taken up. These were mainly the Vedanta or Purva-mimāngsā, the Vaisesika and the Sānkhya Philosophy. In the Vedanta, the points of discourse were the Monism and Dualism, and as usual no definite conclusion was arrived at—so strong were both sides. No compromise was also effected in the discourse on the Vaisesika Philosophy of Patanjali. The same may be said of the Sānkhya Philosophy (of Kapila) which could not decide many abstruse problems. As these learned systems of philosophy failed to decide issues other less important subjects like the Purānas, the Samhitās (as of Manu), the Smritis

[1] পণ্ডিতে পণ্ডিতে কথা রসের তরঙ্গ।
প্রসঙ্গে প্রসঙ্গে উঠে শাস্ত্রের প্রসঙ্গ ॥
ব্যাকরণ অভিধান সাহিত্য নাটক।
অলঙ্কার আদি সাধ্য সাধন সাধক ॥
* * * * *
বেদান্ত একমেবাদি দ্ব্যাত্মবাদি তর্ক।
মীমাংসায় মীমাংসার না হয় সম্পর্ক ॥
বৈশেষিকে বিশেষ কহিতে কিছু নারে।
পাতঞ্জলে মাথায় অঞ্জলি বান্ধি হারে ॥
সাংখ্যেতে কি সংখ্যা হবে আত্মনিরূপণ॥
পুরাণ সংহিতা স্মৃতি মনু বিজ্ঞ নন ॥ ইত্যাদি।
—ভারতচন্দ্রের অন্নদামঙ্গল, পৃঃ ৩১০-৩১১।

and others were quite out of place to decide issues so that one party might be vanquished."

Bharatchandra's Annadamangal, pp. 310-311.

Though the character of Vidyā is legendary, the legends as we have remarked many times, are index to history of particular periods, but even in our historical literature instances of women who achieved distinction in higher studies are not wanting. The women of the higher classes often received a truly high education. Rāmī, the lady-love of Chandidās, was an excellent poetess in the fourteenth century and among the Vaisnava poets we find mention of Mādhavi the poetess. In the sixteenth century Chandrāvati, the daughter of Bansidās (the celebrated poet of Manasāmangal) composed a Ramayana which is noted for its originality and poetic beauty. In the eighteenth century Ānandamayi of Bikrampur (Dacca) was renowned for her scholarship in Sanskrit and for her poetical powers. She wrote many a fine passage in Harililā jointly with her uncle Jaynarayan. One of her relations Gangāmani wrote such a neat hand that facsimili of her handwriting has been reproduced in Dr. Sen's book—History of Bengali Language and Literature—as a specimen of caligraphic art. Rāssundari who flourished as late as the (nineteenth century) was another lady who deserves mention for her literary gifts.

It was most peculiar that not only the mental but also the physical side was equally cultured and developed. In this respect the Spartan women of the old Greek world bear apt comparison with them. The Folk-lore and the Dharmamangal poems inspite of exaggerations are full of examples showing to what extent even the physical side was developed in the days of Hindu rule. These lead us to suspect that there might be some truth behind these legends. In the story of the Princess Mallikā furnished by Fakirram Kabibhusan we find the following :—

"The Rajā's daughter Mallikā was not only the most beautiful girl that lived in the then world but also was possessed of much strength of body. She used to go out for hunting excursions in the remotest corners of her royal father's dominions, and kill tigers with her own hands without the help of any weapon. With her short sword she would sometimes strike wild elephants across their trunks which she

would chop off with one blow. .....She told her father .....the prince who will seek her hand must make this condition that he must defeat her in fight before such an attempt.[1] In the Dharmamangal poems too we find Lakhā, Kalingā and some other fighting women whose exploits fill up the pages of the above works."[2]

From the above stories we see, there was a day when the girls paid much attention to their mental and physical culture alike as a result of which they were not always married according to the wishes of their parents only, but had their own choice, as we find specially in the stories of Vidyāsundar, Mallikā and Mahuā (Mymensingh Ballads). The girls would freely participate in literary discussion or physical encounter in a way which seemed strange now-a-days. These stories perhaps give the picture of a time when boys and girls were free to receive education in the same institution and choose their own mates.

There was one kind of education which we have not yet mentioned. It was education through amusement and folk-lore. In this respect we may mention the Kirtans, the Kathakatās, the Jātrās, the Bratakathās, the Rupakathās and others. These helped the diffusion of knowledge and moral principles into women together with men to a considerable extent. The women participated in listening to the instructive stories equally with men and remembered the moral principles underlying them not in vain.

---

[1] See Sen's Folk Literature of Bengal, pp. 125-126. See also Sen's Introduction to Mymensingh Ballads, Vol. 1, IXXIX-IXXX, *cf.* also the story of the Princess as described by Poet Tennyson, wherein there was a similar fight between a Prince and a Princess and their subsequent marriage though under different circumstances.

[2] See the Dharmamangal poems by Manik Ganguli and Ghanarām

CHAPTER XIII.

Castes and Professions.

Caste-system does not seem to have been rigorous in the Buddhistic period.[1] We find the Domas and the Hāḍis who were so much hated in later days, occupying an elevated position in society and even performing worship in the temples—a function which was once the monopoly of the Brahmins. In "Manikchandra Rājār gān" the queen-mother advised her son Rājā Govindachandra to make a Hāḍi his spiritual guide.[2] Ramāi Pandit, the celebrated author of the Çunya Purana, was himself a Doma by caste, yet he and his descendants performed priestly functions in the temple of god Dharma, and were regarded in later days as genuine Brahmins.

That the Chandālas occupied some position of importance along with the Domas may be gleaned from the theological literature of the Sahajiās. Of the three different ways to salvation among them the Chandālimārga and the Dombimārga were recognised as important—the third being Avadhutimārga.[3] In the Dharmamangal poems we find animated accounts of the Chandālas and the Domas taking the lead in warfares. Kālu Dom and his wife Lakshmyā were heroic persons of great fame.[4]

Another caste which had some position and influence in those days, was the Grahāchāryyas. They were at one time the best of

[1] See the Introduction to Ambattha Sutta by Rhys Davids, pp. 97-101, and the Introduction to Sonadanda Sutta also by Rhys Davids, p. 140 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series, edited by Max Müller).

[2] মুই জ্ঞান শিখিনু গোরকনাথর ঠাঞি।
তোক জ্ঞান শিখিবার কণ্ঠ খোলা হাড়ির ঠাঞি॥
—মাণিকচন্দ্র রাজার গান।

(I have acquired esoteric knowledge from the sage Gorakshanath while you should do the same from the common Hāḍi.)

[3] See H. P. Sastri's Introduction to Modern Buddhism, p. 10.

[4] See the Dharmamangal poems by Ghanaram, Manik Ganguli, Ramchandra Banerjee and others.

Brahmins and attached to the court of the Buddhist kings, but latterly the Domas aspired to be their rivals, nay even wanted to assert their superiority as will be evident from the following lines :—

"God Dharma did not like that men belonging to castes other than the Domas should be His worshippers. The priestly function of the Grahāchāryyas in connection with the worship of the "Grahas" (planets) is the root of all sufferings." [1]

The astrologers formed an influential section of the community though they were not always very well-treated by the aristocracy as we learn from Bijay Gupta's Manasāmangal.[2]

The anti-Brahminic spirit of the Domas is evident in the initiation ceremony known as the copper ceremony (তাম্রদীক্ষা). This ceremony was taken recourse to by those who did not believe in Brahminism. In the Hindu society the initiation ceremony was confined to the four higher castes only while the তাম্রদীক্ষা of Ramāi and his followers was a peculiar thing which opened its portals to the "thirty-six castes" of Bengal.

Among the Nath-Panthis the 'Guru' was an important factor in all spiritual matters.[3] The mystic conversation of Matsyendranath and his disciple Gorakshanath is an interesting episode in the Nath-Panthi literature. There was among the Dharma-worshippers the custom of worshipping the Gurus, thus earning the name of Gubhājus as opposed to the Hindus who were the Debhājus (worshippers of the Devas).[4]

The Sahajias who became so famous and influential in the days of Chandidās (who flourished in the 14th century) were first rising into prominence in the 17th and 18th centuries as is to be observed

[1] অন্য জাতি পণ্ডিত হবে ধর্ম্ম মানে নাই।
গ্রহ কাজে রত হয় ফেটে মরে তাই ॥—নগেন্দ্রনাথ বসু সম্পাদিত শূন্যপুরাণ।

[2] (*i*) পাজি হাতে ডাক্যা বলে জুতিষ ব্রাহ্মণ।—(গোবিন্দচন্দ্রের গীত, ৩০১ শ্লোক)।
(The Brahmin astrologer spoke aloud taking an almanac in hand.)
(*ii*) নফরে তারে মাইল ধাক্কা।—বিজয় গুপ্ত।

[3] (*a*) *E.g.*, Hāḍi Siddha, Gorakshanath and Matsyendranath.
(*b*) দিট করিঅ মহাসুহ পরিমাণ।
লুই ভনই গুরু পুচ্ছিঅ জান ॥—চর্য্যাচর্য্যবিনিশ্চয়।

[4] See Sastri's Introduction to Modern Buddhism by N. Vasu, pp. 24-25.

from the vast literature which they produced during that period. Their origin is to be traced from pre-Christian Era, in the Sama-Vipply cult of the Buddhists. They were against caste-system and never admitted the superior position of the Brahmins.[1]

The Kaivartas were a class of some importance in the Buddhistic period and were divided into two sections—Hālik and Jālik. The Hāliks were ploughmen and Jāliks were fishermen and they are so even now. From the descriptions in the Mymensingh Ballads we learn that the Hāliks or the Hāluā Kaivartas were once well-to-do persons of position and influence. According to MM. H. P. Sastri, "the Kaivartas were a powerful race. The ancients called them Dasyus *i.e.*, powerful foreigners who troubled by their raids the inhabitants of the Aryan lands. In the 11th century the Kaivartas formed a powerful confederacy in North Bengal under the leadership of Bhima, expelled the Palas from their capital Gauḍa, where they occupied a suburb and temporarily became rulers of Bengal."[2]

The Yogis once formed a very influential section of our community. They now belong to the lower stratum of society and live on weaving. "The Yogis are now trying to take the holy thread and become Brahmins. They do not know what they were. They were real Yogis, being descendants of the Nathas, that influential class to which belonged Matsyendranatha, Gorakshanatha, Minanatha, Ayinatha, Chauranginatha and others. Their ancestors had numerous followers. Princes and potentates bowed before them. Many Nathas are still worshipped in temples and holy places in Nepal and Tibet. Gorakshanath is still worshipped as the principal deity by the Gorkha as a race..... .....The Dharmagharia Yogis are to be found in large numbers in South-Western Bengal. The so-called Brahmins who beg with the image of Çitalā in their hands and come from Howrah and Midnapore Districts are all Dharmagharia Yogis. They do not put on the holy thread, but they use copper in some form or other on their person after their initiation to religious life. They worship Dharma at Dharma temples."[3]

[1] See Sastri's বৌদ্ধ গান ও দোঁহা, ৮১-৮৪ পৃষ্ঠা.

[2] See Sastri's Introduction to Modern Buddhism (by N. Vasu), p. 9.

[3] See Sastri's Introduction to Modern Buddhism, pp 16-17.

In the days of Buddhism, the barbers were an indispensible section in society as they are now among the Hindus. A class of barbers were known as the kānfāḷās. Their duty was to slit the ear which was essential in the Buddhistic initiation known as the "copper ceremony." It was also done when a person would take the vow of asceticism. The following description as found in the "Manikchandra Rajar Gan" may be of interest to the reader:

"The razor was snatched away from the hands of the common barber and given to the kānfāḷā, who, as soon as he received it, slit the two ears of the king uttering all the while the name of Rama." [1]

Some of the barbers once received good education. We find in the list of old Bengali poets, the name of one Madhusudan Nāpit, who rendered into Bengali verse the Sanskrit story of Nala-Damayanti in the 17th century.

The merchants, represented by various classes as Sahas, Sahus and Sadhus (all derived from the word "Sadhu"), Telis, Tilis, Subarna-baniks, Gandha-baniks, Suris and others had supreme power in their hands owing to the enormous wealth they acquired by trade. They occupied a position and status not inferior to those of princes. Their wealth of which elaborate references are to be found in all old Bengali works, was almost fabulous and their princely style of living and splendour of processions are the subjects of enthusiastic descriptions in the literature of the cults of Chandi, Manasā Devi and those of other deities. The heroes of old poems generally belonged to the Gandha-banik caste.[2] Chandsadagar, Dhanapati, Lakshindra and Behulā were all Gandha-baniks. We find eminent authors like Sasthibara Sen and Ganga Das Sen, who lived in the 16th century, belonging to the Subarna-banik caste. This caste was once the rivals of the Sena Rajas and tried to match their lance with the kings of Gauḍa; they conducted a systematic hostility with Ballal Sen, the sequel of which was their excommunication from society.

[1] নাপিতর হস্তর ক্ষুর লইল কাড়িয়া।
ঐ ক্ষুর কাণ-ফাড়ার হস্তে দিল তুলিয়া॥
যেন মতে কাণ-ফাড়া ক্ষুর হস্তে পাইল।
রাম নাম বলিয়া রাজার দুই কর্ণ ফাড়িল॥
—মাণিকচন্দ্র রাজার গান।

[2] For the Gandha-baniks see the Bengali Pamphlet 'গন্ধবণিক্ জাতির প্রাচীন ও বর্ত্তমান অবস্থা' by Dr. Abinash Chandra Das.

The re-organisation of the Hindu Society against laxities of all sorts may be said to begin in the period between the 9th and the 13th centuries. Though an attempt at giving a stereotyped form to the various castes was made in society yet there was a spirit of liberality in evidence, which we miss in our present society inspite of the so-called enlightenment of which we boast. It was perhaps due to the exigencies of the times that an excommunicated man might be admitted once more to the society by an easy expiation ceremony.

The following is found in Advutacharyya's Ramayana :—

" If a Yavana (Mahomedan) forcibly destroys a Brahmin's caste by obliging him to take six handfuls of cooked rice offered by him (the Yavana), then such a person may be taken back into the bosom of society by performing and expiation ceremony, for the fire of Brahminical spirit burns in a Brahmin up to six generations. This purity is lost only by taking beef (when no expiation ceremony will avail)." [1]

As already stated inspite of the rigorous injunctions of society, people in those days were certainly far more broad-minded and liberal than now. They knew how to meet the exigencies of a critical situation and devised means to protect their community relaxing their rules to a great extent. Many of the Brahmin families of Bengal were branded with infamy owing to atrocious attacks of the Mahomedans, on their women. These women were mostly admitted into society and their insults were whitewashed by forgiveness and humane considerations—a circumstance which should serve as a lesson to modern Hindus. Instances of Moslem atrocities and forbearing discretion of the Brahmins of those days are to be found in profusion in the old Bengali genealogical works. We refer our readers to the " Pirāli-kānda " by N. N. Vasu Prāchya-Vidyā-Mahārnava, where the readers will find very glaring cases of atrocity

1 বল করি জাতি যদি লএত যবনে।
ছয় গ্রাস অন্ন যদি করায় ভক্ষণে ॥
প্রায়শ্চিত্ত করিলে জাতি পায় সেইজনে।
ছয় পুরুষ পর্য্যন্ত ব্রহ্মতেজ নাহি ছাড়ে।
ব্রহ্মতেজ নাহি থাকে গোমাংস ভক্ষণে ॥—অদ্ভুতাচার্য্যের রামায়ণ।

done to Brahmin women by Mahomedans and the forbearance of their kinsmen in re-admitting them to their community after light penances.

The "Dosas" [1] or defects which touched some Brahmin families giving rise to groups or "melas" may be found in the kārikā or the genealogical work of Devivar who flourished in the 15th century. Some lines from this work are given below in the foot-note from which it will be seen that in numerous cases, Brahmin women were tolerated in society after molestation by Mahomedans.

The Moslem contact created three branches of the Brahmins, *viz.*, Serkhani, Pirali and Sreemantakhani. Besides, Jāfarkhāni, Dehātā,

[1] "ফুলিযা হইল মেল যে যে দোষ তায়।
নান্দা ধান্দা বারুইহাটী গঙ্গানন্দে পায়॥
খড়দহ মহাকুল সভেব ভাজন।
দিণ্ডিগত সুখনালী মেলেব কাবণ॥
বল্লভী হৈল মেল পিণ্ডদোষ পাইয়া।
মৈথিলানী একভাগ গোবিন্দ খোড়ী লইয়া॥
মহিন্তা দোষেতে হইল মেল সর্ব্বানন্দী।
সিন্দুরা কৈবর্ত্ত দোষ হৃদয়ে সুবুদ্ধি॥
পণ্ডিতরত্নী মেল উদ্ধরণী ভারে।
আঠাকাশী রঘুযুত পড়ে তাবপরে॥
হইল বাঙ্গাল মেল মঘদোষ হেতু।
হড় পায় বিপ্রদাস মেল মধ্য সেতু॥
ছায়া মেল হইল পরে নরেন্দ্র ঘটিত।
লখাই আসিযা তাহে করে আচম্বিত॥
অন্যপূর্ব্বা দোষ মেল হৈল সুরাই।
সুরাই ভাঙ্গিয়া ছাযা করিল বরাই॥
দিণ্ডিপোড়া কাটাদোষে বাণ জড়াজড়ি।
শ্রীমন্তখানীতে কেহো কবিলেক বাড়ী॥
অকৃতী গুড়দোষে মেল আচার্য্যশেখর।
গোপাল ঘটকী হড় কহি তার পর॥
দিণ্ডি গুড়দোষে মেল রাঘব কবিলা।
কুল পরিবাদ দোষে বিজয় মজিলা॥
ব্রহ্মবধ চৌৎখণ্ডীদোষ চাঁদ পাইয়া।
চাঁদাই হইল মেল জীবধর লইযা॥
পিণ্ড সংশয়ে মেল করিল মাধাই।
সুখনালী দিণ্ডি দোষ বিদ্যাধরী কই॥
রাযের দিণ্ডি বিয়া ছিল দৈবকী নন্দনে।
পারিদোষে পারিহাল সর্ব্বলোকে জানে॥
গড় গুড় দুই দোষে মেল প্রমোদিনী।
মৈথিলানী গত দোষে শ্রীরঙ্গ ভট্টজানি॥

Bhairabghataki and Hari Majumdari may be mentioned here. The loss of social status due to contact with the 'Maghs' (Bāngāl-mela) also deserves our passing notice. It may be said that though purity of status was lost still the society recognised their position in society.

That Moslem and other foreign contact in ordinary course of life was highly injurious to the principle of 'Achara' which was the backbone of Kulinism, may be gleaned from the lines found in "Dosatantra." [1]

শতানন্দখানী গুড় পারিদোষ মতে।
ভৈরব ঘটকী মেল যবন দোষ হইতে॥
কাকুস্থী হৈল মেল জাতিদোষ তায়।
আচম্বিতা মেল দিণ্ডি গৌতমেতে যায়॥
দেহটা হৈল মেল যবন দোষ তায়।
দশরথ ঘণ্টেশ্বরী বিপর্য্যায় পায়॥
মালাধরখানী কুন্দ কন্যাবধ দোষে।
নড়িয়াতে কুলাভাব কুলাচার্য্যে ঘোষে॥
ধরাধরী শ্রীবর্দ্ধনী চৌৎখণ্ডী লয়।
ওয়াদ্দরি সবে বলে এই পরিচয়॥
পরমানন্দ মিশ্র মেল হইল তাহাব পর।
বটেশ্বর নায়কের দোষ তার পর॥
দোপাড়া দোষেতে মেল ঘোষাল রাঘব।
শুভরাজখানী মেল পীতমণ্ডী ভব॥
যবন ও রায়ীতে ভগ্ন হরি মজুমদারী।
শুঙ্গ সর্ব্বানন্দী মেল হড় দোষ ভারি॥
পরে কহি দয়ি মেল অংশ ছয় যথা।
পূর্ব্বে হইয়া পরে আইসে কেবল মাত্র কথা॥'

—(দেবীবরের কারিকা)

—(বঙ্গের জাতীয় ইতিহাস, ব্রাহ্মণকাণ্ড, পৃঃ ১৯৩-১৯৪)

"যথা রাঢ়ে সেরখানী পীরালীভগ্নতা ক্বচিৎ।
বঙ্গে শ্রীমন্তখানী চ ত্রিভির্দগ্ধা বসুন্ধরা॥"

—হরিহর ভট্টাচার্য্য, দনুজারি মিশ্র প্রভৃতির মেল কারিকা।

—(বঙ্গের জাতীয় ইতিহাস, ব্রাহ্মণকাণ্ড, পৃঃ ২১৪)

[1] "ভট্টাচার্য্যের বাড়ীতে পাঁচ পীরের মোকাম।
তাহাতে নমাজ পড়েন সাগরদীয়ার শ্যাম॥"—দোষতন্ত্র।

(Five Mahomedan saints took up their abode in the house of a Bhattacharyya. Syām of Sāgardiyā said 'nemaj' with them in that house.)

"ঘৃতে জর জর শূকর ভাজা।
ভোজন করেন বামুন রাজা॥
ওরে বাপু নীলকণ্ঠ।
কেমনে খাইলা শূকরের ঘণ্ট॥"—দোষতন্ত্র।

Among the Brahmins the Sātsatis, the original Brahmin settlers in Bengal, were probably Sāraswatas, as the gotras of these Brahmins have a striking similarity with those of the other Sāraswata Brahmins settled in other parts of India To derive Sātsatis from "seven hundred" as is sometimes done is very questionable, for it is never known that at any time a statistics of Brahmins was taken and the number of them settled at seven hundred.[1] Such a practice was unheard of in ancient Bengal. There is no doubt that waves of Brahminic enterprisers came in various times to settle in Bengal—the older ones were the Sātsatis and the Acharyya Brahmins who once occupied a high rank in society before the advent of the five illustrious ancestors of Kulin Brahmins.

With the advent of Vaisnavism as propounded by Chaitanya Deva, the caste system underwent some changes in this land. Though the Bhattacharyyas were trying hard to do away with the old laxities of the Buddhists and the Sahajias, the Vaisnavas were making their attempts in the contrary direction. We learn from the Vaisnava literature that Chaitanya converted some Mahomedans into his faith. The cases of Haridas and Bijulikhan among others may be cited as examples in this connection. Another innovation that the Gaudiya section of Vaisnavism made was the acceptance of a man of a lower caste to the position of a "guru" by a man of a higher caste.

Narottama though born of a Kayastha family was given the status of a Brahmin in the great Vaisnava gathering at Kheturi by Virachandra, the son of Nityananda, in a thrilling speech in course of which texts from Haribhaktivilāsa by Sanatan was quoted. Premvilāsa says that the appreciative audience unanimously accepted the following conclusion :—

"হৃদে যার ব্রহ্ম আছে সেই ত ব্রাহ্মণ।
বাহ্য পৈতা কেবল ব্রাহ্মণজাতির লক্ষণ॥" [2]

(The great Brahmin Nilkantha takes pork fried in ghee. O my boy Nilkantha, how could you eat the dish of pork!

*Nilkantha was of Sāvarnagotra and a grandson of Bhairab Ganguly.)

[1] See Sambandha-Nirnaya by Lalmohan Vidyānidhi, p. 51.
See also Vaṃsividyāratna's collections of the Kārikās.

[2] See Narottamavilāsa by Narahari Chakravarti and Premvilāsa by Nityananda.

(True Brahmin is he who believes in God and acts accordingly. The sacred thread only signifies the particular caste and not the true spirit of a Brahmin.)

The orthodox community under the guidance of the Brahmins could not, for obvious reasons, tolerate the forward march of the Vaisnava reformers. Not only in the selection of the Gurus but also in other matters they transgressed the strict rules of society. Though Çrinivasa was a Brahmin, Ramchandra was a Vaidya and Narottama was a Kayastha, still they were not afraid to take their meal from the same plate, as if they belonged to the same caste.[1]

Kavikankan Mukundaram, who flourished in the latter part of the 16th century, described at some length the different castes of his day in his celebrated Chandikavya. Thus we find :—

[2] " In the land of Guzrat the Brahmins received due honours from the king and engaged themselves in the discussion of the various Sastras. For their learning and for giving benediction to the King Kalketu, they received garments and sandal perfumes as reward. The Kulin Brahmins were divided into various classes

[1] See Karnanda by Jadunandan Das, Niryyas III.

[2] পাইযা বীরের পান বৈসে যত কুলস্থান
বীরের নগরে বিপ্রগণ।
শাস্ত্রবিচার করে আশীষ করিয়া বীরে
নিত্য পায় ভূষণ চন্দন॥
কুলে শীলে নহে নিন্দ্য মুখটী চাটতি বন্দ্য
কাঞ্জিলাল ঘোষাল গাঙ্গুলী।
পুতি তুণ্ড বৈসে গুড় রাইগাঁই কেশরী হড়
ঘণ্টেশ্বরী বৈসে কুলাকুলী॥
পরিহাই পীতি-তুণ্ডী ঝিকরাড়ী মালখণ্ডী
ঘোষলী বড়াল কুলমাল।
চৌটচাণ্ডী পালসাঁই দীর্ঘাড়ী কুসুমগাঁই
সাঁই-গাঁই কুলভি পড়্যাল॥
কুশারি কড়িয়াল পুষ্পী সিমলাল
পিপলাই বৈসে পূর্ব্ব গাঁই।
ধনে মানে অতি চণ্ড বাপুলি বিশাল মুণ্ড
কবাল নিবসে সিমলাই॥
পালধি হিজল গাঁই মাসচটক ডিঙ্গসাই
কাঞ্জারি সাহরি ভূরিষ্ঠাল।
বটগ্রামী নন্দীগাঁই ভাটাতি সিদ্ধলদায়ী
নায়েরী কোয়ারী মতিলাল॥

or gāins according to the villages (fifty-six in all) given to them such as Mukhuti, Chatati, Bandya, Kanji, Ghoshal, Gango, Guḍ, Kesarkona, Haḍ, Ghantā, Pari, Putitundu, Jhikara, Mul, Baḍā, Kulabha, Chotachandi, Palsa, Dirgha, Kusum, Sanda, Kusa, Karial, Pusali, Simla, Pipa, Bapuli, Karal, Simul, Paladhi, Hijalgai, Muschatak, Dindi, Kanja, Sihar, Bhuri, Batagrami, Nandigai, and Naeri. Besides there were hundreds of Barendra Brahmins who had only the *gotras*[1] and not the *gāins*.[2] They were all very simple in their dealings with others and read the Yaju (and other Vedas) every day... but nevertheless there were illiterate Brahmins too, who lived upon

গাঞি নাই গোত্র আছে বসিল বীরের কাছে
বারেন্দ্র ব্রাহ্মণ শত শত।
ব্যবহারে বড় ঋজু নিত্য পড়ে বেদ যজু
বেদবিদ্যা পড়ে অবিরত॥
মূর্খ বিপ্র বৈসে পুরে নগরে যাজন করে
শিখয়ে পূজার অধিষ্ঠান।
চন্দন তিলক পড়ে দেবপূজা ঘরে ঘরে
চাউলের রোচকা বান্ধে টান॥
মযরাঘরে পায় খণ্ড গোপঘরে দধিভাণ্ড
তেলিঘরে তৈলকুপী ভরি।
কোথাও মাসরা কড়ি কেহ দেয় দালিবড়ি
গ্রামযাজী আনন্দে সাঁতরি॥
গুজরাট নগরে নগরিয়া শ্রাদ্ধ করে
গ্রামযাজী হয় অধিষ্ঠান।
সাঙ্গ করি দ্বিজে কয় কাহ্ণ দক্ষিণা হয়
হাতে কুশে দক্ষিণা ফুরাণ॥
গালি দিয়া লণ্ডেভণ্ডে ঘটক ব্রাহ্মণ দণ্ডে
কুলপাঁজী করিয়া বিচার।
যে নাহি গৌরব করে সভায় বিড়ম্বে তারে
যাবৎ না পায় পুরস্কার॥
গুজরাট একপাশে গ্রহ বিপ্রগণ বৈসে
বর্ণ দ্বিজগণ মঠপতি।
দীপিকা ভাস্বতি ধরে শাস্ত্র বিচার করে
বালকের দেখে জাওযাতি॥ ইত্যাদি।

—কবিকঙ্কণ-চণ্ডী, (বঙ্গবাসী,) পৃঃ ৮৬-৯০

[1] Gotras—One of the twenty-four sages or Rishis from whom as many different families have sprung, called after their names Sāndilya, Kāsyapa, etc.

[2] Gāin (from village)—Pertaining to a village (referring to one of the various classes of Rarhi Brahmins from the royal assignment of a separate village to each Brahmin), which were in all fifty-six in number.

performing priestly functions. They made a show of Sandal-marks on their persons, performed pujas in the houses of other people and lightly bound a bundle of rice and other food which were first dedicated to gods and next appropriated by themselves. The sweet-meat dealers gave them sweets as *Daksina* (consideration) for their doing priestly functions at their houses and similar rewards of curd and milk they got from milkmen. The oilmen filled cups with oil and offered them respectfully. Some even paid them in cowries and some paid in pulse cakes. The village priests thus always enjoyed plenty. These people visited the houses where Sradh was performed in Guzrat city. They exacted priestly fees on the spot as soon as the function was over. The matchmaking Brahmins conversant with genealogy of different families tried to lower one in a social gathering if not adequately paid his fees. The Graha-Vipras (Astrologers) owing to their inferior position occupy a corner of the city. The Brahmins of lower castes were heads of 'maths'. There were astrologers who discussed their subject accordingly and drew horoscopes of children."

Besides we get vivid description of the arrival of the Vaidyas, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, the Kayasthas, the banias and the Navasakhas among others. The following sub-castes were among the Navasakhas: The Goālās, the Oilmen, the Blacksmiths, the Betel-leaf growers, the Potters, the Weavers, the Gardeners, the Barbers, the Sweat-meat sellers, and the Aguris. The Betel-leaf sellers, the Sarāks (weavers of saris), the Gandha-banias, the Sankha-banias, Jewellers, 'bellmetal' Banias, Suvarnabaniks, Pasyatoharas (Royal jewellers), and the Pallav-gopas also deserve notice in this connection.[1]

In this connection may also be mentioned fishermen (Jeliā Das), cultivators (Haluā Das), the Kalus (oilmen), the Baitis (magicians), the Bagdis (good fighters), the Machuas (dealers in fish), the Kochas, the washermen, the tailors, the Siulis (the Palm-juice sellers), carpenters, the ferry boat-men (Pātni), the Bhats (ministrels), the Chowdulis (Palanquin-bearers), the Chunaris, (lime-sellers), the boatmen (manjhis), the Māls, the Chandals (selling salt and particular kinds of fruits), the Gohalyas (the singers), the Korangas, the Marhattas, the Kols (living in suburbs and

[1] The Tamulis (betel-leaf sellers) and the Gandha-banias are sometimes taken as the 'Navasakhas' in places of the weavers and the sweet-meat sellers.

professional drummers), the Hadis (grass-cutters), the Chamars (cobblers), the Domas (makers of wicker-works) and the harlots.[1]

It is peculiar that some non-Bengalis have also been mentioned here such as, the Kochas, the Kols, and the Marhattas. The mention of the Marhattas as surgeons and eye-specialists is note-worthy.[2] That the physician caste in Bengal had some connection with the Marhattas will be observed from their genealogical records in which it is distinctly mentioned that a class of Bengal-Vaidyas such as the Nandis and others were settled in Mahārāstra. (See Chandra Prabha by Bharat Mallik and Kavikanthahar).

The mention of the various castes and their occupations alleged to belong to Guzrat is merely a description of the people of Bengal and their complicated caste-system. In Guzrat Kulinism was never known and the details given by Mukundaram obviously give a picture of Bengali society.

The different branches of the Rarhi Brahmins mentioned in the list are nevertheless incomplete.

It may not be out of place to mention here the names of castes mentioned in Bharatchandra's Vidyasundar. Thus we find in the work written in the middle part of the 18th Century, the following :—

"The Brahmins look after the study of the Vedas, Grammar, Lexicon, Smriti, and Philosophy. They engage themselves in worshipping the deities at the temples resounded with the sound of conch-shells and cymbals and there were the worship of the god Siva, reading of the work called Chandi, sacrifice (Yajna) and Mahotsava (grand feast given by the Vaisnavas). The Vaidyas feel the pulse of patients and thereby diagnose disease. They follow the medical profession for which they study 'Kāvya' and the Ayurveda.

[1] See Kavikankan's Chandikavya, pp 86-90. (Bangabasi ed.).

[2] এক ভিতে বসিল মারাঠা।
ফিরে তারা গুজরাটে শোলঙ্গে পিলীহা কাটে
ছানি কাটে দিয়া চক্ষে কাঁটা ॥
—কবিকঙ্কণের চণ্ডীকাব্য, (বঙ্গবাসী,) পৃ: ৯০

(The Marhattas occupied a corner of the city of Guzrat They used to move about on calls requiring incision on the spleen or the use of a lancet for operating a cataract.

The Kayasthas and sundry other castes look to their individual profession. These castes were, the merchants, the jewellers, spice-dealers (Gandha baniks), the bankers (Suvarna baniks), Kansaris (bellmetal merchants), Sankharis (shell-bracelet dealers), milkmen, betel-leaf dealers, Tilis, Weavers, Barbers, Kuris (friers of paddy), Blacksmiths, Potters, Aguris, Yugis, Chasadhopas, Cultivators, Kaivartas, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Suris (liquor-dealers), Washermen, Fishermen, Guris, Chandals, Bagdis, Hadis, Domes, Cobblers, Kurmis, Korangas, Pods, Kapalis, Tiars, Kols, oilmen, Vādiās, Gardeners, Merchants, Baitis, Patuas, Kan, Kasbis, Buffoons and Dancers."[1]

If we look into the caste-history of the Bengali Hindus, we find that from the 11th century down, changes and reformation continually went on all with the object of unification of the Bengal-Hindus. The non-aryans and the merchants represented by Sahas and other castes hitherto lay outside the Hindu society as they had avowedly accepted the Buddhist creed in a previous era. The credit of giving them a status in Hindu society is due to the Vaisnava Goswamis, who performed priestly functions in their houses and thus elevated them. Formerly no Brahmin would do so in the houses of these communites most of which were branded as depressed. The Nava-Sakhs as MM. Haraprasad Sastri has pointed out means "New branch," and we come to know that those castes who formerly had lain outside the pale of our society, were admitted as "a new branch" and given a recognised footing in the Hindu society. The Hindu reformers tried to bring the Kols, and other hill-people within the fold of our society. Under this process of unification

[1] ব্রাহ্মণমণ্ডলে দেখে বেদ অধ্যয়ন।
ব্যাকরণ অভিধান স্মৃতি দরশন ॥
ঘরে ঘরে দেবালয় শঙ্খ ঘণ্টারব।
শিবপূজা চণ্ডীপাঠ যজ্ঞ মহোৎসব ॥
বৈদ্য দেখে নাড়ী ধরি কহে ব্যাধি ভেদ।
চিকিৎসা করয়ে পড়ে কাব্য আয়ুর্ব্বেদ ॥
কায়স্থ বিবিধ জাতি দেখে রোজগারী।
বেণে মণি গন্ধ সোণা কাঁসারী শাঁখারী ॥
গোয়ালা তাম্বুলী তিলী তাঁতি গোলাকার।
নাপিত বারুই কুরী কামার কুমার ॥
আগরি প্রভৃতি আর নাগরী যতেক।
যুগি চাষা ধোপা চাষী কৈবর্ত্ত অনেক ॥

the Vaisnavas specially made disciples of these non-Hindus, and converted them to Vaisnavism. The worship of Kali was a great asset for the purpose of making this unity and the Saktas had thus a share in this reformation by tantric processes which did away with all caste considerations.

সেকরা ছুতার সুবী ধোপা জেলে গুড়ী।
চাঁড়াল বাগ্দী হাড়ী ডোম মুচি শুঁড়ী॥
কুরমী কোরঙ্গা পোদ কপালী তেয়র।
কোলি কলু ব্যাধি বেদে মালি বাজী কর॥
বাইতি পটুয়া কান কসবী যতেক।
ভাবক ভক্তিবা ভাঁড় নর্ত্তক যানেক॥

ভারত চন্দ্রের বিদ্যাসুন্দর।

KABIR

(*Sheikh Kabiruddin Momin Ansari*)[1]

BY

RAI BAHADUR LALA SITARAM, B.A.

So much has been written about this great reformer that much of what I propose to say this evening will be merely *pishta-peshana* पिष्टपेषण as the Sanskrit phrase goes. In this paper I shall begin with a sketch of the life and teachings of his reputed *guru* Swami Ramananda. Our brethren of the Southern India claim him to be their fellow province-man and "to have been fifth in apostolic succession from Ramanuja but being insulted by the Vaishnavas of the south, he travelled north and established a *mutt* at Benares and had numerous followers."[2] We have no intention of disputing the claim of South India to be the birthplace of the *Bhakti-Mārga* but we have the strongest reasons backed by tradition to believe that Swami Ramananda was a Kanyakubja Brahman and was born in our holy city in the year 1356 of the Vikram Era, corresponding to 1300 of the Christian Era. The date and the day of his birth are recorded in the following Sanskrit verse :—

रामानन्दमहामुनिः समभवद् रागीषुरामावनौ-
युक्ते विक्रमवत्सरे घटतनौ माघासिते त्वाष्ट्रभे ।
सप्तम्यां गुरुवासरे युजि तथा सिद्धौ प्रयागाश्रमाच्
क्षौमद्भूसुरराजपुण्यसदनाद् रामावतारः कृतौ ॥[3]

[1] An "Allahabad University Extension Lecture" delivered in the Large Lecture Theatre, University Buildings, on the 17th September, 1927.

[2] T. Rajagopalachariar's *Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, Natesan, p. 117.

[3] *Bhakta Mal*, Sita Ram Sharan Bhagwan Prasad's edition, N. K. Press, 1913, p. 273.

According to Macauliffe "Ramananda flourished in the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century." (*The Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 101.)

"The great sage Ramananda was born in the house of Punya Sadana, chief of Brahmans of the city of Prayaga on Thursday, the 7th of bright half of Magh, 1356 V.E.."

His father's name as given in the verse was Punya Sadana and his mother's Sushila Devi.

The child was named Rama Datta and received his education, both religious and secular, under a Sannyasi. One day Rama Datta paid a visit to Swami Raghavananda. Raghavananda told him that he had completed his worldly career, yet he had not taken 'Refuge in the Lord through a Guru' (शरणागति). Rama Datta communicated it to his Guru whereupon the Guru directed him to approach Raghavananda to initiate him. Raghavananda received him as his pupil, altered his name to Ramananda, taught him the principles and practice of yoga and established him in *samadhi*. It is said that the messenger of death could not lay hold on him in that state and went back. Ramananda after completing his education started on a journey throughout the length and breadth of the country. He visited many places of religious importance including Gurushikhar on Mount Abu where his *Paglyan* or footprints are still an object of worship. In his peregrinations he had personal experience of the shortcomings of the Ramanuja cult to which he had been trained. Ramanuja in no place countenances the slightest departure from the Shastraic injunction. 'He is uncompromising in denying the privilege of Vedic study to Sudras and women.'[1] In his creed, redemption is practically denied to Sudras and women. The masses were prepared to listen to a teacher who could lead them to the path of salvation. Two thousand years ago, Buddha had pointed out such a path and gracefully walked over it himself. But his teachings, though they had left indelible marks on the minds of his countrymen, had been practically forgotten after

[1] *Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, Natesan, p. 117.

the expulsion of Buddhism from this country. Ramananda's heart was moved and it wanted only a signal to start on its career. The author of the *Vaishnavite Reformers of India* says that Ramananda insulted by Vaishnavites of the South among whom he lived, for his *social inferiority*, travelled north. What this inferiority was, is not clear. On the other hand, the tradition in this country has been accurately recorded by Sir George Grierson. He says:—

"According to tradition, he spent some time travelling through various parts of India, after which he returned to the residence of his superior Raghavananda. His brethren objected that in the course of his peregrinations, it was impossible that he could have observed that privacy in his meals which is a vital observance of the Ramanuja sect; and as Raghavananda admitted the validity of the objection, Ramananda was condemned to feed in a place apart from the rest of the disciples. He was highly incensed at this order and retired from the society altogether establishing a schism of his own.

"I have mentioned this at some length, as the insult offered to Ramananda was destined to result in one of the greatest religious revolutions which India has seen. Ramananda gave his disciples a significant name *Avadhūta* or Liberated. They had shaken off the narrow bonds imposed by Ramanuja on his followers and all castes were equally admitted to fellowship."[1]

To Sir George's "castes" I would add creeds. The Musalman Kabir was one of his first disciples. A detailed account of Ramananda's activities is reserved for a separate paper. I must pass on to the subject of this paper. I only ask you to bear in mind that according to Ramananda, Rama[2] is 'the highest and the most glorious manifestation

[1] *Tulasidas, Poet and Reformer*, J.R.A.S., 1903.

[2] राजाधिराजः सर्वेषां राम एव न संशयः।
(Verily, Rama is the king of kings.)

of the Supreme Being on earth and Saketa[1] is the highest heaven where He sits in His Glory ever ready to extend His helping hand to the sinful man who appeals to Him.'

Kabiruddin was a *Julaha*, one of the lowest orders of even the casteless Muslim brotherhood. In spite of the fact that all Muslims are equal, no respectable Musalman will consider it a compliment to be called a *Julaha*. Our saint was a child of Julaha parents residing in Benares. Some account of Benares Julahas will therefore not be out of place here. The word julaha is Persian, the shortened form julah (جولاہ) also meaning a spider, nature's weaver. There is, however, no reason to believe that Julahas who are to be found in almost every village, ever came from Persia, much less from Arabia though they call themselves *Ansaris*, or the descendants of the Sheikhs of Mecca, who helped the Prophet in his flight to Medina, to teach the art of weaving in this country. Hindu weavers in the United Provinces are called Koris and rank as Chamars. In western districts of these provinces Hindu weavers called themselves Chamar Julahas which significantly shows that one of the causes of the economic decline of the country is the degradation of the important trade of the manufacture of cloth by leaving it in the hands of the lowest orders of the Indian society, whose conversion to Islam has hardly improved their social status. "The Benares Julaha," remarks Mr. Nevill in the District Gazetteer, "is the most bigotted and aggressive of

Kabir, who was a disciple of Ramananda, says :—

राम के नाम ते पिंड ब्रह्माण्ड सब राम का नाम सुनि भर्म भानौ ।
निर्गुन निराकार के पार परब्रह्म है तासु का नाम ओंकार आनौ ।
विष्णु पूजा करैं ध्यान शंकर धरैं भनै सु विरञ्चि बहुविधि बानी ।
कहै कबीर कोइ पार पावै नहीं राम का नाम अकथ कहानी ॥

(*Bijak*, N.K. Press, p. 355)

साकेतान्न परं किञ्चित् तदेव हि परात्परम् ।

(There is nothing beyond Saketa ; it is higher than the highest.)

The original signification of Saketa is explained in my History of Ayodhya, to be published shortly by the Allahabad University.

all the Musalmans and has always taken a prominent part in the religious quarrels that have from time to time arisen in Benares." [1]

In the recent disturbances at Nagpur, great precaution was taken by the police to keep in check Momins (Mahomedan weavers) who are noted to be zealous protectors of their religion. "Benares, however, is a stronghold of Hinduism and even its Mahomedan inhabitants are often strongly tinctured with the ancient religion of India" [2] to which I would add and observe more than one Hindu custom. During my pretty long stay of five years in Benares, I have seen during the rainy season parties of Julahas going to the river Ganges and singing,

चलो देखि आई गंगा जी की बाढ़ ललना।

"Dear, let us go and see the Ganges in flood."

Kajri singing is a speciality with them. In the Burhwa Mangal, the decoration in the boats of the Julahas is second only to that of the boats of the Maharaja of Benares. I am inclined to think that some of them are of a superior order. The fine silk Kamkhwab (*vulg.* kinkhap) for which Benares has a well-deserved reputation and in which patterns are produced by gold and silver thread interwoven with silk, is the work of Julahas. Possibly they are of the same class as the silk weavers (*pattaváya*) mentioned in the Mandasor inscription, a guild (*śreṇi*) of whom repaired the temple of the Sun in the reign of the Emperor Kumara Gupta and were specially invited by the rulers of Mandasor to settle there from Lát. I have dwelt upon this at some length to show that it was nothing less than a miracle for a saint to be born in this community.

Birth of Kabir —Human imagination in all ages and in all climes, hesitates to believe that great men could be

[1] *Benares District Gazetteer*, pp. 103, 104.

[2] Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 124.

born in the usual way sometimes from the humblest parents and is ready to ascribe to them a superhuman and sometimes a divine origin. The great conqueror Alexander was not the son of Philip but was begotten on his mother by Jupiter. Similarly our saint who was in some respects partial to Hindus could not have been the child of Julaha parents. To make a Hindu saint he must have some Brahman blood in him though it had been shamefully polluted. If a Brahman widow had conceived by the blessing of a saint, no stigma could attach to her reputation and there was no necessity of abandoning the infant near Lahartara[1] tank where it was picked up by a Julaha, who being childless considered himself blessed on finding a beautiful male child and presented it to his wife. The advocates of caste system who would give the monopoly of enlightenment to a particular class only and are not shocked at ascribing a shameful origin to votaries of the Lord should be ashamed of themselves.

The story of the miraculous birth of Kabir was invented by Hindus because Kabir is considered a religious reformer. Mere knowledge of Hindu sacred lore and 'the broadest charity and sympathy with the higher spirits among his Hindu fellow countrymen'[2] but remaining a Muslim faqir all the while, did not entitle Malik Muhammad Jaisi to even diluted Brahman blood.

I hold therefore that Kabir was the offspring of Julaha parents. There is yet another reason for my arriving at this conclusion. A Qazi was called to give him a name. 'The Qoran was opened and a lot was cast. The word *kabir* which means great, was the first that presented itself. This

[1] The place where as a babe Kabir was found is now called *Kabir Das ki Baithak* and lies just outside Benares near the Grand Trunk Road in the Allahabad direction, very near to the 423rd milestone. There is a neatly built temple on a bit of slightly elevated ground to the south of the road, and above a shallow but wide-spreading tank or pond. In the temple or "mandir" as they prefer to call such buildings, is a 'paduka' (footprints) of Kabir Das, or as his followers often speak of him "Kabir Sahib." (Greave's *Kashi*, Indian Press, Allahabad, pp. 61-62.)

[2] Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, Introduction, p. xviii.

name was accordingly given to the child. The Julahas have a very powerful guild (*biradari*) and I doubt if these formalities would have been permitted in the case of a picked-up child of uncertain origin.

"The word Kabir occurs in the Qoran six times as a title of Allah and once as a title of Al Rabb."[1] The saint having been born of humble parentage was called only Kabir. Had he belonged to a respectable Muslim family or acquired wealth and worldly importance, his full name would have been Sheikh Kabiruddin by which I have preferred to style him in the heading of this paper. The suffix *Das* is a Hindu addition because he is said to have been a Vaishnava Bairagi which he was not. *Das* means a slave, and is an addition fitting Hindu names only.

Kabir's father was Ali who was also called Niru from *nir*, water, because he lived near a sheet of water possibly Lahartara and his mother was Nima or more correctly Naima (نعيمة) feminine of Naim or anything good that we enjoy (Steingass). (*Cf.*, Naimullah, the grace of God, a very common name among Muslims.)

Date of Kabir's birth.—Kabir is said to have been born on Monday, the day of the full moon in the month of Jeth, 1455 of the Vikram era, corresponding to A.D. 1398 (Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 122). As the date of Ramananda's birth as given above is 1356 V.E. Kabir would be 99 years younger than Ramananda and supposing that his pretended initiation was contrived at the age of thirty (and it could not be earlier as would appear from the sequel) Ramananda would be 129 years old when Kabir approached him. The fabulous ages ascribed to both Ramananda and Kabir may be summarily rejected. According to another Sanskrit verse quoted in the *Bhakta Mala* (Munshi Bhagwan Prasad's edition, p. 277) Ramananda died in 1505 V.E. at the age of 148 years but admitting that a yogi like him

[1] Wescott's *Kabir*, p. 34.

could live to that age, physical infirmity consequent upon senile decay would compel him to stick to his seat and not to put his limbs in jeopardy by descending along stone foot-steps into the Ganges in the dark. Are we also to grope in the dark about the period when Kabir flourished? But we have some dates regarding which there is no uncertainty. Kabir according to the gloss of Priya Das was persecuted by Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Sikandar ascended the throne in 1545 V.E. (1489) and visited Benares in the same year. Kabir had then been evidently confirmed in his apostacy and if the date of the birth as given above is accepted, he would be then 1545—1455=90 years old or more. Surely his enemies would have been ashamed of persecuting an old man unless they wanted to become Ghazi by doing away with an infidel without any consideration for his age. The other date which may be accepted as correct is that of Sheikh Taqi's death in 1485 V.E. (1428), (Ahmad Shah's *Bijak*, p. 9). As Kabir was admittedly a disciple of Taqi in the beginning, he was certainly initiated by him before 1485, *i.e.*, before he had attained the age of 30 years. This is very reasonable. The persecutor of Kabir could not be Sikandar Lodi but some of his predecessors the Saiyids. It will be too hazardous to say that Kabir's Hindu *guru* was not Ramananda but one of his disciples.

Kabir is one of the few saints whose life has shown that even a householder earning his livelihood by pursuing his family calling of a weaver can be a great religious teacher. He kept his mind continually fixed in God and worked sufficiently to maintain himself and his family. His wife was Loi by whom he had two children, a son named Kamal and a daughter named Kamali. The Vaishnava Bairagi theory again steps in and as Bairagis are bound to observe celibacy, Loi is represented as his disciple and as connexion with a disciple who stands to his *Guru* in the relation of a child to its parents is sinful the children are said to have been adopted. Nothing can be more absurd than this statement.

We never heard in India of a daughter being adopted specially when a son had already been adopted.

Kabir's education.—No trustworthy account is forthcoming of Kabir's education. Some scholars relying upon the following line,

मसि कागद छूयो नहीं कलम गह्यो नहिँ हाथ।

"He never touched paper and ink and never held a pen in his hand."

Conclude that he was illiterate. But the same is said of Vyasa the compiler of the *Mahabharata* who had the god Ganesha for his amanuensis. I shall try to show that as a Musalman, Kabir was highly versed in the principles of the Sufi cult as also of the Yoga philosophy of Hindus besides Hindu lore. Kabir in my opinion first became the disciple of the Sufi saint, Sheikh Muhammad Taqi of Jhusi on the other side of the Ganges here. Taqi was a son of Shaban-ul-Millat (Sahban-ul-Millat?) and belonged to the Saharwardia order of Sufis (Revd. A. Shah's *Bijak*, p. 9). "He was born at Jhusi in 1320 and died there in 1384. His full name was Saiyid Sadr-ul-Haq Taqi-ud-din Muhammad Abu Akbar .....The shrine of the saint was visited by Farrukhsiyar in November 1712 on his way to fight Jahandar for the throne of Delhi." (Allahabad District Gazetteer, p. 246.) An account of the struggle between Farrukhsiyar and Jahandar Shah is given in my paper read in this room in 1922 when the learned head of the History Department of this University, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., was Secretary of the U. P. Historical Society. Taqi's tomb is still pointed out near Akela Per. From Taqi he learnt the principles of Sufi cult. This knowledge he displays in the following verse attributed to him the genuineness of which has not yet been questioned :—

छोड़ि नासूत मलकूत जबरूत लाङ्गत हाङ्गत बाजी।
और साङ्गत राङ्गत इहँ डारिदे कूदि आङ्गत जाङ्गत जाजी।
जाय जाङ्गत मै खुद खांविन्द जहँ वही मक्कान साकेत साजी।
कहै कब्बीर ह्वां भिस्त दोज़ख़ थके वेद कीताब काङ्गत काजी॥

In order to explain this, I quote the following lines of the great Sufi saint, Shams Tabrez :—

برائے تربیت پیران بشارت * بداده چار منزل با عبارت
یکے منزل که آن ناسوت نامست * پُر از صاف انسانی تمام است
از ان منزل اگر خود بگذرد کس * دوم منزل رسد او با ملک بس
دران عالم چو او معروف گردد * ملایک باسمان معروف گردد
چو بر گیرد قدم را او ز ملکوت * رسد در منزل سوم بجبروت
مقام روح بر من جبروت آمد * نشان از وے بگفتن غیرت امد
دران منزل بود کشف وکرامات * ولے باید گذشتن ز ان مقامات
بنور ذکر باید در گذشتن * به آب توبه باده دل بهشتن
چو گردد جان و دل از غیر حق پاک * رسد در عالم لاهوت بیباک
مقام قرب منزل بے نشان است * بجز کون و مکان دیگر جهان است

These lines may be freely rendered into English as follows :—

'There are four stages in the training of Sufis. The first is *násut*, in which a man has not shaken off his worldly concerns though he may be engaged in the service of God.

The second stage is that of *malkút*, when his mind is purified and he has acquired the qualities of angels.

The third stage is *jabrut*, when he has reached a stage of absolute self-obliteration and begins to see God in everything around him.

The fourth stage is *lahut*, when his brain, his heart and his body are filled with the glory of God.

The fifth and the last stage is that of *hahut*, when a man is absorbed in God.'[1]

Now Kabir says that it is not necessary to pass through all these stages. It is all child's play. Throw them aside

[1] A detailed account of the Sufi journey is given in Appendix A.

and leave *sahut* (sahat ساحت, a court, quadrangle, which may also refer to sāhat-i-tuba or paradise) and *rahut* (rahat راحت worldly pleasure) and pass over *áhut* (ahat عاصت misery) and *jáhut* (zehd زهد devotion) and reach at that *jáhut* (jahat جاهلك high place) where thy Lord and Master has established the Saketa. It is beyond both Heaven and Hell. Vedas and Qoran are mere *kah* (blades of grass).

I have already said that Saketa according to Ramanandis is the highest heaven where the Lord Rama sits in His Glory. In the *Vasishtha Samhita*, this Saketa is described as a region in which there is no sorrow, no old age, no death, no destruction caused by time, illusion or annihilation. Here the soul attains its real form and dwells in peace.[1]

You may find fault with Kabir's pronunciation of Arabic words but you cannot say that he was illiterate.

So much for Kabir's acquaintance with Sufi literature. I shall now show that he had a fair knowledge of Yoga also.

Kabir is famous for his *ultas* (उलटा) the most common example of which is *louka budai sil utarae*, "the gourd sinks and the stone floats over water." The following shabda is a typical example of an *ulta* and has puzzled the translators of Bijak who do not know the principles of the Yoga system of our philosophy.

अवधू वो ततु रावल राता ।
नाचै बाजन बाज बराता ॥
मीर के माथे दूलह दीन्हो
अकथा जोर कहाता ।
मँडये के चारन समधी दीन्हो,
पुत्र बिवाहल माता ॥

[1] न च्यवन शोको न जरा न मृत्यु-
र्न कालमाया प्रलयादिविभ्रमः ।
रमेत रामेत च तत्र गत्वा,
स्वरूपतां प्राप्य चिरं निरंतरम्

दुलहिनि लीपि चौक बैठाये,
निर्भय पद परभाता।
भातहि उलटि बरातहि खायो
भलो बनी कुसलाता॥
पानिग्रहन भयी भव मंड्यो,
सुखमन सुरत समाता।
कहै कबीर सुनो हो संतो
बूझो पंडित ज्ञाता॥ (शब्द २५)

To those who understand Hindi, the verses appear to be like the dhakoslas [1] of Amir Khusro, if not the ravings of a mad man. But inside the song itself there are words showing that Kabir is talking very good sense. This song is one of Kabir's *shabdas* which corresponds to the word आप्तवचन (authoritative word) of Hindu philosophy and which is expected to be considered gospel by his followers. Kabir himself says in the last line that only ज्ञाता (learned) Pandit can understand it.

Kabir in his *shabda* explains how a *yogi* can establish himself in the right path by which he can attain eternal rest according to our conception of the term. A *yogi* in modern Hindi means a juggler, a snake charmer, or a contortionist; but its original significance is entirely different. Siva is a *yogi* and his *samadhi* (समाधि) is described in the opening verse of the Sanskrit drama, *the Mrichhakatika*, and is referred to in the third canto of the *Kumara Sambhava*. You will naturally ask why the *yoga* is practised at all. I have not come to give you a sermon on Hindu religion, but to enable you to understand the sayings of one who was a poet besides being a religious reformer and whose influence on Hindi literature has been enormous. I would, therefore, tell you that we of this country, most probably because Mother

[1] *E.g.* भैंस चढ़ी बबूल पर और लप लप गूलर खाय।
पूंछ उठाकर देखा तो पूरनमासी के तीन दिन॥

India supplies the necessities of life in abundance, have learnt to consider nothing worth attaining which is less than the *summum bonum* (परमार्थ). The first line of every system of philosophy says that the system propounded leads to final emancipation. A well-known verse says :—

समाधियोगाधिगमेन देवं मत्वा धीरो हर्षशोकौ जहाति ॥[1]

" By means of *samadhi*, by *yoga*, and by knowledge, contemplating on God, a man attains insensibility to pain and pleasure."

I want you to note the last expression. The *yogi's* heaven is not a place where believers are provided with the comforts of mundane existence in abundance. It is not like Harbongpur where *bhaji* (vegetables) and *khaja* (sweets) are sold *take ser* (a seer for two pice). It is something entirely different.

परेण नाकं निहितं गुहायां विभ्राजते यद्यतयो विशन्ति ।

" The place where *yogis* go is far beyond the skies and most inaccessible."

To begin with—*yoga*. *Yoga* from युज् *yuj* to join (*yoga* in arithmetic meaning addition), is the science which teaches the method of joining the soul with God. To attain this, the aspirant must as a preliminary step purify his body and his soul. To quote from Rai Bahadur S. C. Basu's Introduction to the English translation of Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtras* by Mr. Rama Prasada, M.A., published in the Sacred Books of the Hindus, page iii :—'The aspirant must strictly regulate his conduct as regards others. He must show happiness and feel happiness when dealing with those who are happy. Let him have no feeling of jealousy towards them. He must show compassion towards those who are suffering. He must not be callous to the miseries of others. He must be complacent towards the virtuous, and hate not the sinner. These are the moral attributes that he must try to cultivate.'

[1] अध्यात्मयोगाधिगमेन देवमित्यादि—कठोपनिषद् ।

The next step is the concentration of the mind by fixing the attention on one particular object. This particular object may be a holy saint or sage, 'but the best and the safest method of Yoga is the love of God. Loving God with all one's heart and soul, would quickly bring about the cessation of all mental functions. God is a spirit untouched by sorrow, action and its fruition. He is Omniscient; He is the Teacher[1] of all, and from eternity. His mystic name is Om.'

This concentration will be quickly brought about by the regulation of the breath, technically called *prānāyām* To practise this *prānāyām*, the Shāstra prescribes certain poses or *āsans*. In the Hatha Yoga there are 84 *āsans*. Of these *siddhāsan* and *bajrāsan* have special significance. Before proceeding further I would explain a few other technical words. Making the mind (*chitta*) one-pointed and averse to the senses is called *pratyāhāra*. To fix this *chitta* on any desired object is called *dhāranā* and when this is perfected, it is called *dhyāna*. The state of the mind when it becomes absorbed in *dhyāna* and becomes insensible to anything else is called *samādhi*. A combination of *āsans* and *prānāyāma* is called *abhyāsakalā* or Hatha Yoga. The two *āsans* successfully performed lead to *mulabandha*.

Prānāyāma can be performed only after the *āsans* have been practised to perfection. This is of three kinds, (1) *pūrak* or slow inspiration through the nose, (2) *rēchak*, or respiration through the same passage, and (3) *kumbhaka* is filling the brain with the air thus drawn. The three processes regulated in a prescribed way are called *prānāyāma*. *Prānāyāma* regularly practised leads to *pratyāhār*, *pratyāhār* to *dhāranā* and *dhāranā* to *samādhi*. Shutting up the breath into brain for 24 hours is called *dhyāna* and uninterrupted *dhyāna* for 12 days is called *samādhi*.

[1] This should be noted. Both Kabir and his follower Nanak, call God, Satguru—the True Teacher. Kabirpanthis now call Him Saheb-Master.

Now the *yogis* believe in 12 chakras, six[1] in the trunk and six in the head. They are (1) Muladhar (मूलाधार), (2) Swadishthan (स्वाधिष्ठान), (3) Manipur (मणिपूर), (4) Anahat (अनाहत), (5) Vishuddha (विशुद्ध), (6) Agni (अग्नि), in the body. Of the six in the head, the first is Trikūt, त्रिकूट a little above the place where the eye-brows meet and the last is the Merushikhar मेरुशिखर or the Sahasrar. These chakras are assumed to be of the shape of a full-blown lotus flower and are shown in the drawing exhibited to you (Appendix B). In the same diagram you will notice a snake running up from the bottom to the top. This snake is called Kundalini.

Kundalini is defined as follows:—

कूजन्ती कुलकुंडलो सुमधुरं मत्तालिमालास्फुटम्
वाचः कोमलकाव्यबन्धरचना भेदादिभेद्यक्रमैः।
श्वासोच्छ्वासविवर्त्तनेन जगतां जीवो यथा धार्यते।
सा मूलाम्बुजगह्वरे विलसति प्रोद्दामदीपावलो॥

'The Kundali like the rhythm of a soft poem and buzzing like bees, singing beautiful notes, being the controller of lives of all animals maintains it by respiration and inspiration. It rests in the lotus-shaped cavity of the *muladhara* (the lowest *chakra*).'

According to the *Hathayoga Pradipika*, Chapter III, *kundalini* is the basis of all the *yoga* tantras in the same way as the Lord of serpents Supports the earth.

This *kundalini* is supposed to be sleeping head downwards in the *muladhara*, the lowest chakra and the great object of the *yogi* is to awaken it.

The Yoga Shastra also assumes the existence of two veins, the *irā* (इड़ा) and the *pingalā*, (पिंगला) on each side of the spinal chord. Between them there is a third vein called the *sushumna* (सुषुम्णा) (Sukhaman of Kabir).

[1] A scientific explanation of these chakras from the pen of Major B. D. Basu is given in Appendix C.

As soon as the *bajrāsan* and the *siddhāsan* have been practised to perfection, the *mulabandha* is accomplished, the inspired breath instead of going down is forced up and shakes the *kundalini*. The *kundalini* thus agitated, straightens its coils and enters the downward orifice of the *sushumna* and travels upwards passing through the various *chakras*. At each stage of its journey the *yogi's* connection between the material and the spiritual becomes loose and he acquires superhuman strength. When the *kundalini* enters the last stage the *yogi* becomes immortal.

Those who want to know more about the subject, I would refer to the Hansatirtha[1] on the other side of the river Ganges at some distance to the east of the B. N. W. Railway line in Jhusi. In this building the *irā*, the *pingalā* and the *sushumna* are graphically represented, the *sushumna* appearing as a well at the northern end of the lotus-petal shape building. The progress of the *kundalini* through the *Sushumna* and the various *chakras* is shown till it reaches the *Ashtadala Kamala*, the last stage in the brain.

Kabir's theology is nearly the same as above, except that he substitutes *surati* for the *kundalini*. What this *surati* is, will be explained afterwards. Meanwhile, to understand the meaning of the *shabda* we must describe the principal ceremonies of a Hindu marriage.

(1) The marriage party dancing in delight, for which the nautch girl is the present substitute, accompanied by music goes to the house of the bride's parents and is received at the door.

(2) The bridegroom gets down from the conveyance—usually a palanquin—with a *maur* or tinsel crown on his head and receives a present at the door. This is *dwār ka chār*.

(3) The bridegroom and his father are next taken to the mandap (mandwa) or the canopy erected in the open yard of the house where the *samadhi* (bridegroom's father)

[1] A rough plan and description of Hansatirtha is given in Appendix D.

receives a present. This is called *mandwe ka chār*. This custom does not obtain in this part of the country in these days. Presents to the *samadhi* are given at the end of the marriage ceremony but from the *Tazkira Sucharubanshi* (Gaur Kayasthas) published by Babu Ramdas Gaur, M.A., it appears that among the Gaur Kayasthas before the marriage the father of the bride applies a *pan* leaf, some rice (*akshat*) and some *dahi* (curd) at the bridegroom's father's breast, gives him a rupee as *nazar* and embraces him.

(4) The marriage.

(5) The ground is 'leeped' and a design is made on it with lines of flour technically called *chauk*, though it need not have four corners, and the bride is seated on it when the *gathbandhan* ceremony is performed.

Now Kabir's mysticism reverses the whole thing; it is the musical instrument which is dancing, and the marriage party is chiming; the bridegroom is placed on the head of the crown; in the *mandwe ka chār* it is the *samadhi* who is given away after which the son marries his own mother; the bride is 'leeped' or plastered over and the *chauk* is seated over her; in the feast which follows the repast eats up the marriage party.

We shall now try to find out what Kabir means. We shall first of all explain the real, and where necessary the esoteric, meaning of the principal words and expressions in the *Shabda*.

अवधू (*avadhū*)—a shortened form of *avadhūta*. It is generally believed as noted above that the title of *avadhūta* was given by Swami Ramananda to his followers because they had shaken off the narrow bonds imposed by Ramanuja. It seems, however, to be a much older word, meaning an ascetic who has renounced all worldly attachments and connexions.

यो विलंघ्याश्रमान् वर्णान् आत्मन्येव स्थितः पुमान्।
अतिवर्णाश्रमो योगी अवधूतः स उच्यते॥

A fanciful meaning has also been squeezed out of the letters composing the word,

अवरत्वाद् वरेण्यत्वाद् धूतसंसारबंधनात् ।
तत्त्वमस्यर्थसिद्धत्वादवधूतोऽभिधीयते ॥

Vishwanath Singh also interprets *avadhu* to mean those who have got rid of the *vadhū* (bride) the māyā. *Badhū*, *dulhin*, *sundari*, are very common names of māyā with Kabir, *e.g.*, in line 5 above.

तत (*tatu*) (*tatwa*). The real nature of the human soul or the material world as being identical with the Supreme Spirit pervading the universe.

रावल (*rawal*) (king). This word is found in other places also, *e.g.*, Shabda 87, line 3, and means the *jivatma* or the human soul. In shabda 93 it is also addressed as *bābu*, a very common word for addressing gentlemen in Benares and eastern districts. Bābu originally meant a nobleman inferior in rank to a rājā but in its degraded sense now means a clerk in an English office.

राता (*rātā*)—literally painted. Here it means 'become one with, become enamoured of.' Rāti occurs in several places such as Shabda 28.

नाचै बाजन (*nāchai bājan*). *Bājan* (the musical instrument) is the human body which like the dancer assumes different features such as *sthūla* (स्थूल) in the *jāgrat avasthā* (जाग्रत अवस्था), *sūkshma* (सूक्ष्म) in the *swapna avasthā* (स्वप्नावस्था), *kāraṇa* (कारण) in the *sushupti* (सुषुप्ति), and *mahā kāraṇa* (महाकारण), in the *turīā* (तुरीया).[1]

[1] The various *avasthās* or states are explained in the first chapter of the *Panchadashi*. To take up the first three conditions :—

(1) *Jagar*, the wakeful state, in which the objects perceived, *e.g.*, sound, touch, etc., are distinguished from one another by their characteristic properties. This is the function of the gross body (*sthūla sharira*) which is the product of quintuplicated elementary principles.

(2) *Swapna*, the dreaming state. The only difference between this state and the wakeful state is that in the former, the precepts are associated with (a notion of) transiency and in the latter with (a notion of relative) permanency. This is the function of the subtle body which is composed of the five *prānas* and the five organs of action.

बाज बराता (*bāj barātā*). The *barāt* (the marriage party) are the five *tatwas* and the twenty-five *prakrities*. The five *tatwas* being earth, water, fire, air, and ether; to each of these there are five *prakrities*, *i.e.*, 25 in all.

Earth *prakrities*—hands, feet, mouth, anus, and the generative organ.

Water *prakrities*—sound (शब्द), touch (स्पर्श), form (रूप), taste (रस), and smell (गन्ध).

Fire *prakrities*—eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and skin.

Air *prakrities*—*Prāna*, *Apāna*, *Samāna*, *Udāna* and *Pyāna*.

Prāna, the first of the five life-winds or vital airs which has its seat in the lungs.

Apāna, the second life-wind in the body which goes downward and out at the anus. अपनयनाम्मूत्रपुरीषादेरपानोऽधो-वृत्तिर्वायुः ।

Samāna, the vital air which has its seat in the cavity of the navel and is essential to the digestion.

Udāna, the vital air which rises up the throat and enters into the head. स्पंदयत्यधरं वक्त्रं गात्रनेत्र प्रकंपनः । उद्देजयति मर्माणि उदानो नाम मारुतः ।

Vyāna, the life wind which is diffused through the whole body (व्यानः सर्वशरीरगः).

Ether *prakrities*—*Mana*, *Buddhi*, *Chitta*, *Ahankāra* and *Antahkarana*.

(3) *Sushupti*, the dreamless sleep. In this sleep there comes a remembrance of ignorance (*i.e.*, of not having perceived anything during sleep). This is the function of the *kāraṇa sharira* or the causal body formed of impure *satwa* with its latent functions. This is known as the sheath of bliss. It is needless to say that, the gross body present in the waking state is absent in the dreaming state while the *Ātmā* is present as a witness of both states. This is spoken of as the invariable presence so far as *Ātmā* is concerned. In the same dreaming state when the *Ātmā* is presented as a witness, the gross body does not appear and is here the variable factor.

'The subtle body is absent in the state of dreamless sleep while the *Ātmā* is present as a witness (as is known by the statement made by one after waking "I enjoyed sound sleep"). This is the invariable presence as regards *Ātmā*. While the *Ātmā* is present in the dreamless state, the subtle body is absent and is the variable factor.' (M. Srinivasa Rau's *English translation of Panchadasi*, Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1912.)

(4) *Turīa*, the fourth state of the soul in which it becomes one with Brahman.

Mana—*mind* specially concerned with the faculty of doubt.

Buddhi—Intellection.

Chitta—In ordinary books on the Yoga Shastra *chitta* is synonymous with *mana*. Here, however, it means the faculty which discriminates in contradistinction with the faculty of doubt.

Ahankāra—The faculty of Ego.

Antahkarana—The internal perceiving organ. According to the Panchadashi it is from its dual faculty of doubt and certitude, divisible into mind (*manas*) and intellect (*buddhi*) respectively.

मौर (*Maur*)—Mukuta or the tinsel crown worn by the bridegroom at the time of his marriage. According to Kabir, the Surati as explained afterwards, was given by God to men for the uplift of the Jivātmā which on account of its connection with the māyā is bent on a downward course. The Surati therefore is the crown but with the progress of the Surati, the Jivātmā is forced up and Surati goes down. The Jivātmā which is here compared with the bridegroom thus sits on the crown, the Surati.

दूलह (*dūlah*)—The bridegroom. The Jivātmā which through the agency of the Surati is now going to be united with the *jyoti*.

अकथा (*Akatha*)—Indescribable.

जोर (*Jor*)—Energy.

मँडवा (*Mandwa*)—Mandwa or the *mandap* is the canopy which is usually a screen made of straw under which the marriage ceremony is performed. Here it is the *Brahmānda*.

चारन (*Chāran*)—*Chār*. Abbreviated form of *āchār* meaning ceremony. There are several ceremonies performed in Hindu marriages such as :—

Baŋ kā Chār or the reception ceremony in the grove or the camping ground of the marriage party.

Dwar kā Chār or the reception ceremony of the bridegroom's parents at the door.

Maḍayé kā Chār or the reception ceremony under the *mandap* as explained above.

It may be noted that in each case the bride-groom or his father receives a present from the bride's father.

समधो (*Samadh*)—Here bridegroom's father. According to Kabir the relation of *māyā* to *jiva* is peculiar. In *Ramaini* I, line 6, Kabir says that father and son have one wife in common and both are born of the same mother.[1] Here *man* is evidently the creation of māyā and enjoys it. He becomes the father and guide of Jivātmā. As a preliminary step to marriage, this *mana* has now been surrendered.

पुत (*Putra*)—Son—the Jivātmā.

माता (*Māta*)—Mother—the *ādi-shakti* or the *jyoti* from which the Jivātmā according to the Kabir's cosmogony was produced.

दुलहिन (*Dulahi*)—bride—the māyā or the delusion.

लीपि (*Lipi*)—plastered over, suppressed.

चौक (*Chauk*)—The ground prepared as above. Here it means set of four *chaitanyas* or intelligences as detailed below:

1. *Pramatri chaitanya* or intelligence of one competent to judge. This *chaitanya* is *antahkaranavachhinna*, or the characteristic of the *antahkarana*.

2. *Pramāna chaitanya* or the intelligence of real cognition or right knowledge. This is *vrittyavachhinna* and is characterised by modifications of the mind[2] in the state of outgoing activities.

3. *Prameya chaitanya* or the intelligence of the object of certain knowledge or of the thing to be proved. This is in relation to *vishayas* or the external objects.

4. *Sphurti chaitanya* or the intelligence of inspiration.

निर्भयपद (*Nirbhaya Pad*)—The region where there is no fear, *cf.*,

प्रतिष्ठां विन्दते सोऽस्मिन्यदा स्यादथ सोऽभयः ।

[1] बाप पूत कै एकै नारी भौ एकै माय बियाय ।

'Father and son have the same wife; one mother gave birth to both.'

[2] Patanjali's *Yoga Sūtra*, translated by Ram Prasad, M.A., Sacred Books of the Hindus, p. 10.

"When one rests in himself, knowing his self to be Brahman, he shakes off all fear and becomes released."[1]

Compare also Kabir

छोड़ि बैकुंठ को हंस आगे चला शून्य मे ज्योति जगमग जगाई।
ज्योतिपरकास में निरखि निस्तत्व को आप निर्भय हुआ भय मिटाई॥

"When the *hansa* (the Jivātmā *minus* the māyā) proceeded onward in the region of *shunya* and the light in him was awakened he saw the *tattwa* in that light and became fearless."

भात (*bhāt*)—Cooked rice or the marriage feast. The *bhāt* here is the *jnana* or the knowledge which the prakrities, the marriage party explained above had been trying to eat up. When, however, the *hansa* (the soul liberated from the māyā) reaches this stage by the effort of *surati* the Jivātmā reaches the *shūnya* or the highest stage in journey, this *jnana* eats up the marriage party, *i.e.*, all connexion with the prakrities ceases.[2]

कुशलात (*Kuslāt*)—Peace and tranquillity.

पानिग्रहन (*Pāni-grahana*)—Marriage or union with God.

भव (*Bhava*)—Creator from whom all creation proceeds.

मंड्यो (*Mandyo*)—Become one with. The import of this word has been explained in my paper on Farrukh-siyar and Jahandar Shah.

सुखमन (*Sukhman*)—The *sushumna* as explained above.

सुरति (*Surati*)—This is a peculiar word and so far as my knowledge goes was used for the first time by Kabir. In common parlance it is an *apabhransa* of *smriti* and according to Vishwanath Singh's commentary of Kabir's *Adi Mangal*, verse III, literally translated, the Lord gave to man this

[1] *Panchadasi* translated by Srinivasa Rau (Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam), p. 474.

[2] कामादयो विलीयन्ते ज्ञानादेव न चान्यथा।
अभावे सर्वतत्वानां स्वयन्तत्वं प्रकाशते॥
(शिवसंहिता)

surati after he had forgotten his true nature to enable him to know it. Kabir's *surat* is, however, more than mere recollection. According to Kabir there are seven *suratis* and their names are given below in order :—

1. the *Niranjan*, 2. the *Akshar*, 3. the *Achit*, 4. the *Oham*, 5. the *Soham*, 6. the *Mula surati*, and 7. the *Ankura*. The functions of these are described in the *Adi Mangal*, Sakhis 2-20, and Kabir concludes with saying that :—

सात सुरति सब मूल हैं प्रलयहु इनहीं माहिं ।
इनहीं मा से ऊपजे इनही मांहिं समाहिं ॥

'the seven *suratis* are the root cause of all and their final destruction (literally absorption); all has sprung from them and all will be merged in them.'

To find out the true nature of the *surati*, I referred the matter to the principal authorities of the Radhasoami faith which attaches great importance to *surati* or *surat*. In the *Sar Bachan Radhasoami*, it is identical with the soul.[1] Pandit Brahma Shankar Misra, M.A., the late Maharaj Sahib of the cult, calls it the spirit force. The Dayal Bagh *Satsangis* say that *surat*, as ordinarily used in the *Sant-mat*, is synonymous with what is otherwise known as jivātmā which means the consciousness not of *ātmā* pure but of mind spiritualised. The mind is believed to be *jar* (inanimate) and the *ātmā*, *chetan* (intelligent). So jivātmā is neither *ātmā* nor mind pure but is mind made *chetan* by *ātmā*, *i.e.*, the *chetan* state of the mind under the *chetan* effect of the *ātmā*. If the sun which is a luminous body be likened to *ātmā* and the moon which is a dark body likened to the mind, the luminous state of the moon under the influence of the sun may very well be likened to jivātmā. I have also been informed that according to the Radhasoamis, the *sushumna* point where the *surat* enters is located in the Agya-chakra

[1] जीवात्मा अर्थात् सुरत को रूह करते हैं। यह सब से ऊंचे स्थान सच्चे सत्तनाम और राधास्वामी पद से उतर कर इस तन में आकर ठहरी है और दस इन्द्री और मन वगैरह से बंध गई है।
Sar Bachan Radhasoami, Misra Press, Allahabad, p. 2.

and the *surat* does not recognise the *sushumna* without being taught by a perfect Guru.

Babu Madhava Prasad Saheb of Allahabad says that *su'at* is the Hindi form of *swarata*—enamoured of itself.

As Kabir was a Sufi at the outset and his *yoga* bears distinct influence of Sufi doctrines, I am inclined to think that *surati* is the *sūrat-i ilmia* (صورت علمیه) of Sufis. Lane explains *sūrat* as that by which a man is specially distinguished, consisting in reason and thought and other distinguishing attributes. Gayas, however, is more explicit:—

باصطلاح صوفیه آنچه موجود شد و موجود خواهد شد چرا که این همه در علم حق سبحانه ثابت بودند *

'whatever exists and whatever will exist because everything existed in the thought of God before it appeared.'

The meaning of the Shabda is now clear. Kabir says (to begin from the last line but one) that as soon as *surati* enters the Sushumna, the jivātmā becomes enamoured of the *tatwa* or the Supreme Spirit. The body begins to dance and the twenty-five prakrities being agitated, clash with the senses and a peculiar sound is emitted which is audible to the Yogi only. In the last stage the jivātmā or the soul which under the influence of māyā has a tendencey to take a downward course, and which the *surati* wants to lift up, and of which the *surati* is therefore the crown, gets over the *surati*, and acquires indescribable strength, and when it reaches the *Brahmanda*, the mind is surrendered, *i.e.*, the soul ceases to have any connexion with it and is united to the *adi-shakti* or the *jyoti* from which it had originally sprung. After this the māyā (the bride) is suppressed and the *chaitanyas* triumph over it. The jivātmā now need not be afraid of anything. Lastly the *jnana* (knowledge) which the māyā prakrities had been trying to eat up, gets the better of them and eats them up. It is then that peace is attained and the Yogi is united with the *Onkar*. This is enough to show that Kabir had a fair knowledge of *yoga*.

To such as consider Hindu religion as nothing but a strange mixture of fraud and superstition, *yoga* may be a hoax. Yogis are warned not to waste their attainments by performing miracles. When, however, a Yogi does appear to exhibit his feats our detractors are baffled in finding an explanation. One such man, the Agamya Guru, went over to England twenty years ago. He could stop the action of his heart for several minutes by holding his breath and the most sensitive stethoscope failed to hear any sound of beating. A case of a Yogi's self-induced trance is reported in Lyon's Medical Jurisprudence for India (Wassel's Edition). "In this case the Yogi was seated cross-legged. On examination it was found that the pulse had ceased to beat altogether, nor could the slightest heart-beat be detected by the stethoscope. The Yogi was placed in a small subterraneous masonry cell and the door locked and sealed by the city magistrate. At the expiration of thirty-three days the cell was opened and the devotee found just where he was placed but with a death-like appearance, the limbs having become stiff as in *rigor mortis*. He was brought from the vault and the mouth rubbed with honey and milk and the body massaged with oil. In the evening manifestations of life returned. He was fed with a spoonful of milk, and in three days, was able to eat his normal diet, and was alive seven years after."

You will also ask why there is no Yogi now. According to the *Hathayoga Pradipika*, it is absolutely necessary that *yoga* should be practised in a country with a good government.[1] It is needless to tell you that our Government is the best that could be wished for, but unfortunately we have no peace. I would also ask you to note that similar

[1] सुराज्ये धार्मिके देशे सुभिक्षे निरुपद्रवे ।
धनुः प्रमाणपर्यन्तं शिलाग्निजलवर्जिते ।
एकान्ते मठिकामध्ये स्थातव्यं हठयोगिना ॥
(उपदेश, १, १२)

sentiments are scattered throughout the whole of Kabir's teachings. Kabir was a Musalman but being a born seeker after truth he saw the futility of the prescribed ritual and came over to Allahabad where as I have told you he became the disciple of the Sufi saint Taqi. The principles and practice of the Sufi cult could not give his mind the peace which he yearned for and finding the best opportunity of learning the principles of Hindu religion in his native place Benares, he possibly approached a Shaiva Yogi from whom he learned the *yoga* before he became a Ramanandi. It is quite possible that there was some hesitation on the part of Ramananda or his followers to admit a Muslim in his society and this led to the invention of the device of lying on the steps of the Panch Ganga ghat in the dark hours of the morning with the express object of being trampled under foot by Ramananda who used to go there for his daily bath. To me the story appears to be absurd. Raidas (the Ravidas of *Granth Sahib*), another famous disciple of Ramananda, was a Chamar. Why did not caste pride stand in the way of his initiation? To Ramananda's teachings Kabir stuck throughout his life. Ramananda was a peace-maker and exhorted his disciples not to quarrel with anybody. Kabir was born of a notoriously quarrelsome community and could not help quarrelling, as you will see on reading his poems addressed to Pande and Mulana. Ramananda attached great sanctity to animal life; so does Kabir. In Shabda 30, he says

कह कबीर वे दूनौ भूले रामहि किनहुं न पाया।
वे खसिया वे गाय कटावैं बादै जनम गँवाया॥

'Says Kabir both has gone astray, none of them has attained God. One (the Pande) sacrifices goats and the other (the Mulana or Molvi) sacrifices cows. Their lives have been in vain.'

Nevertheless, Kabir was a Muslim[1] by birth and the hatred for *but-parasti* (idol-worship) had been ingrained in

[1] One thing is certain that Kabir was much occupied with Islam—Barth's *Religions of India*, Trubner 1882, p. 240.

him. Ramanandis are the greatest image-worshippers in India. Kabir could not accept idol-worship.

So much for the education of Kabir. I shall now give you some idea of his influence on the literature of the country. Before his time and for a long time afterwards, religious books were written in Sanskrit. Nearly 250 years afterwards Tulasidas was also accused of employing Hindi to which Tulasidas replied,

का भाषा का संसकृत प्रेम चाहिये सांच।
काम जु आवै कामरी का ले करै कुमांच॥

'What does it matter if I employ Hindi Bhakha, the spoken language or Sanskrit? Love to God should be true. When a rough blanket is useful (*e.g.*, in protecting one from storm) what will you do with a silken coat?'

He was the first to teach that religious poetry could be written in the vernacular of the country and he employed the simplest and the most homely Awadhi of his age with an occasional sprinkling of the local Bhojpuri of Benares to express his thoughts. He was also the first to teach saints to knock off the fetters of convention with which secular authors considered themselves bound. Some of his *dohas* (*sakhis*) contain 26 matras.[1] The example he set has been followed by saints of India north of the Vindhya mountains for the past 600 years. Some of these have twisted Sanskrit in a way which would remind us of Pratap Narayan Misra's Maha-Sanskrit in the well-known lines[2] which I quote for

[1] *E.g.*, गुरु गोविंद दोऊ खड़े काके लागूं पाय।
बलिहारी गुरु आपने जिन गोबिंद दियो बताय॥ *Sant Bani Sangraha*, p. 2.

[2] कूदंतं झुंड झुंडं घर घर घुसतं खप्पड़ं फोड़यन्तम्।
पावैं सो लै भगन्तं दँतनखकटतं गालभर पूरयन्तम्।
जोड़ु बच्चा समेतं शिशुन घुड़कतं कुकुरान् डपुयन्तम्।
ऊँचे नीचे चढ़न्तं नृपकुलअजितं वानरं नौमि नित्यम्॥

your amusement. As an example I shall read the *bandana* of the saint Dadu Dayal

दादू नमो नमो निरंजनं नमस्कार गुरदेवत: ।
बंदनं सर्वसाधवा प्रमाणं पारंगत: ।
परब्रम्ह परापरं सो मम देव निरंजनं ।
निराकारं निर्मलं तस्य दादू बंदनम् ॥

Yet the followers of Dadu say that this murdered Sanskrit has an esoteric meaning in it. Kabir may be safely said to have laid the foundation of the *Sant-mata* and all must agree though they refuse to acknowledge that there is much in the sayings of Nanak, Dadu, Sundar Das, Maluk Das, Charan Das, Jagjiwan Das and Paltu Das, extracts from whose writings, I have given in my *Selections from Hindi Literature*, Book IV, which is mere repetition of what Kabir said many hundred years ago. Extracts from Kabir's works appear in the *Granth Sahib* and 174 pages of Vol. VI of the *Sikh Religion* are devoted to the translation of Kabir's hymns and sakhis which are there called slokas. Kabir's followers like the followers of Nanak used the same *nom de guerre* in their writings and it is therefore difficult to say if all the sakhis attributed to Kabir were composed by him. I shall not waste your time by enumerating the works of Kabir or of those who followed him. To give some idea of the enormous *Sant* literature which has sprung up, I shall tell you that 'the poems and hymnology of Garib Das are said to amount to 32,000 lines; Jaisa is stated to have composed 1,24,000 lines; Prayag Das, 48,000 lines; Rajab Ji, 72,000; Bakhna Ji, 20,000 lines; Sankar Das, 4,400; Baba Banwari Das, 12,000 lines; Sankar Das, 1,20,000 lines; and Madho Das, 68,000 lines.' (Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, p. 67.)

I am also inclined to think that Kabir was the first to write a *ghazal* in the Urdu of his time, though the palm is given to Saadi of the Deccan. The genuineness of the

following poem attributed to Kabir is not questioned and Kabir and not Saadi will therefore hold the place of honour as the father of Urdu poetry.

همن عاشق هين مستانے همن کو بيقراري کيا
رهين آزاد يا جگ سے همن دنيا سے ياري کيا
جو بچهڑے هين پيارے سے بهٹکتے در بدر پهرے
همارا يار هے هم مين همن کو انتظاری کيا
خلق سب نام اپنے کو بهت کو سر پٹکتا هے
همن گر نام سانچا هے همن دنيا سے ياري کيا
نه پل بچهڑين پيا هم سے نه هم بچهڑين پيارے سے
اُنهين سے نيهه لاگا هے همن کو بيقراري کيا
کبيرا عشق کا ماتا دوئي کو دور کر دل سے
جو چلنا راه نازک هے همن سر بوجهه بهاری کيا

I now come to the end of this discourse. Kabir's zeal to expose the futility of what he considered the shortcomings of the Hindu religion made him unpleasant to the Hindus and his acceptance of the Ramanandi teachings and the word Rama as the name of the Supreme Being instead of Allah and his denunciation of the Sufi cult enraged the Muslims who persecuted him in various ways.[1] The Muslims also, headed by his old teacher Taqi, approached the Emperor of Delhi with a petition to punish him. With the various

[1] It was probably these persecutions which compelled Kabir to leave Benares and migrate to distant Magahar now in Basti District. His votaries, however, ascribe a different motive. They say that Kabir left Benares because death in Benares ensures salvation as a matter of course, and Kabir said

जो कबीर कासी तजै तौ रामहि कौन निहोरा ?

"If Kabir attains salvation by dying in Benares, what is there to be grateful to Rama for (whom he served so diligently all his life)?"

He, therefore, went to Magahar where death instead of ensuring salvation would make him an ass in the next birth. According to our creed the place that is directly opposed to Benares is Magaha (Magadha) and not Magahar as Tulasidas says in the following line :

कासी मगह सुरसरि कर्मनासा ।

and death in Magadha which was once the stronghold of Buddhism would ensure damnation. It is also needless to say that Magaha was nearer to Benares than Magahar. I am inclined to think that Kabir had more powerful Muslim friends in Magahar where

punishments devised and of Kabir's miraculous escapes, we have no concern in this paper. Kabir was a votary of the Lord, and his Master could not forsake him.[1] Addison has well said:

How are Thy servants blessed, O Lord,
How sure is their defence.
Eternal Wisdom is their guide,
Their help Omnipotence.

SITARAM

---

he stayed till his death. The story that after his death, a heap of flowers was found under the shroud which covered his dead body must also be credited with caution. The word फूल *phūl* which ordinarily means a flower, also means charred bones in Hindi and the inhabitants of Allahabad must have seen the *phuls* of distinguished Hindus, including Gokhale and Tilak, dying and cremated elsewhere, brought here to be thrown in the holy *Sangam*.

[1] محال است چون دوست دارد ترا * که در دست دشمن گذارد ترا

'If He holds thee as His friend, it is impossible that He should let thee fall in the hands of thy enemies.'

APPENDIX A.

The Sufi Journey.

Human life is likened to a journey (*safar*), and the seeker after God to a traveller (*salik*).

The great business of the traveller is to exert himself and strive to attain that perfect knowledge (*marifah*) of God which is diffused through all things, for the Soul of man is an exile from its Creator, and human existence is its period of banishment. The sole object of Sufism is to lead the wandering soul onward, stage by stage, until it reaches the desired goal—perfect union with the Divine Being.

The natural state of every human being is humanity (*nasut*) in which state the disciple must observe the Law (*shariah*); but as this is the lowest form of spiritual existence, the performance of the journey is enjoined upon every searcher after true knowledge.

The various stages (*manazil*) are differently described by Sufi writers, but amongst those of India (and, according to Malcolm, of Persia also), the following is the usual journey :—

The first stage, as we have already remarked, is humanity (*nasut*), in which the disciple must live according to the Law (*shariah*), and observe all the rites, customs, and precepts of his religion. The second is the nature of angels (*malakut*), for which there is the pathway of purity (*tariqah*). The third is the possession of power (*jabrut*), for which there is knowledge (*marifah*); and the fourth is extinction (*fana*) (*i.e.*, absorption into the Deity), for which there is Truth (*haqiqah*).

Placing himself then under the spiritual instruction of some eminent leader of the sect, he is fairly started upon his journey and becomes a *salik*, or "traveller," whose whole

business in life is devotion, to the end that he may ultimately arrive at the knowledge of God.

1. Here he is exhorted to serve God, as the first stage towards a knowledge of Him. This is the first stage of his journey, and is called 'abudiyah' (عبودیه) or "service."

2. When in answer to his prayers the Divine influence or attraction has developed his inclination into the love of God, he is said to have reached the stage called 'Ishq (عشق) or "love."

3. This Divine love, expelling all worldly desires from his heart, leads him to the next stage, which is zahd (زهد) or "seclusion."

4. Occupying himself henceforward with contemplations and investigations of metaphysical theories concerning the nature, attributes, and works of God, he reaches *marifah* (معرفة), or "knowledge."

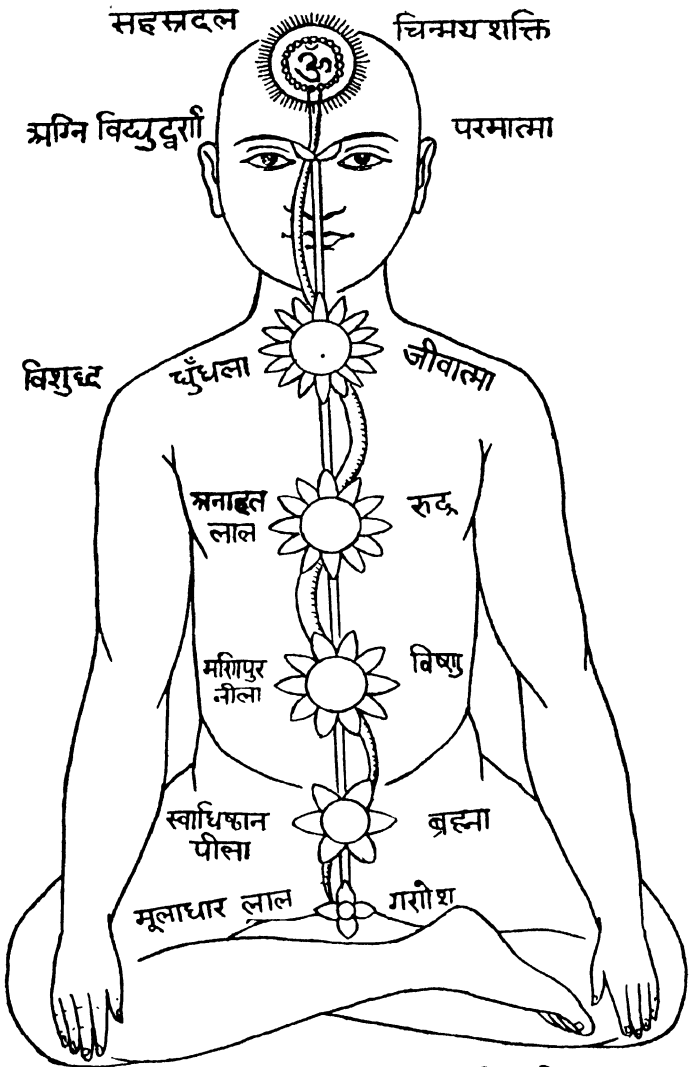
5. This assiduous contemplation of starling metaphysical theories is exceedingly attractive to an oriental mind, and not unfrequently produces a state of mental excitement. Such ecstatic state is considered a sure prognostication of direct illumination of the heart by God, and constitutes the next stage called *wajd* (وجد), or "ecstasy."

6. During this stage he is supposed to receive a revelation of the true nature of the Godhead, and to have reached the stage called *haqiqah* (حقيقة), or "truth."

7. He then proceeds to the stage of *wasl* (وصل), or "union of God."

8. Further than this he cannot go, but pursues his habit of self-denial and contemplation until his death, which is looked upon as *fana* (فنا), "total absorption into the Deity, extinction."

(*Dictionary of Islam* by T. P. Hughes London, W. H. Allen & Co., 1885, pp. 609-610).



शरीरान्तरस्थ कुण्डलिनी

APPENDIX B.

Extract from Major B. D. Basu's article on the Anatomy of the Tantras originally published in the "Theosophist" for March 1888.

Padmas and Chakras.—Great difficulty arises in identifying these Padmas and Chakras. What are these structures one is tempted to ask? Are they real, or do they only exist in the imagination of the Tantrists? Though we are unable to satisfactorily identify them, we nevertheless believe that the Tantrists obtained their knowledge about them by dissection. These terms have been indefinitely used to designate two different nervous structures, *viz.*:—nervous plexuses and ganglia. But it may be questioned, how are we authorised to identify the Tantric Padmas and Chakras with either the ganglia or plexuses of the modern anatomists. Our reasons for doing so are the following:

"First.—The position of some of these Padmas and Chakras corresponds with that of the plexuses of ganglia of the modern anatomists."

"Second.—These Chakras are said to be composed of petals designated by certain letters, which clearly point to either the nerves that go to form a ganglion or plexus, or the nerves distributed from such ganglia or plexuses."

"Third.—Certain forces are said to be concentrated in these Chakras, thus identifying them with the plexuses or ganglia which the modern physiologists have proved to be "separate and independent nerve centres."

"The Nadi Sushumna has six Padmas (*Siva Samhita*, Ch. II, p. 12), evidently signifying the six nerve plexuses formed by the spinal cord."

"The description of the thousand-petalled lotus (*Siva Samhita*, p. 51), shows it to be the medulla oblongata."

"We proceed next to the identification of the famous six Chakras of the Tantras :—

i. Muladhara Chakra (*Siva Samhita*, p. 62) is the sacral plexus.

ii. Swadhisthan Chakra (*Siva Samhita*, p. 62). There can hardly be two opinions as to its being the prostatic plexus of modern anatomists.

iii. Manipur Chakra (*Siva Samhita*, p. 47) appears to be the epigastric plexus.

iv. Anahat Chakra (*Siva Samhita*, p. 47) is the cardiac plexus."

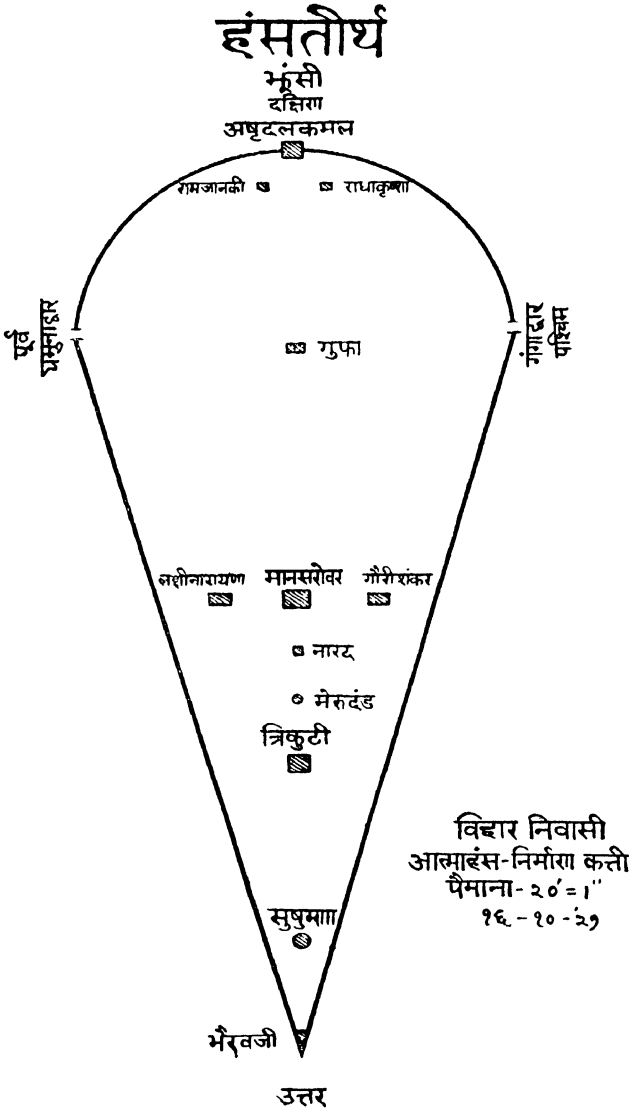
v. Visuddha Chakra (*Siva Samhita*, p. 48) is either the laryngeal or pharyngeal plexus.

vi. Ajna Chakra (*Siva Samhita*, p. 47) is the cavernous plexus."

"We have very briefly hastened over the six Tantric Chakras. We see that these Chakras are the vital and important sympathetic plexuses, and preside over all the functions of the organic life."

"There can be little doubt that by the 'contemplation' on these chakras, one obtains psychic powers."

"Contemplation leads to control over the functions of these Chakras or plexuses. The intimate connexion between the sympathetic nerves and the great viscera renders it highly probable that the sympathetic system has mainly to do with the organic functions.....The sympathetic is the system of organic life."


हंसतीर्थ
झूंसी
दक्षिण
अषृदलकमल
रामजानकी
राधाकृष्ण
पूर्व
प्रयागद्वार
गुफा
गंगाद्वार
पश्चिम
लक्ष्मीनारायण
मानसरोवर
गौरीशंकर
नारद
मेरुदंड
त्रिकुटी
सुषुम्णा
भैरवजी
उत्तर
विहार निवासी
आत्माहंस-निर्माण कुटी
पैमाना- २०'=1"
१६-१०-२७

APPENDIX C.

Hansatirtha.

This building was erected by Swami Atma Hans of Bihar about 75 years ago and consists of a lotus bud-spread enclosure, the outer walls being surmounted by lotus-petal-shaped bricks a thousand in number. Near the base there are two doors tbe *Ganga Dwar* corresponding to *Iḍa* and the *Jumna Dwar* or the *Pingala*. Beginning from the apex at the end there is a temple high up with an image of Bhairava sitting on a dog and down below the following *mantras* are engraved on a slab of stone standing erect against the wall :—

एको हंसो भुवनस्यास्य मध्ये स एवाग्निः सलिले संनिविष्टः ।
तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय ॥
(श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषद् ६, १५)

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा वृणुते तनूं स्वाम् ॥
(कठ उपनिषद्, द्वितीय वल्ली)

At about a yard, there is a heart-shaped platform which may be taken to be the head of the *Kundalini*. Immediately after it is a well called the *Sushumna Kup* which the *Kundalini* after being aroused to action enters. Next to it is a small temple called the *Trikuti* with two smaller temples one on each side. After the *Trikuti* is the *Meru Danda*, a vertical column of stone about a foot in diameter and 10 feet in height around which a snake (*Kundalini*) is coiled. Next to it is a small reservoir in which Narada sits playing on the *vina* or the Indian lute. We now come to a larger reservoir in the middle of which Brahma is seated on the top of a full blown lotus carved in stone. Immediately after is a *gupha* or a subterranean room under a temple-shaped

structure and is called the *Bhamar Gupha.* *Umath Pith* is a platform at a distance of a yard. On each side of this *Pith* there are temples with images of Rama and Sita in one and of Radha and Krishna in the other. We now come to the last stage of the journey, the *Ashtadal Kamal* which is a lotus-shaped mirror of eight petals mounted on the hood of a snake. Above the room in which the *Ashtadal Kamal* is placed there is a temple-shaped building called the *Shunya Mahal* and the minaret surmounting it is called the *Shunya Shikhar.*