THE BOOK WAS DRENCHED

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_158876

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Call No. 378.54/C-J V 19 Accession No. 13929
Author Calcutta University
Title Journal of the Department of 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. XIX

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1929

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

Reg. No. 439 B.J.—November, 1929—F

CONTENTS

		Pages
1.	The Mountain System of the Puranas, by Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. ...	1—27
2.	New Light on Nature in the Age of Pope, by P. K. Das, M.A.	1—42
3.	Date of Composition of the Ramayana, by P. C. Sengupta, M. A.	1—19
4.	A Brief Phonetic Sketch of the Noakhali Dialect of South-Eastern Bengali, by Gopal-Haldar, M.A.	1—40
5.	India in Puranic Cosmography, by Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.	1—20
6.	Mayavada, by A. Rai Chaudhuri	1—87
7.	Government and Administrative System of Tipu Sultan, by Surath Charan Sen Gupta, M.A. ...	1—47
8.	The Linguistic History of Certain Dravidian Words, by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.	1—14
9.	The Songs of Jnanadas, by Biswapati Chaudhuri, M.A.	1—14
10.	The Maharastra Purana, by Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A.	1—16
11.	অধ্যাপক রাধাকৃষ্ণম্-প্রণীত ইংরাজী হিন্দুদর্শনের ইতিহাস—ভগবদ্গীতা (অনুবাদ)—অনুবাদক শ্রীকোকিলেশ্বর শাস্ত্রী, বিদ্যারত্ন, এম্.এ.	১—১৩
12.	Some Central Problems of the Rig-Vedic History and the Vedic Scholars, by N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).	75—199

THE MOUNTAIN SYSTEM OF THE PURĀṆAS

BY

HEMCHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D.

The entire mountain system of the world, as conceived by Purāṇic writers, centres round Meru which is supposed to stand in the middle of Ilâvṛita, the most centrally situated and highly elevated subcontinental region (*varsha*) of Jambūdvîpa, the innermost of the great island continents of the world, which is said to be surrounded on all sides by the sea of salt.[1] The terraqueous globe, as is well known, is described by ancient Hindu cosmographers as comprising seven concentric islands (*Saptadvîpā Vasundharā*)[2] separated by encircling seas which are likewise seven in number. The innermost of these *dvîpas* is Jambūdvîpa. It is described as low on the south and north, and highly elevated in the middle.[3] On the southern half of the elevated ground are three subcontinents (*varsha*), *viz.*, Bhārata, Kimpurusha and Harivarsha. On the north, too, are three, *viz.*, Ramyaka, Hiraṇmaya and Uttara Kuru. Ilâvṛita is situated between those halves, and is said to be shaped like the half moon. East of it is Bhadrāśva and west is Ketumâla. Meru, "the mountain of gold," stands in the middle of Ilâvṛita.

Below the central mountain are, we are told, the four *Vishkambha Parvatas* (" subjacent hills ") :—Mandara on the east, Gandhamādana on the south, Vipula on the west and Supārśva on the north.

Each of the northern and southern *varshas* has its own subcontinental range (*varsha-parvata*). Three of the

[1] Agni Purāṇa, Chs. 107-108; Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. 54. Pargiter's trans., p. 275 f.

[2] Saptadvîpā Vasumatî (Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, Kielhorn's edition, I. 9).

[3] Dakshiṇottarato nimnā madhye tuṅgāyatā kshitiḥ (Mārk. P. 54. 12).

varsha-parvatas, *viz.*, Nîla, the parvata of Ramyaka; Śveta (or Śukla), the parvata of Hiraṇmaya or Śvetavarsha,[1] and Śṛiṅgî (Śṛiṅgavat or Tri śṛiṅga),[2] the parvata of Uttara Kuru,[3] lie to the north of Meru. Three others, *viz.*, Nishadha, the parvata of Harivarsha, Hemakūṭa, the parvata of Kimpurushavarsha and Himavat, the parvata of Bhārata, Himāhvaya or Haimavata varsha[4] lie to its south.[5] These Varsha-parvatas seem to be conceived as parallel ranges stretching east and west and extending into the ocean.[6] Their number is stated to be six. But the inclusion of Meru, the mountain of the central Varsha, raises the total number to seven.[7]

In addition to the Varsha-parvatas which mark off the northern, central and southern varshas from each other and, in some cases, actually give the subcontinents their distinctive names,[8] every *varsha* has seven principal ranges styled *Kula parvata*[9] (group-mountain or clan-mountain), besides a number of smaller hills (kshudra parvatāḥ)[10] which are situated

[1] Agni P. 107. 7. Śveta Varsha is apparently the Śveta Dvîpa of the Nārāyaṇîya story. Mbh. VI. 8 associates Śveta with 'Ramaṇaka' and Nîla with Hiraṇmaya. *Cf.* also Seal, Vaishṇavism, p. 47f.

[2] Mārk. P. 54. 9; Mbh. VI. 6.4 ff.; Agni 108.26.

[3] Airāvata varsha according to the Mbh. VI 6. 37; 8. 11. The Mahābhārata places Uttarakuru to the south of Nîla and on the border of Meru (Mbh. VI. 7.2). Referring to the northernmost region the Great Epic says, "na tatra Sūryastapati." The Rāmāyaṇa also tells us (IV. 43.55) "Sa tu deśo visūryopi tasya bhāṣā prakāsate." N. Das and Seal find here a reference to the Aurora Borealis.

[4] Agni P. 107.5; Brahmāṇḍa, 35.30. In Mbh. VI. 6.7 the name Haimavata is given to the Kimpurushavarsha—the Kinnarakhaṇḍa of Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Trans. III. 30-31.

[5] Agni P. 107. 5-7; 10.8-5.

[6] Samudrāntaḥ pravishṭāścha saḍasmin Varshaparvatāḥ (Mārk. P. 54.12).
Prāgāyatā suparvāṇaḥ saḍime Varshaparvatāḥ.
avagāḍhāḥ ubhayataḥ samudrau pūrvapaśchimau,—Brahmāṇḍa, 35.13; Padma, Svarga, 2.22; Mbh. VI. 6.3.

[7] Himavān Hemakuṭaścha Rishabho (variant Nishadho) Merureva cha.
Nîlaḥ Śvetas tathā Śṛiṅgî saptāsmin Varshaparvatāḥ (Mārk. P. 54.9).

[8] *Cf.* the names Meruvarsha (Mark. 59), Śvetavarsha (Agni, 107), and Haimavatavarsha (Brahmāṇḍa, 35).

[9] Sarveshveteshu Varsheshu sapta sapta Kulâchalâḥ. Agni, 108.32. According to the Mārk. P. Bhadrāśva has five Kulâchalas; but Ketumâla, like Bhārata, has seven (Ch. 59).

[10] Mārk. 59-5.

near these (bhūdharāḥ ye samîpagāḥ). The names of the Kulaparvatas of Bhārata-varsha are thus given in the Great Epic and the Purāṇas :—

> Mahendro Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Ṛiksha parvataḥ
> Vindhyaścha Pāripātraścha saptaivātra Kulâchalâḥ.[1]

The four outlying subcontinents, *viz.*, Bhadrāśva, Ketumâla, Bhārata and Uttara Kuru are marked off from Ilâvṛita and other inner varshas by a group of ranges styled *Maryādā parvatas* (boundary mountains).[2] These are eight in number, *viz.*, Jaṭhara and Devakūṭa on the east side of Meru, separating the central *varsha* (Ilâvṛita) from Bhadrāśva;[3] Nishadha (No. 2) and Pāripātra (No. 2) on the west, separating Ilâvṛita from Ketumâla ; Kailâsa and Himavat on the south marking off Bhārata from the central Varshas ; Śṛiṅgavat and Jārudhi (or Rudhira)[4] on the north cutting off Uttara Kuru from the rest of Jambūdvîpa.

The distinction between the Maryādā parvatas and the Varsha parvatas is not easily understood, and some of the former, notably Himavat and Śṛiṅgavat (=Śṛiṅgî) actually figure as Varsha parvatas. It is, however, to be noted that the name Maryādā parvata is given to mountains on *all* sides of Meru which separate the central varsha or varshas from the four outermost subcontinents. Varsha-parvatas, on the other hand, include Meru itself and the ranges separating the northern and southern (but not the eastern and western)[5] varshas from one another. All of them, with the exception of

[1] Mbh. VI. 9.11, Mārk. 57.10.

[2] Bhāratāḥ Ketumālâścha Bhadrāśvāḥ Kuravastathā patrāṇi lokapadmasya Maryādā śaila bāhyataḥ.—Agni, 108. 22-23.

[3] Mārk. 54. 22-26 ; 59. 3-4.

[4] Agni, 108.26.

[5] The number of Varshas seems to have been originally seven (sapta Varshāni, Mbh. VI. 6.53). The inclusion of Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla afterwards raised the number to nine. *Cf.* Nîlakaṇṭha "atraiva kechid Bhadrāśva Ketumālayor varshāntaratvam prakalpya Navavarshān-ityāchakshate."

Meru, are represented as running from east to west and extending to the sea. That there is overlapping in regard to the northernmost and southernmost ranges is what may naturally be expected. The innermost Varsha-parvatas, *viz.*, Nîla and Nishadha, lying immediately to the north and south of Meru, join two other ranges, *viz.*, the Mâlyavat and Gandhamâdana (No. 2) which are associated with the eastern and western Maryâdâ parvatas respectively, and completely shut off Ilâvṛita from the rest of the world.[1] They are the *Quadrangular mountains* referred to by Alberuni.[2]

There is much that is fabulous in the Purâṇic account summarised above. The division of the globe into seven concentric islands is, of course, entirely imaginary, though some of these *dvîpas* refer to real countries inhabited by historic peoples.[3] The description of the earth as low on the south and north, and highly elevated in the middle, and the account of the Varsha parvatas and the Maryâdâ parvatas given above, may, on the other hand, have been based upon stories recounted by travellers and traders, pilgrims and explorers, about the orographical features of Middle Asia—the great plateau in its centre, and the hills and mountains which intersect it, marking off the tablelands from one another and from the level plains watered by the Ganges, the Oxus (Vaṁkshu)[4] and other streams. But the details, as given in the Purâṇas, are too fantastic and conventional to accord with reality ; and there is reason to believe that some of the so-called Varsha parvatas were in fact parts of the

[1] Ain-i-Akbari, III, pp. 30-31. *Cf.* Mârk. 54. 22-23.

[2] "In the east the Mâlyavant (parallel to Jaṭhara and Devakûṭa ?), in the north Ânîla (*sic*), in the west the Gandhamâdana (parallel to Nishadha No. 2, and Pâripâtra ?), and in the south the Nishadha (No. 1).—Alberuni, I. 248. *Cf.* Mbh. VI. 6.9. Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa, Ch. 45.

[3] Śâkadvîpa, for example, undoubtedly refers to a part of Irân (Seistan?). The Brahma Purâṇa (Ch. 20. 71 f.) and the Agni Purâṇa (119. Ch. 21) refer to the Maga Brâhmaṇas who inhabit the Dvîpa and worship *Sûryarûpadharo Hariḥ*. Kuśadvîpa may refer to the country of the Kushânas.

[4] Ketumâlamato Varsham nibodha mama paśchimam.....ye pivanti mahânadyo Ramkshum (Vaṁkshum) Syâmâm Śakambalâm. (Mârk. 59. 12-15.)

Himālayan chain which poetic fancy transformed into mounts of gold and classed as independent and parallel ranges haunted by supernatural beings who enjoyed eternal felicity.[1] Alberuni, for example, tells us that Meru is in Himavat and cites the authority of Āryabhaṭa in support of this view.[2] He further informs us that Mount Nishadha is close to the pond Vishṇupada whence comes the river Sarasvatî.[3] The contiguity of Nishadha to the source of the Sarasvatî leaves no room for doubt that it, too, must have really been connected with the Himālayan chain. According to Pargiter, Hemakūṭa was "a mountain or group of mountains in the Himālayas in the western part of Nepal."[4] Thus many of the so-called Varsha parvatas merge in the Himavat range which is the one great mountain chain connected with the plateau of Central Asia about which we have some authentic details in our ancient literature.

The oldest designation of the range is Himavat—the Imaos of classical writers. The current name Himālaya is first met with in the Bhagavad Gītā and the works of Kālidāsa, though some scholars equate it with 'Simalia,' queen of snow mountains, known to the ancient Babylonians.[5]

The **Himavat** had a wider denotation in ancient times. This is made clear by all our ancient authorities, Indian as well as Greek. A passage of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa says—"such is this country Bhārata, constituted with a fourfold conformation. On its south and west and east is the great ocean, the Himavat range stretches along on its north, like

[1] *Cf.* Ilâvṛitasya madhye tu Meruḥ Kanakaparvataḥ.—Mārk. 54. 14; Brahmāṇḍa, 35. 15f.; 44.2f; Agni, 107. 9 f.; Alberuni, I. 147; Mbh. VI. 6. 10 f. The association of Meru with the "Bālukārṇava" to the north of the Himavat (Mbh. XVII. 1-2) suggests that the Purāṇic writers understood by Ilâvṛita a region not far from the desert of Gobi. *Cf.* also "Poh-lu-ka" of Yuan Chwang (I, p. 64 f.).

[2] Alberuni, I. 246.

[3] Alberuni, II. 142.

[4] Mārk P., p. 360. Kailāsa, too, stands *Himavataḥ pṛishṭhe* (Matsya, 121. 2).

[5] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 76.

the string of a bow." [1] Referring to this passage Pargiter observes, "this implies that the Himavat range included also the Sulaiman Mountains along the west of the Pañjāb. The simile must refer to a drawn bow, with the string angular in the middle." That the Himavat included the Sulaiman range is also proved by those passages which say that it stretched from the eastern to the western ocean, and that the city of Pushkarāvatī (in the Peshāwār District) adorned it like a garland.[2] The classical writers, too, describe the Imaos as the source not only of the Indus and the Ganges, but also of the Koa (Kābul river) and the Souastos (Swat).[3] This leaves no room for doubt that the western part of the range embraced the contiguous hills of Kābulistān.

The intimate acquaintance of the ancient Hindu writers with the Himavat is proved by frequent references to peaks like the Mūjavat or Muñjavat,[4] Trikakud (or Tri-kakubh)[5] and Saurya.[6] From Mūjavat came the famous plant, Soma, and from Tri-kakud came the salve Āñjana. Parts of the

[1] etattu Bhāratam Varsham chatuḥ saṁsthāna saṁsthitam.
dakshiṇāparato hyasya pūrvena cha mahodadhiḥ,
Himavānuttareṇāsya kārmukasya yathā gunaḥ.
(Mārk. 57-59.)

[2] Avagāḍhā hyubhayataḥ Samudrau pūrvapaśchimau (Mbh. VI. 6. 3).
Kailāso Himavāṁśchaiva dakshiṇena mahābalau
pūrva paśchāyatā vetā varṇavāntar vyavasthitau.
(Mārk. P. 54. 24.)
astyuttarasyāṁ diśi devatātmā Himālayo nāma nagādhirājaḥ
pūrvāparau toyanidhī vagāhya sthitaḥ pṛithivyā iva mānadaṇḍaḥ.
(Kumārasambhava, I. 1,)
Maulimālāṁ Himagirer nagarīṁ Pushkarāvatīm.
(Kathāsaritsāgara, 37-82.)
asti Prāleya śailāgre nagarī Pushkarāvatī. (*Ibid*, 37.22.)
niśīthe cha Himādrau tāmanurāgaparā pituḥ
purīṁ Vidyādharapateḥ prāptavān Pushkarāvatīm.
(*Ibid*, 37-180.)

[3] Ptolemy, VII. 1. 26 (Majumdar's ed., p. 81).

[4] See Vedic Index and Mbh. XIV. 8. 1.

[5] Vedic Index, Matsya, 121. 15.

[6] Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, Kielhorn's ed., I, p. 150: 'Saurye nāma Himavata śriṅge.'

great chain remained, however, unexplored, and the deficiency of knowledge was made up by legends about Mahā Meru, Maināga, Krauñcha and Manoravasarpana which we come across already in the later Vedic period.[1]

As already stated, Bhārata, like other Varshas, is described in the Purāṇas as being adorned by a number of comparatively small ranges, besides the mighty Varshaparvata on its north. These are styled **Kulāchalas** or **Kulaparvatas.** In the account of these mountains we reach the *terra firma* of solid facts. The Kulaparvatas are seven in number, *viz.*, Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimān, Ṛiksha, Vindhya and Pāripātra or Pāriyātra. They are placed by Rājaśekhara in that part of Bhārata-varsha which was known as Kumārī Dvīpa.[2]

The meaning of the word 'Kula-parvata' or 'Kulāchala' is not explained in the Bhuvana-kosha or geographical section of the Purāṇas. Some such group of mountains must have been known to Ptolemy who speaks of the Apokopa, Sardonyx, Ouïndion, Bettigo, Adeisathron, Ouxenton, Oroudian, Bepyrrhos, Maiandros, Damassa and Semanthinos ranges.[3] Ouïndion, Adeisathron, Ouxenton and Maiandros clearly sound like Vindhya, Sahyādri, Ṛikshavat and Mahendra respectively, though by strange errors of information the Western geographer was made to misplace most of them, notably the Mahendra range, which, along with Tosali and Trilinga,

[1] The first three are mentioned in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka and the last one in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. See the Vedic Index. *Cf* Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, 43.27 f.

[2] Kāvya Mīmāṁsā, Deśavibhāga: "Tatredaṁ Bhāratam Varsham. Asya cha navabhedāḥ.....Kumārī Dvīpaśchāyaṁ navamaḥ.....Atra cha Kumārīdvīpe

Vindhyaścha Pāripātraścha Śuktimān Ṛikshaparvataḥ
Mahendra Sahya Malayāḥ saptaite Kulaparvatāḥ (p. 92).

[3] Ptolemy, VII. i, 19-25; ii, 8. Apokopa has been identified by scholars with the Aravalli mountains, Sardonyx with Satpura, Ouïndion with Vindhya, Bettigo with Malaya (Tamil Podigai), Adeisathron with the Western Ghats in which the Kāverī rises, Ouxenton with the Ṛiksha, Oroudian with the Vaidūrya (northern section of the Western Ghats), Bepyrrhos (Vipula?) and Damassa with the Eastern Himālayas, Maiandros with the Yuma chain of Arakan, and Semanthinos with the "extreme limit of the world" (S. N. Majumdar's Ptolemy, pp. 76-81, 204-207).

is located in India *extra Gangem*. Bettigo is, as we shall see later on, the Greek equivalent of Podigai, the Tamil name of the Malaya. It is thus clear that Ptolemy knew most, if not all, of the Kulaparvatas. But the distinctive nomenclature of the group is not found in his work. It is, however, constantly met with in the epic and the post-epical literature of the Hindus, and is apparently hinted at by that acute foreign observer, Alberuni, who speaks of the "great knots" of Mount Meru, *viz.*, Mahendra, Malaya, etc.[1]

The word *Kula*, has the meaning of race, country or tribe.[2] And it is significant that each Kulaparvata is particularly associated with a distinct country or tribe. Thus Mahendra is the mountain *par excellence* of the Kaliṅgas,[3] Malaya of the Pāṇḍyas,[4] Sahya of the Aparāntas,[5] Śuktimat of the people of Bhallāṭa, [6] Ṛiksha of the people of Māhishmatî,[7] Vindhya of the Āṭavyas and other forest folk of central India,[8] and Pāripātra or Pāriyātra of the Nishādas.[9]

Mahendra is frequently metioned in literature and inscriptions. On it stood the hermitage of Rāma (Jāmadagnya).[10] It is said to have been conquered by epic heroes like Raghu[11] and also historiçal kings like Gautamîputra [12]

[1] Alberuni, Ch. 23 (p. 247); Ch. 25 (p. 257).

[2] See Āpte's Dictionary.

[3] *Cf.* Raghuvaṁśa, VI. 53-54 where the king of Kaliṅga is called "Asau Mahendrādrisamānasāraḥ patir Mahendrasya mahodadheścha," *cf.* also the Chicacole grants of Indravarman (Ind. Ant. XIII. 120-123).

[4] *Cf.* the epithets 'Malayadhvaja' and 'Podiya-verpan' given to the Pāṇḍya king in the Mahābhārata (VIII. 20. 20, 21) and Tamil literature (Hultzsch in Ind. Ant., 1889, 204 f.) respectively.

[5] *Cf.* Raghuvaṁśa, IV. 52-59.

[6] Bhallâṭamabhito jigye Śuktimantam cha parvatam (Mbh. II. 30. 5 f.).

[7] Mahāśmasaṅghātavatî Ṛikshavantam upāśritā
Māhiśmatî nāma purî prakāsamupayāsyati (Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparva, 38. 19).

[8] Āṭavyāḥ Śavarāśchaye
Puliṇḍā Vindhya Mauleyā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥsaha
Matsya, 114. 46-48, Vāyu, 45.126; Mārk. 57. 47, etc.

[9] Kāyavyo nāma Naishādiḥ.....Pāriyātracharaḥ sadā (Mbh. XII. 135. 3-5).

[10] Mahendrādrau Rāmaṁ dṛishṭvābhivādyacha (Bhāgavata, X. 79).

[11] Śriyam Mahendranāthasya jahāra natu medinîm (Raghu. IV. 43).

[12] Rapson. Andhra Coins, p. xxxiv.

Śātakarṇi and Samudragupta.[1] It is said to have formed the southern boundary of the empire which Yaśodharman claims to have subdued.[2] On its "pure summit" was established the holy Gokarṇasvāmî whose feet were worshipped by Indravarman and other kings of Kaliṅga-nagara.[3] Pargiter identifies the Mahendra range with the portion of the Eastern Ghāṭs between the Godāvarî and the Mahānadî rivers, part of which near Ganjam, as pointed out by Wilson, is still called Mahindra Malei. The restriction of the name Mahendra to the *ghāṭs* on the north of the Godāvarî, seems to be supported by (*a*) the intimate association of the range with the Kaliṅga country, (*b*) the names of the rivers issuing from it—the Ṛishikulyā (which flows past Ganjam), the Vaṃśadharā (which has Kaliṅgapatam on its banks) and the Lāṅgulinî or Lāṅgulîya (on which stands Chicacole),[4] and (*c*) the lines of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which clearly place Mahendrādri between 'Gaṅgā-Sāgara-saṅgama' and 'Sapta-Godāvarî.'[5]

But the restriction suggested by these lines is not always observed by our ancient writers as the following passages of the Rāmāyaṇa would seem to indicate :—

yuktaṁ kapāṭaṁ Pāṇḍyānāṁ gatā drakshyatha vānarāḥ
tataḥ samudramāsādya sampradhāryārtha-niśchayam
Agastyenāntare tatra sāgare viniveśitaḥ
chitrasānurnagaḥ śrîmān Mahendraḥ parvatottamaḥ
jātarūpamayaḥ śrîmānavagāḍho mahārṇavam.

Kishk., 41, 18-20.

[1] Fleet, Corpus, III, p. 7.

[2] Allahabad pillar inscription (*ibid*, 146).

[3] Ind. Ant., XIII, 120 f.

[4] Mārk. P., Ch. 57.

[5] Gayāṁ gatvā pitṛinishṭvā Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgame
upaspṛiśya Mahendrādrau Rāmaṁ dṛishṭvābhivādya cha
Sapta Godāvarîṁ Venvāṁ Pampāṁ Bhîmarathîṁ tataḥ

Bhāg. P., X. 79.

taṁ Sahyaṁ samatikramya Malayañcha mahāgirim
Mahendramatha samprāpya Rāmo rājîvalochanaḥ
āruroha mahābāhuḥ śikharaṁ drumabhūshitam
tataḥ śikharamāruhya Rāmo Daśarathātmajaḥ
kūrma-mîna-samākîrṇamapaśyat salilāśayam
āsedurānupūrvyeṇa samudraṁ bhîmaniḥsvanam.
Laṅkā, 4, 92-94.

In the Sundara Kāṇḍa "Mount Mahendra is said to have the foam of the sea collected about it, though Velāvana may have intervened between it and the sea."[1] Pargiter regards the Mahendra of the Rāmāyaṇa as altogether distinct from Mahendra of the Purāṇas, and identifies the former with the most southerly spur of the Travancore hills. There is actually in the Tinnevelly District a mountain called Mahendragiri[2] which ends abruptly, and is the last of the Tinnevelly ghāṭs. But though the name Mahendragiri is now applied to two distinct hills in Ganjam and Tinnevelly respectively, there is no reason to think that any such distinction was intended by the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa. On the contrary, the position of Mahendra in relation to Malaya and Sahya, as described in the passage quoted from the Laṅkākāṇḍa, leaves little room for doubt that 'Mahendra' of the Rāmāyaṇa is the famous Kulaparvata of the same name mentioned in the Bhuvana-kosha in juxtaposition with Malaya and Sahya, and that it embraced the entire chain of hills extending from Ganjam to Tinnevelly.

Malaya is, next to the Himavat, perhaps the most famous mountain in Sanskrit literature. It gives its name to the cooling breeze of the south which finds frequent mention in Indian poetry.[3] Sanskrit writers refer to it also

[1] Pargiter, the Geography of Rāma's exile, J. R. A. S., 1894, pp. 261-262.

[2] Gaz. of Tinnevelly Dist., Vol. I, by H. R. Pate, 1917, p. 4.

[3] In Dhoyi's Pavanadūta, the breeze of Malaya carries a love message from a Gandharva maiden of the Far South to King Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal. 'Malayaja-śītalā' is an epithet which is applied to his motherland by a great Bengali writer of recent times.

as Śrîkhaṇḍādri, Chandanādri or Chandanāchala.[1] The Tamil name is Podigei or Podigai, the original of the Bettigo of Ptolemy.[2]

Like Mahendra, Malaya figures also in inscriptions (*e.g.*, the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi) though not so prominently as in literature.

Malaya is the hill *par excellence* of the Pāṇḍyas,[3] as Mahendra is of the Kaliṅgas, and Sahya that of the Aparāntas. The name is connected with the Dravidian word 'Mala' meaning 'hill.'[4] From it are derived the designations of the country of Mo-lo-kü-t'a referred to by Hiuen Tsang, and the language called Malayalam spoken by the people of 'Mālabār.' The names of the rivers issuing from this Kulaparvata, *viz.*, Kṛitamālā or Vaigai (on which stands Madurā or Dakshiṇa Mathurā[5]), and Tāmraparṇî (on which stood Korkai or Kolkoi, and Kāyal, three miles lower down the river), enabled scholars to identify it with the portion of the Western Ghāṭs (south of the Kāverî) from the Nilgiris to the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, with the exception of the most southerly spur of the

Malaya is the mountain where, according to the Rāmopākhyāna (Mbh. III. 281.44 f.) the monkey host, sent by Sugrîva in quest of Sîtā, saw the vulture Sampāti, and from it Hanumat made his famous descent on Laṅkā. It should, however, be noted that in the Rāmāyaṇa Vindhya is mentioned in connection with Sampāti, and Mahendra in connection with the exploit of Hanumat.

According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X.79) the hermitage of Agastya stood on the summit of Malaya.

[1] See Dhoyi's Pavana dūta.

[2] McCrindle, Ptolemy, 1927, 78.

[3] According to Dhoyi the Pāṇḍyadeśa lay at a distance of only 4 miles from Śrîkhaṇḍādri, *i.e.*, the Malaya Hills.

Śrîkhaṇḍādreḥ parisaram atikramya gavyūtimātram
gantavyaste kimapi jagati maṇḍanam Pāṇḍyadeśaḥ

As already stated the Pāṇḍya king had the epithet Malaya-dhvaja.

[4] Hultzsch in Ind. Ant., 1889, 240 f.

[5] Dakshiṇa Mathurā āilā Kāmakoshṭhi haite
tāhā dekhā haila eka Brāhmaṇa sahite
sei vipra Mahāprabhur kaila nimantraṇa
Rāmabhakta sei vipra virakta mahājana
Kṛitamālāya snāna kari āilā tāṅr ghare.

Chaitanya Charitāmṛita, Madhyalilā, Ch. ix, p. 141. (*Cf.* N. Dey.)

Travancore Hills. The king of the Pāṇḍyas is referred to in literature as the lord of the Malaya (*cf.* Podiya-verpan of Tamil literature and Malaya-dhvaja of the Mahābhārata[1]) just as the king of Kaliṅga receives the epithet of Mahendranātha.

Sahya, like Mahendra and Malaya, finds mention in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi. In the Alina copperplate inscription of Śîlâditya VII of Valabhi, it is probably associated with the Vindhya, the two being mentioned as the breasts of the earth.[2] Kālidāsa describes it as "nitambamiva medinyāḥ" (Raghu., IV. 52), and connects it with the Aparāntas, *i.e.*, the people of Western India, and particularly of the Koṅkaṇ.[3] The Purāṇas describe it as the source of the Godāvarî and its tributary, the Vañjulâ or Mañjirā; the Kṛishṇaveṇā or Kṛishṇā and its tributaries the Bhîmarathā or Bhîmā and the Tuṅgabhadrā; and the Kāverī. It has, therefore, been correctly identified with the northern portion of the Western Ghāṭs from the Tāptî down to the Nilgiris. Ptolemy apparently divides it into two parts. To the northern part—the source of the river of Masulipatam (Maisolos), *i.e.*, the Godāvarî or the Kṛishṇā,—he gives the name of the Oroudian mountains.[4] The name is considered to be equivalent to 'Vaidūrya' of Sanskrit literature, which the Mahābhārata associates with the rivers Payoshṇî and Narmadā.[5] The southern part of the Sahya is known to Ptolemy as the Adeisathron range, and is described by him as the source of the Khaberos (Kāverī).[6]

[1] Kālidāsa, too, testifies to the intimate connection between 'Malayādri' and the Pāṇḍyas (*cf.* Raghu., IV. 46-49). In Raghu., IV. 51, Malaya is associated with Dardura—stanāviva diśa stasyāḥ śailau Malaya-Dardurau.

[2] Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, pp. 176, 184.

[3] 'Aparānta' has a wider and a narrower denotation. In its wider sense it means all India lying west of the Madhyadeśa; in the narrower sense only the Koṅkaṇ.

[4] Ptolemy, VII, 1.37, Majumdar's ed., pp. 81, 103.

[5] Mbh. III. 121. 16-19 : sa Payoshṇyāṁ naraśreshṭhaḥ snātvā vai bhrātṛibhiḥ saha
Vaidūrya-Parvataṁchaiva Narmadāṁcha mahānadîm
Vaidūrya-Parvataṁ dṛishṭvā Narmadām avatîrya cha

[6] Ptolemy, VII, 1.35.

The **Śuktimat** is the least known among the mountain ranges of Ancient India.[1] According to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa it is the source of the Ṛishikulyā, the Kumārî, the Mandagā, the Mandavāhinî, the Kṛipā and the Palāśinî. Variant names of the rivers are given in some of the other Purāṇas including the Vāyu copy consulted by Alberuni.[2] The Vāmana Purāṇa omits these altogether, and mentions the Śunî and the Sudāmā among rivers issuing from the Śuktimat range. Further it confounds the rivers of Śukti with those rising in the Malaya.[3] In view of all this confusion it is difficult to say which rivers actually issue from the Śuktimat. The uncertainty in regard to the names of most of the rivers renders their identification difficult, and makes the precise location of the parent range almost a hopeless task. Abulfazl seems to regard the Śuktimat (as well as the other Kula-parvatas) as running from east to west, and makes it the dividing line between Kaser and Tāmravarṇa, two of the nine divisions of Bhārata.[4] But his account of the position of the *Nava-khaṇḍa* and the seven mountains is, in the main, not borne out by any early Indian author, and is indeed in conflict with what is known about them from other sources.

According to Cunningham[5] Śuktimat is the mountain range to the south of Sehoa and Kánker, which gives rise to the Mahānadî (=Śuktimatî according to him), the Pairi and the Seonath rivers, and forms the boundary between Chattisgarh and Bastar. Pargiter rejects this view as it confounds the Śuktimat with the Mahendra range. But it is by no means clear that the Mahendra range extended as far as the source of the Pairi and the Mahānadî. The really

[1] It is the only Kula-parvata which is not referred to in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi. Kālidāsa, too, ignores it in the account of Raghu's conquests.

[2] Kūrma, Pūrvabhāga, 46, 38-49; Matsya, 114.32; Alberuni, 1. 257 (Ch. XXV).

[3] Vāmana, XIII, 32-33.

[4] Ain-i-Akbari, III, pp. 30-31.

[5] Pargiter, Mārk. P., p. 285.

weak point in Cunningham's theory is the tacit assumption of a connection between Mount Śuktimat and the river Śuktimatî, and the identification of the latter with the Mahānadī. As a matter of fact the Śuktimatî takes its rise not from the Śuktimat but from the Vindhyan chain, using the word Vindhyan in its wider sense. Cunningham does not stand alone in his view that the Śukti Mountain is the source of the Śuktimatî. Beglar, too, makes the same mistake. Identifying the Śuktimatî with the Sakri, the Ṛishikulyâ with the Kiyul, and the Kumārî with the Kaorhari, he places Mount Śuktimat in the north of the Hazaribagh District. The identifications are rejected by Pargiter[1] who points out that the Śuktimatî is not connected with Mt. Śuktimat, that Sakri is not the equivalent of Śuktimatî, but of Śakulî, and that the Hazaribagh hills are not remarkable, being rather the termination of the Vindhya range than a separate system. The last objection is not quite valid because the Śuktimat, too, is not a remarkable range and is rarely mentioned in literature. It is the only Kula-parvata which does not find mention in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi. As to the objection that the Hazaribagh hills are not a separate system it may be pointed out that the *Kula-parvata* Pāriyātra, too, is not a separate system, but part of the Vindhyan chain.

Pargiter was at first inclined to identify Śuktimat with either the Aravalli Mt. or the southern part of the Eastern Ghāṭs. But he finally preferred the Garo, Khāsi and Tipperah hills in Eastern India,[2] "for Bhîma in his conquests in that quarter marched from Himavat towards Bhallâṭa and conquered the Śuktimat Mountain," and "the river Lohita and the country, Kāmarūpa, were known." Pargiter ignores the fact that Bhîma did not cross the Lohita or Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). The identification of the rivers Kumārî and Kṛipā

[1] Mark. P. (trans.), 285.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 306.

issuing from Śuktimat (with Someśvarî and Kapili) suggested by him, is also hardly satisfactory.

C. V. Vaidya identified the Śuktimat with the Kathiawar range.[1] The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman no doubt mentions a Palâśinî as issuing from that range, and we know that Palâśinî is the name of one of the rivers rising in Śukti Mountain. But the other rivers springing from the Śuktimat cannot be identified, and the evidence of the Mahābhārata points to some range between Indraprastha (Delhi) and Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), as the real Śuktimat.[2]

Dr. R. C. Majumdar[3] and Mr. Hārit Krishna Dev[4] propose to identify the Śuktimat with the Sulaiman range. We are told that the two names closely resemble each other, that Kūpā, one of the streams issuing from the Śuktimat, sounds very much like Kubhā (the Kābul river), and that Kumârî, Mandagā, Mandavāhinî, Palâśinî, Ṛishikulyâ and Bhallâṭa with which Śukti is associated, are equivalent to Kunār, Helmand, Panjshir, Euaspla and Bhalanas respectively. It is further suggested that the epic list of places visited by Bhîma and his brothers was not drawn up strictly according to geographical position, and that, therefore, the evidence of the Mahābhārata cannot be a valid objection against the identity of Śukti with Sulaiman which is the only extensive range, besides the Assam Hills, which has not been appropriated to the Kulaparvatas mentioned in the Bhuvana-kosha.

But the philological equations proposed above are with one exception hardly tenable.[5] As to the equation Kūpā= Kubhā, it is to be remembered that the form Kūpā occurring in the extant Vāyu (and Brahmāṇḍa), is not met with in the

[1] Epic India, p. 276.

[2] The mountain is mentioned in the account of the Digvijaya of Bhîma who started from the Pāṇḍu capital and marched eastwards as far as the Lauhitya.

evaṁ bahuvidhān deśān vijigye Bharatarshabha
Bhallâṭamabhito jigye Śuktimantañcha parvatam.—Mbh. II. 30. 5.

[3] Pro. Second Oriental Conference, 1923, p. 609 f.

[4] *Ibid*, p. ci ; ZDMG. Leipzig, 1922, p. 281 n.

[5] Jayaswal, Pro. Second Oriental Conference, 1923, p. xliii.

Vāyu text consulted by Alberuni. That text and many extant Purāṇas have Kirpā,[1] Kṛipā[2] or Kshiprā[3] which obviously cannot be equated with Kubhā. Moreover, we have actually a Kopā,[4] a Kumārī[5] and a Parās[6] (Palâśinî ?) in Eastern India. Whatever we may think of the evidence of the Mahābhārata, the fact should not be ignored that Sulaiman, as pointed out by Pargiter and shown in the early part of this paper, was considered to be a portion of the Himavat, the Varsha-parvata. The Kula-parvatas are expressly stated by Rājaśekhara to be in the Kumārî Dvîpa whose furthest limit according to the Skanda Purāṇa was the Pāriyātra.[7] Further, if the Śuktimat be really the mountain range which runs south from the Hindukush, is not the omission of the Suvāstu, Gomatî and Krumu from the list of its rivers rather inexplicable?

The really important clues in regard to the identity of the Śuktimat are its association with Bhallâṭa and with 'Śaṅkha' and "Vaidūrya śaila" (Mārk. 58.24). The Mahābhārata as well as the Jātakas seems to connect Bhallâṭa with Kāsi.[8] The Kalki Purāṇa, while describing the march of a victorious army, mentions Bhallâṭa-nagara just before Kāñchanî

[1] Alberuni, I. 257.

[2] Matsya, 114. 32.

[3] Kūrma, Pūrvabhāga, 46. 39.

[4] Or Sāl, a tributary of the Dvārkā or Bābla (O'Malley, Birbhum, 1910, p. 5).

[5] The Kāsai receives the waters of the Kumârî at Ambikānagar.
(O'Malley's Bankura, 1908, p. 7, *cf.* Coupland's Manbhum, 1911, p 7.)

[6] M G Hallett, Ranchi, 1917, p. 6. It is a tributary of the 'Koel.' The name Koel, we are told, is a common designation for river in Chota Nāgpur. It may refer to the Ṛishikulyā which is also a common river name in the Purāṇas, being the designation of at least two streams—one rising in the Mahendra and the other in the Śuktimat. It is interesting to note that the Koel unites with the Sankh to form the Brāhmaṇî. In the Purāṇas Śaṅkha and Śukti are associated together (Mark. 58.24—Śaṅkha-Śuktyādi-Vaidūrya-Śailaprānta charāśchaye).

[7] Skanda Purāṇa, Kumārikākhaṇḍa, Ch. 39.113: "Pāriyātrasya chaivārvāk khaṇḍam Kaumārikam smṛitam."

[8] Mbh. II. 30. 5-7; Bhallâṭamabhito jigye Śuktimantam cha parvatam
Pāṇḍavaḥ sumahāvîryo balena balinām varaḥ
sa Kāsirājaṁ samare Subāhum anivartinam
vaśe chakre mahābâhur Bhîmo bhîmaparākramaḥ.

purî, the hill fortress of the Nāgas, which is doubtless identical with 'purîṁ Kāñchanikām' governed by Pravîra, the son of Vindyāśakti, in the third century A.D.[1] A tribe called Phyllitai is mentioned by Ptolemy as living in Central India.[2] These indications would point to the central, and not the easternmost or northwestern, part of India as the place where Bhallâṭa, and consequently Śuktimat, were situated. And this accords with the Purāṇic evidence about the connection of Śukti with Śaṅkha and Vaidūrya. The suggestion of N. Das that the name Śuktimat is preserved in the Suktel river which joins the Mahānadî, near Sonpur, and also in the Sakti Hills in Raigarh, C.P., seems plausible.[3] 'Sakti' actually stands midway between 'Sankh' and Vaidūrya which the Mahābhārata places in the neighbourhood of the Payoshṇî and the Narmadā. The name Śuktimat was probably applied to the chain of hills that extends from Sakti in Raigarh, C. P., to the Dalma Hills in Manbhum drained by the Kumārî, and perhaps even to the hills in the Santhal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā.

Riksha and Vindhya.

The great chain of mountains along the Narmadā which separates Northern India from the Deccan is probably mentioned in the Kaushîtaki Upanishad under the name of Dakshiṇa Parvata.[4] At the present day the whole range is known by the name of the Vindhyas. In the period of the epics and the Purāṇas, however, different parts of the range had distinctive names, and ranked as separate Kula-parvatas. These names were Ṛiksha, Vindhya (proper) and Pāriyātra or Pāripātra, all of which find

[1] Kalkî Purāṇa, III. 7.36; III. 14.31.
Cf. Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 50.

[2] Ptolemy, VII. 1.66. 'Phyllitai' sounds very much like Bhallâṭa.

[3] A note on the Ancient Geography of Asia compiled from Vālmîki's Rāmāyaṇa (1896), p. 51. See also Imp. Gaz., Atlas volume, plate 39.

[4] Kaush. Up., II. 8.

mention in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi.[1] The first two are referred to by Ptolemy as the Ouxenton (Ṛikshavant) and the Ouïndion ranges.

The Ṛiksha is probably so called because it stood in a territory which abounded in bears (ṛikshas).[2] There is a good deal of confusion in the Bhuvana-kosha section of the Purāṇas between the two Kula-parvatas—Ṛiksha and Vindhya. While the Vishṇu, Brahma, and some other texts describe the former as the source of the Tāpî, Payoshṇî and Nirvindhyā, and the latter as the source of the Narmadā, Daśārṇā, etc., the Kūrma, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Vāmana and Vāyu texts, including that known to Alberuni, reverse the order, making the Ṛiksha the source of the Narmadā, Daśārṇā, etc., and the Vindhya the source of the Tāpî group. The Bhuvana-kosha underwent such textual corruption even in the time of Alberuni that little reliance can be placed on it in determining the identity of the two Kula-parvatas, Ṛiksha and Vindhya.

No conclusion regarding the relative position of Ṛiksha and Vindhya can also be drawn from the constant association of the former with the Narmadā[3] and that of the

[1] Rapson, Andhra Coins, p. xxxiii. The Prākṛita forms are Achavata, Vijha and Parivāta.

[2] Ṛikshadvîpa-samākulâ. Revākhaṇḍa, VI. 36.

Asti Pauravadāyādo Vidurathasutaḥ Prabho
Ṛikshaiḥ saṁvarddhito vipra Ṛikshavatyatha parvate.—Mbh., XII. 49. 76.

[3] Ṛikshavantaṁ giriśreshṭhamadhyāste Narmadāṁ pivan.
Rām., Lank., 27. 9.

puraścha paśchāchcha yathā mahānadī tam Ṛikshavantaṁ girimetya Narmadā.
Mbh., XII. 52. 32,

sa Narmadā-rodhasi śîkarādrair marudbhirānartita-naktamāle
niveśayāmāsa vilaṅghitādhvā kāntaṁ rajo dhūsaraketu sainyam
athoparishṭād bhramarair bhramadbhiḥ prāksūchitāntaḥ-salila-praveśaḥ
nirdhauta-dānāmalagaṇḍabhittirvanyaḥ saritto gaja unmamajja
niḥśesha vikshālita.dhātunāpi vaprakriyām Ṛikshavatastateshu
nîlorddhvarekhā-śabalena śaṁsan dantadvayenāśma vikuṇṭhitena.
Raghu, Ch. 5. 42-44.

latter with the Revā,[1] for, though the Bhāgavata and the Vāmana Purāṇas[3] seem to distinguish between the two rivers, the Revā-khaṇḍa regards them as one and the same,[4] a fact borne out also by incidental references in the Bhāgavata itself.[5]

More fruitful results may be obtained by an examination of the evidence of Ptolemy and the inscriptions, and certain *incidental* references in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Harivaṁśa and the commentary of Nîlakaṇṭha. It will be seen that the name Ṛiksha is invariably applied to the *central* part of the chain lying *north* of the Narmadā, while the *eastern* part together with the hills standing *south* of the Narmadā and extending as far as the ocean bore the name of Vindhya. Ptolemy, for instance, describes the Ouxenton (Ṛikshavant) as the source of the Toundis, the Dosaron and the Adamas.[6] The identification of these rivers with the Brāhmaṇî, the Vaitaraṇî and the Suvarṇarekhā, has little to support it. Dosaron sounds very much like the Daśārṇā (modern Dhasan near Saugor in C. P.) which actually occurs in the list of rivers issuing from the Ṛiksha as given in many Purāṇas including the Vāyu copy used by Alberuni. The position assigned to the mouth of the river by Ptolemy is no

[1] Vindhyasyāvandhyakarmmā śikhara-taṭa-patat-pāṇḍu-Revāmbu-rāser.....
Fleet, C. I. I., 154.
śrūyatāṁ dvija-śārdūlāḥ karaṇaṁ yena kandaram
Vindhyasyehāgato ramyaṁ Revāvāri-kaṇokshitam.
Mārk. P., IV. 22
Revāṁ drakshyasyupalavishame Vindhyapāde viśîrṇām.
Meghadūta, 19.

[2] Bhāgavata, 5, 19, 17.

[3] Vāmana, XIII, 25-30.

[4] kimarthaṁ Narmadā proktā Reveti cha kathaṁ smṛitā.
Revā-khaṇḍa, 5, 7. *Cf.* Ind. Ant., 1887, 253.
Narakāntakarî Revā satîrthā viśvapāvanî
Narmadā dharmadā chāstu śarmadā Pārtha te sadā.
Ibid, 229, 28.

[5] praviśya Revāmagamad yatra Māhishmatîpurî (Bhag., X. 79). In the Harivaṁśa (Vishṇu Parva, 38, 14f.) Narmadā is the name of the river which flows past Māhishmatî.

[6] Ptolemy, VII. I, 39-41.

insuperable objection against the proposed identity, because the western geographer had a very wrong idea about the configuration of India ; and many of its mountains and rivers are 'hopelessly out of position.'[1] While the Ouxenton is connected with the Dosaron (Daśārṇā or Dhasan near Saugor), the Ouïndion (Vindhya) is represented as the source not only of the Namados (Narmadā) but also of the Nanagouna (Tāptî).[2] This proves that while the Ṛiksha lay in the region of the Central Vindhyas, near Saugor, the Vindhya proper in the days of Ptolemy, comprised chains at the source of the Narmadā and the Tāptî.

The connection of the Ṛiksha with the Central Vindhyas lying north of the Narmadā appears clear also from Indian evidence Thus the Vāyu Purāṇa[3] represents a chief named Jyāmagha as crossing the Ṛiksha on his way from Narmadānūpa[4] to Śuktimatî, the capital of the Chedis, which lay to the north in the direction of the Yamunā. The Harivaṁśa refers to the city of Māhishmatî (Mandhātā ?), the capital of Narmadānūpa, as nestling under the shelter of Mount Ṛikshavat (Ṛikshavantamupāśritā). Nîlakaṇṭha, commenting on the Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparva, Chap. 38, verse 7,

> Vindhy-arkshavantāvabhito dve puryau parvatāśraye
> niveśayatu yatnena Muchukunda suto mama,

says 'Vindhyasyottarataḥ Ṛikshavato dakshiṇata ityarthaḥ' implying that the two cities mentioned in the verse lay *north* of the Vindhyas and *south* of the Ṛiksha. The Bhāgavata places the hermitage of Atri, on the Ṛiksha,[5] and we learn from the Rāmāyaṇa that Atri's hermitage lay not far from

[1] *Cf.* Ptolemy, Majumdar's ed., p. 76.

[2] *Ibid*, VII. i. 31-32, pp. 102-103. *Cf.* Tāpî nāma nadî cheyaṁ Vindhyamūlād viniḥsṛitā (Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa. 11, 108).

[3] Vāyu, 95, 31.

[4] The district on the Narmadā of which Māhishmatî was the capital (Raghu, VI. 37-43).

[5] Brahmaṇā choditaḥ sṛishṭāvAtrir Brahmavidāṁ varaḥ
saha patnyā yayāvRikshaṁ Kulādriṁ tapasi sthitaḥ

Chitrakūṭa.[1] The Nalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata places the Ṛiksha mountain between Avanti and Dakshiṇāpatha.[2] On the other hand it expressly connects the Vindhya with the Payoshṇī[3]—a river of the Tāpī or Tāpti group. The association of the Vindhya with the region to the south of the Narmadā testified to by Nīlakaṇṭha and the author of the Nalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata, is further confirmed by the popular belief that Satpura means seven sons or seven folds of the Vindhya.[4] In the famous Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana we have reference to a tract of land, "containing many countries, which lies between the Vindhya (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Revā, and the mountain Pāriyātra, on which the trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, (and stretches) up to the ocean" (Sindhu).[5] If the Vindhya (when distinguished from the Pāriyātra) means the range east of Bhopal as suggested by Pargiter, then the countries between it and the Pāriyātra must be inland territory which cannot be said to extend to the ocean, or even to the rivers called *Sindhu*. But if Vindhya includes the hills to the south of the Narmadā, then the region between it and the Pāriyātra does extend to the ocean. It would, however, be a mistake

tasmin prasūnastavaka-palāśāśoka-kānane
vārbhiḥ sravadbhirudghushṭe Nirvindhyāyāḥ samantataḥ.

This Nirvindhyā need not be the river of the same name belonging to the Tāpī group. There was another Nirvindhyā which lay on the way from Vidiśā (Bhilsa) to Ujjayinī (Meghadūta, I, 25-29).

[1] Rām., II. 117. 5.

[2] ete gachchhanti bahavaḥ panthāno Dakshiṇāpatham
Avantīm Ṛikshavantañcha samatikramya parvatam.
Mbh., III. 61. 21.

[3] esha Vindhyo mahāśailaḥ Payoshṇī cha samudragā.
Mbh., III. 61. 22.

Cf. Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, 11-106, cited above.

[4] C. P. Dist. Gaz., Betul, by Russell, 1907, p. 258. *Cf.* the name Indhyādri, given to the hills at Ajantā (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 354), and "Bandah" (Gāwilgarh hills) in Ain, II. 226.

[5] Fleet, C. I. I, 154.

to think that the Vindhya lay *wholly* to the south of the Narmadā, because an inscription of Anantavarman Maukhari mentions that mountain as extending up to and including the Nāgārjunî Hill in the Gayā District.[1]

The question of the inclusion of the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain—the source of the Narmadā—presents a real difficulty. We have seen that Ptolemy makes it a part of the Ouïndion (Vindhya) range. But the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa, with equal clearness, makes it a part of the Ṛiksha.[2] The truth seems to be that ancient Hindu writers commonly regarded Vindhya and Ṛiksha as interchangeable terms. But one fact is clear. While the name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills from Gujarāṭ to the Gayā District, lying on *both* sides of the Narmadā,[3] the Ṛiksha, when referred to incidentally in literature, is invariably associated with the Middle Narmadā region of which Māhishmatî was the most important city, and the Daśārṇā (Dhasan) a notable river. The Vindhya, when distinguished from the Ṛiksha, denotes the chain lying south of the Narmadā, as Nîlakaṇṭha suggests.

Pāriyātra. We now come to the Pāriyātra or Pāripātra which marks, according to the Skanda Purāṇa, the furthest limit of Kumārî Khaṇḍa—the heart and centre of Bhāratavarsha. The earliest reference to the mountain is probably that contained in the Dharma Sūtra of Bodhāyana, where

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 227, 228.

[2] tataḥ sā Ṛikshaśailendrāt phenapunjāṭṭahāsinî
viveśa Narmadā devî samudraṁ saritāmpatim (Revā-khaṇḍa, V. 51).
Śono Mahānadaśchaiva Narmadā Surasā Kṛitā
Mandākinî Daśārṇā cha Chitrakūṭā tathaiva cha
Ṛikshapāda-prasūtāstāḥ sarvā vai Rudrasambhavāḥ—*ibid*, IV. 46-48.

[3] See particularly Ptolemy's association of the Ouïndion with both the Namados and the Nanagouna, and the Harivaṁśa verse, II. 38. 20, 'Ubhayor Vindhyayoḥ pāde nagayo stāṁ mahāpurîm,' where we have reference to two Vindhyas, *viz.*, the Vindhya proper and the Ṛiksha. Note also the name 'NirVindhyā,' *i.e.*, issuing out of the Vindhya, applied to rivers on both sides of the Narmadā. One of the Nirvindhyās is associated with Ujjayinî and Avanti, and hence lay north of the Narmadā. Another belongs to the Tāpî-Payoshṇî group. *Cf.* also the Vindhya-dakshiṇa-pāda of the Kāvya Mîmāṁsā, p. 94; and Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 52.

it forms the boundary line between Āryāvarta and the land of the barbarians.[1] Even in the days of the Mahābhārata it was the favourite resort of one of the most important of the 'barbarian' tribes, *viz.*, the Nishādas.[2] The earliest epigraphic reference to it is probably that occurring in the Nāsik Praśasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi. It also finds prominent mention in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana. The mountain apparently gave its name to the famous Po-li-ye-ta-lo or Pāriyātra[3] country ruled by a Vaiśya king in the days of Huien Tsang. The names of the rivers issuing from it, *viz.*, the Mahî, Parṇāśā,[4] Charmanvatî, Śiprā, Sindhu[5] and Vetravatî, clearly support the view of Pargiter that it corresponds to the portion of the modern Vindhya range west of Bhopal, together with the Aravalli mountains.

Besides the *Kulaparvatas*, the Purāṇas mention a number of smaller hills (**Kshudraparvata**) which are situated near the former (bhūdharā ye samîpagāḥ). They may be conveniently grouped under the following heads:—

(1) Hills associated with the Eastern Ghāṭs—*e.g.*, (*a*) Śrîparvata. It "overhangs the Kṛishṇā in the Kurnool District" and is usually identified by scholars with Siriṭana of the Nāsik Praśasti. It was famous as the site of the Śaiva shrine of Mallikārjuna.

(*b*) Pushpagiri.—It lay eight miles to the north of Cuddapah.[6]

[1] I. i. 25: "Prāgadarśanāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakshiṇena Himavantam udak Pāriyātram etad Āryāvartam."

[2] Mbh., XII. 135.3.5.

[3] *Cf.* Harsha-charita (Cowell and Thomas, trans., pp. 210-211), and Bṛihat Saṁhitā, XIV. 4.

[4] The modern Banās, a tributary of the Chambal or Charmanvatî (Pargiter).

[5] Either Kalisindhu, a tributary of the Chambal, or Sindh, a tributary of the Jumna, lying between the Chambal and Betwa (Vetravatî).

[6] Ep. Ind., III. 24. Pargiter was unable to identify it.

(*c*) Veṅkaṭa.—It is in Draviḍa forming the boundary line between the Tamil and Telugu countries.[1]

(*d*) Aruṇāchala[2] or Śonāchala.—It stands on the river Kampā which flows past Kāñchī.

(*e*) Rishabha.—It is placed by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X. 79) between the Kāverī and Madurā. The Mahābhārata (III. 85. 21) places it in the Pāṇḍya country.

(2) Hills associated with Malaya.—The most important among them is the Dardura. Pargiter suggests its identification with the Nilgiris or the Palni Hills. The Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 51) refers to Malaya and Dardura as the breasts of the southern region. In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata the Chola and Pāṇḍya kings offer sandal from Dardura.[3] A monkey chief according to Pargiter inhabited Dardura and drank of the river Parṇāśā. But the text calls the chief Dardurasaṅkāśo[4] which does not necessarily indicate that he resided in Dardura.

(3) Hills associated with Sahya—*e.g.*, (*a*) Vaidūrya[5] connected by the Mahābhārata with the Payoshṇī and the Narmadā, and identified by scholars with the Oroudian mountain mentioned by Ptolemy.

(*b*) Govardhana—the hill of Nāsik.[6]

(*c*) Devagiri—the "towering hill" of modern Daulatābād. Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 501, 534.

(*d*) Kṛishṇagiri (Kaṇhagiri of the Nāsik inscription)—modern Kanheri.[7]

[1] Smith, EHI[4], p. 456 : 'Draviḍeshu mahāpuṇyaṁ dṛishṭvādriṁ Veṅkaṭam Prabhuḥ.' (Bhāgavata, X. 79.)

[2] See Aruṇāchala Māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa, Ch. III, 59-61 ; IV. 9, 13, 21, 37.

[3] Mbh., II. 52.34. Dardura is also mentioned in XIII. 165.32. See also Pargiter, JRAS, 1894, 262.

[4] Rām., Laṅkā., 26.42.

[5] 'Vaidūrya' apparently included the northernmost part of the Western Ghāṭs as the evidence of Ptolemy suggests. But it also included a part at least of the Satpura range as the Mahābhārata clearly indicates. It is the connecting link between the Sahya and the southern Vindhya with both of which it seems to have been confounded.

[6] *Cf.* Rapson, Andhra Coins, pp. xxix, xlvii, lvi.

[7] *Ibid*, xxxiii. It is in Sālsette, Bomb. Gaz., I, ii. 9. The mountain is also mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (VI. 26.39).

(*e*) Trikuṭa.—It is placed in the Aparānta country. It gave its name to the Traikuṭaka dynasty.[1]

(*f*) Kolva, probably the hill near Kolhapur.[2]

(*g*) Ṛishyamūka.—It stretched, according to Pargiter, from Ahmadnagar to beyond Naldrug and Kalyāni, dividing the Mañjirā and the Bhîmā.

(*h*) Mālyavat.—It lay in the Kishkindhyā country, and is identified by Pargiter with the curved lines of hills near Kupal, Mudgal, and Raichur.

(*i*) Prasravana.—It is associated with the Godāvarî and the Mandākinî (Araṇya, 64.10-14) as well as with a Vindhya in the extreme south of India (Rām. Kishk., 52.31), and seems to have also included the Mālyavat.[3] It was perhaps the general name of the mountain chains stretching from the Mandākinî and the Godāvarî to the southern sea.

(*j*) Gomanta.—It lay in a *Vivara* of the Sahya. To its north stood Vanavāsi.[4] It is, therefore, to be placed in the Mysore region, and not near Nasik as suggested by Pargiter.

(4) Hills associated with the western Vindhyas.

(*a*) Urjjayanta.—It is the Girnar Mountain in Kāthiāwār (Surāshṭra)[5] which figures so prominently in the Junāgadh Rock inscriptions of Rudradāman and Skandagupta. The mountain is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (III. 88.23) and is probably hinted at in the Rig Veda (II. 13.8).

(*b*) Raivataka.—It is the hill opposite to Urjayat or Girnar.[6] In literature it is associated with the Yādava tribe.

(*c*) Arbuda.—Mount Abu. We have a detailed account of the mountain in the Arbuda Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa.

[1] See Raghu, IV. 59, and Rapson, Andhra Coins, LXIII.

[2] See Bhāg. P., V. 19.16. Kollagiri is placed in southern India in the description of Arjuna's march with the sacrificial horse (in the Aśvamedhaparva). *Cf.* Kollagiri in Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 497; Mbh., II. 31. 68.

[3] See JRAS, 1894, Geography of Rāma's exile, pp. 256, 258.
Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparva, 39. 62-64.

[4] Fleet, CII, p. 57.

[5] Fleet, CII, 646. Paśchimabhāge, Skanda, Vastr. 1.68,

(*d*) Govardhana—the famous hill near the Jumna.

(5) Hills associated with the central Vindhyas, *e.g.*,

(*a*) Amarakaṇṭaka or Mekala.—It is the source of the Narmadā, the Śoṇa and the Mahānadî.

(*b*) Kolāhala.—It is placed by Pargiter between Panna and Bijawar in Bundelkhand. The Mahābhārata connects it with the river Śuktimatî (Ken).

(*c*) Chitrakūṭa.—It is the name of a famous hill lying 65 miles W.S.W. of Allahabad (JRAS, 1894, 239). The Mahābhārata associates it with Kālañjara, Mbh., III. 85.56.

(6) Hills associated with the eastern Vindhyas, *e.g.*, Pravaragiri-Gorathagiri. It is the Barabar Hill (Fleet, CII, 222-223). The identification of Gorathagiri with the Barabar Hill was suggested by Jackson in JBORS, I. 159f.

Pāṇḍava.—It is the name of one of the five hills of Rājagṛiha mentioned prominently in Buddhist literature (Cunn., AGI, 530).

Vaibhrāja or Vaihāra.—It is also one of the five hills of Rājagṛiha mentioned in the epic and in Buddhist literature, modern Baibhāra.[1]

Vātasvana.—Bathan in South Bihār according to Beglar, A.S.R. VIII. 46.

Mandara—in the Bhāgalpur District (Fleet, CII, p. 211).

(7) Hills in the Far East—

Kāmagiri.—Kāmākhyā in Assam.

Udayagiri.—It refers either to the real Udayagiri in Orissa or S. Bihār, or the mythical mountain, associated with Astagiri.

[1] The names of the five hills of Rājagṛiha mentioned in the Pāli annals of Ceylon are (in Sanskrit) Gṛidhrakūṭa, Ṛishigiri, Vaibhāra, Vipula and Pāṇḍava (Cunn., AGI., 530). Of these only the second, third and probably also the fourth, find mention in the Mahābhārata (II. 21. 2). Gṛidhrakūṭa, identified by Marshall with Chhathāgiri (ASI, 1905-6, pp. 86-90) is probably "Chaityaka" of the Mahābhārata. Pāṇḍava, identified by Cunningham with Ratnagiri, is in that case Vṛishabha of the epic and Vṛishabha-dhvaja of the Purāṇas. The Mbh. II. 22.45, however, connects the Pāṇḍavas with Chaityaka,

(8) Hills associated with the Himavat: Mainâka, Krauñcha,[1] Hemagiri,[2] and Indraparvata (Mbh., II. 30.15).

(9) Hills whose identity is unknown :—Vaidyuta, Svarasa, Tuṅgaprastha, Rochana, Kūṭaśaila, Kṛitasmara, Kora, Añjana, Jambu, Mānava, Sūrpa-karṇa, Vyāghra-mukha, Kharmaka, Karvatāśana, Sūryādri, Kumudādri, Maṇimegha, Kshurādri, Khañjana, Dhanushmat, Vashumat (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa) ; Maṅgala-prastha, Vāridhāra, Droṇa, Gokāmukha, (Bhāgavata Purāṇa).

[1] Pargiter, Mārk. P., 376 n. Krauñcha "appears to have been a portion of the Mainâka mountains in the great Himavat mountain system." It is "the portion of the Himâlaya chain bounding Nepal at the extreme north-west."

[2] Pargiter, Mārk. P., 369 n.

NEW LIGHT

On Nature in the Age of Pope

By

P. K. Das, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

The name of Addison is sometimes coupled by writers with that of Pope while naming the age which is more commonly known as the age of Pope. In fact, both of them are regarded as representatives of the age, their works embodying nearly all the characteristics of the literature of the period. One of the principal features of the poetry of this age is usually stated to be the absence of the feeling for nature ; while the men of letters, including the poets, are described as members of a brilliant society of wits characterised by their absorbing love for the city and *inability* to appreciate the beauties of external nature. In spite of all the allowances that are usually made by critics for such notable exceptions as are to be found in writers like Lady Winchelsea, Thomas Parnell, and Allan Ramsay, it remains an accepted opinion that Pope and his contemporaries were lacking in imagination and feeling—especially a genuine feeling for the beauties of nature.

It is not, however, the intention of the present writer to try to prove the above opinion to be wholly unfounded ; for, it is to be admitted that, *in the main*, the attitude of the Augustan school towards external nature, so far as it finds expression in the important works of the time, is marked by indifference

and artificiality. But this does not necessarily prove that the writers themselves were *devoid of the power* of appreciating the beauties of nature. For, as Henry Beers says, "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."[1] Hence it is quite possible that for causes which might be attributed to the peculiar social or political conditions of an age, its writers may refrain, out of prudential or other considerations, from *adequately* expressing in their works some of the most ordinary feelings that beat in the heart of every man. Appreciation of nature, after all, is an ordinary human trait, which can hardly be found altogether lacking in a number of sensible and cultured minds of the same age.[2] It will therefore be our endeavour to show, from the various materials we have been able to collect from the writings (in prose as well as verse) of Addison, Pope, Gay, Berkeley and other contemporary men of letters, that the men of letters of the age of Pope including the great hierarch himself had *greater power of appreciating* the beauties of external nature than they have generally been credited with, that however negligible in literary value the passages cited by us in the following pages may be, they are sufficient to prove that Pope and his contemporaries were by no means 'insensible to natural beauty of scenery,' as men in no age ever were.

The thesis.

A thesis like this might be deemed unnecessary by readers who do not believe in the existence of such an erroneous or exaggerated notion about Pope and his circle as has been pointed out above. But not ot speak of what we

[1] *English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, Ch. II, p. 61. The italics are mine.

[2] *Cf.* "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."—Leslie Stephen, *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Ch. III. The italics are mine.

find in the ordinary manuals of English Literature, even some of the scholars who have made a special study of the period, have gone so far as to make such sweeping assertions as the following—"Nature and Pope were not destined to become friends; he looked at her 'through the spectacles of books,' and his description of natural objects is *invariably* of the conventional type;" [1] "Now, all was lost. The poets, the wits, the cultivated folk were wholly of the town. They despised or hated country life. Nothing in it spoke to their hearts. In Pope's poetry this reached its climax." [2] We shall now leave it to the readers of the following pages to judge for themselves whether the old idea about the insensibility of Pope and his circle to the beauty of natural scenery is tenable or not, warning them at the same time against assuming that we propose to show anything like an intimate interpretation of nature in their works, as we find in Wordsworth or any other poet of the Romantic Revival. Their appreciation of nature had its limitations; they could not wholly free themselves, while dealing with her, from the taint of artificiality, which was the prevailing characteristic of the time; but they were not *dead* to the feeling for nature.

[1] John Dennis, *The Age of Pope*, pp. 29-30. The italics are mine.

[2] Stopford Brooke, *Naturalism in English Poetry*, Ch. I, pp. 21-22.

I

ADDISON

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 this poem we find glowing descriptions of 'gay gilded scenes' and 'blossoms and fruits and flowers' seen by him. Probably he was the earliest of the few poets of the century to notice the beautiful odours in nature, and points out how

Addison: *A Letter from Italy* (1701).

> Trodden weeds send out a rich perfume.

From a careful study of this poem it will appear that he does not show himself herein to be a mere enumerator of the different objects of nature, but a sincere admirer who greatly delighted in their beauties; *cf.*

> For wheresoe'er I turn my ravished eyes
> Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects rise.[1]

Again,—

> Fired with a thousand raptures I survey; etc.

But what is more important in this poem is that we also find in it the mention of hills and mountains the scenery of which he seems, evidently from his own words, to have greatly enjoyed; *cf.*

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

[1] See Appendix A.

And it is here, 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.[1] Besides the line just quoted, also compare,—

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

Further,

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

It should be noted in this connection that, unlike the conventional or generalised descriptions of nature found in the poetry of the time, Addison's descriptions are the result of first-hand observation of the scenes visited by him during his travels in Italy, of which he has left a record in prose in his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705).

Strangely enough does Prof. William Lyon Phelps 'take Addison as a conspicuous example' of the classicists who 'had no more love for wild nature than they had for Gothic architecture or Romantic poetry;'[2] and in support of his view he quotes the following from Mr. Perry's *Eighteenth Century Literature*:—

The charge of inability to appreciate the wild and stern aspects of nature against Addison.

"In one of his letters, dated December, 1701, he wrote that he had reached Geneva after 'a very troublesome journey over the Alps. My head is still giddy with mountains and precipices; and you can't imagine how much I am pleased with the sight of a plain!' This little phrase is a good illustration of the contempt for mountains, of the way they were regarded as wild, barbaric, useless excrescences."[3] The learned professor himself gives a fitting reply to the assertion of Mr.

[1] See the present writer's article, 'The Earliest Expression of Delight in Mountain in the Poetry of the Eighteenth Century; *The Modern Language Review* (Cambridg Univ. Press), April, 1928, pp. 215-16.

[2] *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, Ch. IX, p. 167.

[3] *Ibid.*

Perry in a foot-note to the passage cited above, where he says, " But much of our modern love for mountains and precipices is doubtless due to the circumstances in which we view them. Carried to the top of the Rigi in a comfortable car, we are in a condition to enjoy to the utmost the glorious view : but if the Rigi represented an obstacle, something that must be passed over with infinite discomfort and even peril, I am sure we should not appreciate the view so keenly." [1] But this is not all. For, where is the expression of contempt for mountains in the passage in question cited by Mr. Perry ? The words, " My head is still giddy with mountains . . . . " are by no means expressive of contempt for mountains, particularly in the context of 'a very troublesome journey.' The terms that may be used by a man to indicate the worries and discomfort of a journey need not necessarily be taken to signify a habitual disgust or dislike for the scenes themselves visited by him. With all our modern love for the sterner aspects of nature, we would not possibly refrain from describing a journey as nothing but troublesome or disgusting, if the sufferings undergone in accomplishing it were of an overwhelming nature. The aim of Addison, in the above letter, is primarily to refer to the troublesome nature of the journey ; and in course of this he speaks of the pleasure afforded by the 'sight of the plains,' obviously because the plain gives him relief from troubles; to take the expression 'sight of the plain ' as contrasted with the sight or scenery of mountains he passed through, would be giving too literal an interpretation to it which is not justified either by the context or by other passages from his writings in which he has described mountains. On the other hand, that Addison *had no dislike for*, or prejudice against, hills and mountains will be clear from dozens of passages that may be quoted from his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705), in which he has

[1] *Ibid.*

described hills, rocks, mountains and precipices seen by him. *Cf.*[1] :—

(1) The next morning we were not a little *surprised* to see the *mountains* about the town covered with green olive trees, or laid out in beautiful gardens, which gave us a great variety of pleasing prospects, even in the depth of winter. ('Manaco, Genoa, etc.,' p. 1.)

Evidences against the charge.

Here we see that he was 'surprised' (but not horrified) at the sight of the artificial ("laid....gardens") as well as the natural aspect ("covered . . . . olive trees") presented by the mountains.

(2) The neighbouring mountains are covered with them (trees) and, by reason of their height, are more exposed to the dews and drizzling rains than any of the adjacent parts. The river runs extremely rapid before its fall, and rushes down a precipice of a hundred yards high. It throws itself into the hollow of a rock, which has probably been worn by such a constant fall of water . . . I think there is something more *astonishing* in this *cascade* than in all the water-works of Versailles . . . . . .

('Pesaro, Fano, etc., to Rome,' p. 74.)

(3) These mountains likewise very much increase their summer heats, and make up a horizon that has something in it very singular and *agreeable*. On one side you have the long tract of hills that goes under the name of Mount Jura, covered with vineyards and pasturage; and on the other, huge precipices of naked rocks rising up in a thousand odd figures, and cleft in some places so as to discover high mountains of snow that lie several leagues behind them. Towards the south the hills rise more insensibly and leave the eye a vast uninterrupted prospect for many miles. ('Geneva and the Lake,' p. 209.)

But these are not all; there are other instances of a more positive character showing clearly his genuine appreciation of the beauty and grandeur of mountain scenery; *cf.*

(4) The fatigue of our crossing the Apennines, and of our whole journey from Loretto to Rome, was very *agreeably relieved* by the variety

[1] In judging the value of the passages quoted here, we have to bear in mind that they were written in an age when mountains are said to have been looked upon with horror or disgust, and mentioned by poets, if at all, only in terms of disapprobation.

All the references given here are from 'The Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Addison, Vol. 4, Oxford, published by D. A. Talboys, 1830. The italics are mine.

of scenes we passed through. For not to mention the rude [1] prospect of rocks rising one above another, of the gutters deep worn in the sides of them by torrents of rain ... we saw, in six days' travelling, the seasons of the year in their beauty and perfection.

('Pesaro, Fano, etc., to Rome,' pp. 77-78.)

Note that the view of the rocks is one of the several prospects which agreeably relieve the fatigue of his journey.

(5) In sailing round Caprea we were *entertained* with many *rude* prospects of rocks and precipices that rise in several places half a mile high in perpendicular. At the bottom of them are caves and grottoes, formed by the continual breaking of the waves upon them. I entered one....

('The Isle of Caprea,' p. 124.)

(6) The state of Milan is like a vast garden, surrounded by a *noble* mound-work of *rocks and mountains*; indeed if one considered the face of Italyin general ..('Pavia, Milan,' etc., ' p. 21).

One would not use the epithet 'noble' while characterising a thing one dislikes or shrinks from; this adjective is clearly expressive of Addison's admiration.

(7) The bay of Naples is the most delightful one that I ever saw. Three parts of it are sheltered with a *noble circuit* of woods and *mountains*. ('Naples,' p. 94.)

(8) Mount Pasilypo makes a *beautiful prospect* to those who pass by it; at a small distance from it lies the little island of Nisida..... ('From Naples to Rome,' p. 125).

(9) The Sulfatara is very surprising to one who has not seen mount Vesuvio. But there is nothing about Naples, nor indeed *in any part of Italy, which deserves our admiration so much as this mountain.* I must confess the idea I had of it did not answer the real image of the place when I came to see it...

('Antiquities near Naples,' pp. 109-110.)

Here is a clear example of his admiration of a mountain scenery which, according to him, surpasses every other spot in

[1] The word 'rude' is not used in disapprobation of the sight presented by the rocks; that the general feeling of the writer is one of delight and admiration will be evident from the use of the same word in extracts (5) and (11) given below.

Italy—an instance of what may be called ecstatic admiration, striking a somewhat modern note.

(10) There is the *noblest summer prospect in the world* from this walk, for you have a full view of a *huge range of mountains* that lie in the country of the Grisons, and are buried in snow. ('Fribourg, Berne, etc.,' p. 221.)

The last four or five instances are sufficient to prove Addison's appreciation of mountain scenery; we shall however add one passage more which, read with those given above, will conclusively establish our point:

(11) 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 those stupendous works of Nature. (*Spectator*, No. 412.)

His delight in various other aspects of nature (mild or pleasant) is to be found in the following:

Addison's appreciation of the various aspects of nature.

From Verona to Padua we travelled through a very pleasant country, it is planted thick with rows of mulberry trees...The trees themselves serve, at the same time, as so many stays for their vines, which hang all along like garlands from tree to tree. Between the several ranges lie fields of corn.

(*Remarks on Italy*: 'Brescia, Verona, Padua'.)

Passages containing statements of a general nature showing his attitude towards different aspects of nature are to be found in his contributions to the *Spectator*; *cf.*

A beautiful prospect delights the soul as much as a demonstration. A man of polite imagination often feels a greater satisfaction in the prospects 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 in nature in the passage we have quoted above. (See No. 11.)

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

Like a true lover of nature he can also 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 :—

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.)

The above statement being of a highly generalised nature does not however satisfy us; but compare the following record of his first-hand observation :—

I must confess I was most pleased with a beautiful prospect that none of them have mentioned, which lies at about a mile's distance from the town. It opens on one side into the Roman Campania, where the eye *loses itself on a smooth spacious plain.* On the other side is a more broken and interrupted scene, made up of an *infinite variety of inequalities and shadowings*, that naturally arise from an agreeable mixture of hills, groves, and valleys. But the most enlivening part of all is the river, Teverone, which you see at about a quarter of a mile's distance throwing itself down a precipice, and falling by *several cascades* from one rock to another, till it gains the bottom of the valley, where the sight of it would be quite lost, did it not sometimes discover itself *through the breaks and openings of the woods* that grow about it. (*Remarks on Italy*: 'Town near Rome.')

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 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.)

Tickell.

Tickell, who also was one of the contributors to the *Guardian*, devoted the whole of the paper No. 125 to the subject of " The Pleasures of Spring—Music of Birds," writing in the following way :—

" I make it a rule to lose as little as I can of that blessed season : and accordingly rise with the sun, and wander through the field, throw myself on the banks of little rivulets, or lose myself in the woods ; I spent a day or two this spring at a country genleman's seat, where I *feasted my imagination* every morning with the most luxurious prospect I ever saw. I usually took my stand by the wall of an old castle built upon an high hill. A noble river ran at the foot of it, which...wandering through two woods...*shone here and there at a great distance through the trees*...The music of the birds at this time of the year, hath something in it so *wildly sweet* as makes me less relish the most elaborate compositions of Italy."
(August 4, 1713.)

If there had been among the people of the time a real and habitual dislike for the country or indifference towards nature, it is hardly probable that the well-known writers of these popular publications should have deliberately chosen to speak so highly of the charm of nature in their contributions, in direct opposition to the taste of the reading public.

II

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 can not 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 other pleasing objects of nature, showing the poet's appreciation of the scenery of hills.

Indications of his first-hand observation.

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 spring flower up-rears the head ;
> Lo, here the kingcup of a golden hue,
> Medley'd with daisies white and endive blue.
> And honey-suckles of a purple dye,
> Confusion gay ! bright waving to the eye.
>
> —*Fourth Pastoral.*

He was the earliest of the century to write a poem on Winter.

In addition to his expression of delight in hills, which has been noticed above, we find the evidence of his appreciation of a gloomy aspect of nature which had hitherto remained unnoticed by other poets of the time. He was the earliest of the poets of this century to write a complete poem on Winter. 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.*

III

JOHN GAY

John Gay is known to have been one of the notable poets of the School of Pope. "A distinct and interesting figure in the fascinating circle to which he belonged" he had, as says Prof. Saintsbury, "more special sympathy for the country, as opposed to the town, than Dear Mat...He was born in the same year (1688) with Pope, at Barnstaple, in the country which contains the most exquisite mixtures of scenery in England." [1]

His observation of phenomena associated with mountain scenery.

In his *Rural Sports*, which has been praised for 'containing some description more vivid and direct than the age generally showed,' [2] we find John Gay frequently describing phenomena or scenery associated with hills and mountains; and in doing so he never uses words expressive of horror or disgust, unlike other poets of his age who would look upon these stern aspects of nature with contempt or horror, if at all, or would take no notice of them altogether. *Cf.*—

(1) In rising hills the fragrant harvest grows.—*Rural Sports*, Canto I.
(2) And glancing Phoebus gilds the mountain's head.—*Ibid.*

[1] *A Short History of English Literature*, Bk. VIII, Ch. V, p. 559.
[2] *Ibid.*

(3) The distant mountains echo from afar.—*Ibid*, Canto II.

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

(5) 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 :—

His sense of ecstatic delight in hills.

Some delighted have been with a meadow or vale,
But with these my taste never could tally ;
The meadow is pleasant : enchanting the dale,
But a hill I prefer to a valley.

For prospect extended, and landscape most rare,
With health-breathing breezes inviting,
No daisy-pied mead with a hill can compare,
No garden yield sweets more delighting ;
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.[1]

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,*

[1] *A Devonshire Hill*; *Poems from Gay's Chair*, pubd. 1820. That this poem was the result of his personal observation and enjoyment of the beauty of a hill in Devonshire is known from the fact that he made a journey to Devonshire in the summer of the year 1715, of which ' he has left a pleasant account in the shape of a rhymed epistle to Lord Burlington. He seems to have made another visit to Devonshire in the following year.'—*Gay's Poems*, 'Introductory Memoir,' by J. Underhill (*The Muses' Library*), p. xxxvii.

a pastoral tragedy, is in "a plain, at the foot of a steep craggy mountain."

Appreciation of ocean scenery.

The following passage from his *Rural Sports* is perhaps one of the earliest instances of appreciation of the scenery of the ocean, which was another neglected object of nature in the poetry of the Augustan school, in which it was even less frequently noticed than mountains :—

> 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 *over the distant billow lose my sight.*

The above instance is remarkable for accuracy as well as delicacy of observation, especially of colour, and might, in all fairness, be attributed to any poet of the age of Wordsworth. The last two lines are expressive of a pensive melancholy, and, as such, strike a note that is essentially a modern one. In his Elegies there are frequent descriptions of 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.*

For his observation of odour, *cf.*—

> At the close of the day,
> When the bean-flower and hay
> Breathed odours in every wind :
> —*The Coquet Mother and her Daughter.*

Night which is another neglected aspect of nature in the poetry of the time, is not left unnoticed by him, *cf.*—

> Now Night in silent state begins to rise,
> And twinkling orbs bestrow th' uncloudy skies ;
> Her borrow'd lusture growing Cynthia lends,
> And on the main a glittering path extends.
>
> —*Rural Sports*, Canto 1.

Among the poems of his *Miscellanies* we find a complete poem entitled *A Contemplation on Night* (1714), which speaks in terms of appreciation of the sky at night.

That Gay had a sufficient acquaintance with country life, its pleasures and its beauties, is amply testified to by his *Rural Sports* and *The Shepherd's Week*. The latter, of course, is not a " complete and entirely accurate picture of country life in the early eighteenth century, but it contains much curious and valuable information concerning rural customs, rural employments, rural songs, rural amusements, and rural superstitions." [1]

In his dedication of the *Rural Sports* to Pope, Gay points out that it was out of necessity owing to his poverty that he was compelled to have recourse to the life of the noisy town, where he

> ' Respired its smoke, and all its cares endured ;'

but his mind seems to have been after the repose and the refreshing influence of the country. While engaged in writing his second opera, he says in a letter to Dr. Swift, dated March 18, 1728-29, " I am impatient to finish my work, for I want the country air ; not that I am ill but to recover my strength." Henceforward he spent much of his time at Amesbury, so that Pope, writing to him on October 23, 1730, says, " I also wish you were not so totally immersed in the country ; I hope your return to town will be a prevalent

[1] " Introductory Memoir," p. xxx, *Poems of John Gay*, edited by J. Underhill.

remedy against "...Only a month before his death he came to town in November, 1732, soon after his return from a visit to Orchard-Wyndham, the seat of Sir William Wyndham in Somersetshire, of which he gives the following picturesque account :—

I think the country abounds with beautiful prospects....We are often entertained with sea-views, and sea-fish, and were at some places in the neighbourhood, among which I was mightily pleased with Dunster Castle, near Minehead. It stands upon a great eminence, and hath a prospect of that town, with an *extensive view* of the Bristol Channel, and on the other side we could plainly distinguish the divisions of fields in the Welsh Coast." [1]—To Mr. Pope ; Oct. 7, 1732.

IV

GEORGE BERKELEY

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

His travels.

[1] Roscoe's *Pope*, Vol. X ; the italics are mine. Gay shows a love for the vast and extended landscape in the lines quoted above, as also in the following :—

> Next morn, twelve miles led o'er th' 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 to the Earl of Burlington.*

Leghorn ; " [1] 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." [2]

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

In 1717, 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 Professor Campbell Fraser, " and occasional letters to Percival, Pope, and Arbuthnot, 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." [3] On October 22, 1717, he wrote the following in another letter to Pope from Naples:—" 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 the beauty of this landscape, which is likewise set off by the variety of some

His ardent interest in nature.

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

[1] Works of Berkeley, Edition of A. C. Fraser, Vol. I (1901) ; 'Life of Berkeley.'
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. IV (Edn. 1871).
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I (Edn. 1901).

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.*" [1]

In the above passage, evidently the attitude of Berkeley towards mountains among other things 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 ecstasy' similar to Shaftesbury's [2] but undoubtedly we notice in the above extract a genuine admiration of, and an *interest in, the mountain scenery as well as the wild and romantic scenes* visited by him. Nowhere in his famous *Journal of 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 interest in volcanic phenomena, one of which he has described in a letter to Arbuthnot (dated April 17, 1717). This letter, from the very beginning to the end, is nothing but a detailed account of an eruption of Vesuvius which he seems to have minutely observed.[3]

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 extract from the letter to Pope (dated October 22, 1717) 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."[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, *Journal in Italy* (edn. 1901), p. 296. The italics are mine.

[2] C. A. More :—"Among the stock examples usually quoted we do not come across a spirit of 'devout ecstasy' similar to Shaftesbury's until we reach Gray's notes on the Alps."—*Studies in Philology*, Vol. XIV, pp. 264-65.

[3] 'Works of Berkeley,' edn. of A. C. Fraser, Vol. IV, p. 285 (1901)

[4] *Ibid*, 'Journal in Italy,' p. 299.

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.

From all the evidences given above it is now clear that Dean Berkeley, a celebrated prose-writer of the age of Queen Anne, notable for the excellence of his style and one of the 'men of merit'[1] forming that brilliant society,[2] was a genuine lover of nature for her own sake and in all her aspects, stern as well as mild. It is also evident from the descriptions themselves that Berkeley, as says Warton, the celebrated critic of the eighteenth century, "joined with an imagination the most splendid and magnificent, the uncommon talent of describing places in the most lively and graphical manner."[3] Professor Campbell Fraser tells us that immediately after he had reached London in January, 1713, "he writes to Percival that...and enlarges on the beauty of rural England, which he *liked more than anything he had seen in London*".[4]

Further, it should also be noted that the letters containing such graphic descriptions as are given above were written to men like Percival, Pope and Arbuthnot, and, as such, these were most probably not unnoticed by the rest of the gifted circle; but none of his friends is known to have expressed his disapprobation of Berkeley's nature descriptions—an evidence of their capacity to appreciate the beauties of nature, as also

[1] At the end of 1712, Berkeley resolved to visit London, as he told Percival, 'in order to print...and to make acquaintance with men of merit.'—Dr. Fraser, *ibid*, 'Early Life.'

[2] "Berkeley now became intimate with Addison, Arbuthnot, Swift, Pope, Steele, and the rest of the gifted circle, by whom he seems to have been sincerely loved."—Chambers, *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, Vol. II.

[3] Warton, quoted by W. Roscoe, edn. of the Works of Pope, Vol. X, p. 67.

[4] *Berkeley's Complete Works*, Vol. I, p. xxxvii (1901).

of the fact that they were not opposed to the delineation of the beauties of nature in their private correspondence.[1]

V

POPE

Wordsworth's commendation of Pope's *Windsor Forest* for 'a passage or two' contained in it describing 'new images of external nature' is well-known. In fact, there are to be found in this poem some instances of faithful observation of animal life and rural scenery mixed up with descriptions of a conventional or generalised sort :—

Instances of faithful observation in Pope's *Windsor Forest* (1713).

(1) There, interspers'd in lawns and opening glades,
Thin trees arise *th t 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?

(5) Oft in her glass the musing shepherd spies
The headlong mountains and the downward skies,
The watery landscape of the pendant woods,
And absent trees that tremble in the floods.

Quoting the last two of the passages given above, by way of illustrating his remark, M. Taine observes, "There is in

[1] Also see Appendix B.

Pope a minute description, adorned with high coloured words, local details... Every aspect of nature was described; a sunrise, a landscape reflected in water, a breeze and the foliage, and so forth."[1] The above statement of M. Taine is perhaps better borne out by some passages from Pope's letters than by his poetical descriptions. His letter to Mrs. Martha Blount, 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. What is particularly notable in this letter is that he has shown in it a keen power of appreciating the *romantic* in nature and has used the word 'romantic' quite in the modern sense in connection with nature, earlier than Berkeley or any other writer of this age; *cf.*

His letters showing his appreciation of natural scenery.

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.

[1] *History of Eng. Lit.*, Bk. III, Ch. VII.

It may be pointed out for our present purpose that Pope and Addison[1] 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 twenty-five years after the above letter was 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. The first of these, written from Bristol (dated Monday, 1742), gives, at great length, an account of Bath; "nothing can do it," says he, "but a picture, it is so unlike any scene you ever saw." *Cf.*

The evidence of two letters written shortly before his death.

> From Bath you go along the river, or its side, the road lying generally in sight of it: on each bank are *steep rising hills* clothed with wood at top, and sloping toward the stream in green meadows, intermixed with white houses, mills and bridges, this for seven or eight miles ..... Passing still along by the river, you come to a rocky way on one side,

[1] For the remarks 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 an abler and 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*, pp. 123-26.

overlooking *green hills* on the other.....and as you go further, *more rocks above rocks*, mixed with green bushes.....and turning on the left, there opens the river at a vast depth below, accompanied on both sides with a continued *range of rocks up to the clouds*, of an hundred colours, and so to the end of the prospect, quite to the sea. But the sea nor the Severn you do not see: the rocks and the river fill the eye.[1]

The second letter, dated Saturday the 24th, 1742, continues the description given in the first. For want of space we quote only a few lines from it below :—

There is first near Bristol a little village upon this down, called Clifton, 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.

The fact that these two letters 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 fit of inspiration, but proceeded from an abiding sense of delight in the charm and tranquillity of peaceful country scenes. The following extracts from the correspondence of his earlier years will further illustrate his attitude towards the country :—

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

(1) 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.....So much fine weather, I doubt not, has given you all the pleasure you could desire from the country,.....But nothing could allure Mr. Wycherley to our forest; he continued (as you told me long since he would) an obstinate lover of the town, in spite of friendship and fair weather. (To Mr. Cromwell, November 1, 1708.)

[1] Mark that the high priest of the classical school does not fail to appreciate the *beauty of hill scenery*; also compare :—

There wrapt in clouds the blueish hills ascend;

—*Windsor Forest.*

The italics in all the extracts quoted above as well as in the following pages from the letters of Pope are mine.

(2) I expect much towards the civilising of you in your critical capacity, from the innocent air and tranquillity of our 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 enjoyment :—

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 utteranees 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." [1] That his heart was after the town delights

[1] See Myra Reynolds, *Nature in English Poetry*, Chap. I, p. 3.

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.[1] 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 ground 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.[2] 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 he had early imbibed in the midst of the surrounding scenery of Windsor Forest. Besides, we can hardly ignore the fact that if there is any artificiality or insincerity in the words expressive of his liking for country-life, it is equally noteworthy that there is a tone of artificiality or exaggeration in his preference 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.

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

[1] *Ibid*, Chap. II, p. 81.

[2] "There are, no doubt, occasional passages, and even whole letters, which ought to be excepted from any summary condemnation. Pope's reply to Atterbury, of date Nov. 20, 1717, is manly, sincere, and not ungraceful."—Pattison: Essays XX.

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 the noise and the 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 also came to entertain a perfectly balanced view regarding both the kinds of life, as will be clear from the following lines of a letter of his to Mr. Steele (dated June 18, 1712):—

The distractions of London life occasionally caused a yearning for peace in the country in the mind of Pope.

> 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;[1] as waters lying still, putrify, 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 question of insincerity can hardly be raised on the view expressed by Pope in the passage quoted above; it is characterised by a sanity and moderation that may be regarded as sufficient evidence of the sincerity of his attitude. Besides, the fact remains that the lines are taken from his private correspondence with 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

The sanity of his view expressed in one of his letters.

[1] Lord Bolingbroke in one of his letters to Dr. Swift says, "As to retirement, and exercise, your notions are true: the first should not be indulged so much as to render us savage, nor the last neglected so as to impair health."—Roscoe's Pope, Letter CVII.

seen already, is not the only evidence of its kind that may be produced to prove our point. There are some letters written by Bishop Berkeley to Pope which may be looked upon as a clear, though indirect evidence of the fact that Pope was known to Berkeley as one *able to appreciate* the beauties of nature that the latter intended to describe in his letters to the former. While introducing the subject of his letter written from Naples (October 22, 1717), Berkeley says :—[1]

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

"Italy is such an exhausted subject that, I dare say, you'd easily forgive my saying nothing about 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 neverthless 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.*"

And a little further on he adds,—

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.[2]

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 generally devoid of

Evidences of his *power* of appreciating nature are to be found in his *prose* writings.

[1] "Works of Berkeley," edition of A. C. Fraser, Vol. IV (1901), p. 296.

[2] *Ibid.*

the power of appreciating them. For, as it has been rightly said by Prof. W. P. Ker, "Nothing of Pope's poetry and not the whole of it all together represents fully what he thought or admired...Pope's poetical work is not the whole of his life." [1] The evidences given above furnish a clear and sufficient testimony to *his capacity* for observing and portraying (chiefly in prose) the various objects of nature and deriving pleasure therefrom. Nor does he even altogether fail to represent poetically the objects of nature; the passages quoted above from his *Windsor Forest*, which 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 great support to the view that the present writer has sought to establish in these pages :—

> 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—
>
> Lo ! where Mœotis sleeps, and hardly flows
> The freezing Tanais thro' a waste of snows,
>
> We see, and we shiver.[2]

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 School. 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 denounce-

Lytton Strachey on the prejudice against Pope.

[1] *The Art of Poetry—Lecture on Pope* (1923), pp. 113-14.

[2] *Pope, The Leslie Stephen Lecture for 1925.*

ment of their enemy the critics should have failed to form a correct estimate of his powers and abilities 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." [1]

VI

CONCLUSION

And we need not feel surprised at the above conclusion arrived at by us about Pope's power of appreciating the beauties of nature. Incredible as it may appear, Pope's attitude of appreciation towards the beauties of 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 almost all the well known persons of literary talents 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 are always going on at the court, and consider how these circumstances must have distracted the mind of the whole nation, it appears 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,

Pope shared in the attitude of all the literary men of his age.

They had reasons to hanker after peace in the country.

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

They were, as a rule, compelled to have recourse to town life for the sake of worldly interests and ambitions, and not for

[1] *Ibid.*

the sake of a genuine love for its artificial society to which, however, they came to be reconciled in time, still conscious of its worries and distractions. The following lines from the *Guardian* (No. 22, Monday, April 6, 1713) written by Steele will bear us out:—

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

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 delighed 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.*

Gay expressed almost the same sentiment when he wrote the following:—

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
And, undisturbed, yourself and muse enjoy.....
But I, *who ne'er was blessed by fortune's hand,*
Nor brightened plough-shares 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.
Friendship for sylvan shades, the palace flies,
Where all must yield to interest's dearer ties,
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 sylvan song and prompt my rhyme —*Rural Sports.*

What wonder, then, that Pope who is rightly regarded as the representative of his age, should, in so beautifully portraying

the various scenes of nature, as he has done in his letters, express but the common attitude of his literary compeers towards the country and the enjoyments afforded by its peaceful scenery? It would not, after all, be unreasonable to judge that the intellectual part of his nature was given to the taste as well as glamour of the society of wits in London, which no literary man of the age could afford to ignore for various reasons, some of which are clearly indicated in the two extracts just quoted, while the emotional side of his nature did really feel for the beauty and tranquillity of nature in the country like that of any cultured, sensible and normally-disposed man of the town even of our present age.

The just estimate of Pope's attitude towards the country.

And what is true of Pope, it may not be unreasonable to conclude, is also true of all his contemporary writers in prose as well as verse. It is true that the number of descriptions showing their love of nature—and these are not merely conventional ones—is very limited; but it is natural that it should be so in an age when "people seek for what they call wit, on all subjects and in all places."[1] Moreover, the dearth of descriptions does not prove the want of their power to feel the charm of nature on other grounds as well. For, in the first place, they have given us *some* instances, at least, of genuine nature description. This shows that they did feel for, or appreciate the beauty of external nature, however rarely it might be. Then we know that they were not, either personally or as members of a group or school of writers opposed to the representation of Nature in their works.[2] And this fact together

Pope's attitude represented that of his contemporaries in verse as well as prose

[1] A clear evidence of the fact that Pope tried to satisfy the literary taste of his age is to be found in the following passage of his letter to Walsh (1706):—"I have not attempted any thing of a pastoral comedy, because I think *the taste of our age will not relish* a poem of that sort. People seek for what they call wit, on all subjects and in all places, not considering that nature loves truth so well, that it hardly ever admits of flourishing."—Pope's Works, W. Roscoe's edition, Vol. I, p. 40.

[2] See Appendix B.

with the one stated above, leads us to conclude that as there was nothing standing in the way of their appreciating the beauties of nature, they were free to indulge in this kind of feeling, and that they *did* in all probability appreciate—because it is so natural on the part of every one to do so—the charm of the outdoor world of nature whenever they had an opportunity to do so, though they did not always care to *express* their feelings in their writings, especially in *poetry*;[1] for, as pointed out above, this kind of work was not wanted of them in those days,[2] and not because it would be positively against the taste of their friends and readers.[3] Thus it came about that their poetry did not fully represent their life—what they felt, thought and enjoyed.[4] And this is a fact too well known to require a fresh discussion by us here; but at the same time it is a strong point in support of our view, warning us, as it does, against drawing conclusions about the facts of their life, especially their *feelings and sentiments*, from their *poetical* productions.

They felt the charm of the outdoor world but did not express their feeling in verse.

Thus we see that the remark of Prof. Saintsbury that Lady Winchelsea "is a most remarkable phenomenon, too isolated to point much of a moral"[5] does not appear to be wholly correct; for among the contemporaries of Pope in the field of prose, we have had sufficient evidence of love of nature in Berkeley, Addison, Steele[6] and Shaftesbury;[7] and among the poets of the same

The conclusion.

[1] Mr. Oswald Doughty very aptly says: "They could not help feeling emotion as men in all ages have felt it. But they could and did refuse to express it in passionate verse."—*English Lyric in the Age of Reason*, 'Foreword.'

[2] See footnote 1, p. 32.

[3] The letters of Berkeley, Pope and others, as well as the contributions of Addison, Steele and Tickell to the periodicals of the day, containing nature paintings or observations in praise of nature, are evidences in point.

[4] See the remarks of W. P. Ker on Pope given above, p. 29.

[5] *A Short History of English Literature*, Book VIII, Ch. V, p. 563.

[6] See above.

[7] See *The Return to Nature in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century* by C. A. More; *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XIV, 1917; University of North Carolina.

era, notice has been taken by various critics of the nature-painting of Ambrose Philips, Gay, Lady Winchelsea, Parnell, Allan Ramsay, Thomson and Dyer, the list including, as we see, almost all the well-known writers of the time except Swift.[1] From the materials of the study before us, it therefore appears to be reasonably certain that a fresh judgment will have to be formed by the twentieth century about the much-maligned eighteenth-century writers regarding their insensibility to the beauties of nature ; and that the hitherto accepted conventional distinction between the terms ' classical ' and ' romantic,' as applied to the literature of the Age of Pope and that of the Age of Wordsworth respectively, will stand in need of revision ; says David Nichol Smith, " Sooner or later we have to enlarge or qualify the meaning which we attach to them (the terms ' classical ' and ' romantic ') if they are to fit all facts ; they tempt us to manipulate the facts to fit our definitions." [2]

[1] A connected account of the treatment of nature of all the writers named above may be found in the present writer's essay, "Evidences of a Growing Taste for Nature in the Age of Pope," published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* of the University of Calcutta, Vol. XVII (1928) ; of many of them in Miss Reynold's *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry* ; also in Gosse's *Eighteenth Century Literature*, Ch. VII, etc.

[2] *The Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse*, Preface, p. ix.

APPENDIX A

"GAY GILDED SCENES AND SHINING PROSPECTS RISE."

The epithets used in this verse smack of artificiality, no doubt; but our endeavour is to show that Addison's descriptions are expressive of his appreciation of the beauties of natural scenery, inspite of their artificial mode of expression—a defect from which no writer of the age was free. Besides, it should be noted that the epithets used here, in particular, appear to have an air of artificiality chiefly because of our consciousness of the fact that they come from a writer of the age of Pope. For, even in Wordsworth we find similar use of these words in descriptions of the same kind ; *cf.*

(*i*) The firth that glittered like a warrior's shield,
The sky, the *gay* green field.—*Artegal and Elidure*, l. 192.

(*ii*) The *guilded* turf arrays in richer green—*Evening Walk*, l. 161.

(*iii*) And glistening antlers are descried ;
And *gilded* flocks appear.—*Evening Voluntaries*, II, l. 32.

APPENDIX B

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CRITICS OF THE AUGUSTAN SCHOOL TOWARDS THE TREATMENT OF NATURE IN THE POETRY OF THEIR AGE.

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[1] in conformity with the taste and requirements of their countrymen who came to dislike the yoke of the French principles in art and criticism.[2] 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.[3] Dryden himself says,—

[1] *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.

[2] *Cf.* L. Stephen : 'His (the wit's) 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.

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

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 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. This is evident from the praises of the critics with which they acclaimed the poems dealing with nature, the number of which, in this age, is found to be much greater than in the preceding one, and goes on increasing as the country 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,[1] written in praise of a peaceful life in country-retreats, is known to have been very popular throughout the eighteenth century.[2] Dr. Johnson's remark on the poem was, "perhaps no composition in our language has been *oftner 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 subjects 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.

Evidences of the popularity of the nature-poetry of this age.

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

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

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.

(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 Italy* has been always praised, but never been praised beyond its merit."[1] If the suject-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."[2] The poem reached its fourth edition in 1728, and the year 1744 saw the *tenth edition* of his collected works.[3]

(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 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

[1] Johnson: *Lives of the English Poets.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Harko De Maar: *Modern English Romanticism*, Ch. X.

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."[1] 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 pictures so familiar, should have moved them but faintly to what they felt in his descriptions."[2]

(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."

Direct evidences of the favourable attitude of the critics of this age towards the love of the poets for the country are to be found in statements like the following:—

> 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.*—*The Spectator*, No. 414.

Later on, Joseph Warton writing about Pope in 1756 said, "It may be observed in general, that description of the external beauties of nature, is *usually the first effort of a young genius*, before he hath studied manners and passions."[3] Dr. Johnson, who to a great extent expresses his own ideas in the words of Imlac in his *Rasselas*, says, "Being now resolved to

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

[2] Quoted by G. C. Macaulay, *James Thomson* (E.M.L.), p. 81.

[3] *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*; the italics are mine.

be *a poet*, I saw everything with a new purpose;...I ranged mountains and deserts for images and resemblances, and pictured upon my mind every tree of the forest and flower of the valley. I observed with equal care the crags of the rock and the pinnacles of the palace....To a poet nothing can be useless. Whatever *is beautiful, and whatever is dreadful*, must be familiar to his imagination; he must be conversant with all that is awfully vast or elegantly little." [1]

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 even of the age of Pope. We cannot do better than 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 born. It appears in Dryden, in Pope himself, even in the writers of elegant pastorals, and breaks out in Thomson's *Seasons*.[2]

---

[1] Ch. X ; the italics are mine.

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

APPENDIX C

It has been stated in the 'Preface' that the writer has come across passages containing suggestive remarks made by eminent scholars which lend support to the views expressed in the foregoing pages; these passages are given below :—

1. William Lyon Phelps, *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*: "I think that Pope, notwithstanding his manifest limitations, had more imagination and enthusiasm than he generally has credit for; but he was forced to bow to the public opinion which he himself had done so much to form." (P. 8.)

"Matthew Arnold's remark that Gray would have been another man in a different age, would be much nearer the truth if spoken of Pope; for the great wit and satirist did have occasional touches of emotion and imagination, which in another age, he would have fostered rather than repressed." (P. 14.)

2. Prof. Henry Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*: "It would be a mistake to suppose that the men of Pope's generation, including Pope himself, were altogether wanting in romantic feeling." (P. 61.)

"Pope was quite incapable of making romantic poetry, but not, therefore, *incapable of appreciating it*. He took a great liking to Allan Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd;' he admired 'The Seasons,' and did Thomson the honour to insert a few lines of his own in 'Summer.'" (P. 79.)

3. G. C. Macaulay, *James Thomson* (*English Men of Letters*): "It is certain that the average Englishman's love of outdoor life and of outdoor sports had not been repressed in deference to any new French fashion. Nor is it the case that

the natural beauty of fields, woods, streams, and hills was altogether unappreciated by the poets of the period."

(Pp. 88-89.)

"What was wanting in the case of Pope was *not so much power of observation* as enthusiasm for the subject." (P. 90.)

4. W. P. Ker: "The poetry of Pope has been judged indirectly and with deference to opinions, cavils, and misgivings about him;...Pope is valued not exactly as he is, but as he is thought about. He is judged through 'second intentions.' The estimate of Pope's poetry, more than of any other poet, is made through the judgment of other people."

—'*Lecture on Pope*' (1923).

5. Lytton Strachey: "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."...(See above.)

—*Pope: The Leslie Stephen Lecture for 1925.*

6. J. W. Mackail: "Pope's known and recorded admiration of the 'Gentle Shepherd' shows how 'the return to nature' was a real motive, a sincere aim, even at the time and among the circle in which poetry was most artificial, and most heavily fettered by a classicist tradition."—*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. X (1924).

7. Oswald Doughty: "They *could not help feeling emotion as men in all ages have felt it.* But they *could and did refuse to express it in passionate verse.*"—Foreword:

—*English Lyric in the Age of Reason* (1922).

DATE OF COMPOSITION OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA

BY

P. C. SENGUPTA, M.A.

Lecturer in Indian Astronomy, Calcutta University, and Professor of Mathematics, Bethune College, Calcutta.

1. INTRODUCTION.

In the present paper it is proposed to discuss, and approximately to determine, the time when our great epic the *Rāmāyaṇa* took the form in which it is now available. The word 'composition' as used here is to be understood in the sense of 'compilation' and addition of new matter to an older poem of the same name. As to the date of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, Macdonell observes, "the cumulative evidence of arguments makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the kernel of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed before 500 B.C., while the more recent portions were probably not added till the second century B. C. and later." Weber in his History of Indian Literature says, "At the head of these (*Kāvya*) poems stands the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmīki*, whose name we find cited among the teachers of the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya*." The original *Rāmāyaṇa* has "passed through many phases of development." As to its various recensions we shall use the Bombay recension, particularly the edition of it published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, with the commentary of *Rāma Varmā* or *Rāma Śarmā*, who speaks of himself as a *Rāma-pravartaka* or the founder of a sect of *Rāma*-worshippers. As to this recension Macdonell says, "quotations from the *Rāmāyaṇa* occurring in works that belong to the

eighth and ninth centuries A.D., show that a recension allied to the present C (Bombay recension) existed at that period."

The date of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* perhaps cannot be ascertained definitely. We learn that there was a Rāmāyaṇa composed by Vālmīki, when the *Mahābhārata* was composed. Hopkins says, "The *Mahābhārata* besides giving the *Rāma* story as an episode *Rāma-upākhyāna*, has *four* direct references to the *Rāmāyaṇa*." These references are quoted below :—

(1) अपि चाऽयं पुरा गीतः श्लोको वाल्मीकिना भुवि ।
Mbh. VII, 143, 67. Found by Jacobi.

(2) श्लोकश्चाऽयं पुरा गीतो भार्गवेण महात्मना ।
आख्याते रामचरिते नृपतिं प्रति भारत ॥
Mbh. XII, 57, 40.

(3) भ्राता मम गुणश्लाघ्यो बुद्धिसत्त्वबलान्वितः ।
रामायणेऽतिविख्यातः श्रीमान् वानरपुङ्गवः ॥
Mbh. III, 147, 11.

(4) वेदे रामायणे पुण्ये भारते भरतर्षभ ।
आदौ चाऽन्ते च मध्ये च हरिः सर्व्वत्र गीयते ॥
Mbh. XVIII, 6, 93.

Weber has shown that *Bhārgava* is a title of *Vālmīki*. From these *ślokas* it is not possible to settle definitely whether there was a *written epic Rāmāyaṇa* known to the writer of the *Mahābhārata*. The word गीतः means "sung." Weber says that "the poem was originally handed down orally and was not fixed in writing till afterwards, precisely like the *Mahābhārata*." In the *Rāmopākhyāna* as told to *Yudhiṣhṭhira* by the sage *Mārkaṇḍeya*, although there is a general agreement in the story itself, the differences are too many when we come to details. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Rāvaṇa's* general, Prahasta, is said to be killed in battle by the 'monkey' general,

Nīla, while in the *Rāmopākhyāna* he is spoken of as killed by *Vibhīshaṇa*. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kumbhakarṇa* is described as killed by *Rāma* himself, while in the *Rāmopākhyāna* he is spoken of as killed by *Lakshmaṇa*. Again in the *Rāmopākhyāna* the party sent out towards the south to search for *Sītā*, meets the "Vulture king" *Sampāti* on the *Malaya* hills and not on the Vindhya hills as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. These discrepancies in regard to details could not all be found, had *Rāmāyaṇa* been a written epic at the time when the *Mahābhārata* became a written epic. A written epic cannot be much distorted in its narration. We may therefore conclude that the *Rāmāyaṇa* became a written epic after the time when the other epic was committed to writing. We now pass on to ascertain the date of this original written epic. We shall consider the internal historical evidences in outline and then consider fully the astrological and astronomical internal evidences.

2. Internal Historical Evidence.

That the *Rāmāyaṇa* was compiled after the time of *Buddha* may be inferred from the following extracts :

(*a*) The mention of the words "*Buddha*" and "*Tathāgata*" is found in II. 109. 34 :

यथा हि चौरः स तथा हि बुद्धस्तथागतं नास्तिकमत्र विद्धि ।

(Also found in the southern recension, Kumbhakonam.)

"A *Buddha* (*i.e.*, a follower of Buddha) is as good as a thief; you are to take a *Tathāgata* for an unbeliever (in the next world)."

(*b*) The word "*Bhikshu*" occurs in IV. 3. 2:

भिक्षुरूपं ततो भेजे शठबुद्धितया कपिः ।

(This line is also found in the southern recension, in Gorresio's and in Āryamuni's editions.)

"The monkey with a deceitful intention assumed the form (and dress) of a Bhikshu."

(*c*) The word "*Śramaṇa*" is found in I. 14. 12 :

अनाथा भुञ्जते नित्यं नाथवन्तश्च भुञ्जते ।
तापसा भुञ्जते नित्यं श्रमणाश्चैव भुञ्जते ॥

(Found also in Gorresio's edition and in the southern recension.)

"Every day the helpless were fed as well as those having their guardians, every day were fed the hermits as well as the *Śramaṇas*."

The same word again occurs in IV. 18. 33 :

आर्ष्येण मम मान्धात्रा व्यसनं घोरमीप्सितम् ।
श्रमणेन कृते पापे यथा पापं कृतं त्वया ॥

(Found also in Gorresio's and in Āryamuni's editions and in the southern recension.)

"A terrible punishment was decreed by my revered (ancestor) *Māndhātā* for an offence by a *Śramaṇa*, of the same nature as thou hast committed."

(*d*) The word "*Śramaṇī*" is found in II. 38. 4 :

जाता विसंज्ञा श्रमणीव काचित् ।

(Found also in the southern recension.)

"Sītā has become like a nameless *Śramaṇī*." It is also found in III. 74. 7 :

तामुवाच ततो रामः श्रमणीं धर्मसंस्थिताम् ॥

(Found also in Āryamuni's edition and in the southern recension. Gorresio reads शबरीं for श्रमणीं.)

"Then Rāma said to that '*Śramaṇī*' who had been living a religious life, etc."

This शबरी made obeisance to *Rāma* and *Lakshmaṇa* by touching their feet when she first met the princes. This is in marked contrast with what happened when they first met *Ahalyā*. It was the princes who touched the feet of *Ahalyā* and not *Ahalyā* of the princes. We shall perhaps be not wrong if we take this "*Śramaṇī*" to be a real Buddhist Śramaṇī.

(*e*) The word "*Chaityaprāsāda*" is found in V. 43. 3 :

चैत्यप्रासादमुत्प्लुत्य मेरुशृङ्गमिवोन्नतम् ।

(The word is also found in Gorresio's edition and in the southern recension.)

"By leaping up to the top of the '*Chaityaprāsāda*' which was as high as the peak of the mount Meru."

In one of the above quotations the king *Māndhātā* is represented as having decreed severe punishment to a criminal or sinful *Śramaṇa*. Again from the genealogy of the solar race of kings given in I. 70. 20-43 and also in II. 110. 5-35, we come to know that Māndhātā had a grandson named *Prasenajit* who being the second son of his father could not by tradition be the king of *Ayodhyā*. One *Prasenajit* is known in Pali literature as a junior contemporary of Buddha, reigning not at *Ayodhyā* but at *Śrāvastī*. The *Śākya* clan, we are told, was exterminated by the *Kośalas* after the death of Buddha. The mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of this decree of *Māndhātā* may refer to this extermination of the *Śākyas* by the *Kośalas*. If we take *Māndhātā* to be a contemporary of Buddha, and as we find from the genealogy given in the epic that *Rāma* was the 25th descendant from Māndhātā, taking 30 years to have been the mean length of the rule of each king, we may infer that *Rāma* is later than Buddha by about 720 years. Hence the time of *Rāma* comes to about 233 of the Christian era. This estimate, however, requires corroboration from other sources.

We next turn to the geographical knowledge exhibited by the poet and specially consider the orders given by the 'monkey' king *Sugrīva* to the different 'monkey' armies sent out to the different directions to search for *Rāma's* wife *Sītā*. The writer forgets that *Kishkindhyā*, the 'monkey' king's capital, is south of the Vindhya mountains.

The list of countries, etc., to be searched in the south contains the following :—the Vindhyas, the rivers *Godāvarī* and *Krishṇaveṇī*, the *Daśārṇa* cities, *Avanti*, the *Andhras*, the

Puṇḍras, the *Cholas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the river *Kāverī*, the *Malaya* hills, the river *Tāmraparṇī* and the *gates* of the *Pāṇḍyas*.

(Gorresio's edition as also the Southern recension are in agreement as to this list of countries.)

All these names are not to be found in this order in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of *Varāhamihira*. *Bhaṭṭotpala* in his commentary on this work, Chapter IV, 8-11, quotes *Parāśara*. We find the *Rāmāyaṇa* list in fair agreement with *Parāśara*.

The list of countries, etc., ordered to be searched towards the east contains the following names :—The river *Bhāgīrathi*, the *Sarayū*, the *Kauśikī*, the *Śoṇa*, the *Brahmamalas*, the *Videhas*, the *Mālavas*, the *Kāśis*, the *Kośalas*, the *Magadhas*, the *Aṅgas*, the country of silk cocoons, the country of silver mines, the *Karṇaprāvaraṇas*, the country of man-eaters, the *Kirātas*, the country of the handsome and golden-coloured races with pointed crests, the eaters of raw fish, the island of Java having seven kingdoms (Gorresio reads जलद्वीपम्), the gold and the silver islands.—IV. 40. 20-30.

(Gorresio's edition and the southern recension are in fair agreement with this list.)

Here also the *Rāmāyaṇa* list fairly agrees with that of *Parāśara* as quoted by *Bhaṭṭotpala*. The author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* had heard of the island of Java and perhaps also of Australia. He thus belonged to the time when there was a great maritime activity in India, and Java had been actually colonised or had come under the influence of Indian civilisation.

The list of countries lying to the north to be searched contains the following names :—The *Mlechchhas*, the *Pulindas*, the *Śūrasenas*, the *Kurus*, the *Madras*, the *Kāmbojas*, the *Yavanas* and the cities of the *Śakas*.

(Gorresio's edition and the Southern recension also give these names.)

These names are also given by *Parāśara* as quoted by *Bhaṭṭotpala*, but not lying exactly in this direction. The writer of the epic had already come to hear of some of the cities that were founded by the *Śaka* kings to the North-West of India.

These are briefly the points of historical evidence I have been able to find out in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They tend to bring down the date of the epic to the 1st or 2nd century A.D., at least, even if *Māndhātā* be not taken to be a contemporary of Buddha.

3. Astrological References in the Rāmāyaṇa.

We now pass on to another class of internal evidences, *viz.*, the astrological references. The first inference that we make is that the author of the epic was an astrologer as will appear from the following quotations :—

ततश्च द्वादशे मासि चैत्रे नावमिके तिथौ ॥ ८ ॥
नक्षत्रेऽदितिदैवत्ये स्वोच्चसंस्थेषु पञ्चसु ।
ग्रहेषु कर्कटे लग्ने वाक्पताविन्दुना सह ॥ ९ ॥
प्रोद्यमाने जगन्नाथं सर्व्वलोकनमस्कृतं ।
कौशल्याऽजनयद्रामं दिव्यलक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ १० ॥
* * * * *
पुष्ये जातस्तु भरतो मीनलग्ने प्रसन्नधीः ।
सार्पे जातौ तु सौमित्री कुलीरेऽभ्युदिते रवौ ॥ १८ ॥

I. 18. 8-10 and 18.

(Found also in the Southern recension as also in Āryamuni's edition.)

"In the twelfth month from that time, in the ninth day of the light half of *Chaitra*, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* of which *Aditi* is the presiding deity (*i.e.*, *Punarvasu*) and five planets were in their ascendant houses, the sign of Cancer resplendent with the moon and Jupiter, was rising, *Kauśalyā* gave birth to *Rāma* who 'bore the marks of heavenly grace,' was the lord of the universe and was adored by all the worlds."

"*Bharata* was born when the moon was in the *nakshatra Pushya* and the sign Pisces was rising. The two sons of *Sumitrā* were born when the moon was in the *nakshatra Aśleshā*, and the sun in the sign Cancer was rising."

These stanzas give the times of birth and the horoscopes of the four princes. The author speaks of the signs of the zodiac and of the ascendant houses of the planets. This is apparently Greek astrology as will be seen from the following oft-quoted stanza :—

सूर्य्यादुच्चान् क्रिय-द्वय-मृगखी-कुलीरान्तयुक्ते
दिग्वह्नीन्द्रहयतिथिशरान् सप्तविंशांश्च विंशान् ।
अंशानेतान् वदति यवनश्चान्त्यतुङ्गान् सुतुङ्गान्
तानेवांशान् मदनभवनेष्वाह नीचान् सुनीचान् ॥

The assignment of ascendant houses to planets is here ascribed to *Yavana* in unmistakable terms. We have besides from Varāhamihira that in astrology the *Yavanas* were the masters.

म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम् ।
ऋषिवत् तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद् द्विजः ॥

Bṛhat Saṃhitā, 2. 14.

"The *Yavanas* are *mlechchhas* indeed; amongst them this *Śāstra* (science) in its entirety exists; if they be adored like *ṛshis*, what then is to speak of a Brahmin astrologer?"

Some other astrological references are given below.

The King *Daśaratha* apprehending his death at no distant date and intending to install *Rāma* as the Prince Regent, thus addresses him :—

अपि चाऽद्याशुभान् राम स्वप्नान् पश्यामि राघव ।
सनिर्घाता दिवोल्काश्च पतन्ति हि महास्वनाः ॥ १७ ॥
अवष्टब्धं च मे राम नक्षत्रं दारुणग्रहैः ।
आवेदयन्ति दैवज्ञाः सूर्य्याङ्गारकराहुभिः ॥ १८ ॥

II. 4. 17-18.

(Found also in Gorresio and the southern recension.)

"Moreover, Rāma, last night I had inauspicious dreams;

heavenly meteors with loud noise and thunders were falling to the earth. The astrologers say that my natal *nakṣatra* is attacked by the dreadful planets the sun, Mars and Rāhu (the ascending node)."

Again when Rāma is departing from *Ayodhyā* on his long exile, we have—

त्रिशङ्कुर्लोहिताङ्गश्च बृहस्पतिबुधावपि ।
दारुणाः सोममभ्येत्य ग्रहाः सर्वे व्यवस्थिताः ॥ १० ॥
नक्षत्राणि गतार्चींषि ग्रहाश्च गततेजसः ।
विशाखाश्च सधूमाश्च नभसि प्रचकाशिरे ॥ ११ ॥

II. 41. 10-11.

(Found also in Gorresio's edn. and the Southern recension.)

"The star *Triśaṅku*, the red planet Mars, Jupiter and Mercury and all the planets having approached the moon were situated portending dire evils. The stars lost their brightness, the planets their heat and the *Viśākhās* (*i. e.*, the constellation of the *Kośalas*) were seen smoky in the heavens."

When the "monkey" army was marching to the south from the city of *Kiṣkindhyā*, *Lakṣmaṇa* seated on the shoulders of *Aṅgada* thus encouragingly speaks to Rāma of the favourable omens—

उशना च प्रसन्नार्चिरत्नु त्वां भार्गवो गतः ।
ब्रह्मराशिर्विशुद्धश्च शुद्धाश्च परमर्षयः ॥
अङ्गिरसः प्रकाशन्ते ध्रुवं सर्वे प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ ४८ ॥
त्रिशङ्कुर्विमलो भाति राजर्षिः सपुरोहितः ।
पितामहः पुरोऽस्माकमिक्ष्वाकूणां महात्मनाम् ॥ ४९ ॥
विमले च प्रकाशेते विशाखे निरुपद्रवे ।
नक्षत्रं परमस्माकमिक्ष्वाकूणां महात्मनाम् ॥ ५० ॥
नक्षत्रं तं नैर्ऋतानां च नक्षत्रमतिपीड्यते ।
मूलो मूलवता स्पृष्टो धूप्यते धूमकेतुना ॥ ५१ ॥

VI, 4, 48-51.

(Found also in Gorresio and the Southern recension.)

"*Uśanā* the *Bhārgava* (Venus) with propitious light is following you, clear are the stars of the *Brahmahṛdaya* (Auriga) group, the great *ṛṣis* (*i. e*, the stars of the Great Bear) are also brightly shining and going round the Pole Star. The star *Triśaṅku* in our front with his priest also appears bright—who is the grand ancestor of our high-souled race of *Ikṣvākus*. The two stars (*i. e.*, α and β Libræ) of *Viśākhā*, the constellation of our race, are shining without any evil influences. While *Mūla*, having for its presiding deity *Nirṛti*, which is the constellation of the *Nairṛtas* (*i. e.*, Rākṣasas) is severely oppressed by a comet having its head touching the *nakṣatra*."

Again when in a single combat Rāma was sorely pressed by Rāvaṇa, the poet says—

राममार्त्तं तदा दृष्ट्वा सिद्धाश्च परमर्षयः ।
व्यथिता वानरेन्द्राश्च बभूवुः सविभीषणाः ॥ ३१ ॥
रामचन्द्रमसं दृष्ट्वा ग्रस्तं रावणराहुणा ।
प्राजापत्यं च नक्षत्रं रोहिणीं शशिनः प्रियाम् ॥ ३२ ॥
समाक्रम्य बुधस्तस्थौ प्रजानामहितावहः ।
सधूमः पविद्युत्तोर्मिः प्रज्वलन्निव सागरः ॥ ३३ ॥
उत्पपात तदा क्रुद्धः स्पृशन्निव दिवाकरम् ।
शस्यवर्णः सुपुरुषो मन्दरश्मिर्दिवाकरः ॥ ३४ ॥
अदृश्यत कबन्धाङ्कः संसक्तो धूमकेतुना ।
कौशलानां च नक्षत्रं व्यक्तमिन्द्राग्निदैवतम् ॥
आहत्याङ्गारकस्तस्थौ विशाखमपि चाम्बरे ॥ ३५ ॥

VI. 102. 31-35.

(Found also in Gorresio and the Southern recension.)

"Then on seeing *Rāma* sorely pressed, the *Siddhas* and the great *ṛṣis* and the 'monkey' chiefs with *Vibhīṣaṇa* were all greatly pained. Not having seen the moon in the form of *Rāma* as if devoured by the demon of *Rāvaṇa*, the planet Mercury, inauspicious for men overtook the star

Rohiṇī (*i.e.*, Aldebaran) of which the presiding deity is *Prajāpati*, and which is the beloved of the moon. The sea also burning (as it were) with anger, foamy and rough with billows, rose up touching the sun. The sun looked lustreless like polished steel and ominous, and was seen marked with a headless trunk of a human body, being touched by the head of a comet. The red planet Mars also stood in the sky striking the *nakṣatra Viśākhā* which has for its presiding deities Indra and Agni, and which was the constellation of the Kośalas."

There is no doubt that our poet is an astrologer even if we take the stanzas giving the horoscopes of the princes to be later interpolations. The question now is whether his astrology is of the pre-Greek type. We have seen that his geography is derived from Parāśara, we shall not be very wrong if we assume that his astrology belongs to the same school. As to his astronomy we may conclude that he knew the seven planets by name and appearance, knew also the *nakṣatras* or the lunar mansions by their configurations in the sky. As to the planets, the references further tend to show that our poet knew some rules for the calculation of the longitudes of planets, however rough they might have been. The earliest date that can be ascribed to this state of astronomical knowledge in India must be that of the *Vaśiṣṭha Siddhānta* as summarised by *Varāhamihira* in his *Pañca Siddhāntikā*. The date of this *Vaśiṣṭha Siddhānta* must be later than that of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra. The *Vaśiṣṭha Siddhānta* speaks of the motions of all the planets and is generally more accurate than the *Paitāmaha Siddhānta* of Varāhamihira, of which the calculation starts from 2 of the *Śaka* era or 80 of the Christian era. The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* speaks of the lunisolar mean motions exactly as the *Paitāmaha Siddhānta* of Varāhamihîra with this addition that it knew something of the *cāras* or the apparent motions of Venus and possibly also of Jupiter. In chapter

41, on *Sītādhyakṣa*, the *Arthaśāstra* speaks of three equal divisions of the year as recognisable from the sun's conjunction with Jupiter and the periods of droughts, the heliacal risings, settings, and apparent motions of Venus, and from the changes in the nature of the sun (*i.e.*, of the seasons).

"तस्योपलब्धिर्बृहस्पतिस्थानगमनगर्भाधानेभ्यः शुक्रोदयास्तमयचारेभ्यः सूर्यस्य प्रकृतिवैकृताच्च।"

Chronologically therefore, the order of these 'books appear to be—

(1) The Paitāmaha Siddhānta of Varāha, dating from 80 A. D.

(2) The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.

(3) The Vaśiṣṭha Siddhānta of Varāhamihira.

The date of this *Vaśiṣṭha Siddhānta* cannot be ascertained, but it must be before the time of *Āryabhaṭa* as we can infer from the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*. The Rāmāyaṇa poet also appears to be prior to the time of Āryabhaṭa.

4. Astronomical References and the Date of 'Composition' of the Rāmāyaṇa.

We now consider another class of references which are of an astronomical nature. Our poet had already heard much and learnt much about the motion of planets among the stars as also of the coming together of two planets in the sky. The whole of *Rāmāyaṇa* abounds in similes which are meaningless to an ordinary reader, but can convey meaning to an observer of heavenly phenomena. For example when *Rāvaṇa* seizes *Sītā* with the intention of carrying her away, the poet describes it in the following way :—

जग्राह रावणः सीतां बुधः खे रोहिणीमिव।

III. 49. 16.

(Found also in Gorresio and Southern Recension.)

"*Rāvaṇa* seized Sītā as Mercury does the star *Rohiṇī* (Aldebaran)."

The maximum possible elongation of Mercury from the sun being of about 22°, all stars however bright lose their brightness when Mercury comes near them. The meaning is now clear that *Sītā* was overcome and turned pale when she was seized by Rāvaṇa.

Again when *Hanumān* finds *Sītā* in the *Aśoka* grove of *Laṅkā* being spoken to by *Rāvaṇa*, she is described as :—

धूप्यमानां ग्रहेणेव रोहिणीं धूमकेतुना ।

V. 19. 9.

(Found also in Gorresio and Southern recension.)

"As oppressed as the star Rohiṇī is, by an overtaking comet."

When Rāvaṇa being struck with severe grief at the death of Indrajit, goes to kill *Sītā*, the poet describes that in the following terms :

अभ्यधावत संक्रुद्धः खे ग्रहो रोहिणीमिव ।

VI, 92, 42.

(Found also in Gorresio and Southern recension.)

i.e., "Rāvaṇa in great rage ran towards her just as a planet does towards *Rohiṇī*." The same simile is repeated a little later on, in stanza 57 of the same chapter, as also in many other places.

When the *Rākṣasa* general *Khara* marches out to avenge on Rāma the indignity that had befallen on his sister *Sūrpaṇakhā*, the poet cannot resist his temptation to use an astronomical simile—

स तेषां यातुधानानां मध्ये रथगतः खरः ।
बभूव मध्ये ताराणां लोहिताङ्ग इवोदितः ॥

III. 25. 5.

(Found also in Gorresio and in the Southern recension.)

i.e., "That Khara seated in a car in the midst of the *Yātudhānas* (*Rākṣasas*), became as prominent as the planet Mars in the midst of stars."

Again whenever two warriors fight, the poet indulges in astronomical similes. Thus when *Bāli* and *Sugrīva* fight, and the result is uncertain, the poet compares this to—

गगने ग्रहयोर्घोरं बुधाङ्गारकयोरिव ॥

IV. 12. 17.

(Found also in Gorresio and the Southern recension.)

i.e., "A terrible fight in the heavens of the planets Mercury and Mars." This "fight" of planets takes place when they come near; that planet is considered victorious which looks brighter. On this sort of fight of planets the reader is referred to the Bṛhat Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira, Chapter XVII.

Again when Lakṣmaṇa and Indrajit fight, the contest is described as severe and doubtful as the fight of two planets in the sky :—

युयुधाते तदा वीरौ ग्रहाविव नभोगतौ ।

VI. 88. 35.

These references give us an idea of the mental habit of the poet, and show unmistakably that he belonged to the age when observation of stars and planets in the heavens was seriously taken up in India—when the Babylonian astronomy transmitted to India was being verified and corrected and the same perhaps was being done to the very imperfect Greek astronomy that came to India along with astrology from both the sources. But he himself was not an observer in the true sense of the term as the following stanza will show :—

कुण्डलाभ्यामुभाभ्यां च भाति वक्त्रं सुभीषणम् ।
पुनर्वसुगतः परिपूर्णो निशाकरः ॥

VI. 71. 24.

(Gorresio and the Southern recensions read शुभेक्षणम् in place of सुभीषणम्; this is obviously a misreading.)

Rāma on seeing Rāvaṇa's son *Atikāya* coming to the battle, thus speaks of him—"His very dreadful face adorned

by both the ear-pendants shines like the (equally dreadful) full moon which has got (as it were) between the two stars of the *nakṣatra*, *Punarvasu*."

The *nakṣatra* Purnarvasu has two bright stars which are known as Castor and Pollux. Pollux is the "junction" star of that constellation. Now the full moon can only be dreadful in midwinter, *i.e.*, at the time of winter solstice. The stanza seems to suggest that when at the instant of opposition the moon got between the stars Castor and Pollux it was mid-winter or winter solstice. Or the summer solstitial colure lay between the stars Castor and Pollux.

The nautical almanac for 1908, gives the following mean declinations and right ascensions of these stars:—

Star	Right ascension	Declination.
Castor	7 hrs. 28 m. 43°9 sec.	32°5′ 28″·13N.
Pollux	7 hrs. 39 m. 41°284 sec.	28°14′56″·34N.

Transformation of these celestial co-ordinates leads to the following celestial longitudes and celestial latitudes of these stars :—

Star	Celestial longitude	Celestial latitude.
Castor	109°14′24″	10°8′0″
Pollux	111°47′22°	6°41′57″

The maximum celestial latitude of the moon being about 5°16′, it does not appear possible for the moon to get between the stars Castor and Pollux. The poet has indeed spoken of a hypothetical case.

Let us now take that the poet has indicated the position of the summer solstitial colure accurately. Now taking the mean of the longitudes of the stars to be 110°30′ we infer 20°30′ to be the arc by which the solstitial point shifted in 1908. If we take the mean rate

* This is in agreement with Varahāmihira's statement साम्प्रतमयनं पुनर्वसुतः ।
—P. Siddhāntikā, III, 21.

of precession of the equinoxes at 50″·2 per year, 20°30′ of the precession corresponds to 1,470 years, *i.e.*, the time indicated by the statement is *438 of the Christian era* or *360 of the Śaka era*. This time is about 38 years before the birth of Āryabhaṭa. That this is nearly the time of the astonomer-poet may be inferred from another consideration.

5. BEGINNING OF THE RAINY SEASON IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

According to our poet the rainy season begins with the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. In the *Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa*, Chapter 26, we find it stated :—

पूर्व्वोऽयं वार्षिको मासः श्रावणः सलिलागमः ।
प्रवृत्ताः सौम्य चत्वारो मासा वार्षिकसंज्ञिताः ॥ १४ ॥

(Found also in Gorresio and in the Southern recension.)

"This, my friend, is the first month of the rainy season called *Śrāvaṇa* noted for the advent of clouds. The four months called *Vārṣika* (rainy) have now begun."

As to the time when this rainy season or *Śrāvaṇa* begins we have from II. 63. 14-16.—

ततः प्रावृडनुप्राप्ता मम कामविवर्द्धिनी ॥ १४ ॥
अपाञ्च हि रसान् भौमांस्तप्ता च जगदंशुभिः ।
परेताचरितां भौमां रविराचरते दिशम् ॥ १५ ॥
उष्णमन्तर्दधे सद्यः स्निग्धा ववृषिरे घनाः ।
ततो जहृषिरे सर्व्वे भेकसारसबर्हिणः ॥ १६ ॥

(Found also in Gorresio and in the Southern recension ; perhaps the reading in Gorresio is much better.)

i.e., "Then began the rainy season which always stimulated my passions (for games). As the sun after having removed the moisture of the earth and by his rays scorched it, turned towards the gloomy direction of the abode of departed souls, *i.e.*, the south, forthwith the heat of the summer disappeared and refreshing clouds appeared. Then frogs, cranes and peacocks were all delighted.

We gather that the rainy season began when the sun crossed the summer solstitial point, and this was the beginning of the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. The sun's longitude at the summer solstice is 90° as measured from the vernal equinoctial point. This agrees with what happened at Āryabhaṭa's time. The part of the year the sun took to pass from the vernal equinoctial point to the summer solstice, comprised the months of *Vaiśakha*, *Jyaiṣṭha* and *Āṣāḍha*. *Śrāvaṇa* began when the sun crossed the summer solstitial point, but Āryabhaṭa's solstitial point was different from the solstitial point of the Rāmāyaṇa poet as is being shown below.

The sun's longitude at the summer solstice is 90° which is in *nakṣatra* units = 6 *nakṣatras* and 10°. According to Āryabhaṭa, the longitude of Pollux is 6 *nakṣatras* and 12°. It is clear from the investigation given above that the Rāmāyaṇa solstitial point at Āryabhaṭa's time (499 A.D.) had a longitude of 6 *nakṣatras* and 10°45′, *i.e.*, 1°15′ less than that of Pollux. Now 45′ of the precession of the equinoxes represent 54 years preceding the time of Āryabhaṭa's time of observing this star. The time of Rāmāyaṇa now becomes 445 A.D. instead of 438 A.D. as found before. Here a difference of 7 years is negligible.

6. Conclusion.

It seems now almost certain that the date of "Composition" of the Rāmāyaṇa is approximately 438 A.D. The other evidences quoted above also seem to indicate that our poet belonged to the time which preceded the time of Āryabhaṭa by whom Indian astronomy was given the present epicyclic form. Our poet was the author of the *Ādikāvya*, the first poem, and must have been the first of the glorious list of the Sanskrit poets of whom the most illustrious was Kālidāsa. Politically this period synchronises with the brilliant Gupta age of Indian history.

That Kālidāsa's time is a little later than that of our Rāmāyaṇa poet appears from the following considerations—

In the poem the Meghadūta, or the "cloud messenger" we have the well-known stanzas—

तस्मिन्नद्रौ कतिचिदबलाविप्रयुक्तः स कामी
नीत्वा मासान् कनकवलयभ्रंशरिक्तप्रकोष्ठः।
आषाढ़स्य प्रथमदिवसे मेघमाश्लिष्टसानुम्
वप्रक्रीड़ापरिणतगजप्रेक्षणीयं ददर्श ॥ I. 2

तस्य स्थित्वा कथमपि पुरः कौतुकाधानहेतो-
रन्तर्वाष्पश्चिरमनुचरो राजराजस्य दध्यौ।
मेघालोके भवति सुखिनोऽप्यन्यथावृत्ति चेतः
कण्ठाश्लेषप्रणयिनि जने किं पुनर्दूरसंस्थे ॥ I. 3

प्रत्यासन्ने नभसि दयिताजीवितालम्बनार्थी
जीमूतेन स्वकुशलमयीं हारयिष्यन् प्रवृत्तिम्।
स प्रत्यग्रैः कुटजकुसुमैः कल्पितार्घ्याय तस्मै
प्रीतः प्रीतिप्रमुखवचनं स्वागतं व्याजहार ॥ I. 4

Here apparently the first appearance of clouds is spoken of as having taken place *on the last day of Āṣāḍha and not on the first day of Śrāvaṇa.* The *Yakṣa* looks up to *a piece of new cloud floating against the side of the hill for a long time,* and to keep up the spirit of his wife in his absence wants to send to her the message of his health and due return. He addresses the same piece of cloud as the month of *Nabhas* or *Śrāvaṇa* has drawn near.

We may conclude that the solstitial point had now preceded by 1° since the time of Āryabhaṭa. Now 1° of precession is equivalent to about 71 years. We shall not perhaps be wrong in taking thedate of our Rāmāyaṇa poet to be about 100 years earlier than that of Kālidāsa. According to Amarasiṃha, the lexicographer and Varāhamihira, the astronomer, the months of *Śrāvaṇa* and *Bhādra* constitute the rainy season.

It seems the traditional "nine jewels" were really contemporary with Varāhamihira who lived till 587 of the Christian era and who must have had established a reputation as an astronomer at least 50 years before his death. Hence the time when the nine jewels were known to be so, should be the year 537 A.D. A hundred years before that date brings us to 437 A.D. as the date of Rāmāyaṇa poet. Hence we can state definitely that the time of our Rāmāyaṇa poet was about 438 A.D.

A BRIEF PHONETIC SKETCH
OF
THE NOAKHALI DIALECT OF SOUTH-EASTERN BENGALI

BY

GOPAL HALDAR, M.A.

§1. The District of Noākhāli in the Chittagong Division of Bengal has an area of 1,515 square miles and a population of 1,472,786 according to the census of 1921. The census returns show that 1,472,072 speak Bengali.

§2. It is not easy to determine what percentage of the above Bengali-speaking people came from outside and retain a non-Noakhali dialect. But their number may be presumed to be counterbalanced by the people of the dialect who act as lascars, *mānjhis*, settlement-*āmins*, and in many other avocations throughout Bengal and even in Burma. Roughly, therefore, the Noakhali speech may be said to have a population less than one and a half-million for its adherents (Sandīp people being included in the number [1]), the majority (about 77 p.c.)

[1] Perhaps it is not too late an hour to re-open the question whether the island of Sandīp, 'more than a hundred miles south-east of Dacca, at the mouth of the river Meghnā,'—rather the last strip of land from the shores to the Bay of Bengal,—with a population of 124,884 souls, belongs linguistically to the South-Eastern Group of Bengali or to the Dacca variety of its Eastern Group. The eminent editor of the *Linguistic Survey of India* is confident that Sandīp is to be classed in the Eastern Group—'a curious isolated example of the Eastern Bengali spoken in the Dacca District' (LSI., Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 247-260). This he attributes to the peculiar history of Sandīp—'a kind of Alsatia colonised by the pirates who came from the upper reaches of the Meghnā, near Dacca,' (LSI., *op. cit.*, p. 201). The upper and middle classes of Sandīp also proudly and stoutly maintain that they are descended from some Dacca stock, both in blood and tongue. But that is more or less claimed by all Noakhali people aspiring for aristocracy, and nothing can be built on this. Undoubtedly Sandīp has been the storm-centre in South-Eastern Bengal, especially in the waning years of the Mughal Empire, when Arakanese, Chittagongese, Bakharganjites, and Portuguese pirate-adventurers no less, made it their base and spread their depredations into the heart of the South-East along the Meghnā. The

of whom are Mohammadans. It is to be borne in mind that Noakhali is the Mollah-supplying district for nearly the whole

belief, however, that Sandīp is a mere offshoot of Dacca on the Bay and has nothing to do with the nearest mainland of Noakhali seems to be unwarranted. The Portuguese, who made it their base of operations once, have been wiped off by Islam from Sandīp, but their descendants, about 800 in number, still have a small settlement in the village of Ezbāillā (? Isabella), a suburb of the town of Noakhali. The three Sandīp specimens presented in the LSI. (*op. cit.*, p. 249 ff.) cannot be identified with any known Dacca variety of the dialect easily. It is not the Mānikganj variety (LSI., Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 206ff.), the only Dacca dialect in the volume; that it is far from the Bikrampurī (Dacca) can be confidentlly asserted; and farther still it is from the Dacca-town Bengali (not the Dacca Musalmānī or corrupt Hindōstānī); nor does it seem to be specially connected with the South-Bakharganj speech. No doubt, the specimens show affinities with all of them to some degree, but the affinities are greater with the mainland variety of Noakhali. The islands of Noakhali contain a good sprinkling—and some almost a majority, as in Char Bañśī,—of people who come from the upper-Meghnā islands and speak a Dacca or Dakkhīn-Shāhābāzpurī variety of the Eastern Bengali. They might lead an occasional observer to conclude that the island tongue is of the Eastern group, which in fact is otherwise. It is not known who supplied the LSI. specimens of Sandīp speech—whether one of those natives of Sandīp who try to trace blood connection generations up in Dacca, or one without that frailty and at the same time careful enough to adopt Sandīp *patois*. The first specimen (the parable of the Prodigal Son) leads us to suspect from the pretty large number of Standard Bengali forms that appear therein that complete fidelity has not been observed, *e.g.*, [tader]=Dac. [tago],=Bakhar. [hɛrgo],=Noa. [hetego]; [ʃɛ]=Dac. [hɛ],=Bakhar. [hɛ]?,=Noa. [hete]; [ʃe deʃer]=Dac. (? also Bakhar.) [hɛi dɛʃer]=Noa. [h(e)idɛʃer]; [tsakɔrbakɔr ke], [take], [amake] etc., show curious instances of the dative in [ke] which is absent everywhere in East Bengal.

Still, its only variation from Noakhali dialect seems to be in [tader], [targore], [komu], [khai(e)ao batsae] (the last, it seems, belongs to no known variety of Bengali), and possibly two or three more. Otherwise, it is quite in harmony with the mainland speech, showing the typical turns of expression like [peṭɛr b'oke motte si], [beṭar kabel noo], etc From the second specimen of the LSI., nothing could be ascertained, for it is an attempt at Standard Bengali composition, like many such others to be found throughout the district, though it is a folk-song. The third specimen, quite familiar to the mainland people as well, more faithfully embodies the folk-speech as a folk-song. It has only one expression, an exotic, which is not entirely of Noakhali, *viz.*, [dzae dzabe]; otherwise, it is in Noakhali dialect through and through.

Not having lived in the island it will be more or less presumptuous on our part to contradict the conclusions of the learned editor of the LSI., but the speech of the common people of Sandīp, as heard on the mainland, forces on us the conclusion that it belongs to the South-Eastern Group of Bengali, and such it is taken to be until further enquiry and proof make us retreat.

LSI. takes Hātiyā to be full of Chittagongese affinities; and it is undoubtedly so.

Islands like Bañśī have a Dacca group of people, some of whom again are migratory. They, along with the great number of Bikrampurī and other foreign elements throughout the District, are left out of consideration for the purpose of this paper.

of Bengal, and the Mohammadan orthodoxy of its people amounts to bigotry. Hence, quite a number of Perso-Arabic words prevail in the *patois*, though these do not seem to make any significant difference to the sound system.

§3. Broadly speaking, the District is bounded on the north by Tipperah, while on the east the Baṛo Phenī (Feni) river marks it out from Chittagong ; and on the west it is separated from Dacca and Bākharganj down Chāndpur by the river Meghnā which also washes its south till it is lost in the Bay. The south, however, is studded all over with the small and big *chars*, beyond which lies the Bay.

§4. The speech of Noakhali belongs to the South-Eastern Group of the Bengali dialects (LSI., Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 203 ff.). Chittagong is the centre of the Group, and Noakhali is its eastern variety till it shades off after Raipur, a *thānā* in Noakhali with 59,773 as population, into the Chāndpur variety (which is almost the trans-Meghnā Dacca speech with different stress [?] and intonation systems) of Eastern Bengali. While the influence of Chittagong dominates Feni sub-division (population 377,065) to a considerable extent, the Chhāgal-nāïyā area (population 99,072), the easternmost boundary, may even be reasonably said to merge dialectically into Chittagong. To a careful ear it is patent that the marked divergences in grammatical forms, the large prevalence in Chittagongese (as also in Tipperah-Sylhet) of some sounds, *viz.*, spirants like [x] and [ɣ], some doubling of consonants, widespread nasalization as a result of the elision of intervocal « -m- », reduction of [-s-] of verbal « -ach-, -ch- » to [-lg(j)-, [-rg(j)-] after « -l-, -p- » etc., etc., which all exist, natural or sporadic, in Noakhali dialect, but have no great hold on it, mark out these two dialects of the same group distinctly. The fact is brought home with considerable force when a Western Noakhali person or a Central Noakhali person has to confess that Chittagongese is almost *unintelligible* to him. Curiously enough, it is to be noted, the neighbouring District of

Tipperah has no great linguistic hold on the Noakhali-borders except in some slight influence over a strip on the north-east (Khaṇḍal Pargaṇā, which forms a part of Chākle Rośanābād of the Tipperah Rāj). On the contrary, the Noakhali dialect may be said to have penetrated into Southern Tipperah, reaching Laksam, the Assam Bengal Railway junction.

§5. A study of the phonetics of the Noakhali dialect means in fact a study of that of the general *patois*. No one has as yet tried to lift it up to the status of a literary language—no trace of it in the Parāgalī or Chhuṭi Khān's Mahābhārata, though something of the atmosphere and surrounding speech could with reason be expected from these. It is almost drowned in the very popular ballad of 'Chaudhurīr nārāi' (Chaudhurī's Fight), which we are told Calcutta University is going to edit and publish soon; nor does it find any conscious echo even in the present-day compositions, *e.g.*, the popular song of the Swadeshi days regarding the Comilla riot, beginning «nabāb Salimullā eisesilen Komillāy». No such serious effort has been made: nor does it seem likely that it will ever be. The people of Noakhali were but one decade ago in love with the Bikrampur variety of the Dacca dialect. The gentry of Bhuluā tried to maintain, and still do it, marriage ties with Dacca, their 'former home' as they consider it. The Brahmans would often go to study in the reputed seats of learning of Bikrampur, and above all Bikrampur people were the first torch-bearers of English education in the district; and as men of light and leading, with that typical tenacity and obstinacy for their own dialect which distinguish the Bikrampurites still, perhaps more than any other section of the Bengali people speaking a dialect, their speech appeared to the less advanced people of Noakhali as 'models of genteel tongue' to be imitated. Hence, even in ordinary folk songs, Dacca-forms sometimes appeared and do appear still, though the Standard Bengali Colloquial (or the Calcutta Colloquial, as it should be called in accordance with the opinion of the East and South-East

Bengal) is fast driving it out of the field. The educated people *outside home* still adopt an affected Dacca-dialect, now strongly modified by the Standard West Bengal speech, and it is only the common people who stick to the *patois* in and outside home; but some of the latter also at times try to appear 'genteel' by affecting a curious Dacca air, as some others, back from the Kidderpore Dockyards in Calcutta, try to pass themselves as adepts in the Calcutta Colloquial with an amusing admixture of forms and sounds

§6. In the following pages, however, a study of the phonetics of the *patois*, as distinct from the affected Bikrampurī or affected Calcutta dialect, is attempted under the instance and guidance of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of Calcutta University, who started the study of the dialects of Bengal separately and is keenly interested in stimulating such study by the Bengalis themselves who are intimate with the different dialects of Bengal. The plan for the present paper has been borrowed from that set out by Prof. S. K. Chatterji in his own study of the phonetics of the Standard Bengali Colloquial (*A Brief Sketch of the Bengali Phonetics, International Phonetic Association, University College, London, 1921*; also *A Bengali Phonetic Reader, London University Press, 1928*). As a first attempt the present paper is necessarily imperfect, and is meant to stimulate further interest in the scientific study of the particular dialect as well also of the other dialects of Bengal.

§7. The essential phonemes (see *Bengali Phonetic Reader*, p. 8) of the Noakhali dialect appear to be 38:

[p] [b], [t] [d], [ṭ] [ḍ], [k] [g], [ʦ] [ʣ], [m] [n] [ŋ], [l], [r], [s] [ʃ] [ɦ], [ŏ] [ĕ], [z], [ꜰ] [v], [x] [ɣ], [ʧ], [i] [ɪ], [e] [ɛ̆], [ɛ] [ɛ̃], [ɔ] [ɔ̃], [o], [ŏ], [u] [ŭ].

To these may be added the following five stops and one affricate with glottal closure, besides others with glottal closure though one cannot be very sure of all of those last, which are not therefore mentioned here:

[ʔ], [b'], [d'], [ɖ'], [g'], [ʧ'].

Note.—The symbols above, and henceforth, are those employed by the International Phonetic Association as adapted for the purpose of the transcription of Bengali by Prof. S. K. Chatterji : *cf.* his *Bengali Phonetics*, *Bengali Phonetic Reader*, and *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (abbreviated here for reference into ODBL.), pp. xxviii-xxxiv. The illustrative words have been given in these phonetic symbols first, then in the Bengali script as faithfully as possible, the Standard Bengali form, when different, following next, and the whole being closed by the English equivalent of it.

CONSONANTS.

§8. The following is the table of all possible consonants in the dialect :—

	Bilabial.	Dental.	Alveolar.	Palato-Alveolar.	Palatal.	Retroflex.	Velar.	Glottal.
Plosives ...	p b	t d	...	...	...	ʈ ɖ	k g	...
Plosives with glottal closure	b'	d'	...	ʧ'	...	ɖ'	g'	ʔ
Affricate ...	...	...	t͡s d͡z	t͡ʃ	...	...	...	...
Nasal ...	m	...	n	...	...	...	ŋ	...
Lateral ...	...	...	l	...	...	...	...	...
Flapped ...	...	...	r	...	...	...	...	...
Fricative ..	ɸ β	...	s (z)	...	ʃ	...	x ɣ	ɦ (h)
Semi-vowel ...	ŏ	...	...	...	ĕ	...	...	...

§9. The unvoiced plosives [t] [ʈ] [k] are not accompanied by breath (same as in Cal. Col.). But [p] undergoes a peculiar

transformation becoming [ꜰ], and then almost always approaches, if not actually becomes, [h] (ODBL. §278), leading to complete elision : *e.g.*, [ꜰa:n] ফান=পান 'betel,' [biꜰəd] or [biod] বিফ(অ)দ=বিপদ 'difficulty, danger,' [ꜰa:ꜰ] or [ha:ꜰ] ফাফ=পাপ 'sin.' How far the tendency is at work will be seen from the conscious effort at correct pronunciation of the word « sarpa » by the common people, *viz.*, [ʃərꜰò] সর্ফ=সর্প 'snake,' which never goes so far as to become [ʃərhò]. Though the tendency, [p>ꜰ>h], is very much marked : generally [ꜰ] as the best compromise is retained here, though [h] might as commonly and more properly be used, and more usually employed almost in all cases when the speaker is off his guard.

§10. The voiced plosives [b] [d] [ḍ] [g] are fully voiced as in Cal. Col. in intervocal position, and slightly in initial and final position. [b] has a tendency to become [ꜰ] and this behaves like all [p]>[ꜰ]: *e.g.*, [ꜰo̯dza] or even [ho̯dza] ফো(হো)জা =বোঝা 'burden' or 'luggage,' [ʃərꜰò̯t] সরফৎ=সরবৎ 'cold drink.' Noteworthy again is [b] (obviously from [ŏ]) in some causatives, *e.g.*, [khabaĕ] খাবায়=খাওয়ায় 'feeds,' [dəbaĕ] দেবায় (<দেআয়<দেহায় <দেখায়) 'shows.'

§11. Complete explosion of the plosive groups [-kt-], [-kṭ-], [-pt-] etc., is found as in Cal. Col. : [tsitkar] চিৎকার= চীৎকার 'shout,' [həṭkaĕ] হেটকায় (*cf.* Dacca ভেটকায়) 'grins like an idiot,' [mokto̯] মোক্ত (< মুক্ত Pers. « muft » ?) 'gratis' or 'free,' [ꜰokto̯] ফোক্ত (< Pers. « poxt ») = পোক্ত 'strong.'

§12. [t] [d] are true dentals (*cf.* Cal. Col.) 'made by striking the point of the tongue against the back of the edge of the upper ridge' and 'the tongue is spread out like a fan' : *e.g.*, [ɔtò] অত 'so much,' [tũi] তুঁই=তুমি 'you,' [dada] দাদা 'elder brother,' [bade] বাদে 'after' or 'excepting' or 'leaving off.'

§12*a*. Instances of dental > retroflex are furnished by the *semi-tatsama* [-ndr-] groups, *e.g.*, [nɔrɔnḍo] নরন্ড=নরেন্দ্র 'Narendra'—a proper name, [dəbenḍo] দেবেন্ড=দেবেন্দ্র 'Devendra' a proper name; *cf. tatsama* [tsɔnḍo] চন্ড=চন্দ্র 'moon' but *tadbhava* [tsa:n] চান=চাঁদ 'moon.'

§12*b*. A rare instance of medial dental [-tt-] > palato-alveolar [cc͡ʃ] through the influence of a *y*-sound is to be found in common [ʾ aicc͡ʃa] beside [ʾ aitta] আইচ্চা (< হাইত্যা < হাতিয়া) 'Hātiyā,' the island of the name.

§13. [ṭ] [ḍ] :—the point of articulation is just behind the teeth-ridge, and these are not truly retroflex, rather 'supra-alveolar' or 'pre-retroflex' as in Cal. Col. (see *Bengali Phonetics*, §14) : *e.g.*, [ṭɛa] টেআ=টাকা 'rupee,' [kaiṭse] কাইট্‌ছে=কাটিয়াছে has cut,' [raṭṭa] ফাট্টা=পাট্টা 'document,' [ḍaːb] ডাব 'green cocoanut,' [ḍaba] ডাবা=ডাবা হুঁকো 'the hookah' (from the shell of the cocoanut which supplies the bowl), [kaḍe] কাডে=কাটে 'cuts'. English *t*, *d* become [ṭ] [ḍ] as in Standard Bengali : *e.g.*, [ṭaun] টাউন 'town,' [ḍaol] ডাওল=ডাবল 'double.'

§13*a*. It is obvious from some of the above examples that single intervocal [-ṭ-] is voiced, and supplies most of the intervocal [-ɽ-] sounds : *e.g.*, [kaɽe] কাডে=কাটে 'cuts,' [ʾaɽe] আডে=হাঁটে 'walks'; but [raːṭ] ফাট= পাট 'jute' never occurs with final [-ɽ-] : cf. [bəɽɽa] বড্ডা=বড় 'big' (with enclytic -টা to emphasize).

§13*b*. While in Cal. Col. earlier intervocal [-ɽ-] and final [-ḍ] of Prakrit and Sanskrit are reduced to [ɾ], the flapped retroflex sound, [ɽ] is totally absent from Eastern and Southern Bengali, and there is no difference in sound between মড়া 'dead body,' and মরা 'to die,' কারে=কাকে 'to whom' and কাড়ে 'snatches away,'—the sound being pronounced as an alveolar trilled or flapped [r]. In some rare instances like [pərha] পরা 'to read' we can see a reminiscence of the Old Bengali retroflex aspirate in পঢ়া « paṛhā » still existing in the dialect with an aspirated alveolar.

The dental and retroflex have signific difference (*cf.* Cal. Col.) : *e.g.*, [dula] দুলা (<দুল্লহ<দুল্লর্ভ)=বর 'bridegroom' and [ɖula] ডুলা 'a kind of basket for carrying fish,' and so on.

§14. [k] [g] are generally as they are in Cal. Col. : see, however, [x] [ɣ] below, §33, §34. But intervocalic single

[-k-] usually becomes [-g-] or [-ɣ-], and then often complete elision is frequent. For examples, see §33, §34.

§14*a*. Significant is the insertion of a [-g-] between a preceding [-r-] and a following *-y-* semi-vowel with a vowel [o], [a] or [ɔe]: *e.g.*, [buirga, (-æ)] বুইরগ্যা < বুইড়্যা = বুড়িয়া 'old woman' sometimes [buria], [kuirga (-æ)] কুইরগ্যা < কুইড়্যা = কুড়ে 'idle,' [ғirgolal] ফির্‌গলাল < ফির্‌যলাল = প্রিয়লাল 'Priyalāl' (a proper name). Herein there is not absolute accord with Chittagongese: *e.g.* Chittagongese [ғairgjɔm] = Noa. [ғarum] or [ғariĕum] or [ғairum] 'I shall be able.' (See ODBL., p. 144.).

§15. [ʦ], [ʣ] are the alveolar affricates which the dialect shares in common with East and North Bengal as substitutes for Cal. Col. palatal affricates [ʤ] [ʤh] (see *Bengali Phonetics* §16, ODBL., §132, §255, §256ff.): *e.g.*, [ʦɔ:l] চল 'go', [ʣɔ:l] জল 'water,' [maʦsa] মাচা 'platform,' [maʣa] মাজা 'to cleanse' or 'to rinse,' [ғa:ʦ] ফাঁচ = পাঁচ 'five,' [ʃa:ʣ] সাজ (puristic for [ʃa:ʣ] হাজ) 'dressing,' etc., etc.

§16. The palatal affricate is not, however, entirely absent from the dialect. It is a variety generally, as far as it can now be ascertained, to be found in intervocal places when the affricate is doubled in connection with a preceding [-r-] which is lost: *e.g.* [koiʤʤe] কইচ্চে (< কইর্‌ + ছে < করি + ছে) = করিয়াছে 'has done,' [moiʤʤe] মইচ্চে (< মইর্‌ + ছে) = মরিয়াছে 'is dead,' [d'oiʤʤe] ধইচ্ছে (< ধইর্‌ + ছে) = ধরিয়াছে 'has caught.' In [maiʤʤa] মাইচ্চা (মারিছ্‌ + না) = মারিস না 'do not beat,' [d'oiʤʤa] ধইচ্চা (ধরিছ্‌ + না) = ধরিস না 'do not catch,' etc., we note a similar change of [s] (the dialectical substitute both for second person imperative verbal [ʃ] and [ʤh], palatal affricate aspirated, of the Cal. Col.), and in addition to it peculiar is the assimilation of the nasal of the negative [na] when the syllable is reduced. The instances of [ʤ] in the dialect are, however, not many and even at times are not clearly marked out.

§17. The unvoiced aspirates [th, ṭh, kh] but not [ʤh], (see §16) live almost solely in initial places (*cf.* Cal. Col.);

and when medial and final these are deaspirated, and some from that again are voiced, and others are elided: *e.g.*, [ɾotuk] ফথুক (< পথিক+পথুয়া) = পথিক 'traveller' (the bilabial aspirate [ph] is like the bilabial plosive [p] > [ɾ]—and thus in fact [ph] has no existence), [thamba] থাম্বা (< স্তম্ভ) 'pillar,' [ṭhaur] ঠাউর=ঠাকুর 'god' or applied in referring to a Brahman, [kheti] খেতি=ক্ষতি 'loss,' [ʔa:ṭ] আত=হাত 'hand,' [u:ṭ] উট=ওঠ 'get up!,' [ʃo:k] সক=সখ 'desire,' [kɔta] কতা=কথা 'word,' [ɦikaĕ] হিকায়=শেখায় 'teaches.' Intervocal [-ṭh-] is always voiced: *e.g.*, [uḍe] উড়ে=উঠে 'rises' (but [u:ṭ] 'rise up!'), [ɾaḍa] or [haḍa] ফাড়া, হাড়া=পাঁঠা 'he-goat,' [ṭhɛḍa] ঠেড়া=ঠেঁটা (< ḍhiṭṭha, dhṛṣṭa, see ODBL. p. 493) 'obstinate.' Incidentally it may be noted that this particular change [-ṭh-] > [-ḍ-] is found in the East Maimansing dialect as well (? through Tipperah-Sylhet) but not, however, in Dacca: *e.g.*, [ṭhaḍa] ঠাড়া=Dacca ঠাটা, the word for বজ্র 'thunder,' [kaḍi] কাড়ি=Dacca and Standard Bengali কাঠি 'stick' etc., are similar in Noakhali and East Maimansing. Elision of the aspirates is particularly noticeable in the case of [-kh-] and [-ph-] > [-ɾ-] > [-h-] or *zero*, (see §9): *e.g.*, [ɔon] অওন=এখন 'now,' [ɦiaĕ] হিআয় also [ɦikaĕ] শেখায় 'teaches,' [tuan] or [tuɾan] তুআন, তুফান 'placating' or 'storm,' [tuainna] তুআইন্না=তুফানিয়া 'stormy.'

§18. The plosives with glottal closure [b', d', ḍ', g', ɟ']
are the substitutes in the dialect for the Cal. Col. and West Bengali as well as the common New Indo-Aryan voiced aspirates [bɦ, dɦ, ḍɦ, gɦ, ɟɦ] (see ODBL., pp. xxviii-xxxiv, pp. 8, 1059); and the glottal plosive [ʔ] appears to replace the glottal fricative [ɦ (h)]. They are spread all over East Bengal, and occur only initially—medially and finally while these are reduced to voiced plosives (like Cal. Col. aspirates), the glottal closure is transferred to the initial consonant which has sometimes a peculiar stress in addition, *e.g.*, [b'a:t] ভাত 'cooked rice,' [d'a:n] ধান 'paddy,' [ḍ'a:k] ঢাক 'cover' or 'drum,' [g'o:r] ঘর 'house,' [ɟ'o:r] ঝর=ঝড় storm, [ʔail] আইল=হাল 'rudder' etc.;

as plosives, *e.g.*, [b'a:g] বাগ=বাঘ 'tiger,' [ʀ'odza] ফোজা=বোঝা 'luggage,' [b'ada] বাদা=বাধা 'barrier,' [ʃ'ɔba] also [ʃɔva] সবা=সভা 'meeting.' No medial or final [ɖ'] occurs, as [ɖ], [ɖfi] in that position become [ɽ], [ɽfi] which in the dialects of East Bengal=[r]. Hence, no instance of [-ɖ-], [-ɖ'-] in the dialect, except the [-ɖ-] arising out of [-ʈ-], as in §13*a*.

18*a*. The unpractised West Bengal ear fails to perceive any difference between [b] and [b'], [d] and [d'], [ɖ] and [ɖ'], [g] and [g'], [ʄ] and [ʄ'], but there *is* a difference, though more perceptible in Dacca dialects and East Maimansing, South Sylhet and Tipperah dialectical groups than in the present one, *e.g.*, [ɖ'akar ɖak] ঢাকার ডাক 'the mail from Dacca.' No one of the speakers of the dialect would generally confuse [ɖ] with [ɖ'], and so on, unless he is influenced by the Cal. Col.

§19. Nothing is so characteristic as the largescale elision of stops and aspirates (especially of the velars and bilabials), *intervocally* in the dialect (*cf.* the 'Second MIA' conditions, ODBL., pp. 83, 253).

The dentals resist this tendency; the alveolar fricatives (*cf.* §16, §25) are out of its pale; and the retroflex plosives [ʈ, ɖ,] (see §13) remain intact.

§19*a*. Spirantization (see §33, §34) of the single stops and aspirates, though not so marked a feature as in Chittagongese or Tipperah-Sylhet dialects, once more bears a parallel to the 'Transitional MIA' conditions (see ODBL., §135).

§20. [m] is the fully voiced nasal (*cf.* Cal. Col.): *e.g.* [ma:] মা 'mother.' Intervocalic [-m-] tends to be lost after nasalizing the preceding vowel—a distinctly Chittagongese trait : *e.g.* [ã:r] আঁর=আমার 'of mine,' [tõar] তোঁআর=তোমার 'of yours,' [kɛõto] কেওঁত (<কিমত)=কেমন 'how,' etc., etc. The tendency is almost as universal as in Chittagongese; and while final [-m] is preserved, intervocalic [-m-] is retained only if it is a reduction of groups like [-mb-] : *e.g.* [ɦamaŏ] হামায় (<Middle Bengali সাম্বাএ, সামাএ)=ঢুকে 'enters,' [ɦomondi] হমন্দি

<=সম্বন্ধী 'wife's elder brother', (but note [ɦɔõndir ɦuter goru] হওঁন্দির হুতের গোরু 'thou bullock of a brother-in-law's son' the carter's abuse of his bullocks), [kədəm] কদম=কদম্ব 'the *kadamba* tree or flower.' Again, [mama] মামা generally becomes [mãva] and sometimes [mãã], 'maternal uncle.'

§21. [n] exactly as in Cal. Col., an alveolar sound, is a little forward before [t, d]. Noteworthy are the insertion of it in [g'unḍi] ঘুণ্ডি=ঘুড়ি 'kite' (*cf.* Hindustani «ghuḍḍī, guḍḍī») and in [nondi] নন্দি=নদী 'river'—the popular word being [doirgæ] (<Pers. «daryā»); the assimilation of a following [-d-] in [tsa:n] চান=চাঁদ 'moon,' [kansil] কান্‌ছিল=কাঁদছিল 'was weeping;' the retention mainly in connection with voiced consonants followed by vowels as in [ʾindu] ইন্দু=হিন্দু 'Hindu,' [andor] আন্দর=অন্দর 'inside,' [tsanda] চান্দা=চাঁদা 'subscription,' etc.; and the slight cerebralisation of it in connection with the retroflex (*cf.* Cal. Col.), as in words like [nərəṇ̣'ɔ] নরণ্ড= নরেন্দ্র 'Narendra' a proper name, [ḍaṇḍa] ডাণ্ডা 'rod,' etc.

§22. [ŋ], the alveolar nasal, is never initial in Bengali; and when final is generally written as 'anusvāra': *e.g.* [ʃiŋ, ʃiŋ] শিং=শৃঙ্গ 'horn', [ḍ'o:ŋ] ঢং 'queer ways,' [ʃo:ŋ] সং 'clown,' etc. If followed by a vowel it usually retains an original [-g]: *e.g.* [bɔŋgɔ] বঙ্গ (puristic), but [baŋla] বাংলা or বাঙলা 'Bengal;' [baŋgal] rather than [baŋal] বাঙ্গাল 'East Bengal man' whence 'uneducated,' 'foolish' or 'unpolished'; [maŋga] মাঙ্গা=মাগ্‌গি 'costly,' [ɦaŋga] হাঙ্গা < সাঙ্গা=সঙ্গ 'remarriage of Mohammadan widows,' [moŋgɔl kandi] মঙ্গলকান্দি 'Mangal-kāndi,' the name of a village.

§23. [l] as in Cal. Col. possesses no 'dark variety' (*cf. Bengali Phonetics*, §20), and has as well a subsidiary retroflex value before [ṭ, ḍ]: *e.g.* [ulṭa] উল্টা 'opposite' or 'contrary,' [tsɔlṭa] চল্টা 'coating' or 'cement of a house' or 'bark of a tree,' but [tsoiltɔ] চইল্‌ত=চলিতে 'to go.' There is no 'unvoiced [l̥]' anywhere in Bengali. A few instances of [n]>[l] are known, *e.g.* [li:l] লীল=নীল 'blue,' but not so plentifully as in West Bengali dialects; and [l] >[n] as in

Cal. Col. [noa] নোআ = লোহা 'iron,' [no:k] নোক = লোক 'people,' etc., is unknown.

§24. [r] is more of an alveolar flap than an alveolar rolled or trilled [r] even in initial position (contrast Cal. Col.), and has a slightly higher articulation before [ṭ] as in Cal. Col. (*cf. Bengali Phonetics*, §21). It is generally lost medially when appearing in a consonantal group (*cf.* ODBL, §247, §294), the other member of which is doubled: *e.g.*, [ʃoggo] or [ɦoggo] সগ্‌গ or হগ্‌গ = স্বর্গ 'heaven,' [maicc͡ʃe] মাইচ্চে (<মাইর্‌+ছে<মারিছে) = মারিয়াছে, 'has beaten' (see §16), [ãtton] আঁত্তোন (<আঁর+তোন<আমার+?স্থান) = আমার থেকে 'from me' or 'to me,' [ãṭṭai] or [ãr ṭai] আঁট্টাই cr আঁর টাই (< আমার+ঠাঁই), the latter being preferred to the former, equivalent in sense to [ãtton] আত্তোন. Noteworthy also are [ʃa:rṭ], [r] with an advanced articulation, more popularly [ʃa:ṭ] or still better [sa:ṭ] = সার্ট 'shirt,' [t͡sorbi] চর্‌বি = চর্ব্বী 'lard.' As the whole of East Bengal possesses no [ṛ], it is also the substitute for that phoneme: see §136 [rɔra] ফরা = পড়া 'reading' or 'lesson,' [mɔra] মরা = মড়া 'dead body.' As an instance of partiality for [l] in place of [r], may be cited [khatil] for [khatir] খাতির 'intimacy' from Persian « xāṭir ».

§25. [s], the alveolar sibilant fricative, is in most East Bengal dialects the substitute for the standard [t͡ʃh], the palatal affricate aspirated: *e.g.*, [sagɔl] or [saol] ছাগল, ছাওল = ছাগল 'goat,' [misa] মিছা = মিথ্যা 'false.'

§25*a*. [ʃ], the most distinctive Māgadhī feature, almost the sole sibilant in Bengal, is at times turned into [s] in the dialect, *e.g.*, [sɔmne] ছমনে = সামনে 'in front.' A similar tendency may be noted among the Mohammadan population of the Calcutta bazaars (who are recruited largely from Bihari and Eastern Hindi areas) when they speak Bengali. But this has no influence on the dialect in question, *e.g.*, corrupt Cal. Mohammadan [sunte] = Noa. [ʃunte] or more popularly [ɦunte] 'to hear,' corrupt Mohammedan [sobur] = Noa. [ʃobur] 'waiting,' etc.

§25*b*. [ʃ] with [t], [n], [r] to follow is turned into [s] (*cf.* Cal. Col.). *e.g.*, [ʃuste] or more properly [fiuste] হুস্তে (<Persian «sust») 'slowly' or 'at ease', [abosta] আবোস্তা = অবস্থা 'condition,' [snaːn] = *«ts»*. beside *sts.* [sɛːn] ছেন = স্নান 'bath,' [sraoɒ] স্রাওন (*sts.*) = শ্রাবণ 'Śrāvaṇa, the name of a month.' But [ʃd] or [sd] group is a rarity in the dialect, and with [-l-] following [s-] we get in the dialect [ʃ-], as in Dacca speeches and in contrast to that of Cal. Col.: *e.g.*, [ɔʃlil] অশ্লীল 'indelicate,' [ʃleːʃ] শ্লেষ 'satire,' etc., in which Cal. Col. sticks to [s].

§25*c*. The Persian value of the sibilant in সাহেব (not, however, when applied to Europeans), সেরাজ, সুলতান, বসোরা, etc., are reasserting itself in the dialect through the Maulavī influences on pronunciation: [saːb], [seradz], [soltan], [bɔsra], etc. (the last through European influence). The [s] pronunciation in Persian and Arabic words in this as in other East Bengal dialects is being revived with a conscious effort, especially in proper names.

§25*d*. [s, ʃ] are distinct phonemes in this dialect, although they are varieties of the same [ʃ] phoneme in Cal. Col. (*Bengali Phonetics*, §23), *e.g.*, [masi] মাছি 'fly,' [maʃi] মাসি 'mother's sister'; [maːs] মাছ 'fish' [maːʃ] মাস 'month.'

For initial [ʃ], see §26.

For [z], see §30.

§26. [ʃ] the Bengali favourite as a sibilant, is pronounced 'without lip-rounding' (*cf.* Cal. Col.): *e.g.*, [ʃondor] শোন্দর (*sts.*) = সুন্দর 'beautiful,' [ʃɔtan] শতান = শয়তান 'Satan,' [ʔaʃe] 'আসে = হাসে 'smiles, laughs,' [baʃi] বাশী = বাঁশী 'flute,' [koʃur] কসুর 'fault,' etc. Initial [ʃ-] is often turned into [fi-], the glottal fricative, *e.g.*, [fiɔtan] হতান = শয়তান 'Satan,' [fiɔlla] or from careful speakers [ʃɔlla], হল্লা = সলা 'advice' or 'resolution,' etc. This is true of the Eastern and South-Eastern Bengal: but note that while Dacca has [mɔ̀fiɔ̆] মহয়, the Noakhali form is [moʃɔ̆] মোশয় = Cal. Col. [moʃai] মশায়(ই) 'sir.' Intervocal [-ʃ-] is not changed in the dialect, generally: *cf.*, however, [fiɔur] হউর = শ্বশুর father-in-law.

§27. [ɦ]: While a derived [ɦ] from [ʃ] has been mostly retained in initial place, the original [ɦ] has been replaced there by [ʾ], the glottal stop, except in foreign words like [ɦaram] হারাম 'prohibited thing or food,' [ɦakim] হাকিম 'judge,' [ɦarmad] হারমাদ 'ruffian' (? < Portuguese « armáda » with an intrusive [ɦ-]) etc.: *cf.* [ʾoibò] 'অইব=হইব 'will be,' [ʾa:t] 'আত=হাত 'hand,' ([ɦa:t] হাত=সাত 'seven'), [ʾi:t] 'ইত=হিত 'good,' etc. Medial [ɦ] prevocal and after [m, n, l] had in all dialects the tendency to be elided (ODBL., §304): *e.g.*, [kɔe] কয়=কহে 'speaks,' [moit] মোইত (*sts.*)=মোহিত 'charmed,' [ʃaʃ] সাঅস=সাহস 'courage,' [tsinnò] চিন্ন (*sts.*)=চিহ্ন 'sign,' [bamon] বামোন =ব্রাহ্মণ 'Brahman,' [allad] আল্লাদ (*sts.*)=আহ্লাদ 'delight.'

§27*a*. How far [ɦ] owes to [ʃ] and [h] to [ꜰ<p] is apparent from the following instances—curiosities due to confusion of the phonemes because of frequent conversion from one to the other: *e.g.* English 'half-ticket'=Noa. sometimes [ʃaṛṭikəṭ] which shows the attempt on the part of some ignorant people at purity under the notion of restoring [ʃ] for initial [ɦ], English 'Town-Hall'=Noa. at times [ṭaunɾəl] which shows the notion of restoring [ꜰ] at work, and [biꜰa] বিফা [<biva<bibaɦa]=বিবাহ 'marriage.'

§27*b*. [h], an unvoiced variety of [ɦ], is often found in many places in which [ɦ] is on the way to elision, and in the unvoiced aspirates [ṫh, ṭh, kh]: *e.g.*, [ɔeh] অয়ঃ (=হাঁহে) 'yes'; the interjections [ih] ইঃ, [uh] উঃ, etc., which also take as alternatives the corresponding spirants, *e.g.*, [iç], [uꜰ], etc., as in Cal. Col. (ODBL., §305).

§28. [ŏ] the semivowel is found in diphthongs, mainly before [a]: but is not so common as in Cal. Col.: *e.g.*, [dabi-daŏa] দাবিদাওআ=দাবীদাওয়া 'claims and demands,' [kəŏakəta] কওয়া-কতা, also [kɔa-kəta] কআ-কতা=কওয়া কথা 'spoken word.' The glide has, however, the tendency to be lost in the dialect, *e.g.*, [doa] দোআ (<Perso-Arabic) 'blessing,' [moa] মোআ (< মোদক) 'a kind of sweet,' [mònaməti] মনামতি=ময়নামতী 'Maynāmatī,'

a proper name, [ɦo(ŏ)ad] হোয়াদ = স্বাদ 'tāste,' [ɦo(ŏ)aʃ] হোয়াশ = শ্বাস 'breath,' etc.

§29. [ŏ] is preserved as a glide between two vowels when two syllables come together in ordinary quick speech: *e.g.*, [diŏail] দিয়াইল্ (দি + আইল) = দিয়া আসিল 'having given came,' [saŏainlo] ছায়াইনল' (<ছা + আইন্‌ল) = ছা আনিল 'brought the cub,' [kaŏeʃ] কায়েশ 'estimate,' etc. It is found finally, as in [ʔɔŏ] 'অয় = হয় 'happens,' [lɔŏ] লয় 'takes,' [dzaŏ] জায় = যায় 'goes,' etc. The tendency, however, is to omit the glide when there is a simplification or contraction of syllables as diphthongs are turned into monophthongs (*cf.* Standard Colloquial, ODBL, pp. 415-16). Thus, [káiʃ] কা'শ with a suggestion of [i] in a very much fronted [á] (see ODBL., *op. cit.*) for [kaŏeʃ], [bɔʔʃ] ব'শ for [bɔŏoʃ] বয়স 'age,' [ʃaʔʃ] শা'শ = সাহস 'courage.'

§30. [z], the alveolar voiced spirant, seems to occur when [-s-] is preceded by the voiced consonants [-b-] or [-g-] [b'aibzil <b'aib + sil] ভাইব্‌জিল = ভাবিয়াছিল, the [maigzil < maig + sil] মাইগজিল = মাগিয়াছিল 'begged,' etc. But [-s-] preceded by [d-] gives [ʄʒ], *e.g.*, [ʃaid + sil > ɦaidz + zil > ɦaiʄʒil] হাইজ্‌জিল = সাধিয়াছিল (or সাজিয়াছিল, from [saidz-]) 'dressed' 'requested.'

§31. [ꜰ] is one of the most characteristic sounds in the dialect, and, as has been noted, pronounced with the lips so open as to seem to be reduced to [h] (see §9, ODBL., §278): *e.g.*, [ꜰani] ফানি, also almost [hani] হানি = পানি 'water.' Examples can be multiplied almost to any extent. Indeed, the prevalence of [ꜰ] will be apparent from the following English sentence as pronounced by a Noakhali lawyer in the district court: [ɐꜰarɐnṭli di rɐḍi ŏadz sarlaŏd ɐṭ dɐṭ rrais] = 'apparently the paddy was supplied at that price.'

§32. [ʋ] occurs medially: *e.g.* [ɔʋab] অভাব 'want' or 'dearth,' [govindɔ] গোবিন্দ also [goindɔ] গোইন্দ 'Govinda,' a proper name.

§33. [x], the spirant from the unvoiced plosive [k] is to be found in abundance in the eastern part of the dialectical area which has very great affinities with Chittagongese.

The spirant is widespread in Tipperah-Sylhet as well. Thus, [xɔtta] খত্তা=কর্ত্তা 'master,' [xai(ŏ)um] খাইয়ুম=খাবো 'I shall eat,' [dɛxaŏ] দেখায় 'shows,' etc., will come naturally from a Feni man, but Bhulua people will not speak so, and the influence of Bhulua is widespread through the district. Perhaps the traditional (and sentimental) belief of the Bhulua people that they are an imported stock is not absolutely baseless; and this accounts for the divergence of the speech from the Chittagongese. Otherwise we could account for this elision (see §19) as parallel to the spirant leading to elision of Prakrit stages; but how can we explain the recrudescence of [k-] in initial places as found in Bhulua area—a process which would suggest an alteration of the spirant back to the plosive?

§34. [ɣ]: what is true of [x] is true of the voiced spirant [ɣ] also: *e.g.* [fiɔɣɔl] হগল=সকল 'all,' [kaɣodz] কাগজ 'paper' are to be found everywhere, more in abundance on the Feni side. As mentioned in §19, §19*a*, both [x] and [ɣ] have a tendency to be elided when non-initial ([ɣ] is never initial): *e.g.* [dɛaŏ] দেআয়=দেখায় 'shows,' [fiɔol] হওল=সকল 'all,' also [fiɔɔl].

§35. Though strictly speaking it falls within the scope of Phonology and not Phonetics proper, we may note in this connection some peculiar modification of consonantal sounds.

§35*a*. Assimilation of consonants in contact:—

Regressive of the same group:—

[ɛ:k+g'ɔ:r] একঘর>[ɛgg'ɔr] এগঘর 'one houseful,' [pa:k+g'ɔ:r] পাক ঘর>[ragg'ɔr] ফাগঘর 'cookshed,' [fia:t+di:n] হাত দিন< [fiaddin] হাদ্দিন=সাতদিন 'sevendays,' [bɔro+ḍŏa] বর ডেঁয়া< [bɔḍḍŏa] বড্ডেঁআ =বড় বাছুর (ডেঁয়া=বাছুর: *cf.* Maithil «neḍu» or «neru») 'the older calf.'

Of different groups:—

[dzɔ:dz+ʃa:b] জজ+সা'ব > [dzɔʃʃab] জসস্াব=জজসাহেব 'judge,' [rãts+ʃe:r] ফাঁচসের > [rãʃʃer] ফাঁস্সের=পাঁচসের 'five

seers,' [ã:r+ton] আঁরতোন> [ãtton] আঁত্তোন=আমার কাছে 'to me' or 'from me.'

Progressive Assimilation :—

[ro:dz+ka:r] রোজকার> [roj͡jar] রোজ্জার=রোজকার 'earning,' [nəmoʃkar] নমস্কার>[nəõʃʃar] নওঁস্সার=নমস্কার 'salute,' [t͡sorni] চোরনী > [t͡sunni] চুন্নি 'a woman thief.'

§35*b*. Doubling of consonants occurs to emphasize, *e.g.* [ɦɔkkol] হক্কল=সকল 'all,' etc., and in groups which have a subscribed -m,-r,-y- in -db,-jñ,-kkh (<kṣ)- groups : *e.g.* [b'ɔddor] ভদ্দর=ভদ্র 'gentle,' [ʃɔggo] সগ্‌গ=স্বর্গ 'heaven,' [b'aiggo] ভাইগ্‌গ=ভাগ্য 'fate,' 'luck,' [rɔddo] রদ্দ=পদ্ম 'lotus,' [biddan] বিদ্দান=বিদ্বান 'learned,' [oiggan] অইগ্‌গান=অজ্ঞান 'unconscious,' [roikk(h)ɔ] রৈক্‌খ=পক্ষ 'side,' etc., etc. Noteworthy also are the classes [koiccʃa] কইচ্চা=করিস্ না='don't do it' (§16), etc., and [ɦaij͡jil] হাইজ্‌জিল=সাধিয়াছিল, or সাজিয়াছিল 'requested' or 'dressed.' Doubling is significant : *e.g.* [kɛla] কেলা=কলা 'plantain' and [kɛlla] কেল্লা=গলা, or গড় (<কিল্লা) 'neck' or 'fort.' Simplification of some duplicates without the lengthening of the preceding vowel is characteristic in Sanskrit words : *e.g.* [b'ɔ:ṭ<bɦɔṭṭɔ], [nɔ:ṭ<nɔṭṭɔ], [dɔ:t<dɔttɔ] ভট্ট, নট্ট, দৎ respectively for the surnames Bhatta, Natta, Datta.

§35*c*. Some instances of metathesis are met with : [tɔkrɔ] তক্র< [tɔrkɔ] তর্ক 'controversy,' [urre] উর্‌ফে<[up(ɔ)re] 'on high,' [larki] লার্‌কি<[lakṛi] লাক্‌ড়ী=লকড়ী [lokṛi] 'faggot,' etc.

VOWELS.

§36. The approximate position of the Bengali vowels in relation to the *Cardinal Vowels*, as also in their relationship among themselves in the Standard Colloquial (*i.e.* Cal. Col.), and therefere in Standard Bengali, has been indicated by Dr. Chatterji (*Bengali Phonetics*, p. 12 ; *Bengali Phonetic Reader*, p. 11). It is necessary to bear in mind the values of the vowels as related there, *i.e.*, broadly speaking a Bengali vowel (short) stands just about halfway down from its cardinal

value to the next cardinal, while when long or nasalized, it rises higher, stopping midway between the short and the cardinal values; short [a] stands between cardinal front [a] cardinal back [ɑ], and Bengali long [a:] and nasalized [ã] between Bengali short [a] and cardinal back [ɑ].

The vowels of Noakhali dialect retain the same values, only [ɔ] seems to be a bit higher than cardinal [ɔ], and [æ], almost totally absent from the dialect, is being replaced by [ɛ], which is a rarity in Cal. Col.

§37. Long [i:]: *e.g.* [g'i:n] ঘীন্=ঘৃণা 'repulsion,' [ʀi:ṭ] পীট্=(তুই) পেট্ 'beat thou,' [ʃi:t] হীত=শীত 'winter,' ['i:t] ইত=হিত 'good,' [ti:n] তীন=তিন 'three,' etc.

Short [i]: *e.g.* [khɛti] খেতি=ক্ষতি 'loss,' [gɔ̀rib] গরিব=গরীব 'poor,' [sabi] ছাবি=চাবি 'key,' [iɛn] ইএন=এই খানা 'this one,' [itər] ইতর 'vulgar,' etc. A very large number of cases of medial [-i-] is due to the Epenthesis which still lives on in almost all East Bengal dialects without undergoing any modification (as in Cal. Col.) by Vowel Mutation and Vowel Harmony. This epenthetic [-i-], it has to be remembered, is very weak by nature, and ought properly to be represented with [-ˈ-]: but this is not done so here as their nature is clear to all. Thus, [koillam] কইল্লাম=করিলাম 'I did,' [tsoillam] চইল্লাম=চলিলাম 'I went,' etc., etc., would be found in this paper not as [koˈllam], [tsoˈllam], with the imperfect [-ˈ-] above.

§38. Long [e:]: such words are extremely rare, and are to be found in words like [ke:] কে 'who,' [de:] দে 'give,' [ne:] নে 'take,' [de:n] দেন্=দ্যান 'you give' (honorific), (also [dɛ:n]), [ʃe:n] সেন 'Sen,' the surname (also [ʃɛ:n]), [ge:l] গেল=গেল 'went' (also as [gɛlɔ̀]). (See §39.)

Short [e] is to be found quite in sufficient number, *e.g.* [beil] বেইল=বেলা 'time,' [te] তে or its equivalent [ʃiete] হেতে=সে 'he,' [mainnee]=[mainne]+emphatic [e]<[mainʃe+emphatic [i] মাইন্নেএ=মানুষেই 'all men' or 'men alone,' etc. In loose speech the locative-instrumental [-te] of nominatives

as well as the emphatic [-e] may become [-ɪɛ], [-ɛ], in harmony with the vowel of the preceding syllable : *e.g.* [hɛtɛ] হেতে=সে 'he,' [*ramɛɛ] রামেএ=রামেই 'Ram alone,' etc. : these however are not so common.

§39. [ɛ] is *par excellence* the Eastern Bengal vowel for Standard Bengali close [e], for open [æ] and for [ɛ] wherever it is found (generally in final position) in the Standard Colloquial. (ODBL., *cf.* p. 142.) While in Cal. Col. it is a rarity, its prevalence in Eastern and South-Eastern Bengali at the cost—almost the total extinction—of [æ], and partial eclipse of [e], is an important fact so far as the vowel sounds are concerned. Thus we may note [bɛ:ʃ] বেশ 'dress,' [dɛ:ʃ] দেশ 'country,' [tsɛ:k] চেক 'cheque' or 'check,' [mɛ:g] মেঘ 'cloud,' [ɛ:m], [ɛ:n], [ɛ:l] in pronouncing the English letters « m, n, l, » [bɛton] বেতন 'salary,' [kɛol] কেওল, (or [kɛbol] কেবল) 'only,' [bɛgom] বেগম 'queen,' [gonɛ(e)] গনে=গুনে 'counts' [ʃion(ɛ)e] হোনে=শুনে 'hears,' etc., etc., in all of which Cal. Col. and Standard Bengali has [e], long or short as the case may be. Similarly, in [ɛ:k] এক 'one,' [dɛ:k] দেক=ছাখ্ 'thou see,' [kɛbla] কেবলা =ক্যাবলা 'Kyābla' a proper name from [kebol], etc., we see Standard Bengali [æ] giving place to [ɛ] in the dialect. [æ] is almost absent, the Standard Bengali *tatsama* [tæ:g] ত্যাগ 'sacrifice,' [rokkhæ] রক্ষা 'protection,' [kollæn] কল্যাণ 'good,' being turned into [tɛ:g] তেগ, [roikkha] রইক্খা, [koillan] কইল্লান্, etc., in the dialect. [æ] may be found optionally at the end of the words like [buirga(æ)] বুইরগ্যা 'old' [kuirga(æ)] কুইরগ্যা 'idle,' and in proper names [kailla(æ)] কাইল্লা=কালিয়া (Cal. কেলে) [moinna(æ)] মইন্না=মণিয়া, etc., etc., in familiar or contemptuous form of the name, with original « iyā » affix. Again, [e] is not so preciously infrequent as in Dacca dialect (see §38), nor does Noakhali show that hopeless confusion between [e] and [ɛ] which characterises the neighbouring Tipperah : *cf.* Tipperah-Sylhet [bed]=Eng. 'bad,' [mela] for Standard Bg. [mæla] 'exhibition' or 'many,' [ʃɛ:] (puristic)

for [ʃe:] 'he,' [ekseptʻ]=English 'accept,' [ɛkse(ɛ)pʈ]=Eng. 'except' (*cf.* also Tipperah-Sylhet confusion between [o] and [u], both of which are illustrated in the following common hit against that dialect, *viz.* [mola khɛte tsur gɛse tsole d'oira tul] মোলা খেতে চুর গেছে চোলে ধইরা তুল=মূলাক্ষেতে চোর গেছে চুলে ধ'রে তোল্ (Cal. Col.) 'the thief has entered the radish fields, catch him up by the hair.'). None of these are in evidence in Noakhali. Noakhali stands thus: *it has no* [æ], *some* [e], *and mostly* [ɛ].

As in Calcutta cockney, [ã] nasalized sometimes gives [ɛ̃] (*cf.*, ODBL., §161; *Bengali Phonetics*, §39): *e.g.*, [kɛ̃kra] কেঁকরা or [kɛ̃ora] কেঁওরা=কাঁকড়া 'crab,' [bɛ̃a] বেঁআ=বাঁকা 'crooked,' [tɛ̃a] টেঁআ=টাকা 'rupee' (see §40).

Naturalized English words have [ɛ] (Cal. Col. has [e]): *e.g.*, [ʃɛ(ĕ)ar] শেআর 'share,' [tsɛ(ĕ)ar] চেয়ার 'chair,' etc.

§40. [a], [a:] (see also [ã], §36): following Dr. Chatterji's *Bengali Phonetic Reader* (p. 18, §41), in the present article [a] has been used for the sound, and not [ɑ] as in the ODBL., and *Bengali Phonetics*: [a:, ã] are more backward than [a], which is a central sound. Examples: [ma:] মা 'mother,' [ʔa:t] 'আত=হাত 'hand,' [ɦat] হাত—সাত 'seven,' [baa] বাআ or [ba:] বা=বাবা 'papa,' [tsatsa] চাচা 'uncle,' etc., etc. See §39 for [-ã-] > [-ɛ̃-]. There is no change of [a] to [e] and [o] through vowel mutation as in Cal. Col.

§41. [ɔ] is a common sound seems to approach the English vowel in 'not,' 'hot,' rather than the Cal. Col. [ɔ] which is slightly higher than the corresponding English sound: *e.g.*, [tsɔle] চলে 'goes,' [dzɔle] জলে=জ্বলে 'burns,' etc., are not exactly as in Cal. Col. with regard to the vowel [ɔ], though the distinction seems to be very small (smaller than that between Dacca [ɔ] and Calcutta Col. [ɔ]). At the end of a word it does not often become so close as in Cal. Col. (=lax [o]); but is in many cases close enough to be transcribed by [ò], *i.e.*, midway between cardinal [o] and [ɔ]: *e.g.*, [g'ɔ:r] ঘর 'house,' [sɔ:n]ছন=খড় 'straw,' [dɔ:r] দর 'price.' Long [ɔ:] is slightly accompanied by lip-

rounding). Short [ɔ̯]: [ɦɔgɔl] হগল=সকল 'all,' [bɔgɔl] বোগল 'armpit' (both may lose [-g-]), [ʃɔrɔl] সরল 'simple,' [kɔbɔr] or equally frequently [kɔor], কবর, কওর 'grave,' etc.; [ɛtɔ̀] এতো 'so much,' [ɦɔtɔ̀] হোতো=শোও 'lie down,' [kɔitɔ̀] কইতো=কহিতে 'to tell,' [ʔɔilɔ̀] 'অইল (optionally, such future and past forms generally like [ʔɔil], [ʔɔib] have no final vowel)=হইল 'happened' etc., etc.

§42. [o:] long: not so much lip-rounding as in cardinal [o]: *e.g.*, [b'o:g] ভোগ (ভোগ <ভোখ=ভূখ <Skt. « bubhuk:ā » 'hunger' or 'good,' [ʀo:k] ফোক=পোকা 'insect,' [dzo:r] জোর 'strength,' [lo:k] লোক 'people,' etc. [o] has also a lower position, *e.g.*, [ʃodza] সোজা 'easy,' 'straight,' [ʀodza] ফোজা=বোঝা 'burden' or 'luggage' (*cf. Benga i Phonetics*, §43).

[ò]: see §41. [-o-] is slightly fronted when followed by [i]; because of epenthesis. This [ö] is often represented here as [-o-].

It is to be noted that in many cases of [ɔ] > [o] in Cal. Col., this dialect (as also many other forms of East Bengali) has not favoured the change. Thus [bɔ:n] বন 'forest,' [mɔ:n] মন 'mind,' etc., are not [bo:n], [mo:n] as in Calcutta etc.

The climbing up and sliding down between [ɔ] and [o] are at times indefinite and it often depends on the personal equation of the speaker, : *e.g.*, কুমুদী(=কুমুদিনী) a proper name is [kũudi], [kũodi] and lastly often [kũədi], [dzɔ̯ɔto] or [dzɔ̯ɔtò] or [dzɔ̯ɔtɔ] জত=যত' 'as much,' etc.

§43. [u], [u:], like [i], [i:], make no variation from the Standard Colloquial: *e.g.*, [b'u:t] ভূত=ভুত 'ghost,' [ʀu:t] ফূত্=পুত 'son,' [ɦu:t] হূত্=শো 'lie down' Early Beng. (সুত), [tsoumuni] চৌমুনি (purism gives [tsoumuɦani] <চৌ+মুহ(=মুখ)+আনি) 'the meeting place of four streets,' also proper name for a big mart of the District, [ʀuɔir, h-] or [ʀuir, h-] ফুঅইর, ফুইর=পুখুর 'tank,' [ɦɔun] হউন=শকুন 'vulture,' etc. Vowel Harmony seems to have a little influence: *e.g.*, [d'oŏ] ধোয় 'washes,' but [d'uil] ধুইল 'washed,' [buna] (for Calcutta Col. [bona]) বুনা=বোনা 'the act of weaving' or 'something that has

been woven' : [-u-] > [-o-] occurs before [-e], but not before [-a].

§44. All the above vowels can be nasalized : *e.g.*, [ḍɪ(ĕ)aĕ] ডিঁয়ায় 'pokes,' = ডিঙায় 'crosses,' [ṭə̃a] টেঁআ = টাকা 'rupee,' [kə̃ər] কাঁঅর = কামড় 'bite,' [kɔ̃ɔla] কঁঅলা = কমলালেবু 'oranges,' [kõər] কোঁঅর = কোমর = 'waist,' also কুমড়া 'pumpkin', [tũi] তুঁই = তুমি 'you.' The nasalized vowel has a higher tongue position (*cf. Bengali Phonetic Reader*, pp. 11ff.).

The number of vowels is thus doubled by nasalization, when we take stock of phonemes.

Nasalization, derived from Prakrit it is to be remembered, is generally dropped in the East Bengali dialects, including this form of South-Eastern Bengali : *e g.*, [gadza] গাজা = গাঁজা (গেঁজা) 'ganja,' [ba:ʃ] বাশ = বাঁশ 'bamboo,' [tsaral] চারাল = চাঁড়াল 'a low caste,' etc. On the other hand preservation of the nasal as a 'reduced nasal' or as a full nasal marks these dialects : [tsanda] চান্দা = চাঁদা 'subscription,' [bandi] বান্দী = বাঁদী 'maid-servant' or 'slave,' etc. (See §21 ; ODBL., §176.) Instrusive nasals also occur : *e.g.*, [nõndi] নন্দি = নদী 'river,' [dziŋgai] জিঙ্গাই = জিজ্ঞাসি 'I ask,' etc. Spontaneous nasalization is found as in Standard Bengali : [ãər] আঁঅর (<আঁখর [aŋkhərə] = অক্ষর 'alphabet' in the sense of 'word,' [kə̃(k)(o)ra] 'crab' (see *ante*), [rũti] ফুঁতি = পুথী 'book,' [rõus] ফোঁছ = পঁহুছান 'arrival' and also 'acquaintance,' [bə̃a], [ṭə̃a], (see *ante*) etc. The most distinctive feature of the dialect in this matter is the change of common Bengali intervocal [-m-] to a nasalization : this connects our dialect specially to Chittagongese : *e.g.*, [ãi] আঁই = আমি 'I,' [tũi] তুঁই = তুমি 'you,' [tõar] তোঁআর = তোমার 'yours,' etc., etc., But compare [amner] আম্নের (-m- < -ঋ- < -ʋ <-p-) = আপনার 'yours' (honorific) (also by assimilation [anner] আন্নের), [səmner] ছম্নের = সামনের 'of in front of,' etc., in which [m] is not intervocal.

§45. The number of diphthongs is about 24. The loss of medial consonants have increased their number.

(i) [iə]: not common like the Cal. Col. [ie], which is plentiful there because of Epenthesis and Vowel Modification ;

e.g. [iɛ(e)n] ইয়েন=এখান 'this one,' [dzĭiɛ(e)n] জিয়েন=যেখান 'that one (which),' [tsŏrie(ɛ)] চরিএ=চড়িয়াই 'the moment (he) got up' or 'only by getting on,' etc. with emphatic [e] (ɛ)=Cal. Col. [i].

(ii) [ia]: *e.g.*, [ʃial] হিয়াল=শেয়াল 'jackal,' [ʃia] হিয়া=তাহা 'that' as [ʃia kəi ki la:b']-হিআ কই কি লাব=তাহা কহিয়া কি লাভ 'what good in saying that?'

(iii) [iə]: *e.g.*, [ʃiəl] হিঅল=শিকল 'chain,' [biəd] বিঅদ (<h<ʁ<p)=বিপদ difficulty (more properly [biŏd] বিওদ).

(iv) [io] : *e.g.*, [kio] কিও=কিহে 'what oh!,' [dio] দিও 'give,' and in such future precative 2nd person endings; [nariol] নারিওল=নারিকেল 'cocoanut,' [dzĭot] জীঁওত=জীবিত 'living,' etc.

(v) [iu]: not common, *e.g.*, [ʃiuk] হিউক=শিখুক 'let (him or them) learn,' Eng. 'union' [iuniən] ইউনিয়ন।

(vi) [ei]: *e.g.* [dzeite] জেইতে=যে 'he who,' [dei] দেই=দিই 'I give,' [beil] বেইল=বেল 'time.'

(vii) [ɛi]: *e.g.*, [bɛinna] বেইন্না=বিহানে 'in the morning,' more properly [bɛainna] বেআইন্না,[ɛi-e] এইএ=এইই 'this alone,' etc.

(viii) [ɛa] is common, *e.g.* [ʃɛa] সেআ (<সেহা? Persian) 'counting,' [khɛa] খেআ 'ferry,' [dɛa] দেআ=দেখা 'seeing,' Eng. 'chair'=[tsɛar].

(ix) [ɛu]: not many, *e.g.*, [ɖ'ɛu] ঢেউ 'wave,' [g'ɛu-g'ɛu] ঘেউ-ঘেউ a dog's 'bow-wow.'

(x) [ai] : most common : *e.g.*, [b'ai] ভাই brother, [khail] খাইল্=খাইল' 'ate,' [tsail] চাইল=চাউল 'rice,' [balai] বালাই 'an object or person that is unwelcome' (<Persian «balā»='calamity'), etc.

(xii) [ae] is common : *e.g.*, [khae] খায় 'eats,' [gad'ae] গাদায়=গাধায় '(by) ass.'

(xiii) [ao], in imperatives like [dzao] or [dzŏo] যাও, যও=যাও 'go,' [thao] থাও=থাক' 'stay.'

(xiv) [au]: *e.g.*, [bau] বাউ=বাবু 'Sir, Babu,' [ʃʃ'au] ঝাউ cypress.'

(xv) [ɔe]: *e.g.*, [kɔe] কয়=কহে 'says,' [lɔe] লয় 'takes;' but note [sɔ:]ছ=Standard Bg. [ʤhɔe] ছয় 'six,' [nɔ:] ন=Std. Bg. [nɔe] নয় 'nine,' [ɾɔila] পইলা=Std. Bg. [pɔela] পয়লা, 'first,' etc.

(xvi) [ɔo]: *e.g.*, [ɔon] অওন=এখন 'now,' [kɔo] কও =কহ 'say': in such imperatives, and also in East Bengali verbal nouns like [kɔon] কওন=কওয়া 'the act of saying.'

(xvii) [oi]: this diphthong (in the alphabet Bengali is represented by ঐ): *e.g.*, [doi] দৈ 'curds,' [boi] বই 'book,' also= বহি '(I) carry' and বহিয়া='carrying' (conjunctive participle), [ʃoi] সই=সহি, সহিয়া, সখী and দস্তখৎ '(I) suffer,' 'suffering' (conj. participle), 'friend' (among women)' and 'signature' (<Perso-Arabic «ṣaḥīḥ»). The conjunctive participle in [-i] supplies many [oi] diphthongs in this dialect.

(xviii) [oe]: *e.g.*, [d'oe] ধোয় 'washes,' [ʦoe] চোয়= চুষে 'sucks,' [roe] রোয় 'sows' (<[roa] রোআ the little sprouts that have to be replanted), etc.

(xix) [oa]: *e.g.*, [roa] রোআ lit. 'that which has been sown' >'that which has to be planted;' [noa] নোয়া=নয়া 'new,' [khoa] খোয়া 'lost' and 'pieces of street macadam,' [doa] দোয়া=প্রার্থনা 'prayer for blessing' (a special Mohammadan term of Perso-Arabic origin), etc.

(xx) [ou]: *e.g.*, [bou] বৌ 'wife' or 'daughter-in-law,' [ʦouk] চউক=চোখ 'eye,' [nouk] নৌক=নখ 'nail,' [ɦour] হউর =শ্বশুর 'father-in-law,' etc. The diphthong is represented in Bengali by ঔ.

(xxi) [ui]: *e.g.*, [ʤuit] জুইৎ (?<যুক্তি)=সুবিধা 'advantage' or 'opportunity,' [ɦũis] হুঁইছ=ছুঁচ 'needle;' also conjunctive participles like [d'ui] ধুই=ধুইয়া 'washing,' [nui] নুই=নুইয়া 'bending,' etc.

(xxii) [ue]: not commonly occuring except in [mue] মুএ=মুখে 'in the mouth or face,' [ʃuer] সুয়ের=সুখের 'of joy', 'of happiness.'

(xxiii) [ua]: *e.g.*, [ʦua] চুআ=চুকা 'sour,' [khua] খুয়া =কুয়াসা 'fog,' [gua] গুয়া=সুপারি (which latter form, as [ʃuari], is now more popular)='betel nut,' [b'ulla] ভুল্লা (in affected

speech [b'ulua] also)=ভূলুয়া 'Bhuluā Pargaṇā,' [b'ŭa] ভুঁআ=ভূয়া (=মিথ্যা) 'false,' etc.

(xxiv) [uɔ]: *e.g.*, [fiuɔr] হুঅর=শূয়র 'swine,' [muɔr] মুঅর=মুখের 'of mouth' and in such genitives. Standard Bengali [uo] is not found.

§ 45*a*. Double vowels are found as in Cal. Col.: thus, [ee] or [ɛɛ] *e.g.* [fietee] or [fiɛtɛɛ], (the former more usual), হেতেএ =সেই 'he alone;' [aa], *e.g.*; [baa] বাআ=বাবা 'papa;' [ii] *e.g.* [diit] দিইৎ=দিঘিতে 'in the tank,' [kiittò] কিইত্ত=কি করিতে 'what for;' [ɔɔ] *e.g.* [fiɔɔl] হঅল=সকল 'all'; etc. (*cf.* ODBL., §230). While Vowel Mutation and Harmony give scope to doubling in Cal. Col., the South-Eastern dialect of Noakhali owes that to the very large number of cases of elision of intervocal consonants.

§45*b*. Most of these diphthongs can be nasalized.

§46. The loss of consonants must lead to the increase of the number of triphthongs, but the tendency to condensation and elision is so pronounced in this *patois* that it is not easy to decide how many triphthongs (whether larger or smaller in number than in Standard Bengali: see ODBL., §231), the dialect possesses. The following 22 triphthongs can be found on a little examination, *viz.*, [ɛoa, ɛio, ɛiɛ, ɛai, ɛao, aie, aiu, aua, aoi, aoa, aia, uio, uai, uiɛ, uaŏ, uɛɛ, iai, ɔao, ɔui, oai, oia, oio]; and at least some tetraphthongs are found [iaiɛ, oaio] etc. The number can be increased by the addition of emphatic [-ɛ] or the verbal suffixes [-o, -ɛn] etc. The triphthongs also are not exhausted, and some more will be revealed on a careful search; but that makes no fundamental difference.

§47. Though strictly within the scope of Phonology, the following changes are noteworthy:

§47*a*. Epenthesis is widespread, but has no marked modification by Vowel Contraction and Umlaut (contrast Cal. Col.); *e.g.*, Epenthesis of [-i-]: thus, [tsair] চাইর (<চারি)=চার 'four,' [koil] কইল=কহিল 'said,' [loikkɔ] লইক্ক=লক্ষ্য 'aim.' [dzoiggɔ]

জইগ্‌গ=যজ্ঞ 'sacrifice,' [koillan] কইল্লান=কল্যাণ 'good,' etc. The post-vowel epenthetic [-i-] is not fully uttered, as has been noted in §37. Epenthesis of [-u-]: [tsouk] চউক = চোখ 'eye,' [auk(g)], আউক(গ) =ইক্ষু 'sugar-cane,' etc.

§47*b*. Anaptyxis: [rottor] ফত্তর or [hottor] হত্তর (<পত্র) 'letter,' [gɞram] গেরাম=গ্রাম 'village,' etc.

§47*c*. Prothesis: [istiri] ইস্তিরি=স্ত্রী 'wife;' Dutch «schroef» [sxruf] = [iskurup] ইস্কুরুপ or [iskurub] ইস্কুরুব 'screw,' etc.

SOUND ATTRIBUTES.

Length.

§48. Length is indicated with [:] and [·] after the phoneme. (In this paper vowel length has been expressed thus, but consonants have been doubled to express their length as a matter of conformity to usual practice).

§48*a*. Vowel length, almost as in Cal. Col. (*cf. Bengali Phonetics*, §54), is dependent on the rhythm of the sense group. Generally three shades are recognised of length: *e.g.*, [:] =long, as in [b'a:t] ভাত 'cooked rice'; [·] half-long, as in [koillo·] কইল্ল=করিল 'did,' and short, not marked, as in [dɞi(ɞ)um] দেইয়ুম=দেখিব '(I) shall see.'

§48*b*. In isolated syllables monosyllables as a rule have long vowels (*cf. Bengali Phonetics*, §55*a*): *e.g.*, [g'ɔ:r] ঘর 'house,' [b'a:t] ভাত='cooked rice,' etc.

§48*c*. The final vowels of disyllabic or polysyllabic words are generally half long (see *Bengali Phonetics*, §56) *e.g.*, [mata·] মাতা=মাথা 'head,' [rugairlo·] ফুগাইর্‌ল=ফুকারিল, 'blew,' etc.

§48*d*. Length (usually described as 'doubling') of consonants has been noticed in §35*b* and examples need not be multiplied.

§49. Vowel length is very difficult to make out in connected quick speech such as the *patois* emphatically is. The

speaker's emotion is a factor in the matter—it decides the rhythm of the sentence, and necessarily the length of the words (*cf. Bengali Phonetics*, §57). As it is difficult to put it beyond any shadow of doubt, it is better to adopt the 'sense-group' division,—the vertical lines marking out divisions and the double vertical lines signifying a slight pause (as in *Bengali Phonetics*, §57). This perhaps will represent the speech more correctly if we leave out the factor of emotional length and intonation out of it.

Stress-Accent.

§50. The stress system of the Bengali—the Standard Colloquial Speech—has been most ably discussed by Prof. S. K. Chatterji in his '*Bengali Phonetics*' (*op. cit.*, §58) and the whole of its history has been revealed in his '*Origin and Development of Bengali Language*,' Chapter II. *Cf.* also *Bengali Phonetic Reader*, pp. 24-27. We can do no better than quote his conclusion on the Standard Colloquial: *The stress is dominantly initial; and word stress surrenders itself entirely to sentence stress, the initial syllable of the first important word in a sense-group having the stress, and the other words losing their stress if they possess it when isolated.* (ODBL., §113.) This seems to be true of the Noakhali dialect as well—a dialect apprently more influenced by the Tibeto-Burman than many others. The large number of words with initial আ [a:, a] which have been lengthened from [ɒ] bear testimony to it. Such are ['aosta] আওস্তা=অবস্থা, 'condition', ['larki] লারকি=লকড়ি 'faggot,' ['ɖabɔl] ডাবল ['ɖaol] ডাওল=ডবল 'double' (English). The elision of the short vowel of the next syllable or the shortening of a long vowel goes to bear out the same contention. Thus, ['suiṭka] ছুইট্‌কা 'lad' (*cf.* Biharī [ʧhuṭʌkka]), ['ʀani] ফানি=পানি 'water' (*cf.* Biharī [pʌ'nia]), ['ʀaḍari] ফাড়ারি=পাট্‌ওয়ারী 'a village personality' (<accountant) ['b'aigna] ভাইগ্না=ভাগিনেয় 'sister's son,' ['ʀetni] ফেৎনি=পেত্নি (প্রেতিনী) 'female ghost,' ['ʦsanni] চান্নি=চাঁদনি

(< চাঁদিনি) 'moonlight', [ɛʃʃor] এঁস্‌সর (< একেশ্বর) = একেলা 'alone' etc. In words of foreign origin like [ɛlka] এল্‌কা 'area' from Persian «ilāqah», the stress is thrown back as noted in LSI., Vol. V, Part I, p. 203.

§58. The stress-system, however, is not so simple, and a formidable number of words may be produced as puzzles. (i) Modification of a following vowel through the influence of a preceding one (as the result of strong initial stress) is greatly in evidence in Standard Bengali, but is resisted by the dialect in common with many others (*cf.* ODBL., §192). The extended forms of names in intimate or contemptuous address, *e.g.*, [fiasɔinna] হাছইন্না=হাসানিয়া<হাছন=হাসান 'Hasan,' [fioseinna] হোছেইন্না=হোছেনিয়া<হোছেন হোসেন='Hosain,' [aunna] আউন্না=আনু (? আঞ্চু) 'anu', [khitta] খিত্তা=খিতিয়া<ক্ষিতীশ 'Kshitīśa,' [bir(h)inna] বি'ফ(হি)ন্না=বিপিনিয়া <বিপিন 'Bipin,' etc., etc. Contrast Cal. Col. forms, which would be বিপ্‌নে [bipne], খিতে [khite], হোস্‌নে [fioʃne], হাসানে [fiaʃane].

On the whole it can be safely held, however, that in a connected sentence or passage the initial word-stress prevails just as in the Standard Colloquial speech. We take an example at random which happens to be the LSI. Sandīp Specimen No. 3: ['fiuinso nio· | *'fiasɔinnar ba· ‖ *'tsau mia dze | 'koi ɾaɖaise ‖] হুইন্‌ছ নিঅ, হাসৈন্নার বা, চান্ মিয়া জে কই ফাড়াইছে?=শুনিয়াছ না ওহে হাসানিয়ার বাবা, চাঁদ-মিঞা যে কহিয়া পাঠাইয়াছে? 'Have you not heard, oh Hassan's father! what word Chand Mian has sent?' Another folk-song has a line: [na' ʤani kon | 'kalar ʃate ‖ 'fiortal baʤzaise ‖] না জানি কোন্ কালার সাথে হরতাল বাজাইছে =.....বাধাইয়াছে "I don't know with what Kālā (=lover, charmer, lit. Krishna the Black One) she has run into a scrape.' ('Hartal' the famous word has in this dialect acquired the sense of 'confusion,' 'intrigue,' 'scrape,' etc.).

§59. The dialect of Noakhali has never been used in literary composition. It is, however, a pertinent question whether this dialect *par excellence* of vowels, which has elided intervocal consonants to an astounding degree, and has thus

made itself considerably liquid (like Mahāraṣṭrī Prakrit of old) and at the same time has not developed many awkward Chittagongese traits (*e.g.*, the frequent double consonants of the Chittagongese that would act like too many breaks and cataracts in its even flow), is *in itself* poor in sound or rhythm. The writer is not born to it, and cannot perhaps be accused of 'patriotic bias' in the matter. It is, however, his impression that the dialect, specially when it comes from the polished Bhuluā Brahmans, though in their mouths a little more Sanskritic than usual, is a delight to hear, and is at least more delicate and sweeter than the Dacca tongue (which, incidentally, is the present writer's own dialect) and less grotesque and 'un-Bengali-like' than Chittagongese. No doubt the elision of non-initial consonants makes it more or less unintelligible to the speakers of the Standard colloquial, or Western Bengali; but it must be conceded, after one gets acquainted with the speech, that it is not bad—to the ear.

SPECIMENS,

§61. A few specimens of the dialect will bring out the whole phonetic system more clearly, and, hence, they are presented herewith with brief notes to introduce and elucidate the passages. Each passage is given first in the I.P.A. script, then in the Bengali character as much faithfully as allowed by the conditions; this is followed by the Standard Bengali equivalent, and finally is given a literal English translation.

SPECIMEN No. I.

The following passage is supposed to be a dialogue between a Mohammadan day-labourer and a young Hindu gentleman who on purpose speaks the *patois*. It represents speech of the town of Noakhali quite faithfully. The idea and the materials for this belong to my friend Sj. Anutosh Sen-Gupta, B.A., Asst. Master, Arun Chandra High School, Noakhali, but for the linguistic framework I should be held entirely responsible.

The man (No. 1.). 'bau, | ṭaun-Foler | 'maidde 'eiḍa ‖ ki· ʔɔĕʔ ‖
The gentleman (No. 2.). 'aid:za | 'naḍòg ase. ‖

(No. 1.) 'toi, | 'amra | 'tsaitam h(ғ)aittam nɔ'? ‖

(No. 2.) 'ғ(h)uisa ainsɔ ni ? ‖

(1) 'h(ғ)uisa tò nai | 'ba'u. ‖

(2) 'fieile | ғ(h)àitta nɔ. ‖

(1) 'h(ғ)uisa | 'konḍai h(ғ)ai(ŏ)um ? ‖ 'fiaindzer, okte | 'baillai | 'h(ғ)ɔt oisi— ‖ kono, | 'ʃoda(ŏ)ati 'loisi, ‖ 'h(ғ)an 'loisi, | 'tsail 'loisi, | 'bɔrbiillai 'kɔd 'loisi, | 'thamu(ũ) 'loisi. ‖ 'h(ғ)uisa to ar nai, | 'bau ? ‖

(2) ãi kirum ? ‖ 'ғ(h)uisa noile | ғ(h)aitta'nɔ, | 'baura ditò nɔ. ‖

(1) 'amne koile (ŏ)etò | 'fiamaito h(ғ)ari. ‖ toi, | 'amnereto bau | 'suiṭka deiksi. ‖ 'amne | 'kũodi-baur h(ғ)ut | '(h)ғirgɔlal nɔ'ni ? ‖ 'amne aŋgo | 'tsinen na-ari ‖ 'a:(h) fiare, | kɔtò 'gesi, | kɔto 'aisi ! ‖ 'doirgaŏ- aŋgo khail-ari. ‖ 'amnegòo bau | ki: 'bai gese— | ki: 'g'ɔr ! | ki: 'dɔlan ! ‖ 'toi, | amra 'ɛkkana | 'fiamai na, bau ? | 'ɔòne tsòli 'ai(e)um. ‖ kɛòn, bau ? ‖

(2) aitssa (aicʃa), 'buirga, 'dzɔo. ‖ toi, | 'aimɔntɔr | 'koitò ?òibò | 'ki. deikla. ‖

(1) 'koi(ŏ)um, 'bau | 'koi(ŏ)um. ‖

(He enters. After sometime, when he comes out.)

(2) 'ki deikla, 'buirga(æ) ? ‖

(1) 'deiklam | 'bau | 'maidde 'ki: roʃnai ! ‖ 'ki: bakka tsɛrag ! ‖ 'kursi fiɔ(g)ɔler 'h(ғ)ɔre | 'bau-fiɔ(g)ɔl | 'boi roise, ‖ urғe ki 'faŋka 'aie-dzaŏ ! ‖ sɔmne 'li:l h(ғ)ɔrda. ‖ 'ãi reni 'roisi ‖ 'atsɔmbite | baʃi 'hugoicʃe ar | 'h(ғ)ɔrda uḍi gese. ‖ 'ãi to 'atsanɔk ! ‖ sɔmne 'dei ki ki: 'mɔndzar ɛk 'h(ғ)ɔrda ! ‖ 'indzil ase, | 'bõṭ ase, | 'dza(fi)adz ase ‖ 'nondir kule | ki:| 'bakka 'tɛmala dɛlan ! ‖ ãi reni 'roisi, ‖ baʃi 'huirlò ar | 'h(ғ)ɔrda hiɛn | 'uḍi gel. ‖ 'tar bade | 'kono 'ғ(h)ola-fiɔ(g)ɔl | 'ʃadzi ai | ki: 'git gailò, | 'ғ(h)ɔri-hɔ(g)ɔler nain | 'naitslò, ‖ kono 'aʃɔl ғ(h)ɔri nɔ, | 'ʃadzi aisil-ari. ‖ 'tar bade | 'aar baʃi 'hùgoicʃe ar | ғɔrda 'uḍi gese. ‖ 'dɛi | 'bau-fiɔ(g)ɔl | 'ʃadzi ai | 'kitssa koilo. | 'dzuddɔ koillo. ‖ 'baʃi huare ar | ғɔrda uḍi dzaŏ. | ar 'fietenra | 'kitssa kɔŏ. ‖

(2) toi 'buirga(æ) | 'aʃɔl deikla ki ? ‖

(1) h(ғ)ɔrda | 'uḍe (ŏ)al'lame | h(ғ)ɔrda | 'uḍe(ŏ) al'lame ‖ 'aʃɔl dɛoner 'fiiɛn ‖

(2) 'ka: ? | 'git fiuinla na ? ‖

(1) 'aŋgo-ton kono | 'dzuit d'ɔre nɔ. ‖ 'bau, | 'fiasa kɔta 'kòito ki | 'fieidinna dzen | 'dzatra ?ɔil, | ukil 'binɔd baur bait, | 'rɛbɔtir dɔler, | 'aŋgo ton | 'fiiene b'ala laigze. ‖

(2) 'ka: ? ‖

(1) 'bau | 'dzum laigdzil 'fiiene ‖ 'amnego ?indugo 'kɔta ari | 'amra kisu 'buʃʃi nɔ: ‖ 'too bau | 'dzum laigdzil 'fiiene ‖ 'fulɔiʃ fiɔ(g)ɔler lɔe | 'iʃkuilla ғ(h)ola-fiɔ(g)ɔler | ki: 'tsura laigdzil ! ‖ 'baura tsillai, | andɔr-bair

'maidde। 'mai-(h)olara 'kandi! ॥ 'amra kono 'mati no. ॥ too, 'dzum laigdzil 'fiene. ॥ 'iene-to kool। 'r(h)orda। 'uḍe-(ŏ)'allame, । 'uḍe-(ŏ)'allame। 'eie; ॥ too। 'mainne iene। 'killai 'tša-h(r)uisa di। 'aie, । ãi 'taddzob! ॥

Noakhali Dialect.

(1) বাউ, টাউন ফলের মাইদ্দে এইডা কি অয় ?

(2) আইজ্জা নাডক আছে।

(1) তই, আমরা চাইতাম হ(ফ)াইত্তাম ন' ?

(2) ফু(হু)ইছা আইন্‌ছ নি ?

(1) হু(ফু)ইছা ত' নাই, বাউ।

(2) হেইলে ফাইত্তা ন'।

(1) হুইছা কোন্‌ডাই ফাইয়ুম্‌ ? হাইনজের ওক্তে বাইল্লাই হ(ফ)থ লইছি, —কোনো সদা(হা)-আতি লইছি, হ(ফ)ান লইছি, চাইল লইছি, বর বিইল্লাই কদ লইছি, থাউঁ(মু) লইছি,—হুইছাত' আর নাই, বাউ।

(2) আঁই কিরুম ? ফু(হু)ইছা নইলে ফাইত্তা ন', বাউরা দিত' ন'।

(1) আম্‌নে কইলেত' হামাইত' হারি।—আমনেরেত, বাউ, ছুইট্‌কা দেইখছি, আম্‌নে কুঁওদি বাউর হুৎ ফিরগলাল ন'নি ? আম্‌নে আঙ্গো চিনেন না আরি। আঃহারে! কত' গেছি, কত' আইছি। দইর্‌গায়ে আঙ্গো খাইল্‌-আরি। আম্‌নে-গোও, বাউ, কি বাই গেছে! কি ঘর! কি দেলান!—তই, আমরা এক্কানা হামাই না, বাউ ? অওনে চলি আইয়ুম। কেওঁন, বাউ ?

(2) আইচ্ছা, বুইরগা জও। তই, আই মন্তর কইতে অইব, কি দেইকলা।

(1) কইয়ুম, বাউ, কইয়ুম।

(He enters. After he returns.)

(2) কি দেইক্‌লা, বুইরগা ?

(1) দেইকলাম, বাউ, মাইদ্দে কি রোশনাই! কি বাক্কা চেরাগ! কুর্‌ছি হগলের ফরে বাউ-হগল বই রইছে, উরফে কি ফাক্কা আইয়ে জায়! ছমনে লীল ফর্দ্দা। আঁই রেনি রইছি, আচম্বিতে বাশি হুগইচ্ছে, আর ফর্দ্দা ॥ উডি গেছে! আঁইত আচানক! ছমনে দেই কি, কি মন্‌জার এক ফর্দ্দা! ইন্‌জিল আছে, বোঁট আছে, জায়া(হা)জ আছে, নন্দির কুলে কি বাক্কা তেমালা দেলান! আঁই রেনি রইছি, বাশি হুঅইরল'·আর ফর্দ্দা হিয়েন উডি গেল্‌। তার বাদে কোনো ফোলা-

হগল্ সাজি আই কি গীত গাইল', ফরি-হগলের নাইন্ নাইচ্ল' ;—কোনো আসল ফরি ন', সাজি আইছিল্-আরি। তার বাদে আ-আর বাশি হুগইচ্ছে, আর ফর্দ্দা উডি গেছে। দেই, বাউ-হগল সাজি আই কিচ্ছা কইল' জুদ্ধ কইল্ল'। বাসি হুআরে আর ফর্দ্দা উডি জায়, আর হেতেনরা কিচ্ছা কয়।

(2) তই, বুইর্গা, আসল দেইক্লা কি ?

(1) ফর্দ্দা উডে-য়া-ল্লামে, ফর্দ্দা উডে-য়া-ল্লামে—আসল দেওনের হিয়েন্।

(2) কা ? গীত হুইন্লা না ?

(1) আঙ্গো-ত'ন কোনো জুইৎ ধরে ন'। বাউ, হাছা কতা কইত' কি, হেইদিন্না জেন জাত্রা অইল্, উকিল বিনদ বাউর বাইৎ, রেবতীর দলের, আঙ্গো ত'ন হিয়েন্-এ ভালা লাইগ্জে।

(2) কা ?

(1) বাউ, জুম্ লাইগ্জিল হিয়েনে। আমনেগো ইন্দুগো কতা-আরি,—আমরা কিছু বুঝি ন, ত-ও, বাউ, জুম লাইগ্জিল হিয়েনে। ফুলইশ হগলের ল-এ ইস্কুইল্যা ফোলা-হগলের কি চুরা লাইগ্জিল। বাউরা চিল্লাই! আন্দর বাইর মধ্যে মাই (আ)-ওলারা কান্দি। আমরা কোনো মাতি ন'। ত-ও জুম্ লাইগ্জিল হিয়েনে। ইয়েনে ত' কেওল ফর্দ্দা উডে-য়া-ল্লামে, উডে-য়া-ল্লামে, এই-এ। তও মাইন্নে ইয়েনে কিল্লাই টেঁআ-হুইছা দি আই-এ,—আঁই তাইজ্জব।

Standard Bengali.

(No. 1.) বাবু, টাউনহলের মধ্যে এইটা কি হয় (=হইতেছে) ?

(No. 2.) আজকে নাটক আছে।

(No. 1.) তবে আমরা চাইতে(=দেখিতে) পারিব না ?

(No 2.) পয়সা আনিয়াছ কি ?

(No. 1.) পয়সা তো নাই, বাবু।

(No. 2.) তাহা হইলে পারিবে না।

(No. 1.) পয়সা কোথায় পাইব ? সন্ধ্যার সময় বাড়ীর উদ্দেশ্যে (লাই= লাগিয়া=উদ্দেশ্যে) পথ ধরিয়াছি (=চলিয়াছি), সওদা-পত্র লইয়াছি, পান লইয়াছি, চাউল লইয়াছি, বড় বিবির জন্য কদ (খয়ের) লইয়াছি, তামাক লইয়াছি। পয়সা ত' আর নাই, বাবু।

(No. 2.) আমি কি করিব? পয়সা না হইলে পারিবে না; বাবুরা দিবে না।

(No. 1.) আপনি কহিলেই ত ঢুকিতে পারি।—তা, আপনাকে ত, বাবু, ছেলেমানুষ (=ছোট) দেখিয়াছি। আপনি কুমুদিনী বাবুর পুত্র প্রিয়লাল নন্? আপনি আমাদের চিনেন না বটে ('আরি=আরকি=বটে)। আহা রে! কত গিয়াছি! কত আসিয়াছি! দরিয়ায় আমাদের সর্ব্বনাশ করিল আর কি। আপনাদেরও বাবু কি বাড়ী গিয়াছে! কি ঘর! কি দালান!—তা আমরা একবার ঢুকি না? এখনই চলিয়া আসিব। কেমন বাবু?

(No. 2.) আচ্ছা, বুড়া, যাও। তবে আসিয়া কিন্তু কহিতে হইবে কি দেখিলে।

(No. 1.) কহিব, বাবু, কহিব।

(He enters. After he returns.)

(No. 2.) কি দেখিলে, বুড়া?

(No. 1.) দেখিলাম, বাবু, মধ্যে কি রোশ্‌নাই! কি সুন্দর (বাঙ্কা? <বাঁকা<বঙ্কিম) বাতি। চেয়ারগুলির উপরে বাবুরা বসিয়া রহিয়াছেন—উপরে কি পাখা আসে-যায়। সামনে নীল পর্দ্দা। আমি তাকাইয়া (রেনি=তাকাইয়া) রহিয়াছি, আচম্বিতে বাঁশী শব্দ করিয়াছে (=ফুঁ দিয়াছে=ফুৎ করিয়াছে=ফুগইচ্চে), আর পর্দ্দা উঠিয়া গিয়াছে! আমি ত চমৎকৃত! সামনে দেখি কি, কী মজার এক পর্দ্দা। ইঞ্জিন আছে, বোট (নৌকা=Boat) আছে, জাহাজ আছে, নদীর কূলে কি সুন্দর তিনতলা দালান! আমি তাকাইয়া রহিয়াছি, বাঁশী শব্দ করিল, আর পর্দ্দা সেখানে উঠিয়া গেল। তার পরে ছোক্‌রারা সাজিয়া আসিয়া কি গীত গাহিল, পরীদের ন্যায় নাচিল,—কিন্তু আসল পরী নয়, সাজিয়া আসিয়াছিল মাত্র। তারপরে আবার বাঁশী শব্দ করিয়াছে, আর পর্দ্দা উঠিয়া গিয়াছে। দেখি, বাবুরা সাজিয়া আসিয়া কথা কহিল, যুদ্ধ করিল। তা বাঁশী শব্দ করে আর পর্দ্দা উঠিয়া যায়, আর তাঁহারা কথা কহেন।

(No. 2.) তা, বুড়া, আসল দেখিলে কি?

(No. 1.) পর্দ্দা উঠে আর নামে, পর্দ্দা উঠে আর নামে, আসল দেখিবার ইহাই।

(No. 2.) কেন? গান শুনিলে না?

(No. 1.) আমাদের নিকট যেন সুবিধার লাগিল না। বাবু, সাঁচ্চা কথা কহিতে কি,—সেইদিন যে যাত্রা হইল উকীল বিনোদ বাবুর বাড়ীতে রেবতীর দলের, আমাদের নিকট সেইখানেই ভালো লাগিয়াছে।

(No. 2.) কেন?

(No. 1.) বাবু আমোদ (জুম্ < ? ধূম cf. ধূমধাম) পাইয়াছিলাম সেখানেই। আপনাদের হিন্দুদের কথা বটে—আমরা কিছু বুঝি নাই। তবুও, বাবু আমোদ সেখানেই পাইয়াছিলাম (or হইয়াছিল)। পুলীশদের সঙ্গে ইস্কুলের ছেলেদের কি মারামারি লাগিয়াছিল—বাবুরা চীৎকার করিয়া (=করিয়াছিল), অন্দরবাটীর মধ্যে মেয়েরা কান্দিয়া = (কান্দিয়াছিল)! আমরা কিন্তু শব্দ (গোলমাল) করি নাই। তবুও, আমোদ সেখানেই হইয়াছিল। এইখানে কেবল পর্দ্দা উঠে আর নামে, উঠে আর নামে,—এইই। তবুও মানুষে টাকা পয়সা দিয়া কি জন্য এখানে আসে—আমি অবাক্ হই।

English.

"(No. 1.) Sir, what is this going on inside the Town Hall?

(No. 2.) There is a dramatic performance this evening.

(No. 1.) Then, shall we not be allowed to see it?

(No. 2.) Have you brought money (*paisā* = pice = money)?

(No. 1.) We have no money, Sir.

(No. 2.) Then, you cannot.

(No 1.) Where shall I get money from? I have just taken the way for home this eventide, taken the things I bought, taken the betel leaves, taken rice, taken catechu for the senior wife, and I have taken also the tobacco-mixtures (with me). There is no pice with me any more.

(No. 2.) What can I do? You cannot (see) without pice, —the authorities won't allow you.

(No. 1). If you allow, we can enter. Ah! Sir, I saw you a mere lad. Are you not Kumudini Babu's son Priyalal? You of course do not know us. Ah! How often have I not been to yours (lit. gone to your house and come back from that). No doubt, Sir, the river has ruined us. What a home Sir, have you not also lost! What houses! And

what a building !—Then, why not let us get in for once ? We shall come back just this moment. What do you say, Sir ?

(No. 2.) Well, old man, you may go. But when you come out, you must say what you see there.

(No. 1.) I shall say, Sir, I shall say.

(*He enters. After he returns.*)

(No. 2.) What did you see, old man ?

(No. 1.) What an illumination I saw inside ! What beautiful lamps ! On the chairs remained sitting the gentry, —upwards what a fan was coming and going (when pulled) ! In front a blue curtain. I kept looking at—suddenly the whistle blew, and the curtain was up. I was astonished. Before me I saw what a beautiful scene (lit. curtain). There was engine, there were boats, there were steamers,—there was on the bank of the river what a fine three-storied building ! I kept looking at—the whistle blew out, and that scene also went up. After that, boys (*chokras*) coming dressed-up sang what a beautiful song, danced like the fairies—they were not real fairies, however,—they were dressed up. After that, the whistle blew out again. I saw gentlemen dressed up entering declaimed some stories, and fought. Then, the whistle blew out, and the curtain went up and they declaimed (again).

(No. 2.) But, old man, what was the real thing worth seeing ?

(No. 1.) The curtain went up and down, the curtain went up and down :—This is the real thing worth seeing.

(No. 2.) Why ? Did you not listen to the songs ?

(No. 1.) To us, these had no interest (or appeal). Sir, to tell you the truth, the *jātrā*-performance of Rebati's party performed the other day at the house of Binod Babu, the pleader, had more interest for us there.

(No. 2.) Why ?

(No. 1.) Sir, There we felt a real enthusiasm. The stories were indeed of you Hindus,—we could not understand. Still there we felt a real enthusiasm. What a fight was there between the police and the school-boys! The gentlemen shouted! In the *zenana* the ladies cried! We of course kept quiet. Still, we felt there the real enthusiasm. Here, only the curtain goes up and down, goes up and down —that is all. Why do the people pay money (lit. pices and rupees) to come here—I wonder!"

The next two specimens (No. 2 and No. 3) are the dialectical versions of the first three paras of Rabindra Nath Tagore's 'Kābulīwālā.' To guard against the temptation to which the educated speakers of the dialect so often fall a prey, only the English version of the story from the 'Stories from Tagore' (Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1924) was set before them for the purpose. The two specimens represent the western and eastern parts of the district, and it is apparent from these that the difference between the two is after all slight. After the phonetic transcript and the Bengali representations of each of the specimens follow Tagore's own Bengali original and the English version of that from the 'Stories from Tagore,' which are not, therefore, tagged after each of the specimens, as that would be unnecessary. The original Bengali and the English version differ to some extent, and the difference is noted within brackets in the Bengali.

Specimen No. 2.

The credit of the version belongs to a student of the highest class of Khilpara H. E. School,—one of the flourishing villages of the west,—of the district and was kindly supplied to me by my friend Sj. Yagneswar Datta, B.T., a teacher of the school. It is faithful to the dialect of the locality.

ã:r | 'hãs bɔsoirga soḍɔ mai(ĕ)a | 'mini | 'ɾɛtsal na ɾiḍi | 'thaikto ɾare na ‖ 'ɦãtsa | 'ã:r ţai lage | 'iga dzɔnmer moidd'e | 'tsup kòri sk

'ɖɔnɖò | 'fiuda-fiuda 'kaɖaĕ nɔ. ‖ fiigar 'ma | 'iar-lai | ғɔraie 'tɛkto ᵊoi | 'd'ɔmkai | fiigar 'muk | 'bɔndɔ kòri ditò tsaĕ ; ‖ 'kintu | 'ãi fiia ғari na. ‖ 'mini tsup kori 'thaikle | 'ã:r-ţai | ɛmɔn 'alga-alga lage dzen, | ãi 'ɔnɔkkhɔn | 'fieiɖa 'ʃɔiɟʃʒ'ɔ koittam ғari na. ‖ 'fiiar-lai | 'fiigar ar' ă:r kɔta | 'khub 'dzòmi uɖe.‖

'fiei din 'bɛainna | 'ãi fiɔbe ār | 'uғoinnaʃer | 'ʃɔtrɔ oidd'aĕer | 'moidd'e aisi ;‖ 'fiemne-e | ār 'miniga | 'aste-aste | ār 'g'ɔrer moidd'e 'fiăndai | ār 'ᵊater uғre 'ᵊat rai | 'kɔitò laiglò,‖ 'baova | 'ramdɔ(ŏ)al 'daroan | 'kaure 'koua kɔĕ. ‖' fiɛte 'kisu dzane na, ‖ 'kɛmɔn o ? ‖

'ãi fiɔbe fiigare | 'buʃʒai(ĕ)um | ɛi 'ғirtimite | 'fiɔgɔl kɔta | 'ɛk-rɔɔm nɔ, ‖ ĭar age-e | fiiga 'ɔnnɔ arek kɔta | 'ʃuru kori dil ; ‖ 'baba | 'amner-ţai 'kɛrɔm lage-o ? ‖' b'ola kɔĕ | 'meg'er modd'e | 'eigga 'ᵊati ase ‖ 'higa bole | 'sorta di | 'dzɔ:l sĭ̯i halaĕ, | ar | 'iar-lai bole | 'biʃţi 'ɔe ‖

আঁর ফাঁচ বছইরগা ছোড মাইয়া মিনি ফেচাল না ফিডি থাইকতো ফারে না। হাঁচা, আঁর টাই লাগে ইগা জন্মের মধ্যে চুপ করি হুদা-হুদা কাডায় ন। হিগার মা ইআর লাই ফরাইএ তেক্ত অই ধম্‌কাই হিগার মুক বন্দ করি দিতো চায়, কিন্তু আঁই হিআ ফারি না। মিনি চুপ করি থাইক্‌লে আঁর টাই এমন আল্‌গা-আল্‌গা লাগে জেন, আঁই অনক্‌খন হেইডা সইজ্জ কইতাম ফারি না। হিআরলাই হিগার আর আঁর কতা খুব জমি উডে।

হেইদিন বেআইন্না আঁই হবে আঁর উফৈন্নাসের সত্র ঐদ্দায়ের মইদ্দে আইছি, হেমনে-এ আঁর মিনি গা আস্তে আস্তে আঁর ঘরের মইদ্দে হাঁন্দাই আঁর 'আতের উফরে 'অ'ত রাই কৈতো লাইগলো, "বাবা, রামদয়াল দারোয়ান্ কাউয়ারে কউয়া কয়। হেতে কিছু জানে না—কেমন—ও ?"

আঁই হবে হিগারে বুজাইয়ুম্, এই ফির্ত্তিমিতে হগল কথা একর'ম ন, ইআর আগে-এ হিগা অন্ন আরেক কতা শুরু করি দিল, "বাবা, আমনেরটাই কের'ম লাগে ও ? ভোলা কয় মেগের মইদ্দে এগ্‌গা 'আতী আছে। হিগা বোলে ছোরতা দি জল ছিঁডি হালায়, আর ইআরল্লাই বিষ্টি অয়।"

Specimen No. 3.

The present specimen is a version of specimen No. 2 by a student of the Mangalkāndi H. E. School (P. O. Kāzirhāţ), a village of the east, and was kindly supplied to me by my friend Sj. Suresh Chakravarti, B.A., Headmaster of the School, himself an enthusiastic

student of the dialects. The version, however, is not completely faithful to the patois and approaches nearer to the Standard Bengali forms than the preceding specimen (No. 2), perhaps because the student was imbued with the idea that his dialect is not 'genteel.' Thus, for example, 'novel'...Standard Bengali উপন্যাস is first given as উফন্নাশ and then turned into উফন্যাশ. The former, however, is more natural in the dialect, and it is adhered to here. Except for such slight changes and orthographic modifications in the Dialectal Bengali versions, the specimen is presented here as supplied to me.

ã:r। 'rãs bɔtsɔri(ŏ)a sɔḍɔ mai(ŏ)a। 'mini। 'kɔta na koi। 'mɔḍɔ-ɔ 'thaikto rare na.॥ 'ãr kase lage,। 'fieti fiara dzibɔne। ɛk-'mufiuttɔ-o। 'tsup kori thaĕ nɔ.। 'fietir ma। 'ɔnek ʃɔmɔĕ। 'tekto ʔoi। 'fietire 'kɔta kòitò ditò nɔ.॥ 'kintu। 'ãi erum rari na.॥ 'karɔn,। 'mini tsup kori thaikle। dze 'abɔsta 'ɔe। 'ãi fiia 'fioitam rari na.॥ 'fiiar-llai। 'fietir lɔge 'kɔta-batta 'kòito। ãr' b'ala lage.॥

'beainna। ãr 'urɔinnaʃer। 'ʃɔtrɔ pɔritsɔde। dzɔon 'ʔat disi 'tɔɔn-e mini ai। ãr 'ʔater urre 'ʔat rai। 'koilo,॥ 'bava। 'ramdɔ(e)al 'darvan। 'kauare 'koua kɔĕ.॥ 'fiete 'kissu dzane na॥ 'dzane ni?॥

'ãi fietire। ei 'pirthimir। ɛk 'b'aʃar 'fiɔŋge। ar-ek 'b'aʃar 'bɛʃkɔm। b'uʃʃaɔner age-i। 'fieti ar-ek kɔtaĕ। 'tsoli ail:॥ 'bava-go,। 'b'olae kɔĕ। 'ʔatı(ŏ)e 'ãaʃɔ। 'sorta di dzɔl sîḍi de(ŏ);॥ 'fii(ŏ)ellai। 'biʃṭi ʔɔĕ.॥

আঁর ফাঁচ বচরিয়া ছোড মাইয়া মিনি কথা না কই মোড' থাইকত' ফারে না। আঁর কাছে লাগে, হেতি হারা জীবনে এক মুহুত্ত-ও চুপ করি থায় ন'। হেতির মা অনেক সময় তেক্ত 'অই হেতিরে কতা কইতে দিত' ন'। কিন্তু আঁই এরম ফারি না। কারণ, মিনি চুপ করি থাইক্‌লে যে আবস্থা 'অয়, আঁই হিয়া হইতাম ফারি না। হিয়ের লাই হেতির লগে কথাবাত্তা কইত' আঁর ভালা লাগে।

বেআইন্না আঁর উফৈন্নাশের সৎর পরিচ্ছদে জঅন 'আত দিছি, তঅন-এ মিনি আই আঁর 'আতের উফরে 'আত রাই কইল', "বাবা, রামদয়াল দারবান কাউয়ারে কৌয়া কয়। হেতে কিচ্ছু জানে না। জানে নি?"

আঁই হেতিরে এই পিথিমীর এক ভাষার হঙ্গে আর এক ভাষার বেশকম বুজাঅনের আগেই হেতি আর এক কথায় চলি আইল, "বাবা গো, ভোলায় কয় 'আতিয়ে আঁআশ' ছোরতা দি জল ছিঁড়ি দে'—হিয়েল্লাই বিষ্টি 'অয়।"

Standard Bengali Original:

আমার পাঁচ বছরের ছোট মেয়ে মিনি এক দণ্ড কথা না কহিয়া থাকিতে পারে না। আমার মনে হয় পৃথিবীতে জন্ম গ্রহণ করিয়া.....সে...এক

মুহূর্ত্ত মৌনভাবে নষ্ট করে না। তাহার মা অনেক সময় ধমক দিয়া তাহার মুখ বন্ধ করিয়া দেয়, কিন্তু আমি তাহা পারি না। মিনি চুপ করিয়া থাকিলে এমনি অস্বাভাবিক হয় যে সে আমার বেশীক্ষণ সহ্য হয় না। এই জন্য আমার সঙ্গে তাহার কথোপকথনটা কিছু উৎসাহের সহিত চলে।

সকাল বেলায় আমার নভেলের সপ্তদশ পরিচ্ছদে হাত দিয়াছি এমন সময় মিনি চুপে চুপে আসিয়াই আমার হাতে হাত রাখিয়া আরম্ভ করিয়া দিল, "বাবা, রামদয়াল দরোয়ান্ কাক্‌কে কৌয়া ব'ল্‌ছিল। সে কিছুই জানে না, না?"

আমি পৃথিবীতে ভাষার বিভিন্নতা সম্বন্ধে তাহাকে জ্ঞানদান করিতে প্রবৃত্ত হইবার পূর্ব্বেই সে দ্বিতীয় প্রসঙ্গে উপনীত হইল, "দেখ বাবা, ভোলা বল্‌ছিল, আকাশে হাতি শুঁড় দিয়ে জল ফেলে, তাই বৃষ্টি হয়।"

English Version (Stories from Tagore,' p. 1).

My five year old daughter Mini cannot live without chattering. I really believe that in all her life she has not wasted a minute in silence. Her mother is often vexed at this, and would like to stop her prattle, but I would not. For Mini to be quiet is unnatural, and I cannot bear it long. And so my own talk with her is always lively.

One morning, for instance, when I was in the midst of the seventeenth chapter of my new novel, my little Mini stole into the room and putting her hand into mine, said, "Ramdayal, the doorkeeper, calls a crow a krow. He does not know anything, does he?"

Before I could explain to her the difference between one language and another in this world, she had embarked on the full tide of another subject: "What do you think, father? Bhola says there is an elephant in the clouds, blowing water out of his trunk, and that is why it rains!"

India in Purāṇic Cosmography

(THE NOMENCLATURE OF INDIA AND THE PLACE OF THE COUNTRY IN THE COSMIC SYSTEM OF THE HINDUS)

BY

HEMCHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D.

Early nomenclature of India.

India surrounded on three sides by the great ocean and bounded on the fourth side by the most stupendous mountain system of the world which 'stretches along on its north like the string of a bow' (kārmukasya yathā guṇaḥ)[1] is undoubtedly a geographical unit. But we have no comprehensive designation for the country in the earliest literature, whether Indian or foreign. Neither *Sapta Sindhavaḥ*, the name applied to their homeland by the Vedic Aryans, nor Āryāvarta, the designation of Aryandom in the days of Bodhāyana and Manu, meant the whole of the Indian sub-continent; and even the terms 'Hidus'[2] and 'India'[3] when used by Darius and Herodotus did not probably denote at first any territory beyond the Indus valley. The reason is not far to seek. The Indian and foreign peoples to whom we are indebted for the earliest notices of Hindusthān, were acquainted only with one corner of this vast sub-continent, *viz.*, the north-west region watered by the Indus and the upper Ganges. It is only in or about the fourth century B. C. that we have the first indubitable proof—in the pages of Kātyāyana[4] and Megasthenes[5]—of the

[1] Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 57, 59. Pargiter's translation, p 347.

[2] Ancient Persian Lexicon and the texts of the Achæmenidan Inscriptions by H. C. Tolman.

[3] Herodotus, Book III, Ch. 97-98.

[4] Vārttika to Pāṇini, iv, 1, 168 (Pāṇḍor ḍyaṇ).

[5] Fragments LI, LVI. B, LVIII.

exploration of the whole country down to the Pāṇḍyan realm in the extreme south.[1] And it is precisely about this period that we have the first clear indication of the use of a comprehensive term for the great territory stretching from the Himavat to the sea. That term is Jambudvīpa.

Jambudvīpa—its denotation.

As is wellknown, Jambudvīpa is mentioned in one of the minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka[2] as the designation of the extensive region throughout which the *Pakama* (Parākrama) of the Maurya Emperor made itself felt. The term is used to denote the dominions of Aśoka in the seventh century A. D., by I-tsing[3] who clearly distinguishes it from China[4] and mentions Fu-nan or Poh-nan (Kuo) as lying on its south corner.[5] But already in the period of the Epics and the Purāṇas Jambudvīpa has acquired a wider denotation. Though still distinguished from Śākadvīpa—the land of the *Maga dvijas* who worship the sun-god[6]—it is regarded as practically identical with *Kshiti* (the earth),

[1] There are no doubt references to the Pāṇḍya country in the epics. But these cannot be dated even approximately.

[2] Y (i)-imāya kālāya Jaṁbudipasi amisā de ā husu te dāni m(i)s kaṭā. Pakamasi hi esa phale.

[3] I-tsing's Record of the Buddhist Religion, trans. by Takakusu, p. 14.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 136.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 12-13. Fu-nan corresponds to Siam and part of Cambodia (Takakusu).

[6] Magā Magadhamānasyā Mandagāścha dvijātayaḥ.
yajanti Sūryarūpantu Śākaḥ kshīrābdhinā vṛitaḥ (Agni P., 119. 21).
Magā Brāhmaṇa-bhūyishṭhā Māgadhāḥ Kshatriyāstu te
Vaiśyāstu Mānasāsteshāṁ Śūdrā jñeyāstu Mandagāḥ
Śākadvīpe sthitair Vishṇuḥ Sūrya-rūpa-dharo Hariḥ
yathoktairijyate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ (Brahma P., XX. 71f.).

Cf. Also Kūrma Purāṇa, I. 48. 36-37; Mbh., VI. 11. 8-38. In the epic, however, Śākadvīpa seems to be regarded as a centre of Śaivism (pūjyate tatra Śaṅkaraḥ, VI., 11. 28).

The Sun-worshipping Maga Brāhmaṇas are doubtless the Magi of Irāṇ (Bhandarkar, Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, p. 153). In the Śaṅkara-worshipping inhabitants of Śākadvīpa we may perhaps find a reference to Scythic Kings like Kadphises II and Vāsudeva I. Note also the presence of the Pāśupatas in "Lang-ka-lo" which was subject to Persia (Watters, II. 257). Vidyābhūshaṇa identifies Śākadvīpa with Sogdiana (JASB, 1902, Part I, p. 154).

and is described as being "low on the south and north, and highly elevated in the middle" (dakshiṇottarato nimnā madhye tuṅgāyatā Kshitiḥ).[1] Among its divisions we find mention of Ketumāla, the valley of the Vaṅkshu[2] (Oxus), Ilāvṛita, the district round Meru[3] which the Mahābhārata places near the sandy desert beyond the Himālayas,[4] and Uttara-Kuru, another trans-Himālayan tract[5] which has become quite mythical in the Purāṇic period. The Island of Java (Yava) is also included within its limits.[6]

The system of Dvīpas and Varshas.

As the denotation of Jambudvīpa becomes wider need is felt for a new term to mean the country south of the Himavat. Such a term is Bhāratavarsha which, in the opinion of Lüders, is mentioned as early as the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga.[7] Jambudvīpa, however, still continues to be used in its narrower sense as a synonym of Bhāratavarsha.[8] The world is now conceived of as comprising seven concentric island continents (Saptadvīpā Vasumatī[9]) separated by encircling seas[10] which 'increased

[1] Mārkaṇḍeya P., Ch. 54. 12 f.

[2] *Ibid*, Ch. 54. 8-14; 56. 13f.; 59. 12-17. Vaṅkshu is often corrupted into Chakshu, Raṅkshu, Sva-rakshu, etc. See Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 265f.

[3] Madhye tv-llāvṛito yastu Mahāmeroḥ samantataḥ (Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Ch. 35. 22).

[4] Mbh., XVII. 2. 1-2,

tataste niyatātmāna Udichîṁ diśamāsthitāḥ
dadṛiśur yogayuktāścha Himavantam mahāgirim
taṁ chāpyatikramantaste dadṛiśur bālukārṇavam
avaikshanta mahāśailaṁ Meruṁ śikhariṇāṁ varam.

[5] Pareṇa Himavantam (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 14; Vedic Index).

[6] Brahmāṇḍa (52.14-19).

[7] Lüders, List of Brāhmî Inscriptions, No. 1345.

[8] *Cf.* Mbh., VI. 6. 13 : tasya pārśveshvamî dvīpāśchatvāraḥ saṁsthitā vibho
Bhadrāśvaḥ Ketumālaścha Jambudvîpaścha Bhārata.

Cf. also Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, 37. 27-46 : 43. 32.

[9] Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 9.

Cf. Sapta-dvîpavatî Mahî (Brahmāṇḍa 37. 13). The number is sometimes raised to nine (sasāgarā navadvīpā dattā bhavati Medinî, Padma, Svarga, VII. 26) or reduced to four (Mbh., VI. 6. 13).

[10] And apparently floating on them—Jalopari mahî yātā naurivāste sarijjale (Garuda, 54. 4).

double and double compared with each preceding one' (dviguṇair dviguṇair vriddhyā sarvataḥ pariveshṭitāḥ).[1] These insular continents ("dry collars" of Alberuni) are further divided into smaller areas (Khaṇḍakān)[2] called *Varshas*,[3] Bhārata being the name of the southernmost *Varsha*[4] of the innermost continent, Jambudvīpa.

As pointed out by Alberuni[5] and Abul Fazl[6] there is considerable diversity in the order of the *Dvīpas* and *Varshas* and their extent and other particulars. There is, however, agreement in regard to the first and seventh Dvīpas which are invariably named Jambu and Pushkara[7] respectively. The names of the *Dvīpas* and seas as given in the Agni and most of the other Purāṇas are mentioned below :—

> Jambu-Plakshāhvayau dvīpau Śālmaliśchāparo mahān
> Kuśaḥ Krauñchastathā Śākaḥ Pushkaraścheti saptamaḥ
> ete dvīpāḥ samudraistu sapta saptabhirāvṛitāḥ
> lavaṇekshu-surā-sarpir-dadhi-dugdha-jalaiḥ samam.[8]

Alberuni[9] seems to prefer the evidence of the *Matsya Purāṇa* which, along with the *Padma*, mentions the names in the following order :—Jambu, Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñcha,

[1] Mārk. P., Ch. 54.7 ; Alberuni, 1. 233, *cf.* the Buddhist teaching about the world and the system of which it forms a constituent as summarised by Hiuen Tsang (Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 31-36) : "In the ocean, resting on a gold disk is the mount Sumeru. Around the Sumeru are seven mountains and *seven seas*. Outside the seven gold mountains is the salt sea. In the sea there are four islands, *viz.*, Kuru, Godāna, Videha and Jambu."

[2] For Khaṇḍakān see Garuḍa Purāṇa, Ch. 54. 12.

[3] Varsha is thus defined in the Brahmāṇḍa (53, 133—134)—

> ṛishayo nivasantyasmin prajā yasmāchchaturvidhāḥ,
> tasmād Varshamiti proktam prajānāṁ sukhadantu tat
> Ṛisha ityeva Ṛishayo vṛishaḥ śakti prabandhane.
> iti prabandhanāt siddhiṁ varshatvaṁ tena teshu tat.

[4] dakshiṇam varsham Himāhvam (Brahmāṇḍa ch. 33.44).

[5] Vol. I, p. 236.

[6] Ain-i-Akbari, III, 32 (trans. by Jarrett).

[7] dvīpā mayā proktā Jambudvīpādayo...Pushkarāntāḥ (Mark. P., 54. 5).

[8] Agni, 108, 1-2.

[9] Vol. I, p. 236.

Śālmali, Gomeda (in the place of Plaksha), and Pushkara.[1] Abul Fazl[2] regards the legends about the six outer continents as being beyond the limits of credibility. So he puts them aside and confines himself to a few particulars regarding Jambudvīpa. It may at once be conceded that the description of most of the seven *dvīpas* in the extant Purāṇas marks them out as things of fairyland,[3] comparable to the Isles of the Blessed or the Spanish El Dorado. The very conception of the earth as an aggregate of seven concentric islands surrounded by seas is pure mythology. It is, however, well to remember that the word *dvīpa* originally meant nothing more than a land between two sheets of water[4] (usually rivers), and that some of the Purāṇic dvīpas are obviously named after tribes, or connected with localities, which can be identified with more or less certainty. Śākadvīpa, for example, is obviously named after the Śakas and the description of its inhabitants as 'Maga-dvijas' who worship "*Sūrya-rūpa-dharo Hari*" clearly points to its identification with Śakasthāna or Seistan in Irān, the land of the Magi and of the Mihira cult.[5] Votaries of this cult migrated to India in large number probably in the Scythian period and constitute the Śākadvīpī community of the present day.[6] The name of the next dvīpa mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa, *viz.*, Kuśa, reminds us of the famous race which, according to Baron A. von Staël Holstein,[7] gave India the powerful

[1] For the enumeration of the dvīpas see Matsya, Ch. 122-123; Padma, Svarga-khaṇḍa, Ch. IV.

[2] Ain-i-Akbari, III. 29.

[3] *Cf.* Vishṇu Purāṇa, II. iv. 9-15, etc.

"nādhayo vyādhayo vāpi sarva-kāla-sukhaṁ hi tat."

"Plaksha-dvīpādishu Brahman Śākadvīpāntikeshu vai
pañchavarsha-sahasrāṇi janā jīvantyanāmayāḥ," etc.

[4] Dvirāpatvāt smṛito dvīpaḥ (Brahmāṇḍa 53. 140). *Cf.* Mahābhāshya, Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 131. *Cf.* also Śākaladvīpa mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II. 26. 5-6) which was clearly a tract between two rivers (the Rāvi and the Chenāb).

[5] *Cf.* Bhandarkar, Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, p. 153.

[6] *Cf.* Bhandarkar (Prof. D. R.)—Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population (Ind. Ant.), p. 11. Vidyābhūshaṇa, JASB, 1902, Part I, pp. 152-155.

[7] JRAS, Jan., 1914, pp. 79-88; Smith, Early History of India, 4th ed., p. 266n.

emperors of Kanishka's line. Plaksha which is placed next to Jambudvīpa by many Purāṇas[1] as well as the commentator of Patañjali,[2] has, as one of its streams, the river Kramu or Krumu[3] mentioned as early as the Rigveda,[4] and identified by scholars with the modern Kurram, a western tributary of the Indus. In one Purāṇic list we find Kubhā (the Kābul river) in place of Krumu.[5] These facts may point to some region immediately to the west of the Indus as the probable site of the 'Plaksha dvīpa' of the Purāṇas.[6] A Purāṇic passage quoted by Alberuṇi[7] places Pushkara between Chîna and Maṅgala (Mongolia?). Thus the account of the 'seven dvīpas' may have had originally a substratum of reality. But the extant texts bearing on the subject are so hopelessly corrupt that the kernel of truth is in most cases buried beyond reach underneath a vast mass of Utopian myths.[8] It is only in the account of Jambudvîpa that the poet has not altogether thrust out the geographer.[9]

Vidyābhūshaṇa (JASB, 1902, Part I, p. 151) compares the *Damin* Brāhmaṇas of Kuśadvīpa (Vishṇu Purāṇa, II. iv. 39) with the Damnai and other tribes inhabiting Serike (Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, ed. S. N. Majumdar, pp. 299, 305).

[1] *Cf.* Plaksha-dvīpa-parikrāntaṁ Jambudvîpaṁ nibodhata (Brahmāṇḍa, 34.40. *Cf.* also 50-4).

[2] Alberuni, Vol. I, p. 235. The Bhāshya on Patañjali's Yogasūtras is meant here. It is attributed to Vyāsa.

[3] Brahmāṇḍa, 53.19; Garuḍa, 56.4. 'Anutaptā Śikhi chaiva Vipāśā Tridivā Kramuḥ.'

[4] See Vedic Index.

[5] Kūrma Purāṇa, I, Ch. 48.7. 'Anutaptā Śikā chaiva Vipāpā Tridivā Kubhā.'

[6] Vidyābhūshaṇa is inclined to identify Plaksha-dvîpa with Ariana (JASB, 1902, Part I, p. 151).

[7] Ch. XXV, p. 261.

[8] Vishṇu, II, iv. 9-15 quoted above. Compare also the textual corruptions in the account of Śākadvîpa in Brahmāṇḍa, 53.76f, and Garuḍa, 56, 14-15; In Vishṇu, II. iv. 69f, Maga (=Magi) becomes Mṛiga! *Cf.* also the account of Pushkaradvîpa in Vishṇu, Book II, Ch. IV, 73-93, esp. "Bhojanam Pushkara-dvîpe tatra svayamupasthitam, shaḍrasaṁ bhuñjate vipra prajāḥ sarvāḥ sadaiva hi." This dvîpa is surrounded by the sea of स्वादूदक (sweet water), beyond which lies the golden earth (Kāñchanî bhūmi) which is sarva-jantu-vivarjitā. Behind it lies Lokāloka śaila, a mountain of the height of ten yojanas!!! Bhāskara in the Siddhānta Śiromaṇi "dismisses the system of dvîpas as Paurāṇiki kathā" (Seal, Vaishṇavism and Christianity, p. 48).

[9] Jambudvîpa is the continent inhabited by human beings, *Jambudvîpo narāśrayaḥ* (Brahmāṇḍa, 37.34).

The Varshas of Jambudvîpa.

Jambudvîpa—also called Sudarśanadvîpa—is said to derive its name "from a tree growing in it, the branches of which extend over a space of 100 Yojanas."[1] It is said to be shaped like a lotus with Meru as its karṇikā (pericarp) and the *Varshas* or *Mahādvīpas* Bhadrāśva, Bhārata, Ketumāla and Uttarakuru as its four petals.[2] Less poetical, but more important from the point of view of sober geography, is the description of Jambudvîpa as being 'low on the south and north, and highly elevated in the middle.'[3] The elevated region in the centre is styled Ilâvṛita or Meru Varsha, *i.e.*, the district round Meru.[4] To the north of this tract lie Ramyaka,[5] Hiraṇmaya[6] and

[1] For the derivation of the name see Alberuni, I. 251; Brahmāṇḍa, 37.28-34; 50.25-26; Matsya, 114.74-75.

Sudarśano nāma mahān Jambu-vṛikshaḥ sanātanaḥ
tasya nāmnā samākhyāto Jambudvîpo vanaspateḥ (Matsya). *cf.* Mbh., VI. 5.13-16; VI, 7.19-20.

There was also a river called Jambū nadī which takes the place of Suchakshu (Oxus) in a passage of the Mahābhārata (Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 5). Is Amu a corruption of Jambū?

[2] Jambudvīpaśchaturdala-kamalâkāraḥ—(Nilakaṇṭha's Commentary on Mbh., VI. 6.3-5).
tadevam pārthivam padmaṁ chatushpatram mayoditam
Bhadrāśva-Bhāratādyāni patrāṇyasya chaturdiśam (Mārk., 55, 20f).
Pṛithivîpadmaṁ Maru-parvata-karṇikam (Brahmāṇḍa, 35.41).
Mahādvīpāstu vikhyātāśchatvāraḥ patrasaṁsthitāḥ
Padma-karṇika-saṃsthāno Merurnāma mahābalaḥ (*ibid*, 50).
Chaturmahādvîpavatī seyamūrvī prakîrtitā (Brahmāṇḍa, 44.35).

The names of the "four mahādvīpas" are given in Ch 35, verses 60-61, and Ch. 44, verses 35-38, as Bhadrāśva, Bhārata, Ketumāla and Uttara-kuru. In Ch. 37, verses 27-46; Ch. 43.32 and Mbh., VI. 6.13, Jambudvīpa takes the place of Bhārata, while Buddhist authors replace Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla by Pūrva-videha and Apara-godāna respectively (Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 57; Watters, Yuan Chwang Vol. I, pp. 31-36). Jambudvîpa according to Buddhist writers is divided by four lords—the elephant-lord who rules the South (India), the lord of precious substances who rules the West (Rome?), the horse-lord who rules the North (Scythia?) and the man-lord who rules the East (China).

[3] Mark., 54.12f.

[4] Meruvarshaṁ mayā proktaṁ madhyamaṁ yad-Ilâvṛitam (Mārk. 60.7). Madhye tv-Ilâvṛito yastu Mahāmeroḥ samantataḥ (Brahmāṇḍa, 35.22).

[5] Also called Ramaṇaka (Matsya, 113.61; Mbh., VI. 8.2) and Nîlavarsha (Brahmāṇḍa, 34.46). The Garuḍa Purāṇa places it on the north-west of Meru (Ch. 55.3).

[6] Hiraṇmayaṁ namā yatra Hairaṇvatī nadî (Mbh., VI. 8.5), also called Śvetavarsha (Brahmāṇḍa 34.46; Agni, Ch. 107.7). The Garuḍa Purāṇa places Hiraṇvat in *Pūrva-dakshiṇa* (Ch. 55.1). For the name Hiraṇvat see also Matsya, 113,64.

Uttarakuru,[1] and on the south are Bhārata,[2] Kimpurusha[3] and Harivarsha[4]—Bhārata being the southernmost region (varsha) separated from Kimpurusha by the Himavat chain, and described, like Uttarakuru (the northernmost region), as being shaped like a bow.[5] To the seven original varshas[6] are added two others of a longitudinal character, *viz.*, Bhadrāśva (east of Meru) and Ketumāla (west of Meru), raising the number to nine.[7]

The description of the trans-Himālayan *Varshas* is, in the main, as idealistic and mythical as the account of the island continents surrounding Jambudvîpa. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa naïvely says :[8]

yāni Kimpurushādyāni Varshāṇyashṭau dvijottama
teshūdbhidāditoyāni meghavāryatra Bhārate

* * * * *

[1] Also called Śṛiṅgavad-varsha (Brahmāṇḍa, 34.47) and Airāvatavarsha (Mbh. VI. 6.37)

[2] Also called Himāhva (Brahmāṇḍa, 34.44, 53), Haimavata (*ibid* 35.30; Matsya, 113 28) and Ajanābha (Ind. Ant., 1899, p. 1)

[3] Also called Hemakūṭavarsha (Brahmāṇḍa, 34.44), Haimavatavarsha (Mbh., VI. 6.7) and Kinnara-khaṇḍa (Ain-i-Akbari, III, pp. 30-31).

[4] Also called Nishadhavarsha (Brahmāṇḍa, 34.45). The Garuḍa Purāṇa places Harivarsha in the South-West of Meru (Ch. 55.2).

[5] Dhanuḥ-saṁsthe cha vijñeye dve varshe dakshiṇottare (Matsya, 113.32; Brahmāṇḍa, 35.33; Mbh., VI. 6.38).

[6] Sapta varshāṇi vakshyāmi Jambudvīpaṁ yathāvidham (Matsya 113.4). Varshāṇi yāni saptātra (Brahmāṇḍa, 35.24); varshāṇi sapta (*ibid*, 28). *Cf.* Mbh., VI. 6.53.

[7] Nava Varshāṇi (Matsya, 114.85; Brahmāṇḍa, 34 48); navavarshaṁ Jambudvīpam (*ibid*, 35.7). *Cf.* Nīlakaṇṭha's Commentary on Mbh., VI. 6.37 : " Kechid Bhadrāśva-Ketumālayor varshāntaratvaṁ prakalpya nava varshāṇītyāchakshate."

The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa applies the names Mālyavad-varsha and Gandhamādana-varsha to Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla respectively (Ch. 34.47-48). In 45.24 and 46 35 Bhadrāśva is called Pūrvadvīpa (*cf.* Pūrva Videha). In Agni, 108 14, the name is given as Su-pārśva.

[8] Ch. 56, 22-26, *cf.* also Ch. 53. 35, yāni Kimpurushākhyāni varjjayitvā Himāhvayam, teshāṁ svabhāvataḥ siddhiḥ sukhaprāyā hyayatnataḥ.

" Perfection *exists* naturally in Kimpurusha, and the other *continents*, with the exception of that named from the mountain Hima ; and the *perfection* is almost complete happiness *which comes* without exertion" (Pargiter).

na chaiteshu yugāvasthā nādhayo vyādhayo na cha
puṇyāpuṇya-samārambho naiva teshu dvijottama

"In Kimpurusha and the seven other countries, O Brāhman, waters bubble up *from the ground*; here in Bhārata we have rain...And in these countries the ages do not exist, nor bodily nor mental sicknesses; nor is there any undertaking involving merit or demerit there, O Brāhman" (Pargiter).

There are, however, some faint indications that the original accounts may have been based on some real knowledge of the topography and physical features of Central and perhaps also Northern Asia. The elevated *varsha* in the middle of Jambudvîpa may have reference to the high plateau between the Oxus and the Tarim valleys, not far from the sandy deserts of Central Asia—the Bālukārṇava which the Mahābhārata places close to Meru.[1] Ketumāla, the western Varsha, drained by the Vaṅkshu (Oxus),[2] which flows past "Chîna, Maru (desert), and the country of the Tushāras, Pahlavas, Daradas Śakas,"[3] etc., is obviously to be connected with Western Turkestan, while Bhadrāśva watered by the Sîtā, the mythical prototype of the Yarkand and Yellow rivers,[4] apparently stands

[1] Dr. Seal (Vaishṇavism and Christianity, 48-49) compares Mount Meru with "Pamir or Bam-i-duniya, the roof of the world." In the seventh century A. D. "the Po-lo-se-na range of the great snow mountains" near the frontier of Kapis, was considered to be the highest mountain in Jambudvîpa (Watters, Yuan Chwang, II. 267), and the Ts'ung Ling (Onion Range) the centre of that continent (*ibid*, pp. 270, 282). The Ts'ung Ling is the Bolor Tagh and Karakorum Mountains of modern geographers (Watters). It separates Eastern Turkestan from Western Turkestan.

[2] For Vakshu (Variants Chakshu, Sva-rakshu, Raṅkshu, Vaṅkshu), see Brahmāṇḍa, 51.47; Matsya, 121-45; Mārk., Ch. 56.13 f; 59.15, Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 265 f.

[3] Atha Chîna Marūṁschaiva Taṅganān sarva Mūlikān, Sāndrāṁs TushārāṁsTampākān (Lampākān ?) Pahlavān Daradān Śakān, etān Janapadān Chakshuḥ (=Vaṅkshu) plāvayantî gatodadhim (Vāyu, 47·44-45).

[4] For Sîtā see Brahmāṇḍa, 45.17-24. 51. 44-45 and Vāyu, 41.43. The Brahmāṇḍa expressly connects this river with "Sirindhrān Kukurān Chînān," and also with the "Rushas" (Russians ?). The Matsya (121.43) has the reading "Saśailān Kukurān Randhrān Varvarān Yavanān Khasān" and the Vāyu (47·43) "Sirindhrān Kuntalān Chînān Varvarān Yavanān Druhān." The Sîtā is apparently the Yarkand river (Watters, II. 283, 288).

According to one theory it flows underground until it emerges at the Chi-shih Mountain and becomes the source of the Yellow River of China (Watters, I. 32).

for Eastern Turkestan and North China. Uttarakuru placed beyond the Himālayas by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and immediately to the south of *Uttaraḥ payasāṁ nidhiḥ* (the Arctic Ocean) by the Rāmāyaṇa,[1] is an indefinite semi-mythic tract which Nabin Chandra Dās [2] identifies with certain countries in Northern Asia. Beyond this is the 'Northern deep'

> "Where springing from the billows high
> Mount Somagiri seeks the sky
> And lightens with perpetual glow
> The sunless realm that lies below."

Scholars find in these lines a reference to the Aurora Borealis [3] and are inclined to credit the Rāmāyaṇa with some accurate knowledge of the North. The Uttarakuru of the Purāṇas is, however, a sort of El Dorado [4] which it would be futile to equate with any terrestrial region. Attempts have been made to identify the remaining trans-Himālayan Varshas [5] but without any plausibility.

Bhāratavarsha.

The southernmost *Varsha*, Bhārata, lying between the Himavat and the sea,[6] is, of course, India. The term, however, as used by Purāṇic cosmographers, embraces much more than India Proper as is apparent from the names of some of its divisions

[1] Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa, Canto 43 (Bangabāsi edition).

[2] A note on the Ancient Geography of Asia compiled from Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 67-68.

[3] Seal, Vaishṇavism and Christianity (MDCCCXCIX), p. 49. The suggestion is already found in Nabin Chandra Dās's *Note on the Ancient Geography of Asia* (1896), pp. 67-68.

[4] *Cf.* Vāyu Purāṇa, 45. 1.1 f ; Pliny, Bk. XVI. c. 17, "About the Attacori (Uttarakuru) Amometus composed a volume for private circulation similar to the work of Hecataeus about the Hyperboreans." (McCrindle., Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 113) ; *cf.* also McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, Chuckervertty and Chatterjee's ed., pp. 76-79.

[5] C. V. Vaidya, Epic India, p. 268*f*.

Seal, Vaishṇavism and Christianity, pp. 47-50. The identification of Ramyaka with Rome is clearly untenable (*cf.* Ain-i-Akbari, III, pp. 30-31).

[6] Uttaraṁ yat samudrasya Himavaddakshiṇaṁcha yat
Varshaṁ tad Bhāratam nāma yatreyaṁ Bhāratī prajā (Vāyu, 45, 75-76).

which "extend to the ocean, but are mutually inaccessible" (samudrāntaritā jñeyā ste tvagamyāḥ parasparam).[1] Among these are Kaṭāha [2] and Siṁhala, identified with Kedah [3] (in the Malay Peninsula) and Ceylon respectively.[4]

The name Bhāratavarsha is said to be derived from the legendary king Bharata [5] whom most of the Purāṇas represent as a descendant of Priyavrata, son of Manu Svāyambhuva.[6] We are told that Priyavrata had ten sons three of whom became recluses and the remaining seven were anointed as rulers of the seven great island continents of the Purāṇic world. Agnîdhra, who got Jambudvīpa, the innermost continent, had nine sons to each of whom he assigned the sovereignty of one of the nine *Varshas* into which his *dvîpa* was divided.[7] Bhāratavarsha fell to the share of Nābhi.[8] The son of Nābhi was Ṛishabha. And it was Bharata, son of Ṛishabha, who gave his name to the southern Varsha styled Himāhva.[9] In certain Purāṇic passages, however, it is stated that Bharata was an epithet of Manu himself and the country was named after him.[10] In view of the discrepant testimony of the Purāṇas

[1] Mārk., 57.6.

[2] Vāmana Purāṇa, XIII. 10-11; Garuḍa, Ch. 55.5.

[3] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Orientalia, Part I, pp. 3-4.

[4] Alberuni (I, p. 295) says "Bhāratavarsha is not India alone". Abul Fazl (Ain, III, p. 7) says, "Hindusthān is described as enclosed on the east, west and south by the ocean, but Ceylon, Achin, the Moluccas and a considerable number of islands are accounted within its extent." *Cf.* the reference to Yavadvîpa in the Rāmāyaṇa (IV. 40.30), Brahmāṇḍa (52, 14-19), and Vāyu (48.14 f.); (miscalled Yamadvîpa).

[5] Himāhvaṁ dakshiṇaṁ Varshaṁ Bharatāya nyavedayat
tasmāt tad Bhārataṁ Varshaṁ tasya nāmnā vidur budhāḥ (Brahmāṇḍa, 34·55).

[6] Bhāgavata, XI. 2.15 f.

[7] Garuḍa Purāṇa, Ch. 54; Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (Bangabāsi edition), Ch. 34.

[8] Nābhestu dakshiṇaṁ Varshaṁ Himāhvantu pitā dadau (Brahmāṇḍa, 34·44). *Cf.* the name Ajanābha given to Bhârata Varsha in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Ind. Ant., 1899, p. 1).

[9] The name Himāhva is derived from the Himālayan chain. *Cf.* also Brahmāṇḍa, Ch. 35.30, "idaṁ Haimavataṁ, Varshaṁ Bhārataṁ nāma viśrutam." In the Mahābhārata however (VI. 6.7) the name Haimavata is applied to Kimpurushavarsha.

[10] bharaṇāchcha prajānāṁ vai Manur Bharata uchyate
Nirukta-vachanāchchaiva Varshaṁ tat Bhārataṁ smṛitam (Matsya, 114.-5; Brahmāṇḍa, 49.10). *Cf.* Alberuni (I. 251), "we find a tradition in the Vāyu Purāṇa that the

it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the name of the country south of the Himavat was derived, not from the mythical Bharata of the Purāṇas, but from the historical Bharata tribe (*cf.* Bhāratî prajā of Vāyu, 45.76) which plays so important a part in Vedic and Epic tradition. The political domination of the greater part of India by 'seven Bhāratas' is testified to by Buddhist texts.[1] The cultural supremacy of the tribe is equally clear from the evidence of the Ṛik and Yajus Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Great Epic which bears the name of *Mahābhārata*.

Foreign nomenclature of India.

While the Purāṇas name India after a mythical tree (Jambu), a legendary hero, or the great mountain of snow (Hima) which walls it off from the rest of the world, foreigners, particularly those coming from the north-west, named it after the mighty river which, like the Nile in Egypt, constitutes the most imposing feature of that part of the country with which they first came into contact. It is only the Chinese pilgrims and Muslim scholars well-versed in Buddhist or Brāhmaṇical lore, who show acquaintance with the traditional Indian nomenclature, and employ terms suggestive of social and religious characteristics.

Of the names derived from the Sindhu (Persian Hindu, Greek Indus) the earliest are those recorded by the ancient Persians in the Avesta and the Inscriptions of Darius. In the Vendidad we have the name *Hapta Hindu*, doubtless identical with *Sapta Sindhavaḥ* of the Rig Veda.[2] The famous name *Hi(n)du* occurs in the Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam inscriptions of Darius.[3] It corresponds to '*India*' of Herodotus which constituted the twentieth Satrapy of the Persian king

centre (*sic*) of Jambudvîpa is called Bhāratavarsha, which means those who acquire something and nourish themselves."

[1] Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270.

[2] Camb. Hist. Ind., Vol. I, p. 324.

[3] *Ibid*, 335.

and apparently signified only the Indus valley bounded on the east by the desert of Rājaputāna. "Of the Indians," says Herodotus, "the population is by far the greatest of all nations whom we know of, and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest, 360 talents of gold dust; this was the twentieth division. That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand...the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands."[1] But "India" was already acquiring a wider denotation, for Herodotus speaks of Indians who "are situated very far from the Persians, towards the south, and were never subject to Darius."[2]

In the days of Alexander and his immediate successors the term acquires a still wider meaning "in accordance with the law of geographical nomenclature."[3] Megasthenes, for instance, applies the name to the whole country "which is in shape quadrilateral," and has "its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemōdos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by the Sakai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus. The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 28,000 stadia, and from north to south 32,000."

A further stage in the widening of the denotation of India is reached in the days of Ptolemy who includes within its limits not only Hindusthān, but also the vast region lying beyond the Ganges (India extra Gangem).

The earliest Chinese writers (*e.g.*, Chang-Kien and his successors) employ the terms Shên-tu and Hsien-tou (Sindhu) which is soon replaced by T'ien-chu.[4] With the Tang period came a new name Yin-tu which is soon confounded with Indu (the moon), and it is naïvely suggested that "the

[1] Book III, 97-98 (trans. by McCrindle).
[2] *Ibid*, 101.
[3] Rapson, Ancient India, p. 24.
[4] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, 132, 137, 140.

bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called In-tu."[1]

Along with these foreign names of riparian origin and traditional Indian appellations like Jambudvîpa we find, in the records of Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing, other designations of India which are suggestive of its geographical position in relation to China, its grand regional divisions, and its religious and social conditions, particularly the prominence of the Indra cult and the ascendency of the Aryans and especially of the Brāhmaṇas. Such names are Si-fang (the west), Wu-t'ien (the five countries of India), A-li-ya-t'i-sha (Āryadeśa), Po-lo-mên-kuo or Fan-kuo (Brahma-rāshṭra) and Indra-vardhana.[2]

The latest foreign name of India is probably Hindusthān which reminds us of 'Hi(n)du' of the old Persian epigraphs. In Brāhmaṇical records the term Hindu is probably first met with in the inscriptions of the kings of Vijayanagara.[3] Like India, Hindusthān, too, had a wider and a narrower denotation. "Hindustān in its wider sense means all India lying north of the Vindhya mountains; in the narrower sense, the upper basin of the Ganges. Further the term is sometimes loosely applied by modern writers to the whole of India."[4]

Shape of India according to the ancients.

In the description of Bharata, as in the account of the continent of which it constitutes the southernmost part, we have a curious blend of fact and fiction. This is apparent from the confusing and contradictory details about its shape and territorial divisions given in different sections of the Purāṇas. In some passages it is described quite correctly as being 'constituted with a fourfold conformation' (chatuḥ-saṃs-

[1] Beal, Records (Si-yu-ki), I, p. 69.

[2] Takakusu, I-tsing's Record, p. lii. Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, 131-40.

[3] *Cf.* Satyamangalam plates, Epigraphia Indica, III, p. 38, "pararāja-bhayaṅkaraḥ. Hiṁdurāya Suratrāṇo vaṁdivargeṇa varṇyate."

[4] Roberts, History of British India, p. 2n.

thāna-saṃsthitam),[1] 'on its south and west and east is the great ocean, the Himavat range stretches along on its north like the string of a bow.' This accuracy is not, however, always maintained, and the Kūrma-niveśa section[2] shows a total misconception of the configuration of India by making it conform to the shape of a tortoise "lying outspread and facing eastwards." A third set of passages[3] describes India as being bow-like (*i.e.*, semi-circular) in shape thus ignoring the *triangular* form[4] of Peninsular India bounded by the sea.

The Nine Divisions of India.

The account of the nine-fold division (nava-bheda) of India shows the same mixture of inaccurate or imaginary details with sober statements of facts. In the *Nadyādi-varṇana* section (Canto 57) of the *Bhuvana-kosha* of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa for instance, we are told that Bhārata-varsha is cut up into nine parts (khaṇḍa or bheda) "which must be known as extending to the ocean, but as being mutually inaccessible."[5] They are

Indradvîpaḥ Kaśerumāṁs Tāmraparṇo Gabhastimān
Nāgadvîpastathā Saumyo Gāndharvo Vāruṇastathā

[1] Mārk., 57.59. *Cf.* the description of India as a rhomboid, or unequal quadrilateral by Eratosthenes and other writers (Cunn., Geography 2; Cambridge History of Ancient India, Vol. I, pp. 400-402).

[2] Mārk., 58. *Cf.* also the Kūrma Vibhāga section of the Bṛihat Saṁhitā. In the Geography of Ptolemy, too, "the true shape of India is completely distorted, and its most striking feature, the acute angle formed by the meeting of the two coasts of the Peninsula at Cape Comorin is changed to a single coast line, running almost straight from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges" (Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, ed. by S. N. Majumdār Śāstrî, p. 9).

[3] Dhanuḥsaṁsthe cha vijñeye dve varshe dakshiṇottare (Matsya, 113.32, Brahmāṇḍa, 35.33; Mbh., VI 6.38). *Cf.* Nîlakaṇṭha, "Bhāratavarshasya dhanuḥkākāratvam" (comm. on Mbh., VI. 6.3-5). Hiuen Tsang, too, apparently compares the shape of India to a halfmoon, with the diameter or broad side to the north, and the narrow end to the south (Cunn., Geography, p. 12; Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 140).

[4] Regarding the triangular shape of India see Nîlakaṇṭha's commentary on Mbh., VI. 6. 3-5—'Bhārata-varshastrikoṇaḥ,' and the Chinese Fah-kai-lip-to which says, "this country in shape is narrow towards the south, and broad towards the north (Cunn., Geography, p. 12).

[5] Samudrāntaritā jñeyāste tvagamyāḥ parasparam (Mārk., 57.5).

ayaṁ tu navamasteshāṁ dvîpaḥ sāgarasaṁvṛitaḥ[1]
yojanānāṁ sahasraṃ vai dvîpo'yaṁ dakshiṇottarāt
pūrve Kirātā yasyāste paśchime Yavanāstathā
Brāhmaṇāḥ Kshatriyāḥ Vaiśyāḥ Śūdrāśchāntaḥsthitā dvija.

The Vāmana Purāṇa[2] reads Kaṭāha and Siṁhala instead of Saumya and Gāndharva, and mentions Kumāra,[3] (=Kumārikā,[4] Kaumārika khaṇḍa) as the name of the *Navama dvîpa*. The ninth dvîpa having at its east end the land of the Kirātas[5] and at the west the Yavanas,[6] and inhabited by the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, is obviously India proper,[7] here regarded as only a *part* of Bhārata-varsha which must, therefore, be taken to denote a wider area. The epithet "sāgarasaṁvṛitaḥ" applied to Kumārî Dvîpa hardly accords

[1] Alberuni wrongly puts it as Nagarasaṁvritta (I. 295).

[2] XIII, 10-11; also Garuḍa, Ch. 55.5—Nāgadvîpaḥ Kaṭāhaścha Siṁhalo Vāruṇastathā.

[3] Kumārākhyaparikhyāto dvîpo'yaṁ dakshiṇottaraḥ (XIII, 11).

[4] Kumārikā Khaṇḍam, 39.69. Indradvîpaḥ Kaśeruścha Tāmradvîpo Gabhastimān,
Nāgaḥ Saumyaścha Gāndharvo Varuṇaścha Kumārikā.

Rājaśekhara says in his *Kāvya Mîmāṁsā*, *Deśavibhāga* (p. 92): "tatredaṁ Bhāratam Varsham. Asya cha Nava bhedāḥ: Indradvîpaḥ ..Kumārîdvîpaśchāyaṁ navamaḥ ..atra cha Kumārî-dvîpe

Vindhyaścha Pāripātraścha Śuktimān Ṛikshaparvataḥ
Mahendra-Sahya-Malayāḥ saptaite Kulaparvatāḥ

Cf. also the 'Kumāra Khaṇḍa' of the Ain-i-Akbari, III, p. 31.

[5] Doubtless identical with the Kirrhadia of Ptolemy (ed. S. N. Majumdār, p. 219), located near Mount Maiandros. For the position of Mount Mahendra in relation to Kumārîdvîpa and Indradvîpa, see Skanda Purāṇa, Kumārikā Khaṇḍa, 39.113.

[6] *Cf.* the Yonas mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka in connection with the Kambojas and Gandhāras, and the country of the Yonas referred to in the Mahāvaṁsa (Geiger's trans., p. 85). Their capital was Alasanda (=Alexandria, Geiger, p. 194n) near Kābul.

[7] *Cf.* the Matsya (114.10) and Brahmāṇḍa passage (49.15): "āyato hyā Kumārikyādā Gaṅgā-prabhavāchcha vai." The Skanda Purāṇa restricts 'Kaumārika Khaṇḍa' to the territory between the Pāriyātra and Mahendra (Kumārikā Khaṇḍa, 39.113), while according to the Garuḍa Purāṇa (Ch. 55.6) it was bounded on the east by the Kirātas, on the west by the Yavanas, on the south by the Andhras and on the north by the Turushkas:—

pūrve Kirātā stasyāste paśchime Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ.
Andhrā dakshiṇato Rudra Turushkāstvapi chottare.

The Kumārî dvîpa, according to the Mārkaṇḍeya passage quoted above is "a thousand yojanas from south to north." Patrokles put down the distance as 15,000 stades (1,724 miles, Camb. Hist., p. 400). Megasthenes put the extent at 22,300 stades. The actual distance is about 1,800 miles. The distance from west to east, where it is shortest is about 1,360 miles (Camb. Hist).

with reality because India proper "is not surrounded by the sea, but bounded by it only on the east, south, and west, and only partially so in the east and west for verse 8 places the Kirātas and Yavanas there respectively."[1] It is not easy to say how many of the other dvîpas belong to the domain of sober geography, and our task is rendered more difficult by the obvious corruption of the text as is evidenced by the substitution, in most of the Purāṇas, of Saumya and Gāndharva in place of the well-known lands of Kaṭāha and Siṁhala.[2]

Alberuni with singular inaccuracy represents Indradvîpa as identical with Mid-India.[3] Abul Fazl shows greater acquaintance with Purāṇic tradition by placing it between Laṅkā and Mahendra.[4] In the Skanda Purāṇa Indradvīpa is expressly mentioned as lying beyond the Mahendra range.[5] If the testimony of the Ain-i-Akbari and the Skanda Purāṇa is to be accepted we shall have to place Indradvīpa somewhere beyond the Mahendra (Eastern Ghāṭs), *i.e.*, in the Bay of Bengal. But where is the 'island' in the Bay of Bengal which answers to the Purāṇic description of Indradvīpa? The ingenious suggestion of Mr. S. N. Majumdār Śāstrî that Indradvīpa is Burma deserves attention and may explain why Ptolemy was led to place Maiandros (Mahendra) in India extra Gangem.

Kaśerumat is placed by Alberuni to the east of the Madhyadeśa, and by Abul Fazl between Mahendra and Śukti. Mr. Majumdār's identification with the Malaya Peninsula lacks plausibility.[6]

[1] Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya P., p. 284 n.

[2] Only the Vāmana and Garuḍa Purāṇas retain the names of Kaṭāha and Siṁhala.

[3] 'Indradvîpa' or Madhyadeśa, *i.e.*, the middle country (Vol. I, p 296).

[4] Ain-i-Akbari, III, p. 31.

[5] Mahendraparataśchaiva Indradvîpo nigadyate
Pāriyātrasya chaivārvāk khaṇḍaṁ Kaumārikaṁ smṛitam (Skanda, Kumārikākhaṇḍa, 39.113)

[6] In the Mahābhārata, III. 12.32, Kaserumat is the name of a Yavana chief killed by Kṛishṇa—Indradyumno hataḥ kopād Yavanaścha Kaserumān. The Sabhāparva (31.72) mentions a Yavanānāṁ puram not far from the sea-coast, from which envoys are said to have been sent to Vibhishaṇa, King of Laṅkā.

Tāmravarṇa (Tāmraparṇa according to the Kūrma and Tāmraparṇî according to the Matsya Purāṇa) is usually identified with Ceylon which the ancient Greeks called Taprobane, and Aśoka refers to as Taṁbapaṁṇi. But this identification is hardly tenable in view of the fact that the Garuḍa Purāṇa clearly distinguishes it from Siṁhala. Alberuni places it in the south-east of India, and Abul Fazl identifies it with the tract between Śukti and Malaya. These facts probably point to the district drained by the river Tāmraparṇî which rises in the Malaya range. But this view can hardly be reconciled with the statement in the Kāvyamîmāṁsā that all the Kulaparvatas including the Malaya were in the Kumārîdvīpa which is sharply distinguished from Tāmravarṇa. Equally unacceptable is the view of Abul Fazl that Gabhastimat lies between the Ṛiksha and the Malaya, and the Nāgadvīpa between the Ṛiksha and the Pāriyātra. Alberuni places the former south of the Madhyadeśa and the latter on the south-west. Nāgadvīpa may refer to the Jaffna peninsula which Tamil tradition represents as the domain of a Nāga king.[1]

Saumya obviously is a misreading for Kaṭāha identified by Çoedes, a French scholar, with the present port of Kedah in the Malay Peninsula.[2]

'Gāndharva' placed by Alberuni on the north-west of the Madhyadeśa may stand for Gandhāra as a passage of the Rāmāyaṇa seems to suggest.[3] But it can hardly be characterised as a 'dvîpa' inaccessible from India proper. The reading 'Siṁhala' found in the Garuḍa Purāṇa seems to be preferable. 'Siṁhala' is of course Ceylon.

Vāruṇa, the eighth division of Bhārata, is omitted by Alberuni. Abul Fazl identifies it with the western portion of the tract between the Sahya (the Western Ghāṭs) and the Vindhya.

[1] Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 491.

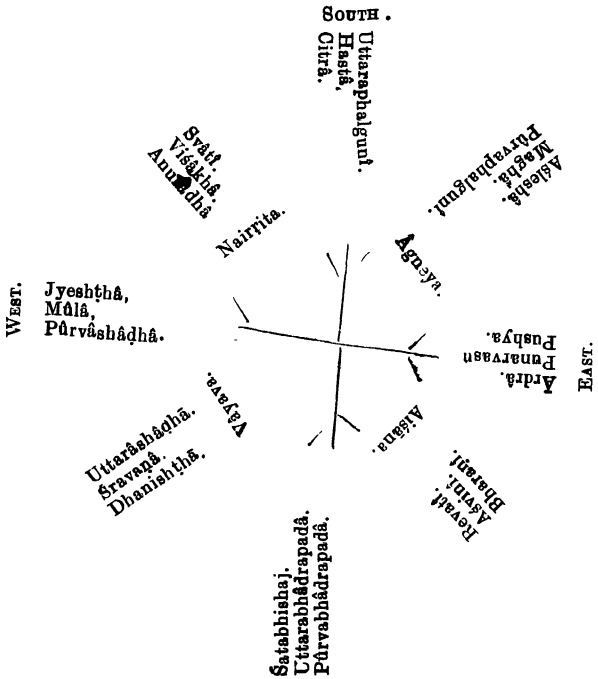
[2] Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Orientalia, Part I, p. 4.

[3] Uttarakāṇḍa, 113.11; 114. 11.

While the description of Bhārata by the Purāṇic cosmographers as an aggregate of nine islands which are mutually inaccessible can hardly be made to accord with reality, the ninefold division (nava-bheda) of astrologers set forth in the Kūrma-niveśa section is of a different character.[1] Though there is even here considerable misconception in regard to the assignment of the various *janapadas* to particular divisions, due

[1] The navabheda of astrologers is best described in the following words of Alberuni (Sachau, I, p. 296-298) :—

"Astronomers and astrologers divide the directions according to the lunar stations. Therefore the country, too, is divided according to the lunar stations, and the figure which represents this division is similar to a tortoise. Therefore it is called Kūrma-chakra, *i.e.*, the tortoise circle or the tortoise shape. The following diagram is from the Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira.



Varāha calls each of the navakhaṇḍa a Varga. He says : 'By them (the Vargas) Bhāratavarsha is divided into nine parts, the central one, the eastern, etc.' Another astronomer who described the navakhaṇḍa is Parāśara. The Purāṇic compilers apparently borrowed the Kūrma-niveśa section from astronomical works.

in part to the absurd attempt to make the shape of India conform to that of a tortoise (Kūrma) lying out spread and facing eastwards, the divisions themselves are of a geographical character being based on the points of the compass.

The most accurate account, however, from the purely geographical point of view, of the main territorial divisions of India, is that contained in the verses of the Nadyādi-varṇana section which describe the seven regions of 'Kumārī Dvīpa'[1] *viz.*, the Madhyadeśa, Udīchya, Prāchya, Dakshiṇāpatha, Aparānta, the Vindhyan region, and the 'Parvatāśrayin' or Himālayan region.

[1] *Cf.* tairidaṁ Bhāratam Varshaṁ saptakhaṇḍaṁ kṛitaṁ purā (Brahmāṇḍa, 34.64). The primary division was into five great regions which are already met with in the Atharva Veda (XIX. 17.1-9) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14). This division was adopted by Buddhist writers and authors like Rājaśekhara.

MĀYĀVĀDA

BY

A. RAI CHAUDHURI

INTRODUCTION.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANIṢADS

The Hindu believes that the Vedas contain the highest truths revealed to man. Śaṁkara and his rival commentators all base their arguments on the Vedas, although they bring in other evidences in support of their respective positions in philosophy.

The Vedas have two parts—the Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa. The first deals with karmas or sacrifices and the second with jñāna or adhyātma-cintā. The second part contains the majority of the upaniṣads.

Upaniṣad is another name for Vedānta. "Vedānto nāma upaniṣat pramāṇam" (the Vedānta-sāra). Upaniṣad means Brahmavidyā. That which teaches the nature of Brahman is known as upaniṣad (see Śaṁkara's introduction to the commentary on the Bṛha. Upaniṣad). The word comes from the root 'sad' with the prefixes 'upa' and 'ni' and with the suffix 'kvip.' The root 'sad' is used in different senses—(1) Viśaraṇa, (2) Gati and (3) Avasādana. "Ṣadḷ viśaraṇa-gatyavasādaneṣu" (the Dhātupāṭha). 'Upa' means nearness or haste and 'ni' means certainty. Thus the word means that knowledge which unmistakably leads to Brahman or that knowledge, when duly attained, enfeebles or destroys the world with its cause. "Tatparāṇām sahetoḥ saṁsārasyātyantāvasādanāt," says Śaṁkara (Intro. to the com. on the Bṛha.). In former

days, the word also used to signify ' rahasya ' or secret doctrine.

The upaniṣads are often regarded as the concluding portions of the Vedas. But this is not correct. Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Durga Caraṇa Sāṁkhya-Vedānta-tīrtha rightly points out that Īśa, Kauṣitakī, and other upaniṣads would then be excluded from the Vedānta, for they are included in the Saṁhitā portion of the Vedas. Further the Vedānta is often called Vedaśiraḥ, Śrutiśiraḥ, etc. (Fellowship Lectures, Vol. 1, p. 174.)

The upaniṣads have the appearance of a bundle of contradictions. They say that Brahman is nirguṇa (Kaṭha, 3-15); Brahman possesses qualities (Muṇḍaka, 1-1-9). The world does not exist (Bṛha. 4-4-19; Śvetā. 6-8); the world comes from Brahman (Taitti. Bhṛguvallī, 1). Brahman cannot be known (Kaṭha, 6-12; Kena, 1-5; Bṛha. 4-5-15); Brahman is the only thing to be known (Bṛha. 4-4-19, Taitti. 2-1-1). Jīva and Brahman are one (Chāndogya, 6-16-3); Jīva is different from Brahman (Kaṭha, 3-1, Śvetā. 4-5).

Śaṁkara solves these apparent contradictions with his māyā-doctrine. Nirguṇa Brahman, says he, is the only reality as inculcated in the upaniṣads. He is pure undifferenced unity; there is, in Him, ' kalpita ' difference only. Māyā is an indeterminate śakti of Brahman—which is ' sadasadbhyāmanirvācyā ' and ' mithyābhūtā sanātanī.' The world is due to māyā; it has no reality. When its cause is destroyed by true knowledge (of the Real), it is also negated. The upaniṣads first derive the world from Brahman and then negate it in Him. This is technically called, by later Vedāntists, ' adhyāropa-apavāda-nyāya.' The elaborate discussion of the creation of the world has not ' sṛṣṭau tātparyam,' but ' advaye brahmani eva;' because Brahman is discussed in the beginning (upakrama), in the middle and in the end (upasaṁhāra) and the rule is that the contention (tātparya) lies in that which is referred to in the beginning, the middle and the end. Negation of the world in

Brahman might imply its existence elsewhere. So Brahman is, at first, called the source of the world and then it is negated in Him. This would clearly prove the ultimate falsity of the world. Thus the world is real with the reality of Brahman. Just as a poor lady invited by a rich relative, goes to the latter's place with borrowed garments and ornaments on her person and passes there as rich, so the world with the reality of Brahman, passes as real. This is technically known as ' Yācita-maṇḍana-nyāya.' The following sloka of a later Vedāntist echoes this sense :

"अस्ति भाति प्रियं रूपं नाम चेत्यंशपञ्चकम् ।
आद्यं त्रयं ब्रह्मरूपं जगद्रूपमतो द्वयम् ॥"

Moreover, it has been shown that the world being an effect is not real; the cause is only real. Just as the earthen jars, pots, etc., have no reality—they are only name and form; reality belongs to the earth only. " Vācārambhaṇam vikāro nāma-dheyam mṛttiketyeva satyam " (Chān. 6-1-4). The word ' eva ' shows that the effects have no reality. In later Vedāntic technique it is expressed thus—" kāryyasya-kāraṇātirikta-sattākatvābhāvaḥ." Further " neha nānāsti kiñcana " (Kaṭha, 4-11) and other texts (Bṛha. 2-4-14) clearly show that the world (the manifold) does not exist in Brahman.

Jīva is, in its ultimate nature, Brahman. In mukti, jīva realises its own nature, that is, becomes Brahman. " Brahma-veda brahmaiva bhavati." (Muṇḍaka, 3-2-9.) Dr. Thibaut who holds that Rāmānuja is more consistent with the spirit of the Brahma-sūtras, admits that the upaniṣads teach absolute unity between jīva and Brahman in the state of liberation (Intro. to his translation of Śaṁkara-bhāṣya, p. 121). One can, then, easily see that this absolute unity is not possible unless the difference is false.

The apparent contradiction between knowability and unknowability of Brahman is solved in the following way. ' Unknowable ' refers to knowledge in the ordinary epistemological

sense; or ' unknowable ' because Brahman is knowledge itself. In the case of ordinary vṛtti-jñāna, vṛtti destroys the ajñāna about an object and manifests it. But in the case of Brahma-jñāna, vṛtti only destroys the ajñāna about Brahman. But it cannot manifest Brahman—just as the light of a lamp cannot manifest the Sun. (See Pañcadaśī, 7-89 and 7-91.) But it is ' knowable ' through intuition or ' aparokṣānubhūti.'

Rāmānuja holds that Saguṇa Brahman is the truth. Jīva is not Brahman itself, it is a part of the Whole. Śruti texts about Nirguṇa Brahman and the unity of jīva and Brahman mean that Brahman is devoid of impure qualities only and that jīva is not wholly different from Brahman. Passages dealing with the negation of the world merely signify that the world has no independent reality (svatantra sattā), and not that it is false.

Both Śaṁkara and Rāmānuja perceive that a reconciliation of the contradictory texts in the upaniṣads is possible only by modifying the meanings of one or other kind of passages. Rāmānuja's explanation of Nirguṇa Brahman does not seem to be quite satisfactory. It is childish to suggest that Nirguṇa Brahman means that Brahman is devoid of impure qualities only. No one is so silly as to ascribe them to the absolute; and the rule is that what can be predicated can only be negated. "Prāptam hi pratiṣidhyate." On the other hand, Śaṁkara's solution seems to be a more plausible one. He admits the importance of saguṇa Brahman for upāsanā which is necessary for cittaśuddhi—an indispensable condition of mokṣa. "Neha nānāsti kiñcana" (Bṛha. 4-4-19), according to Rāmānujites, means that the world is not an independent reality. But this is rather far-fetched. Obviously it means that there is no difference (nānātva) in Brahman. Again, the force of the word ' iva,' in Bṛhadāraṇyaka (2-4-14), is overlooked by them. The word clearly suggests that dualism is not real. Moreover, as Vācaspati points out, difference (bheda) being an established fact (loka-prasiddha) cannot be the aim of Śruti (na śabdena pratipādyaḥ).

Dualists take their stand mainly on the following Śrutis :

"ऋतं पिबन्तौ सुकृतस्य लोके गुहां प्रविष्टौ परमे परार्धे ।
छायातपौ ब्रह्मविदो वदन्ति पञ्चाग्नयो ये च त्रिणाचिकेता ॥"

(Kaṭha, 3-1.)

This is said by Yama in reply to Naciketā's query as to the nature of jīvātman. If we carefully read the śloka, it will be found that ' dvaita ' is not the aim of śruti. Naciketā asks about the nature of ātman (jīvātman) and it is not proper for Yama to discuss about Paramātman. Yama refers to it in order to prove that jīvātman is essentially the paramātman. Moreover, there is no word in the text implying that difference is *real*. It can further be pointed out that Kaṭha Upaniṣad itself afterwards speaks against dualism (Kaṭha, 4-11). (See MM. Paṇḍit Candra Kānta's Fellowship Lectures, Vol. 2, pp. 21-26.) Even if the śloka be taken to mean dualism, it may be said that Śaṁkara recognises it on the vyāvahārika plane.

"द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते ।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति अनश्नन्योऽभिचाकशीति ॥"

(Muṇ., 3-1-1; Śvetā., 4-6.)

The Veda (Paiṁgirahasya Brāhmaṇa) itself explains it. ' Sakhāyā' means jīvātman and antaḥkaraṇa-sattva and not jīvātman and paramātman (see Paṇḍit Candra Kānta's Fellowship Lectures, Vol. 2, p. 27).

Śaṁkara seems to occupy an advantageous position. He can talk any way he likes. He is intelligent enough to admit grades of reality. Pāramārthika sattā belongs to Nirguṇa Brahman only; the God (Saguṇa Brahman), the world and the jīva have vyāvahārika existence; and things experienced in dreams, illusions and hallucinations are real in prātibhāṣika sense only. He does not deny difference, he only states that it is not real in the ultimate sense.

We see then that Śaṁkara more consistently gives a coherent account of the teachings of the upaniṣads and this he does by means of his doctrine of māyā. Māyā, the mother of infinite riddles, appropriates the contradictions of the upaniṣads and gives them harmony and consistency instead. This, then, is the value and importance of māyā for Śaṁkara.

Dr. Prabhu Dutt Śāstrī says that the idea of māyā is very old, certainly older than the word itself (The Doctrine of Māyā, p. 35). " The word, in its usual sense, occurs for the first time in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (4-10) but the idea may be traced to the later stage of the Vedic civilisation " (*ibid*, p. 36).

The word, says Dr. Śāstrī, is very fluid and had different meanings at different times. It generally means, in earlier language, art, wisdom, extraordinary or supernatural power. Sāyaṇācārya, in most cases, gives the meanings prajñā and kapaṭa. Prajñā signifies mental as distinguished from physical power; kapaṭa means deception. In Ṛg Veda (3-53-8), Indra is spoken of as assuming various forms and it is not done by any physical power.

Although the word has different meanings, it is true that the idea of mystery or wonder was always present and it is this very element that in its developed form gives the sense of illusion or appearance (*ibid*, p. 31).

The word māyā does not so often occur in Sāma Veda and Yajur Veda. But it occurs frequently in Atharva Veda. In it, it means magic (Whitney translates it as illusion). The supernatural element of the word in Ṛg Veda is more emphasised in Atharva Veda. It also occurs in the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, in Aitareya, Taittirīya, Śatapatha and Pañcaviṁśati Brāhmaṇas —in most cases it means supernatural power. Sāyaṇa gives the following :—Aghaṭitaghaṭanā śaktiḥ or Paramavyāmohakāriṇī śaktiḥ. In Bṛha. (2-5-19), Praśna (1-16) and Śvetā. (1-10; 4-9; 4-10) the word means magic or cosmic illusion. The word frequently occurs in many later upaniṣads with almost the same meaning. (See Dr. Śāstri's 'The Doctrine of Māyā.')

From this brief reference it may be noted that the germ of the doctrine of māyā is in the Vedas and the upaniṣads, the general trend of which is unqualified monism. The Ṛg Veda distinctly says—" Ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti" (1-164-46). The upaniṣads again and again declare that there is no duality, no multiplicity (Bṛha. 4-4-19; Kaṭha, 4-10 and 4-11; Chāndogya, 6-2-1 and 6-2-2). Dr. Thibaut says that the later growth of the māyā-doctrine on the basis of the upaniṣads is quite intelligible and he fully agrees with Mr. Gough when the latter says that there has been no addition to the system from without but only a development from within, no graft but only growth.

Division I

CHAPTER I

Brahman, Jīva and Jagat

Brahman

Brahman, according to Śaṁkara, is the only reality. It is saccidānanda-svarūpa. It is being-consciousness-bliss. It is not existent, conscious, blissful. These are not its qualities. It is existence as such, consciousness as such, bliss as such. There is no guṇa-guṇi-saṁbandha.

Being means absence of negation. 'Satyatvam Bādha-rāhityam,' says Padmapāda. But this does not mean that Brahman is abhāva-svarūpa. It is the witness and substratum of all negation. Negation or bādha requires a positive back-ground. Brahman cannot be negated, for then, this negation would require another witness—another substratum. So there will be anavasthā—*regressus ad infinitum*. Being thus signifies that Brahman is not śūnya or void. If śūnya has a witness, then the doctrine—'all is void'—is gone; if there be no witness, then śūnya itself is not established.

Brahman is cit-svarūpa or consciousness as such. It is svaprakāśa; because everything else is manifested by it. Every other thing becomes object of knowledge. As Brahman is knowledge itself, it is avedya—cannot be an object of knowledge. But avedyatva does not signify that it is parokṣa. So Citsukha defines svaprakāśatva as 'avedyatve sati aparokṣa-vyavahāra-yogyatvam.' (Nirṇaya-sāgara Ed., p. 9.) This cit or jñāna is permanent. If not, then another jñāna is required to witness that the former jñāna is anitya. So there will be anavasthā.

Brahman is ānanda-svarūpa. Brahman circumscribed by māyā becomes jīva and jīvātman's love for itself is self-evident. Because ātman is bliss as such, self-love is possible. We love other things also—not for their own sake but for the sake of self. Love for other things is a means and not an end in itself. This is beautifully expressed in Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. The author of Saṁkṣepa-śārīraka says that self-love is proved in dreamless sleep. In that state, no knowledge of any object exists. So the bliss that is experienced in suṣupti cannot be due to viṣaya-jñāna (Chap. I, Śloka 23).

Brahman is akhaṇḍa or infinite, meaning that it is not limited by space, time or any other thing. Space cannot circumscribe it, for it is ubiquitous ; time cannot limit it, for it is ever permanent ; nor can things put a limit to it, for it is the soul or antaryāmin of all things. Sarvajñātma Muni says that Brahman's infinity proves that things of the world are false. Just as the unreal ' gandharba-nagara ' cannot limit the ākāśa, so the worldly things cannot limit Brahman. If they are real, they should constitute a bar to the infinity of Brahman.

Being is not different from consciousness. If it be so, it becomes an object of consciousness and consequently false. This problem has been fully discussed in Advaita-siddhi. Consciousness, again, cannot be different from being. If it be so, it becomes mithyā or false, and false jñāna cannot be regarded as jñāna proper. So, ānanda cannot be different from jñāna or consciousness, for it would then be an object of knowledge and hence false. Therefore no one would hanker after it. Ānanda is identical with being also, otherwise it becomes false Thus being, consciousness, bliss—all signify the same Brahman. Instead of one, the three are used in order to indicate different aspects of Brahman. But the words ' different aspects ' should not mean that they are dharmas or qualities. Brahman has been regarded as absolutely nirguṇa. So the author of Vedānta-paribhāṣā says that the so-called aspects are all ' kalpita.'

Rāmatīrtha, in his commentary on the Vedānta-sāra writes in regard to these words—"इतराणि तु पदानि स्वार्थापरित्यागेनैव स्वविरोध्यर्थव्याहृत्तं ब्रह्म लक्षयन्ति।" (Jīvānanda's Vedānta-sāra, pp. 2-3.) These words are used in order to make Brahman somehow intelligible to the human mind. Strictly speaking, sat, cit and ānanda indicate that Brahman is not their opposite. Brahman is beyond all determination. This is like Spinoza—'all determination is negation.' So we find in the Upaniṣad that the preceptor, being questioned as to the nature of Brahman, remained absolutely silent. That is why Śruti attempts to point out Brahman by saying 'neti neti.' Brahman is not this, not this, not that, not that. But behind all this negation there is an indefinite position—an 'Everlasting Yea.'

Brahman is absolutely a homogeneous unity. It is devoid of any kind of difference. Difference may be conceived in three ways :—(*a*) Sajātīya (difference from something else of the same class), (*b*) Vijātīya (difference from something else of another class) and (*c*) Svagata (difference within a single body). Pañcadaśī expresses these in a beautiful couplet—

"वृक्षस्य स्वगतोभेदः पत्रपुष्पफलादिभिः।
वृक्षान्तरात् सजातीयो विजातीयः शिलादितः॥" (II. 20.)

Ānandagiri, in his gloss on 'ekamevādvitīyam' (Chān., 6.2.1) remarks that by 'ekam' sajātīya-bheda and svagata-bheda and by 'advitīyam' vijātīya-bheda are excluded from Brahman.

According to Śaṁkara, this Nirguṇa Brahman is the highest truth—the only reality. Because it only is permanent, everything else is changing; and persistence is the criterion of reality. To attain salvation, one should realise it through intuition or 'direct experience.' Does Spencer mean something like this when he says that we can have 'indefinable consciousness of the Beyond.'

Śaṁkara's Nirguṇa Brahman is not like Spinoza's Substance, because the Substance possesses attributes. It is not

like Fichte's Absolute Ego, for in Fichte, the Anstoss or the principle of self-limitation of the Absolute Ego is real. Evidently it has no similarity with Hegel's Absolute, whose nearest approach in Indian philosophy is Rāmānuja's Hari. It is not like Kant's 'Ding-an-sich.' For, Kant does not posit its objective existence. The concept 'noumenon' is merely the correlative of phenomenon and thus limits the sphere of sensibility. It is a concept whose corresponding extramental existence we can neither affirm nor deny. We cannot know that it exists, for 'knowing' is the categorising of sensations; but we must think it as existing, for it is the necessary presupposition of all knowledge—it is a postulate without which no knowledge is possible, though itself no knowledge. But Śaṁkara positively asserts the existence of Brahman; in fact, it is the only existence through which the quasi-existence of every other thing is possible. Kant is rather an agnostic or semi-agnostic in regard to the position of the thing-in-itself.

The best analogue of Nirguṇa Brahman in European philosophy is the Eleatic Being. Following Xenophanes more rationally and rigorously, Parmenides declares that pure simple being is the truth. This being, according to him, is "imperishable, whole and sole, immutable and illimitable, indivisibly and timelessly present, perfectly and universally self-identical;" the illusory ideas of multiplicity and change are totally divorced from it. He next passes on to the discussion of the phenomenal world with the remark, that truth's discourse is ended and it is only mortal opinion that is to be considered. He explains the phenomena of nature by the mixture of two immutable elements, heat and cold; the first he collocates with being and the second with non-being. All things are made up of this antithesis and the more heat the more being, the more cold the more non-being.

Between the two parts of his philosophy, the doctrine of being and the doctrine of seeming, no logical or scientific

connection is established. Śaṁkara, with his notion of māyā and the consequent conception of 'grades of reality,' seems to work out his problem more logically and consistently. It was Zeno who rather attempted to present dialectically the basis of the Parmenidean conception of being. "If Parmenides maintained that only the one is, Zeno, for his part, polemically showed that there is possible neither multiplicity nor movement because these notions lead to contradictory consequences." (Schwegler's History of Philosophy, p. 18.)

The philosophy of Plotinus also closely resembles that of Śaṁkara. The highest concept in his philosophy is God. Like Śaṁkara's Brahman, it is pure thought, pure light; it is the source of everything—though it is produced by none. It has neither goodness nor beauty nor intelligence, but is goodness, beauty, and thought itself. In as much as every quality assigned to it limits it, we must refrain from giving it attributes. It is beyond all change, all contrasts. Like Śaṁkara's Nirguṇa Brahman, it is also unspeakable, unthinkable. It is pure Form, absolute Unity excludent of all and every determinateness, for that would render it finite. It does not strive for anything, for it is complete like 'āptakāma' Brahman. Though he posits matter and says that every being is composed of matter and Form or God, it does not stand as a second absolute. Though it receives the form, it does not constitute an absolute antithesis; as there is, in the last analysis, one supreme principle; Form, Unity or God. The highest aim of man is to realise God, to attain to it—not through objective knowledge but through his inner mystical subjective exaltation, in the form of immediate vision, of ecstasy. Knowledge of the true cannot be won by proof or by any intermediating process. When God is known, all distinction between the knower and the known vanishes. In like manner Śaṁkara says that the *summum bonum* of human existence is mokṣa or realisation of the Absolute—which is to be done by direct experience or aparokṣānubhūti.

Critics are not found wanting who would vehemently inveigh against such conceptions of intuition and the extra-rationality of the Absolute. They hold that reality is rational and to speak about intuition, direct experience, etc., is to destroy philosophy altogether and to restore theosophy and theurgy in its place. Dr. Caird even goes so far as to say that intuition to be intuition proper, must be 'to and through reason.' But, is it not an extra-demand of reason to assert that reality is rational ? Is it not preposterous to suggest that to talk of intuition or mystic exaltation is to banish philosophy and to court theosophy? Every true philosophy must be based on experience and experience is no monopoly of reason. There is such a thing as supra-consciousness through which many things might emerge—which reason hopelessly gropes in darkness to discover. Reason has its proper place and function in philosophy. It can claim the procedure in philosophy to be rational and the general background to be of logical explanation. But we must, on no account, over-emphasise and monopolise it. We should remember that reason thus deified becomes subversive of both philosophy and life.

Now, if Brahman be absolutely homogeneous, if it be the only reality—what is the explanation of the finite and the world ? Śaṁkara solves the problem with the concept of māyā. The projection of the world and the appearance of the jīva are due to māyā. Māyā has been regarded as a śakti or attribute of Brahman. It should be noted in this connection that the word 'attribute' is used neither in the Cartesian nor in the Spinozistic sense. It simply signifies that Brahman is the substratum of māyā.

Brahman viewed in its essence is nirguṇa ; viewed in relation to māyā is saguṇa. The Saguṇa Brahman is the source of the world. Just as a magician conjures up many things by his magical power, so Brahman with its māyā-śakti projects the appearance of the world. As the things conjured up by the magician are false, so the projected world is ultimately false.

Again, due to this māyā, the infinite Brahman appears to be the limited and finite jīva. In reality, jīva is not finite.

With regard to the explanation of Saguṇa and Nirguṇa Brahman, Śaṁkara materially differs from Rāmānuja. In Śruti, passages are found indicating both these conceptions. Śaṁkara holds that Nirguṇa Brahman is the truth. The value of Saguṇa Brahman is for Upāsanā. It thus feeds the heart of man. Rāmānuja, on the contrary, maintains that Saguṇa Brahman is the truth as intended by Śruti. According to him, the Śruti texts, dealing with Nirguṇa Brahman, merely indicate the absence of impure qualities (heya-prākṛtika-guṇa) in Brahman. Śaṁkara's solution seems to be a more satisfactory one.

Kant's Thing-in-itself seems to stand opposed to phenomena, so supposing a cleavage between the two, it is inferred by his critics that it is impossible to bring the two into relation. The same criticism has been preferred against Śaṁkara's Nirguṇa Brahman and Saguṇa Brahman. The whole criticism rests on a misunderstanding. Saguṇa and Nirguṇa Brahman are not two distinct entities. It is the same thing viewed from different standpoints. Brahman is nirguṇa in its essence; it is saguṇa in relation to māyā. Māyā is not a real entity, so that no dualism is set up between the two. Śaṁkara does not posit Brahman first, māyā next, then conjoin the two into the Saguṇa Brahman and last derive the world of beings and things from it. He simply analyses the given and comes by his concepts of Brahman and māyā. When the final stage of analysis is reached, Brahman only is retained. The process in philosophy is not a downward movement but an upward one. The analysis of the given leads to the ultimate categories but the categories do not lead to the given. Philosophy is not science or mathematics. The error of Hegel consists in actually deducing the world from the absolute. The dance of the categories is the actual evolution of the world. Hegel confounds the business of science with that of philosophy. It is science that

both generalises and deduces. Spinoza also labours under a similar misconception. He adopts the geometrical method in his Ethics. He first states the definitions of Substance, Attributes, Modes, etc., and then deduces his conclusions from them. Philosophy does not derive experience from the categories. It is mathematics that starts with axioms and postulates and computes results from them.

Jiva

We have already seen that, due to māyā, Brahman attains the jīva-bhāva. This may be conceived in two ways :

(1) Pratibimba-vāda (Brahma-Sūtra "Ābhāsa eva ca," 2-3-50).

In order to understand it, let us take the example of the Sun reflected in water. The real Sun is not touched by any impurity or movement of the water, but the image-sun is. Again, the Sun is the same but it may be reflected in different waters. So the pure cit reflected in different antaḥkaraṇas appears to be the different jīvas.

Among the acceptors of pratibimba analogy, Nṛsiṁhāśrama and his followers think that when pure cit is reflected in māyā, Īśvara is produced ; when reflected in avidyā, jīva is produced.

Here we may note the distinction between māyā and avidyā as drawn by later Vedāntists. Māyā is that aspect of ajñāna by which only the best attributes are projected (sattva is predominant), whereas avidyā is that aspect by which impure qualities are projected (rajas and tamas are predominant). In the former aspect, the functions are more of a creative or vikṣepa type, in the latter, āvaraṇa or veiling characteristics are prominent.

Other acceptors of pratibimba analogy, *e.g.*, Sarvajñātma Muni, do not distinguish between māyā and avidyā ; they think that when cit is reflected in ajñāna, we get Īśvara ; when

reflected in the antaḥkaraṇa—a product of ajñāna, we have jīva. (Dās Gupta's Ind. Phil., Vol. I, p. 476).

(2) Avaccheda-vāda (Brahma-Sūtra, 2-3-43).

Let us understand this doctrine with the help of ākāśa. As the ākāśa appears to be limited by pot, jar, etc., so the pure cit seems to be limited by the buddhis. The ākāśa does not, in reality, suffer any modification ; so Brahman, in its nature, is entirely unaffected by this apparent limitation. The multiplicity of buddhis accounts for the diversity of jīvas.

It is very difficult to choose between the two views. Most of the ancient Āchāryas adopt the first view. The author of Ratnaprabhā says that the word 'eva' in the Sūtra 'ābhāsa eva ca' shows that the Sūtra-kāra himself supports Pratibimba-vāda ; moreover, pratibimba-vāda exactly echoes the sense of the Śruti texts 'rūpam rūpam pratirūpo babhūva, etc.' (Kaṭha, 1-9). Mahāmahopādhyāya Candra Kānta Tarkālaṁkāra, in his Srigopal Fellowship Lectures, decides in favour of pratibimba-vāda. But, it seems, that avaccheda-vāda, more prominently, shows the essential unity of jīva and Brahman—that the two are by nature, one and the same cit. However, the views do not materially differ, for both have to admit that there is some sort of connection or relation between the antaḥkaraṇa and the cit.

There is another vexed question regarding which the Advaitists are divided. Is jīva one or many? Some say that cit reflected in antaḥkaraṇa is jīvātman and as there are many antaḥkaraṇas, jīvas are many. Others hold that cit reflected in ajñāna is jīva and as ajñāna is one, there is only one jīva. The upholders of eka-jīva-vāda say that if antaḥkaraṇa be the medium of cit's reflection, it will be difficult to admit creation after pralaya ; for, in pralaya all the antaḥkaraṇas completely merge in their material cause and consequently the jīvas would be destroyed. But the supporter of aneka-jīva-vāda will reply that the different antaḥkaraṇas merge in the material cause leaving behind their respective peculiarities (saṁskāra). On

the other hand, the eka-jīva-vādī explains the different experiences of pleasure, pain, etc. (bhoga), of different men by maintaining that the ajñāna-pratiphalita jīva has many antaḥkaraṇas for that purpose. But this theory fails to explain systematically bondage and emancipation. The eka-jīva-vādī has been forced to admit that no man has ever attained salvation. Salvation will come only once and for all. Strict solipsism also requires that the experience (pratyakṣa) of the many other persons should be regarded as svāpnika. Just as a man sees different things, animals or men in a dream, so the jīva sees all these different persons, different things, as if in a dream.

Jagat

We now come to the consideration of the world. We have already said that with the power of māyā, Brahman projects the world and the appearance of the world is ultimately false. Pure undifferentiated unity is the only reality and the element of plurality is false superimposition of Nescience.

In what sense is the world false ?

It is not false in the sense that śaśaśṛṅga or a khapuṣpa is false. It is not false in the sense that dream-world is false. Gauḍapāda and others would maintain that this world is exactly like the dream-world. As in dream "**न तत्र रथाः न रथयोगाः न पन्थानः अथ रथान् रथयोगान् पथः सृजते**" (बृह, ४।३।२०), so also in actual experience. In Māṇḍūkya-kārikā, Gauḍapāda explains that the world which people call real is no more real than a dream-world. ' The only difference is that waking-world is external, dream-world is internal.' (Vaitathya prakaraṇa.)

Śaṁkara explains it logically as follows :—"**जाग्रद्दृश्यानाम् भावानाम् वैतथ्यमिति प्रतिज्ञा। दृश्यत्वादिति हेतुः। स्वप्नदृश्यभाववदिति दृष्टान्तः। यथा तत्र स्वप्ने दृश्यानाम् भावानाम् वैतथ्यम् तथा जागरितेऽपि दृश्यत्वम् अविशिष्टम् इत्युपनयः। तस्मात् जागरितेऽपि वैतथ्यम् ऋतमिति निगमनम्।**" (Commentary on Māṇ. kārikā, 2-4.)

Of course this position is quite sound. Bertrand Russe admits that this is a very consistent and logically unassailable position. Dr. Prabhu Dutt Śāstrī writes in the Doctrine of Māyā, "Mr. F. H. Bradley, the well-known author of 'Appearance and Reality,' once told us that there could be no difficulty whatever on speculative grounds in holding this position."

But Śaṁkara would make some distinction. He distinguishes between prātibhāsika and vyāvahārika worlds. The 'silver in the nacre' is false; the actual experienced world is also false. The 'silver in the mother of pearl' or the prātibhāsika world is daily sublated; but the vyāvahārika or phenomenal world is not so. It is negated only when true knowledge or Brahmajñāna arises. Again, the former is purely subjective, while the latter has objective validity. We may note here that while discussing the dream-world, Śaṁkara often uses the word 'māyā-mātram.'

Let us first explain the *psychology and metaphysic of illusion* or prātibhāsika reality, for a proper appreciation of it will help us in understanding the falsity of the world. Moreover, as the problem has been discussed in a new and original way, it really deserves close attention.

Take the particular example of 'śukti-rajata.' How do we come to perceive silver when there is nacre before us? First there is the contact of the defective eye with the presented thing (idam). Then follows vṛtti or modification of the antaḥkaraṇa in the form of 'idam' or 'this' and 'brilliance.' Only the general characteristic (brilliance) of the nacre is perceived, the special characteristics remain quite unknown (otherwise there would be no chance of error at all). Next the caitanya particularised by 'idam' is reflected in the vṛtti; the three caitanyas —one limited by the mind, another limited by the vṛtti and the third limited by the 'idam' become one or non-different from one another (if the upādhis have the same time and place, then those, limited by them, become non-different from one

another). Then the avidyā—which transforms into nacre (śuktitva-prakārikā) and whose substratum is the viṣaya-caitanya or the caitanya limited by the presented thing that is already non-different from the pramātṛ-caitanya), aided by the residual traces of the past cognition of silver (the memento, of course, is 'brilliance' or the element common both to silver and nacre) and also some kind of defect, cataract or the like—becomes transformed into the 'apparent silver' and the so-called knowledge of the silver. "रजतरूपार्थाकारेण रजतज्ञानाभासाकारेण च परिणमते।" (Sarat Ghosal's Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 62.)

We may note here that the defect may be of different kinds, *e.g.*, disease of the eye, distance between the perceiver and the perceived thing, insufficient light, etc.

Though the silver is superimposed on the viṣaya-caitanya it is also 'adhyasta' on the sākṣin, for the two have become non-different by the outgoing of the mind. Now, the apparent silver, like pleasure or pain, is cognised by the witness-self alone (kevalasākṣivedya); it cannot be known or perceived by any other means. सुखादिवदनन्यवेद्यम्—"इन्द्रियानुमानादिव्यापारद्वारेण अनुभवनीयं न भवति" इति वेदान्तपरिभाषाटीकायां न्यायपञ्चाननः।" (p. 84.)

Several objections are brought against this explanation of the psychology of error.

The question is—what is the substratum of this newly created silver ? The answer, of course, is caitanya. But a difficulty arises here. Why the silver (whose āśraya is caitanya) is identified with the presented (purovartti) thing. The reply is that the substratum of the silver is not the unlimited caitanya but that limited by 'idam' or the presented thing and that is the reason for this identification of the silver with the presented object.

Again, if the silver is superimposed on the sākṣin, the cognition should take the form of "I am silver" or "I am possessed of the silver" (like "I am happy") instead of "this

is silver." The reply is—Like saṁskāra, like cognition ; and we have no saṁskāra like that ("I am silver"). "यस्य यदाकारानुभवाहित-संस्कारसहकृताविद्याकार्यत्वं तस्य तदाकारानुभवविषयत्वम्" (Vedānta Paribhāṣā, Ghosal's Ed., p. 65.)

As already stated, the avidyā which transforms into silver also undergoes modification in the form of 'rajata-jñānābhāsa.' We may ask—why? When the silver is in direct touch with the witness-self, it can be known directly. What is the further necessity of avidyā-vṛtti ? No. The vṛtti is required for the perception of the silver. "स्वगोचरवृत्त्युपहितचैतन्याभिन्नसत्ताकत्वाभावस्य विषयापरोक्षत्वरूपतया रजतस्यापरोक्षत्वसिद्धये तदभ्युपगमात्।"

(Vedānta Paribhāṣā, Ghosal's Ed., p. 68.)

Another objection is—according to the Vedānta, both the real (vyāvahārika) and the apparent (prātibhāsika) silver are modifications of avidyā, both are superimposed on the self, and both are regarded as false. But how are we to distinguish between the two ? The reply is—vyāvahārika reality is due to avidyā only, while prātibhāsika reality is due to avidyā and some other kind of doṣa (disease of the eye, etc.).

We see that though there is here no real silver at all, it is maintained by advaita-vedānta that some kind of silver is produced for the time being. The naiyāyika would hold that there is no need of admitting the creation of the silver. Illusion is due to erroneous judgment. The Vedāntist's reply is that the illusory silver must be presented before, for we actually perceive it. To avert this difficulty, the naiyāyika says that the real silver elsewhere is the object of perception and this is possible through 'alaukika sannikarṣa' or some kind of non-sensuous contact (jñānalakṣaṇā pratyāsatti). But then inference might be regarded as perception, for the fire (in the inference—"the hill is fiery") can be an object of perception through 'alaukika sannikarṣa.'

It might be asked by the critic of the Vedānta that if the silver is present before (for it is created for the time being), why

should only the person with diseased sense-organ see it and not others standing by him ? The vedāntist will reply that both the perception and the production of the ' apparent silver ' are due to some kind of doṣa. Or it may be explained in another way. Does not the whole thing rest upon the possibility of creation (of a thing) for one individual only ? There is every justification for such an assumption. What is creation, after all ? It is nothing but the maturation of the residue of the past karmas. So when the karma-phalas of one man mature, there is sṛṣṭi or creation for him. Creation, in Vedānta, implies a strict correlativity between the subject and the object.

Prātibhāsika things are regarded as modifications of avidyā either primary (mūlā) or secondary (tūlā). Sometimes they are destroyed along with the material cause, sometimes without the material cause. In the case of mūlā-avidyā-pariṇāma, the material cause persists ; here the destruction is of the nature of nivṛtti or cessation. In the case of tūlā-avidyā-pariṇāma, the material cause also goes away—here we have bādha or sublation. Bādha is due to an intuition of the underlying reality. Cessation originates when a counteracting mode (virodhinī vṛtti) arises or the original defect disappears.

We now pass on to the **metaphysic of illusion**. The unreality of this apparent silver is apprehended when the reality underlying it, namely śukti, is known ; then it will appear that the silver never existed, does not exist and will not exist again. But the question is—how are we justified in asserting the ' traikālika-niṣedha-pratiyogitva ' of silver when it existed for sometime at least during its perception ? The answer is that the prātibhāsika rajata is not the object of negation ; but " laukikapāramārthikatvāvacchinna-prātibhāsika rajata " is " niṣedha-dhī-viṣaya." An objection is raised in the Śikhāmaṇi (a commentary on the Vedānta Paribhāṣā) :—" **"लौकिक-परमार्थत्वं न प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकम् प्रतियोग्यवृत्तित्वात्."** Śikhāmaṇi meets the objection thus :—**"अभावज्ञानं येन रूपेण नियमेन प्रतियोगिनं विषयीकरोति तस्यैव प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वात्। " व्यधिकरणधर्म्मावच्छिन्नप्रति-**

योगिताकः अभावः is admitted in Vedānta. In other words, it means that the silver was not cognised as prātibhāsika simply but as identified with the vyāvahārika rajata. It is no error to know a prātibhāsika thing as simply prātibhāsika. The vyāvahārikatva of the underlying reality makes the apparent silver as phenomenally real (vyāvahārika).

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the author of Advaitasiddhi, explains the whole problem in a different way. He says that 'idam' means 'prātibhāsika silver' and 'rajatam' means 'vyāvahārika silver.' When we arrive at a true knowledge, we say 'Nedam rajatam.' It means that there is reciprocal difference (anyonyābhāva) between 'idam' or prātītika rajata and 'rajatam' or vyāvahārika silver. The identification of the two is wrong. 'Atyantābhāva' and not 'anyonyābhāva' is signified by mithyā. Anyonyābhāva is to be understood, when the two words are of the same case-ending—as in the case of 'Idam rajatam na.' But when the two have different case-endings (as 'atra rajatam na) we are to mean atyantābhāva. Although anyonyābhāva is meant by 'Nedam rajatam,' indirectly it comes to signify mithyātva of rajatam. "तथा चेदं शब्दनिर्दिष्टे पुरोवर्त्ति-प्रातीतिकरजते रजतशब्दनिर्दिष्टव्यावहारिकरजतान्योन्याभावप्रतीतेरार्थिकं मिथ्यात्वम्" (Advaitasiddhi, Nirṇayasāgara Ed., p. 130.)

Mithyātva thus comes to mean 'traikālika-niṣedha-pratiyogitva.' That which does not exist (in any time) in its 'abhimata adhiṣṭhāna,' is to be regarded as false. Mithyātvam is defined in the Vedānta Paribhāṣā as :— "स्वाश्रयत्वेनाभिमतयावन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगित्वम्" (Ghosal's Edition, p. 99). The apparent silver is false, for it does not exist (in any time) in its substratum, the śukti. So the world is false for it has 'atyantābhāva' in its substratum, the Brahman. There is the world so long as the āśraya is not perceived; but when the substratum is once realised, the world vanishes into nothing. Brahman is thus the ground of the illusory imposition of the world.

" Some would object to this and say that in ordinary psychological illusion as ' idam rajatam,' the knowledge of 'Idam ' as a thing is only of a general and indefinite nature; for it is perceived as a thing but its special characteristics as śukti is not noticed, thus illusion is possible. But, in Brahman or pure jñāna, there are neither definite nor indefinite characteristics of any kind, hence it cannot be the ground of illusion. The reply is—when Brahman stands as adhiṣṭhāna of the world-appearance, its characteristics as sat are manifested, whereas pure and infinite bliss is not noticed. Or it may be said that illusion of the world is possible because Brahman in its true nature is not revealed to us in our objective consciousness ; when I say ' the jug is,' the ' is-ness ' or ' being ' does not shine in its purity but only as a characteristic of the jug-form and this is the root of illusion." (See Dr. Dās Gupta's Indian Phil., p. 451.)

Another objection is raised against the position of the Vedānta that since jagat serves all practical purposes, it is real. But the Vedāntist would reply that a false thing can also serve practical purposes; as ' a snake in the rope ' can cause fear, etc. Again, in dreams, we feel happy or sad. Some dream may be so harmful as to incapacitate the actual physical organs of a man. Vācaspati notes in his Bhāmatī that ' arthakriyākāritva ' cannot be the criterion of reality, for that would imply duality. (Veṁkateśvara Ed., p. 16.)

It is sometimes said that in the case of śukti-rajata, illusion is possible for there is real silver elsewhere; but in the case of world-illusion, no real world exists anywhere so that the illusion may be possible. It is said in reply that for illusion, knowledge and not the existence of a thing is required.

" अप्रतीतस्य आरोपायोगात् आरोप्यस्य प्रतीतिरुपयुज्यते न वस्तुसत्ता "
(Bhāmatī, Veṁkateśvara Ed., p. 16).

The past impressions (saṁskāras) imbedded in us, continuing from beginningless time (anādi) are sufficient to account for our illusory notions, just as impressions

produced in actual waking life account for dream-creations. The priority of the world to its saṁskāra cannot be held—vījāṁkuravadanāditvāt.

In this connection we may discuss the nature of the negation of the world-appearance. Is the negation true or false? If true, then the doctrine of advaita is gone, for there will be two Reals—one 'Brahman,' another 'negation of the world.' If false, then the world becomes true, for negation of negation of the world is tantamount to the position of the world.

The advaitist replies that the negation may be considered in both ways and the advaita position will not suffer thereby.

The world is vyāvahārika, its negation also is vyāvahārika. The vyāvahārika negation contradicts the vyāvahārika world. The rule is that the dharma which has the same kind of existence with its dharmi will contradict its (dharma's) contradictory dharma. It is found that the dharma which is not destroyed (nivṛtta) by the realisation (sākṣātkāra) of its dharmi will contradict its opposite dharma; and the dharma which is destroyed by the realisation of its dharmi, cannot contradict its opposite dharma. To understand it more clearly, let us take the example of 'the snake in the rope.' In the instance where a rope is wrongly perceived as a snake, dharmi is the thing, and rope-ness and snake-ness are its dharmas. Now, here, rope-ness will contradict snake-ness and not snake-ness rope-ness. Because, when the thing is realised (when its true nature is known), rope-ness persists and snake-ness does not. So in the case of Brahman and the world. In Brahman, the world is illusorily superimposed. Here Brahman is the dharmi and not-world-ness (niṣprapañcatva) and world-ness (prapañcatva) are its dharmas. When the nature of Brahman (dharmi) is realised, not-world-ness dharma persists and world-ness dharma does not. So not-world-ness will contradict world-ness and not world-ness will contradict not-world-ness.

We thus see that the mithyātva of jagat whether mithyā or satya, cannot affect the Vedāntic position—that Brahman only

is real (pāramārthika sat) and the world is ultimately (in the pāramārthika sense) false. (See Candrakānta Tarkālaṁkāra's Fellowship Lectures, Vol. V, pp. 280-282.)

The problem has also been tackled in other ways. Even if it be admitted that the negation of the world is true, still it (negation) will not stand as a second truth; for the negation is not different from Brahman which is its substratum.

"प्रपञ्चनिषेधाधिकरणीभूतब्रह्माभिन्नत्वात् निषेधस्य तात्त्विकत्वेऽपि न अद्वैतहानिकरत्वम्।" (अद्वैतसिद्धिः, Nirṇayasāgara Ed., pp. 96-97).

It should also be remembered that negation of negation is not always equal to position. The previous non-existence (prāgabhāva) of a jar is negated when the jar is produced; and when the jar is destroyed, that is, when the jar is negated, the previous non-existence of the jar does not come back.

"तत्र हि निषेधस्य निषेधे प्रतियोगिसत्त्वमायाति, यत्र निषेधस्य निषेधबुद्ध्या प्रतियोगिसत्त्वं व्यावस्थाप्यते, न निषेधमात्रं निषिध्यते; यथा रजते नेदं रजतमिति ज्ञानानन्तरम् इदं नारजतमिति ज्ञानेन रजतं व्यावस्थाप्यते। यत्र तु प्रतियोगिनिषेधयोरुभयोरपि निषेधस्तत्र न प्रतियोगिसत्त्वम्; यथा ध्वंससमये प्रागभावप्रतियोगिनोरुभयोर्निषेधः।" (अद्वैतसिद्धिः, Nirṇayasāgara Ed., pp. 105-7.)

We have already seen that Brahman is the adhiṣṭhāna of the illusory imposition of the world. Brahman is thus to be regarded as the cause of the world.

With regard to the cause of the world, there is some divergence of opinion among the Vedāntists.

(1) The author of Saṁkṣepaśārīraka says that pure Brahman is the upādāna or causal substance of the world. "Brahmaiva upādānam kūṭasthasya svataḥ kāraṇatvānupapatteḥ māyā dvāra kāraṇam." (Siddhāntaleśa, Chowkhāmbā Ed., pp. 75-76.)

(2) According to Vivaraṇa, Brahman associated with māyā is the cause of the world. (*Ibid*, p. 59.)

(3) Some hold that the world is the pariṇāma of māyā of

Īśvara, but mind, etc., is the pariṇāma of the avidyā associated with the Jīva. So Īśvara is the cause of the ākāśa and other things, while Jīva is the cause of the mind. (*Ibid*, p. 65.)

(4) Others hold that Īśvara is the cause of the vyāvahārika world and Jīva is that of the prātibhāsika world. (*Ibid*, p. 69.)

(5) Others are of opinion that Jīva projects everything from Īśvara downwards—just as it projects a dream-world. (*Ibid*, pp. 70-71.)

(6) Vācaspati Miśra thinks that Brahman is the cause of the world through māyā associated with Jīva. Māyā is thus the auxiliary or sahakāriṇī by which Brahman appears in the eye of Jīva as many. (*Ibid*, p. 77.)

(7) Prakāśānanda holds that māyā is to be regarded as the cause of the world. "Māyāśaktireva upādānam na Brahma, Brahma is jagadupādāna-māyādhiṣṭhānatvena upacārāt upādānam." (*Ibid*, p. 78.)

(8) The author of Padārthatattvanirṇaya adopts the view that both Brahman and māyā are to be regarded as cause of the world, "Brahmamāyā ceti ubhayamupādānam—sattājāḍyarūpa-ubhayadharmānugatyupapattiḥ. Tatra Brahma vivartamānatayopādānam, avidyā pariṇāmamānatayā. (*Ibid*, p. 72.)

Vedānta Paribhāṣā agrees with this view in holding Brahman as the vivarta causal matter and māyā the pariṇāmī causal matter of the world. Paribhāṣākāra notes that Brahman's 'upādānatvam' is 'jagadadhyāsādhiṣṭhānatvam' or 'jagadākāreṇa pariṇamyamāna-māyādhiṣṭhānatvam.' (Sarat Ghosal's Edition, p. 196.)

(9) The author of Pañcadaśī says that Brahman viewed in relation to the 'tamas' aspect of māyā is the upādāna cause; and in relation to the 'sattva' aspect is the efficient cause.

"Jagato yadupādānam māyāmādāya tāmasīm,
Nimittaṁ śuddhasattvāṁ tāmucyate Brahma tadgirā."
(Pañcadaśī, 1-44.)

(10) Śaṁkara explicitly says that Īśvara or Brahman associated with māyā is the efficient and material cause of the world. In opposition to Sāṁkhya he points out that the non-intelligent prakṛti cannot be the cause of the world. He brings forth the teleological and other arguments against the position of Sāṁkhya. How is it that the acetana jagat comes out of the cetana Īśvara? Śaṁkara gives the example of hair, nail, etc., produced by the living puruṣa (see Brahma Sūtra, "Dṛśyate tu," 2-1-6).

In conclusion we note that Brahman as associated with māyā is the cause of the world. The world is vivarta of Brahman, and pariṇāma of māyā. 'Vivarta' means that the cause and the effect have different kinds of material and 'pariṇāma' signifies their identity in material. "Upādānaviṣamasattākaḥ kāryāpattiḥ vivartaḥ, upādānasamasattākaḥ kāryāpattiḥ pariṇāmaḥ." (Ghosal's Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 63.)

Division II

CHAPTER II

Section I

What is Māyā

Māyā has been called the 'pivotal principle' of the Vedānta philosophy. It is "the logical pendant to Śaṁkara's doctrine of Brahman as the undifferenced self-shining truth." Like Brahman, it is also beyond any natural proof. But it is an intelligible concept, though accepted as an article of faith. With its help Śaṁkara seeks to establish that nirguṇa Brahman is the reality. In it only lies the solution of the manifold. Hence a clear idea of it is necessary for a proper appreciation of the advaita system of metaphysic.

Śaṁkara, in his introduction to the commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, states that all experience is based on the reciprocal identification (itaretarabhāva) of subject and object (cit and jaḍa). The ego and the non-ego are opposed to each other like light and darkness ; māyā or ajñāna is the root of their non-discrimination and identification. This is known as adhyāsa. Śaṁkara defines adhyāsa as "smṛtirūpaḥ paratra pūrvadṛṣṭāvabhāsaḥ." It is due to ajñāna that we mistake one thing for another, *e.g.*, the illusory perception of a rope as a snake. Evidently the rope cannot be the locus of snake-ness. So Ratnaprabhā explains 'paratra' (in the definition of adhyāsa) as 'ayogyādhikaraṇe.' Adhyāsa may be saṁsargādhyāsa or superimposition of an attribute of one thing on another, and tādātmyādhyāsa or identification of one thing with another. This adhyāsa is natural for its root (ajñāna) is inherent in every being. "Naisargiko'yam lokavyavahāraḥ." Being due to mithyājñāna, it is false. Ajñāna lies at the root of adhyāsa

which is the basis of life and experience. Ajñāna has, for its characteristic, bheda or difference and is the source of all misery and pain. Let us see what this ajñāna or māyā is.

Definition of Ajñāna

Ajñāna is defined in the Vedāntasāra as—"**सदसद्भ्याम् अनिर्वचनीयं त्रिगुणात्मकं ज्ञानविरोधि भावरूपं यत्किञ्चिदिति**। (Jīvānanda's Ed., pp. 34-35.) Ajñāna cannot be sat; for it is destroyed by knowledge or jñāna. The real cannot be destroyed—can never be sublated. "**नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः**।" (Gītā, 2-16.) So it cannot be taken as real—"**चिदात्मवत् बाधाभावप्रसङ्गात्**"—**रामतीर्थः** (Jīvānanda's Vedāntasāra, p. 35). Nor can it be said to be asat. For it is the cause of this jagatprapañca. An unreal thing like hare's horn cannot be the cause of anything. So if we take it to be asat then there will be no justification for or explanation of this world. "**बन्ध्यासुतादिवत् अपरोक्षप्रतिभासानुपपत्तिः**"—**रामतीर्थः**। (*Ibid*, p. 35.)

"Ajñāna, therefore, is a category which baffles the ordinary logical division of existence and non-existence and the principle of Excluded Middle." It cannot be said to be 'is' nor 'is not.' Hence it is called "sadasadbhyāmanirvacanīya."

It is triguṇātmaka. It is the composite of the three guṇas, sattva, rajas and tamas. Śruti says—Ajāmekāṁ lohitaśuklakṛṣṇām. (Śvetā—4-5.) Lohita is rajas, śukla is sattva and kṛṣṇa is tamas. Ajñāna has not the three guṇas but it is itself the three guṇas. There is no relation like guṇa and guṇī. '**गुणगुणिनोरभेदविवक्षया त्रिगुणात्मकमित्युक्तम्**'—**रामतीर्थः**। (*Ibid*, p. 35.)

It is jñānavirodhi. Ajñāna is destroyed by knowledge. When true knowledge arises, the illusion ceases. It is to be

noted in this connection that ajñāna is not opposed to śuddha-jñāna but vṛttijñāna. Before the emancipated state occurs, vṛttijñāna arising from 'Aham Brahmāsmi' or 'Tattvamasi' destroys ajñāna about Ātman and the pure intelligence or Ātman shines forth. So it is said in the Gītā—

"दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया।
मामेव ये प्रपद्यन्ते मायामेतां तरन्ति ते॥" (iii. 14.)

Again, this ajñāna is not jñānābhāva (negation of jñāna) but bhāvarūpa ajñāna. It is something like positive. It is held by some that ajñāna is not positive but negative. Ajñāna as jñānābhāva may be conceived in three different ways :—

(1) Ajñāna as sākṣicaitanyābhāva. "साक्षी चेता इत्यादि श्रुतेरज्ञस्य ज्ञानत्वप्रसिद्धेः।" But the defect of this view is that sākṣicaitanya being permanent, cannot be counter-entity to negation (abhāva-pratiyogi).

(2) Ajñāna as antaḥkaraṇavṛttyabhāva (vṛttijñānābhāva). Against this we say that vṛttijñāna is 'aupacārika' or secondary. So its absence cannot be called primary (mukhya) ajñāna. But it may be said that vṛttijñāna is not 'aupacārika' but mukhyājñāna as Sāṁkhya holds. Our reply is that according to Sāṁkhya, vṛttyabhāva is nothing but the svarūpāvasthāna of buddhi which forms the upādāna of vṛttis.

(3) According to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, jñāna is an attribute of the self. Ajñāna, according to this view, is ātmaguṇabhūta-jñānābhāva. Now what is the meaning of it? It may mean jñāna-viśeṣābhāva or jñānasāmānyābhāva. But ajñāna cannot mean jñānaviśeṣābhāva. For, when I say "I am ignorant, I do not know anything," I am ignorant not of any particular thing. I am ignorant in a general way. There is ajñāna but no jñāna-viśeṣa. Hence ajñāna cannot mean jñāna-viśeṣābhāva.

If it be said that though jñāna-sāmānya is indicated here, jñāna-viśeṣa is to be understood (viṣaya-viśeṣa-paryavasāyi), the reply is—then jñāna-sāmānya itself would be abolished (jñāna-sāmānya-vilopa), if in every case of it, we are to understand jñāna-viśeṣa (even if there be no non-justification about sāmānya being the object of knowledge). And if there be no such thing as jñānasāmānya, then we can understand negation or absence of jar where a jar is; and dreamless sleep will not stand as a fact (for, in it, no knowledge of any object whatsoever exists). "Tathā ca ghaṭavatyapi bhūtale ghaṭa-sāmānya-niṣedha-prasaṁgaḥ, suṣuptyabhāva-prasaṁgaśca syāt" (Rāmatīrtha on Vedāntasāra, Jīvānanda's Ed., p. 36).

Ajñāna cannot be taken as jñānasāmānyābhāva. For abhāvajñāna is 'dharmipratiyogijñānasāpekṣa.' It is by jñāna that we know ajñāna. But of that jñāna (which knows ajñāna) ātman is the locus, that is, that jñāna has its āśraya in ātman or is the attribute of ātman. Hence "ātmani abhāva-pratiyoginaḥ jñānasya vartamānatvāt," we cannot say that ajñāna is jñāna-sāmānyābhāva. Rāmatīrtha says—"**अभावज्ञानस्य धर्मिप्रतियोगिज्ञानसापेक्षस्यात्मनि धर्मिणि ज्ञाने च प्रतियोगिनि विज्ञायमाने तस्मिन्नेवात्मनि कथं ज्ञानाभावग्रहोऽभावप्रतियोगिनो ज्ञानस्य तत्र वर्त्तमानत्वात्।**"

(*Ibid*, p. 36.)

We conclude that ajñāna is not absence of knowledge but is bhāvarūpa. "Positivity, here, does not mean the opposite of negation, but notes merely its difference from negation (abhāva-vilakṣaṇatvamātram vivakṣitam)." It is not a positive entity like Brahman but is called positive simply because it is not pure negation. In fact, it is neither positive nor negative but indefinite. Hence the word 'Yatkiñcit' in Vedāntasāra's definition. Subodhinī, a commentary on the Vedāntasāra, notes thus—"**त्रिगुणात्मकभावरूपत्वेऽपि इदमित्थम् एवेति निष्कोटित्वं प्रदर्शयितुम् न शक्यते इत्याह, यत्किञ्चिदिति। किमपि अघटितघटनापटीयस्त्वम्।**" (Jīvānanda's Vedāntasāra, p. 36.)

Really we cannot say anything definitely about ajñāna. It is not sat, nor asat nor sadasat. So it is best for us to characterise it as indefinite. This cannot be regarded as a defect. Rāmatīrtha remarks, ' sarvānupapatteralaṁkāratvāt.' So it is said—

" अविद्याया अविद्यात्वमिदमेव तु लक्षणम् ।
यत्प्रमाणासहिष्णुत्वमन्यथा वस्तु सा भवेत् ॥ "

(Bṛha. Bhāṣyavārttika, 181—quoted by Rāmatīrtha.)

Sureśvara, in his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, says—

" सेयं भ्रान्तिर्निरालम्बा सर्वन्यायविरोधिनी ।
सहते न विचारं सा तमो यद्वद् दिवाकरम् ॥ "

(3-66—quoted by Rāmatīrtha.)

" दुर्घटत्वमविद्याया भूषणं न तु दूषणम् ।
कथञ्चिद् घटमानत्वेऽविद्यात्वं दुर्घटं भवेत् ॥ "

(सौरसंहिता, 4, quoted by Rāmatīrtha.)

We cannot resist the temptation of quoting an illuminating passage from Rāmatīrtha—"सत्त्वेनासत्त्वेन सदसत्त्वेन वा सावयवनिरवयवोभयात्मकत्वेन वा भिन्नाभिन्नोभयरूपत्वेन वा निर्वक्तुमशक्यत्वेनानिर्वचनीयमज्ञानम्, सवितरि दिवान्धपरिकल्पितान्धकारवत् यत्किञ्चिदिति वदन्ति तदा दति सिद्धम् ।" (Jīvānanda's Vedāntasāra, p. 37.)

In this connection it may be mentioned that Vedānta recognises three kinds of padārthas, *viz.*, bhāva, abhāva, and anirvācya.

Further this ajñāna has no beginning. It is anādi. 'अनादिभावरूपत्वे सति ज्ञाननिवर्त्यत्वम् ।' (चित्सुखी)

It may be objected that it is not beginningless, for it is a mere illusory imagination of the moment caused by doṣa. But the reply is—" it might be regarded as a temporary notion, if the ground as well as illusory creation associated with it came into being for the moment. But the ground cit is ever-present, so ajñāna associated with it is anādi." (See Dr. Dās Gupta.)

It is held by some that what is beginningless is also endless or ananta. So ajñāna, if beginningless, cannot be finite, *i.e.*, sānta (cannot be destroyed). We may say in reply that this rule does not always hold good. For the previous non-existence of a thing, though beginningless, has an end.

It is not legitimate to ask anything about ajñāna with regard to time. It is associated with Brahman. At what particular time it became associated—such question cannot be asked. The category of time cannot be applied to ajñāna. As Kant would say that the forms of Sensibility and the categories of the Understanding cannot be applied to the Ideas of Reason. They, by their very nature, are beyond the reach of the forms and the categories (which cannot have any transcendent application). They are restricted to phenomena only. In making a transcendent use of them, Reason is hopelessly confronted with puzzles and contradictions. So we say that this question about ajñāna is not legitimate, because "the association does not occur in time either with reference to the cosmos or with reference to individual persons." (See Dr. Dās Gupta's Ind. Phil., p. 442.)

In this connection we give the derivation of the word māyā. The root of māyā is "mā" meaning "to measure"—the immeasurable Brahman appears as if measured. The root also means "to build" leading to the idea of 'appearance' or 'illusion.' (The Doctrine of Māyā by Dr. P. D. Śāstri, p. 29.) Dr. Śāstri gives another fanciful derivation, māyā—mā yā, *i.e.*, that which is not—that which truly is not, but appears to be. (*Ibid*, p. 30.) It may also mean "that which causes to get moha."

मा च मोहार्थवचनः या च प्रापणवाचकः ।
तां प्रापयति या नित्यं सा माया परिकीर्तिता ॥

(ब्रह्मवैवर्त श्रीकृष्णजन्मखण्ड २७ अध्याय ।)

Section II

A. Ajñāna established by Perception

Ajñāna is directly experienced in such perceptions as "I am ignorant" or " I do not know myself " or " I slept happily and did not know anything." " Such perceptions point to an object which has no definite characteristics, and cannot properly be said to be either positive or negative." An objection is raised here : it is not the perception of something indefinite, but the negation of knowledge. Our reply is : "It is not the perception of negation merely. For negation implies the thing negatived. In fact, negation generally appears as a substantive with the object of negation as a qualifying factor specifying the nature of the negation. But the perception ' I do not know' does not involve the negation of any particular knowledge of any specific object but the knowledge of an indefinite objectless ignorance."

" If negation meant only a general negation and if the perception of negation meant in each case the perception of general negation, then even where there is a jug on the ground, one should perceive the negation of the jug on the ground for the general negation in relation to other things is there." (See Dās Gupta's History of Indian Phil., Vol. I, p. 454.)

With regard to "I slept happily," "I did not know anything," the naiyāyika points out that it is an inference and not perception. But it is not so. "For it is not possible to infer from the pleasant and active state of the senses in the awakened state that the activity had ceased in the sleeping state and that since he had no object of knowledge then, he could not know anything—for there is no invariable concomitance (avinābhāva) between the pleasant and active state of the senses and the absence of objects of knowledge in the immediately preceding state." (See Dr. Dās Gupta, p. 456.)

The fact is that during sleep there is avidyākārā vṛtti and

in jāgrat state, one remembers from the saṁskāra and says 'I did not know anything.' So it is a case of perception and not inference as the Naiyāyika holds.

B. Ajñāna established by Inference

Ajñāna is also inferred from such perception 'I did not know it before, but I know it now.' Present knowledge of a thing involves the removal of a veil of something indefinite. A thing (previous to its being known) is veiled by ajñāna. Vṛtti-jñāna removes the veil and manifests the object.

In the Vivaraṇa, the following form of avidyāsādhakānumāna is given :—**प्रमाणज्ञानं स्वप्रागभावव्यतिरिक्त-स्वविषयावरण-स्वनिवर्त्त्य-स्वदेशगत-वस्त्वन्तरपूर्वकम्, अप्रकाशितार्थप्रकाशकत्वात्, अन्धकारे प्रथमोत्पन्नप्रदीपप्रभावत्।**

Paṇḍit Kṛṣṇa Nāth Nyāyapañcānana explains it as follows:—**प्रमाणज्ञानम् वस्तुनः स्वरूपावभासकज्ञानम्। स्वपदानि सर्वत्र प्रमाणज्ञान-पराणि। स्वविषयावरणेति। प्रमाणज्ञानविषयस्य स्वरूपाप्रकाशहेतुभूतेत्यर्थः। स्वनिवर्त्त्येति। प्रमाणज्ञाननिवर्त्तनीयेत्यर्थः। स्वदेशगतेति। प्रमाणज्ञाना-धिकरणवृत्तीत्यर्थः। अत्र चक्षुरादिव्यावृत्त्यर्थं स्वदेशगतेति। अदृष्टादि-व्यावृत्त्यर्थं स्वनिवर्त्त्येति। उत्तरज्ञाननिवर्त्त्यपूर्वज्ञानव्यावृत्त्यर्थं स्वविषयावरणेति। ज्ञानप्रागभावव्यावृत्त्यर्थं स्वप्रागभावव्यतिरिक्तेति।** (Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 228.)

Pramāṇa-jñāna is preceded by something positive (vastvantarapūrvaka) which is not the previous absence of jñāna (prāgabhāva-vyatirikta), which veils the object of knowledge (svaviṣayāvaraṇa), which is destroyed by knowledge (svanivarttya) and which has the same locus as that of knowledge (svadeśagata).

For knowledge manifests an object which was not manifested before—by removing that 'something' which veiled it. Further the existence of ajñāna is proved by the fact that the infinite bliss of Brahman is not revealed in its complete and limitless aspect. So there is ajñāna which obstructs its complete manifestation.

Again, if there be no ajñāna, there is no possibility of illusion. Ajñāna constitutes the substance of bhrama. Brahman cannot be regarded as constituting the substance of illusion, for Brahman is unchangeable, 'ekarūpeṇa avasthitaḥ.'

C. Ajñāna established by Śruti and Smṛti

In Nāsadīya Sūkta it is said thus—'*Nāsadāsīt no sadāsīt.*' (8-7-27.) There was not asat, there was no sat. Again we find there that tamaḥ existed—'Tamaḥ āsīt.' Now this tamaḥ there means ajñāna. By 'Nāsadāsīt no sadāsīt'—by these niṣedhadvayas we get sadasadbhyām-anirvacanīyatā of ajñāna.

In Chāndogya we find, 'Anṛtena hi pratyuḍhaḥ' (8-3-2).

This 'anṛta' means 'mithyā ajñāna.' Rāmānuja takes it in a different sense. He says—'Ṛta' means 'phalakāmanā-rahita karma' and anṛta is its opposite. But this explanation cannot be accepted on obvious ground. For anṛta as meaning mithyā, is very familiar. In Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad we find—

"अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां
बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः।
अजो ह्येको जुषमाणोऽनुशेते
जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगामजोऽन्यः॥" (IV. 5.)

"मायान्तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनन्तु महेश्वरम्।" (IV. 10.)

"देवात्मशक्तिं स्वगुणैर्निगूढाम्।" (I. 3.)

In the Manu Saṁhitā it is said—

"आसीदिदं तमोभूतमप्रज्ञातमलक्षणम्।
अप्रतर्क्यमविज्ञेयं प्रसुप्तमिव सर्वतः॥" (I. 9.)

In the Devī Purāṇa (Chapter XLV)—

"विचित्रकार्यकरणा अचिन्तितफलप्रदा।
स्वप्नेन्द्रजालवल्लोके तेन माया प्रकीर्तिता॥"

In the Gītā—

"अज्ञानेनावृतं ज्ञानं तेन मुह्यन्ति जन्तवः।" (V. 14.)

"नाहं प्रकाशः सर्वस्य योगमायासमावृतः।" (VII. 25.)

"दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया।" (III. 14.)

In all these māyā means the same thing. Tamaḥ of Ṛg Veda means also the same thing. Thus we find that ajñāna or māyā of Śaṁkara is not a new invention ; it is supported both by Śruti and Smṛti.

D. Ajñāna established by Arthāpatti

Ajñāna is also established by arthāpatti. Arthāpatti is defined by the author of Vedānta-paribhāṣā as "उपपाद्यज्ञानेन उपपादकज्ञानम्। येन विना यदनुपपन्नं तत्तत्र उपपाद्यम्। यस्याभावे यस्यानुपपत्तिस्तत्तत्र उपपादकम्।" Without rātri-bhojana, pīnatva of a man who does not take his food in day-time is not established. Pīnatva is here upapādya. Again, in the absence of rātri-bhojana, the pīnatva of a man (who has not taken his food) is not established. Rātri-bhojana is upapādaka.

In the Upaniṣads, oneness of Jīva with Brahman is taught (Tattvamasi). If the difference between Jīva and Brahman be not illusory, the identity cannot be established. By upapādya jñāna (the knowledge of the oneness of Jīva with Brahman) we infer the upapādaka (the difference created by ajñāna—ajñāna-kalpita-bheda). Thus we see that the pramāṇa of arthāpatti also establishes ajñāna.

SECTION III

LOCUS AND OBJECT OF AJÑĀNA

A. Locus of Ajñāna

What is the locus or āśraya of ajñāna? There are different views on this question.

(1) According to some, ajñāna rests upon pure cit. Pure cit is not opposed to ajñāna. Vṛttijñāna only is opposed to ajñāna. It is said thus—'Āśrayatvaviṣayatva-bhāginī nirvibhāga-citireva kevalā.' The cit when reflected in vṛtti, becomes opposed to ajñāna and destroys it.

(2) Vācaspati Miśra holds that Jīva and not Brahman is the locus of ajñāna. 'Jīvasyaivāham ajña ityevam pratyayāt.'

One may say that this theory does not hold good. Here arises the fallacy of anyonyāśraya. The Jīvabhāva itself is due to ajñāna. So if it be said that the Jīva is the locus of ajñāna, then there will be anyonyāśraya-doṣa. But the reply is "Anāditvāt ajñānajīvabhāvapravāhasya bījāṁkuravat na anyonyāśrayaḥ." As the tree yields the seed and the seed produces the tree, so Jīvabhāva is due to ajñāna and ajñāna has its locus in Jīva. This pravāha is anādi. So there is no anupapatti.

Prakāśānanda, the author of Vedānta-siddhāntamuktāvalī, following Vācaspati Miśra, says—'Jīvāśrayā Brahmapadā hyavidyā tattvavinmatā.'

(3) Mādhava reconciles the two views and says that ajñāna may be regarded as resting on Jīva from the point of view that the obstruction of pure cit is with reference to Jīva.

'Cinmātrāśritam ajñānam jīvapakṣapātitvāt jīvāśritam-ucyate.' (Dr. Dās Gupta's Ind. Phil., p. 457.)

The Vedāntaparibhāṣā writes thus—'Yadavidyāvilāsena bhūtabhautika-sṛṣṭayaḥ, etc.'

What is the meaning of 'yadavidyā.' Paṇḍit Kṛṣṇa Nāth Nyāyapañcānana thus explains it: 'yasya paramātmanaḥ avidyāyāḥ śaktibhūtāyāḥ māyāyā vilāsena, etc.' This jagatprapañca is due to the vilāsa of avidyā which is the śakti of Brahman or Paramātman. From this we may gather that avidyā has its locus in Paramātman. Nyāyapañcānana also gives a different interpretation. 'Yadavidyāyāḥ yadviṣayakājñānasya vilāsena, etc.' *i.e.*, ajñāna has Brahman as its object—we may infer from this that ajñāna has its locus in the Jīva.

(4) Some make a distinction between māyā and avidyā and say that māyā is the upādhi of Īśvara—'Māyopahitam caitanyam Īśvaraḥ,' and avidyā is the upādhi of Jīva—'Avidyopahitam caitanyam Jīvaḥ.' Thus the locus of māyā is Īśvara and that of avidyā is Jīva. Advaitasiddhi points out that there is no anupapatti in any view.

B. Object of Ajñāna

With regard to the object of ajñāna, all are of the same opinion. Brahman is its object. By the power of āvaraṇa-śakti, it veils the nature of Brahman. But this āvaraṇa is only apparent. It cannot really veil Brahman, but appears to us as veiling Brahman; just as we say that the clouds veil the self-luminous Sun. "Ghanacchannadṛṣṭiḥ ghanacchannamarkam" (Hastāmalaka). It also projects the appearance of the world. There is, in reality, no world. It is simply due to the projection of false ajñāna (vikṣepaśakti of ajñāna).

Though ajñāna is one, it veils Brahman in various modes. These modes or states of ajñāna are technically called tūlājñāna. Vṛttijñāna removes tūlājñāna and reveals the object of knowledge. It should be noted here that the obstruction of cit by ajñāna is not only with regard to consciousness but also with regard to bliss.

Section IV

Ajñāna—one or many

We may note, in this connection, one important point with regard to ajñāna.

(1) Some say that ajñāna is many. There are many ajñānas as there are many Jīvas. If there be one ajñāna, when one Jīva is emancipated, other Jīvas must necessarily become emancipated. But this cannot be. So there are many ajñānas.

(2) Others hold that ajñāna is one and not many.

Of course, in the Śruti, the word māyā appears both in the plural and in the singular number. 'Ajāmekāṁ lohitaśuklakṛṣṇām'; 'Māyāntu prakṛtiṁ vidyāt'; 'Taratyavidyāṁ vitatāṁ, etc.' Here the singular number is used. Again, we find—'Indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa īyate' (Ṛg. 6-47-18), where the plural number is used.

The author of the Vedāntaparibhāṣā solves the problem thus—he says that māyā or ajñāna is one. The plural number in the Śruti is used with reference to the vicitraśakti of māyā or with reference to the three guṇas of māyā—sattva, rajas, tamaḥ. "मायाभिरिति बहुवचनस्य मायागतशक्तिविशेषाभिप्रायतया मायागत-सत्त्वरजस्तमोगुणाभिप्रायतया।" (Ghosal's Ed., p. 52.)

Again, he says, if we take māyā as one, then there will be kalpanā-lāghava. एकवचनबलेन लाघवानुग्रहीतेन च मायाया एकत्वं निश्चीयते।" (*Ibid*, p. 53.)

The Vedāntasāra says that ajñāna may be viewed in both ways. It is one and also many. Ajñāna is one with reference to its samaṣṭi. It is many with reference to its vyaṣṭi. इदमज्ञानं समष्टिव्यष्त्यभिप्रायेण एकमनेकमिति च व्यवह्रियते।" (Jīvānanda's Edition, p. 38.)

As the samaṣṭi of many trees is called the forest, so 'जीवगताज्ञानानां समष्ट्यभिप्रायेण तदेकत्वव्यपदेशः।' (*Ibid*, pp. 39-40.)

Ajñāna from the aspect of sāmānya is one and from the aspect of viśeṣa is many.

Division III

CHAPTER III

Section I

Objections against the Doctrine of Māyā

Rāmānuja, in his well-known Śrībhāṣya, has brought seven principal objections against Śaṁkara's concept of Māyā.

1. The Āśrayānupapatti of Avidyā.

Rāmānuja observes—"**सा हि किमाश्रित्य भ्रमं जनयति इति वक्तव्यम्। न तावज्जीवमाश्रित्य; अविद्यापरिकल्पितत्वात् जीवभावस्य। नापि ब्रह्माश्रित्य; तस्य स्वयंप्रकाशज्ञानरूपत्वेन अविद्याविरोधित्वात्।**" (Śrībhāṣya, Ed., by Durgācaraṇa, Vol. I, pp. 170-171.)

Rāmānuja asks—What is the locus of Avidyā ? Jīva cannot be its locus ; for Jīvabhāva itself is due to Avidyā. Nor, again, Brahman can be its āśraya ; for Brahman is Jñānasvarūpa and that which is Jñānasvarūpa cannot be the locus of Ajñāna which is Jñānanāśya. Jñāna and Ajñāna being contradictory cannot have the same locus.

2. Tirodhānānupapatti of Avidyā.

Avidyā, according to Śaṁkara, veils the nature of Brahman which is svayaṁprakāśa that is, the svayaṁprakāśasvabhāva of Brahman is āvṛta or tirohita by Avidyā. Rāmānuja holds—Tirodhāna of prakāśa cannot but mean svarūpa-nāśa. He writes—"**किञ्च, अविद्यया प्रकाशैकस्वरूपं ब्रह्म तिरोहितमिति वदता स्वरूपनाश एवोक्तः स्यात्। प्रकाशतिरोधानं नाम प्रकाशोत्पत्तिप्रतिबन्धः, विद्यमानस्य विनाशो वा। प्रकाशस्य अनुत्पाद्यत्वाभ्युपगमेन प्रकाशतिरोधानम् प्रकाशनाश एव।**" (*Ibid*, p. 174.)

Rāmānuja says that Brahman being aviṣaya of jñāna (*cf.* 'Avāṅmanasagocaraḥ') cannot be the viṣaya of ajñāna. We may have ajñāna about that thing of which we may have jñāna. But Brahman is not so; it is, as admitted by Śaṁkara, jñānasvarūpa.

Further, tirodhāna of prakāśa may mean (*a*) obstruction of prakāśotpatti. But Brahma-prakāśa is svayaṁsiddha and not upapanna or adventitious. So prakāśa-tirodhāna cannot mean prakāśotpatti-pratibandha. Hence, it must mean (*b*) prakāśanāśa.

Thus the contention of Rāmānuja is that to say that the svayaṁprakāśatā of Brahman is tirohita by ajñāna is to affirm the destruction of Brahma-prakāśa.

3. The Svarūpā nupapatti of Avidyā.

Rāmānuja writes—"**अपि च, निर्विषया निराश्रया स्वप्रकाशेयमनुभूतिः स्वाश्रयदोषवशात् अनन्ताश्रयम् अनन्तविषयम् आत्मानमनुभवतीति, अत्र किमयं स्वाश्रयदोषः परमार्थभूत उत अपरमार्थभूत इति विवेचनीयम्।**" (*Ibid*, pp. 174-175.)

What is meant by saying that jñāna or anubhūti though nirviśeṣa and nirāśraya becomes the ananta-āśraya of ananta-viṣaya only on account of āśrayadoṣa. Is it real or unreal? It cannot be real for its reality is not admitted (anabhyupagamāt). It cannot be unreal. For, if it be unreal, it must be identified with draṣṭā, dṛśya or dṛśi. It cannot be dṛśi-svarūpa. For difference (bheda) in jñāna is not admitted. Further, the distinction between draṣṭā, dṛśya and dṛśi being illusory (kālpanika) there must be some original defect for it and that again, would require another defect (doṣa) and so on. Thus there will be anavasthā or *regressus ad infinitum*. If it be said that the doṣa is Brahmasvarūpa-anubhūti itself, Rāmānuja would say in reply that it is absolutely futile to suppose Avidyā when Brahman itself can be regarded as the root cause of the world. Also if Brahman itself is doṣa, there

cannot be mokṣa, for Brahman being nitya, the doṣa also will be nitya.

Thus Rāmānuja concludes that it is not possible to posit the separate existence of avidyārūpa-doṣa and consequently the falsity or illusory appearance of the world cannot be maintained.

4. The Anirvacanīyatvānupapatti of Avidyā.

The anirvacanīyatā of Avidyā, Rāmānuja maintains, cannot be established. For everything is perceived by us either as real or unreal. Nothing is perceived as being beyond reality or unreality. "Sarvaṁ hi vastujātam pratītivyavasthāpyam, sarvā ca pratītiḥ sadasadākārā." If it be said that by the knowledge of either real or unreal a thing which is neither real nor unreal is known, the reply of Rāmānuja is—then anything can be an object of any knowledge. "**सदसदाकारायाः प्रतीतेः सदसद्विलक्षणं विषय इति अभ्युपगम्यमाने सर्वं सर्वप्रतीतेः विषयः स्यात्।**" (*Ibid*, p. 176.)

5. The Pramāṇānupapatti of Avidyā

The Advaitists bring the following inference in support of bhāvarūpa ajñāna: "**प्रमाणज्ञानम् स्वप्रागभावव्यतिरिक्त-स्वविषयावरण-स्वनिवर्त्त्य-स्वदेशगत-वस्त्वन्तरपूर्वकम्, अप्रकाशितार्थप्रकाशकत्वात्, अन्धकारे प्रथमोत्पन्नप्रदीपप्रभावत्।**" (See Vivaraṇa.) Rāmānuja points out that the inference is fallacious as the hetu (middle term) is viruddha and anaikānta. A hetu is called viruddha when it does not exist in the pakṣa or the minor term. "Yaḥ sādhyavati naivāsti sa viruddha udāhṛtaḥ"—(Bhāṣāpariccheda, śloka 55). A hetu is sādhāraṇa or anaikānta when it exists both in sapakṣa (it is that pakṣa where the sādhya or the major term is ascertained as existing) and vipakṣa (it is that pakṣa where the sādhya is ascertained as not existing). "Yaḥ sapakṣe vipakṣe ca bhavet sādhāraṇastu saḥ"—(*Ibid*, śloka 54).

Right knowledge (pramāṇa-jñāna) is preceded by something else (vastvantara-pūrvakam), for it manifests a thing which was not manifested (aprakāśitārtha-prakāśakatvāt).

A pot previous to its being known, was unmanifested, that is, was covered by something (ajñāna) which is removed by jñāna or knowledge when it (jñāna) manifests the pot ; just as the first rays of light remove darkness in a room and manifests the things that were covered by darkness. Thus the existence of ajñāna (as something positive) is established by this inference. Rāmānuja points out that the hetu (aprakāśitārtha-prakāśakatva) which proves ajñāna would establish another ajñāna. For, the inference has for its object bhāvarūpa ajñāna and this bhāvarūpa ajñāna must be previously veiled by another ajñāna which the inference (being a pramāṇa-jñāna) removes and manifests (makes known) its object which is the former bhāvarūpa ajñāna. Thus a second ajñāna (veiling the first ajñāna) is also established. Therefore the first ajñāna (being covered by another ajñāna) cannot be efficacious that is, it cannot veil or cover a thing (which is manifested by jñāna). Hence the thing was not unmanifested ; and if the thing be not unmanifested, the hetu (aprakāśitārtha prakāśakatva) does not exist in the pakṣa (pramāṇa-jñāna) and thus becomes viruddha.

There are also attendant difficulties. If ajñāna be veiled by another ajñāna, it cannot do its work, that is, it cannot veil the nature of Brahman and if Brahman be not veiled, there will be no bondage ; also it cannot be said that Brahma-jñāna destroys ajñāna.

Again, if the second ajñāna (veiling the first ajñāna) be not established, the hetu becomes anaikānta. The hetu (aprakāśitārtha prakāśakatva) exists in the pramāṇa-jñāna (whose object is pot or jar)—this pramāṇa-jñāna is sapakṣa ; the hetu also exists in the vipakṣa which is the inference (anumiti-jñāna) whose object is ajñāna. The form of inference, in the case of vipakṣa, would stand thus : the inference (right knowledge is preceded by something else, for it manifests a thing previously unmanifested) is preceded by something else, for it, that is, the inference manifests or makes known a thing (ajñāna) which was previously unmanifested. But the advaitists would not

admit such other ajñāna and hence it is vipakṣa for the sādhya (vastvantara-pūrvakatva) does not exist in the pakṣa (ajñāna-viṣayaka-anumiti-pramāṇa-jñāna). Thus the hetu (aprakāśitārtha-prakāśakatva) is anaikānta or sādhāraṇa for it exists in sapakṣa as well as vipakṣa.

The example (dṛṣṭānta) also is faulty. For the light of a lamp never manifests a thing. It is jñāna or knowledge that manifests things.

Avidyā is not established by Śruti, for the scriptural texts cited by Śaṁkara, mean something different.

Nor perception can prove the existence of ajñāna. Perceptions like "I am ignorant," "I do not know myself" do not prove the existence of bhāvarūpa ajñāna but jñānābhāva. If it be said that ajñāna (meaning jñānābhāva) and jñāna (which is the counter-entity to ajñāna) being contradictory cannot have the same locus which is really the case in these perceptions (ātman is the dharmī or āśraya of both ajñāna and jñāna), Rāmānuja would reply: "yastu jñāna-prāgabhāva-viṣayatve virodha uktaḥ sa hi bhāvarūpājñāne'pi tulyaḥ" (Paṇḍit Durgā Caraṇa's Ed., p. 181). This difficulty cannot be averted even if ajñāna be taken to mean bhāvarūpa ajñāna. For, according to Śaṁkara, ajñāna, though bhāvarūpa, is contradictory to jñāna. If it be said (by Śaṁkara) that bhāvarūpa ajñāna is opposed to viśada jñāna only and not every jñāna, Rāmānuja would say, in like manner, that ajñāna as jñānābhāva is opposed to viśada jñāna and not all jñāna. Thus arises also the Bhāvarūpatvānupapatti of avidyā.

6. The Nivarttakānupapatti of Avidyā.

According to Śaṁkara, mukti means nothing more than avidyā-nivṛtti. The removal or destruction of avidyā takes place when Nirviśeṣa-Brahmajñāna dawns—(Nirviśeṣabrahmajñānāt avidyānivṛttiḥ) and Brahmajñāna arises out of the knowledge of such Śruti texts as 'So'ham.' Rāmānuja objects

to this and says that 'Nirviśeṣabrahmajñānāt na avidyā-nivṛttiḥ.' For, it would contradict such Upaniṣadic passages as—

" वेदाहमेतं पुरुषं महान्तम् आदित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ।
तमेवं विद्वान् अमृत इह भवति । नान्यः पन्था विद्यते अयनाय ॥ "

(Taitti. Āraṇya., 3-13-1.)

" सर्वे निमेषा जज्ञिरे विद्युतः पुरुषादधि । "

" य एनं विदुः अमृतास्ते भवन्ति । "

(Mahā. Nārā. Up. 1.8. 10-11.)

Hence, Rāmānuja concludes, that these texts point out that mokṣa is due to Saviśeṣabrahmajñāna or the knowledge of Hari who is the repository of all good qualities in infinite degree and who is free from any taint of blemishes.

7. The Nivṛttyanupapatti of Avidyā.

As the nivarttaka of avidyā is not established, there can be no nivṛtti of it. It is held by Śaṁkara that the nivartaka of avidyā is Nirviśeṣabrahmajñāna. But, as already shown, this cannot be. Thus avidyā can have no nāśa or nivṛtti. Further, Rāmānuja maintains that " the individual soul's bondage of 'ignorance' is determined by karma which is a concrete reality. It cannot therefore be removed by any abstract knowledge—but only by divine worship and grace."

Section II

Objrctions considered

(1) Āśrayopapatti of Avidyā.

Brahman can be the locus of avidyā. Śaṁkarites do not admit any contradiction between pure cit or Brahman and avidyā. Avidyā is opposed only to vṛttijñāna or cit reflected in vṛtti. Rāmānuja would say that if pure cit is not opposed to ajñāna, then it cannot be held that cit reflected in vṛtti is opposed to it ; for both have prakāśarūpatā. But it may be said in reply that the causality of vṛtti-phalita-caitanya (the effect being the destruction of ajñāna) lies not in the aspect of caitanya as such, but in the relation of caitanya to vṛtti. "Vṛtti-phalita-caitanyasya ajñāna-virodhitve ca vṛttisaṁbandha eva kāraṇam, na tu caitanyatvam." (MM. Paṇḍit Ananta Śāstrī's Intro. to the Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 38.)

Jīva also can be regarded as the locus of avidyā. Rāmānuja contends that jīva is 'parabhavika' or avidyā-kalpita. Though ajñāna is logically prior, ontologically nothing can be said. For the relation between avidyā and jīva is beginningless like that between the tree and the seed.

(2) Tirodhānopapatti of Avidyā.

The whole force of Rāmānuja's argument falls to the ground. Śaṁkara would not admit real tirodhāna of Brahman—Brahman is tirohita iva. The Hastāmalaka writes—"Ghanācchanna-dṛṣṭir ghanācchannamarkam, etc." (śloka 10). Due to our ignorance or ajñāna we fail to see that Brahman is

selfluminosity. This does not mean that Brahma-prakāśa is destroyed.

(3) Svarūpopapatti of Avidyā.

Śaṁkarites admit that ajñāna is an object (dṛśya). But it is not subject (draṣṭā) or knowledge (dṛśi). Ajñāna, though illusory, is beginningless and establishes itself (svanirvāhaka); it does not require any other (original) defect as Rāmānuja supposes. This beginninglessness answers to the charge of *regressus ad infinitum*. Rāmānuja might argue that a thing establishing itself is neither seen nor reasonable. The reply would be that this very fact of unreasonableness would prove the indeterminateness of ajñāna.

Rāmānuja is fighting with a shadow when he says that if the permanent Brahman be regarded as avidyā, mukti is not possible. This is not admitted by Śaṁkara.

(4) Anirvacanīyopapatti of Avidyā.

Rāmānuja says that the object of 'sadasadākārā pratīti' cannot be something which is neither sat nor asat. The author of Advaitāmoda points out that the colour (rūpa) of darkness, though not the object of light or prakāśa (for they are contradictory), is established by light (for the absence of light is necessary for the perception of it—'abhāva-pratiyogitayā prakāśāpekṣā asti'). "**यथान्धकाररूपम् प्रकाशाविषयमपि प्रकाशव्यवस्थाप्यं भवति तथा सदसदरूपद्विविधप्रतीत्यविषयस्यापि भावरूपाज्ञानस्य स्वरूपमनिर्वचनीयमित्येवं रूपेण प्रतीतिव्यवस्थाप्यं भवत्येव।**" (Advaitāmoda, p. 139.)

Moreover, it can be said that sat and asat are not contradictory terms as Rāmānuja takes them to be. The Advaitist means by them something very different from him (see Appendix B).

(5) Pramāṇopapatti of Avidyā.

Rāmānuja points out that the inference (proving ajñāna) is fallacious, the hetu being viruddha and anaikānta. But his arguments do not hit the target, for, the Advaitists do not say that the inference proves the existence of ajñāna. They hold that it establishes bhāvarūpatva only (and not the existence) of ajñāna. The existence of ajñāna, according to them, is proved by perception like "I am ignorant."

Rāmānuja further says that the example is faulty. But it may be replied that the prakāśakatva of light cannot be totally ignored. Rāmānuja might say that light merely helps manifestation (upakāraka) and if prakāśakatva of an upakāraka is admitted, then the senses (eye, etc.) also would have prakāśakatva. It may be replied that the Vedāntists do not admit prakāśakatva of *any* upakāraka, but only of *that* which removes any obstacle to manifestation. The light removes darkness which obstructs the manifestation of an object. Hence it is called prakāśaka. But the senses do not destroy any obstacle to manifestation ; they merely effect a relation or connection of mind with the object.

As regards Śruti pramāṇa we say that Rāmānuja's interpretation of the scriptural texts (cited by Śaṁkarites in favour of māyā) is obscure and far-fetched.

Rāmānuja contends that perception does not prove the existence of ajñāna. Perception like 'I am ignorant' indicates absence of knowledge and not bhāvarūpa ajñāna. But bhāva and abhāva being contradictory cannot have the same locus at the same time. Ajñāna as bhāvarūpa however can remain side by side with jñāna in the same place and at the same time. Ajñāna is cancelled by vṛttijñāna ; the ajñāna which is proved by perception like 'aham ajña' will be destroyed by the vṛttijñāna in the form of 'aham jña.' Moreover, it has been shown that ajñāna cannot be regarded as absence of knowledge (see Chapter II).

(6) Nivarttakopapatti of Avidyā.

In Śruti, passages referring both to Saguṇa and Nirguṇa Brahman are found. Śaṁkara says that the knowledge of Nirguṇa Brahman leads to emancipation. Rāmānuja, on the other hand, holds that the knowledge of Saguṇa Brahman brings mokṣa. But we have seen that the general trend of the Upaniṣads is to show that Brahman is, in its essence, nirguṇa. Hence it is proper to regard the knowledge of Nirguṇa Brahman as the cause of the destruction of ajñāna. The knowledge of Saguṇa Brahman is not the unconditional cause of mokṣa, but it is a means to the cause of mokṣa (upāsanā is necessary for the knowledge of Nirviśeṣa Brahman) and hence it has been called the cause of mokṣa in Śruti. Moreover, is there any meaning in saying that the God is Almighty, etc., when everything in the jīva is sought to be explained with reference to karma or adṛṣṭa. Further Rāmānuja's Brahman having jīva and jagat as its body, cannot be wholly free from errors, evils and other imperfections.

(7) Nivṛttyupapatti of Avidyā.

The soul's bondage, according to Rāmānuja, is not due to avidyā but is determined by karma which being a concrete reality cannot be destroyed by knowledge. But it is said in Śruti and Smṛti that bondage is due to māyā and that jñāna destroys karma. "Kṣīyante cāsya karmāṇi tasmin dṛṣte parāvare" (Muṇ, 2-2-9), "Jñānāgniḥ sarvakarmāṇi bhasmasāt kurute tathā" (Gītā, 4-37). Rāmānuja is of opinion that without the grace of the Lord, salvation is not possible. Dr. Śāstrī rightly observes—"Surely the idea of grace, etc., is not an exalted conception" (Doctrine of Māyā, p. 132). The idea of grace may have its theological significance but its philosophic value is nil.

Division IV

CHAPTER IV

Ethics of the Vedānta

Is Advaita Ethics a contradiction in Terms?

As Śaṁkara says that Brahman or the Ātman is the only reality and as man's *Summum Bonum* consists in the realisation (jñāna) of the Ātman, it is understood that he underestimates the value of karma. Śaṁkara says that mokṣa should be the alpha and omega of human existence and as mokṣa has no direct relation to karma, it is understood that he belittles the importance of karma. As Śaṁkara says that karma brings bondage which is the very opposite of mokṣa, it is understood that he rejects karma altogether and fosters inaction. Without understanding the proper import of Śaṁkara's interpretation, men believe that "the tendency is apparent in the upaniṣads towards an intellectualism which forsook the performance of practical duties," that Ethics has no place in the Vedānta system of philosophy.

According to Śaṁkara, it is true that the world is ultimately unreal, that all our miseries and sorrows are due to avidyā whose characteristic is bheda-buddhi, that our ultimate aim should be to know the underlying unity (abheda); still a proper understanding of these would go to prove that these cannot be made any ground for laying the charge of 'inaction' at his door.

Śaṁkara distinguishes between three kinds of existence—pāramārthika or ultimate—as of Brahman—it is that kind of existence which is never sublated; vyāvahārika or phenomenal, as of God, world and Jīva—it is that kind of existence

which is sublated only when Brahmajñāna dawns; prātibhāsika—as of 'the snake in the rope' or things seen in dream—it is that kind of existence which persists so long as the perception of the things remains (pratīti-mātra-sattā). It is sublated when we come back from the state of illusion or dream to the phenomenal world.

Mokṣa consists in realising Brahman, the pāramārthika reality—then follows the subsequent sublation of the vyāvahārika reality. (The word 'follow' is necessarily used in a restricted sense.) The Jīvanmukta realises the falsehood of the world. For him, therefore, the actions have got no meaning at all. But to the man who is on the vyāvahārika plane, the world is as real as anything—just as things experienced in dream are actual (real) to a man who is in dream-state. So the man, who has not attained Brahmajñāna, must perform the duties of life. (Śaṁkara is not opposed to varṇāśrama dharma. The genius of the Hindus consists in conceiving the different āśramas. It is a grand coalescence of the Ideal and the Real.) The ordinary man may do the Vaidic karmas for happiness here and hereafter. But the man, desirous of mokṣa, should avoid all such karmas, for they bring bondage—they will entangle him further in the meshes of māyā. Some say that the performance of such karmas is not entirely bad. For the man may become fit (to some extent) for mokṣa in the next life. Vācaspati Miśra thinks that "the performance of them helps a man to acquire great keenness for the attainment of right knowledge." Prakāśātman is of opinion that it serves to bring about suitable opportunities by securing good preceptors, etc., and to remove many obstacles from the way. (See Dr. S. N. Dās Gupta's A History of Indian Philosophy, p. 490.)

Karmas may be kāmya, nitya, naimittika and niṣiddha. Barring the first and the last, the mumukṣu must perform the other two—for they purify the mind. The importance of performing nitya karmas will be evident from the following quotation from Naiṣkarmyasiddhi of Sureśvarācārya—

"नित्यकर्मानुष्ठानात् धर्मोत्पत्तिः, धर्मोत्पत्तेः पापहानिः, ततः चित्तशुद्धिः, ततः संसारयाथात्म्यावबोधः, ततो वैराग्यं, ततो मुमुक्षुत्वं, ततस्तदुपायपर्येषणं, ततः सर्वकर्मतत्साधनसन्न्यासः, ततो योगाभ्यासः, ततः चित्तस्य प्रत्यक्प्रवणता, ततः तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यार्थपरिज्ञानं, ततः अविद्योच्छेदः, ततश्च स्वात्मनि एवावस्थानम्।" (Chowkhāmbā Ed., p. 47.)

He should also cultivate moral virtues like amānitva, adambhitva, kṣānti, maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, etc. As enjoined in the Gītā (one of the Prasthānatrayī) men should perform karmas without any selfish motive. Śaṁkarācāryya also emphasises niṣkāma karma which brings cittaśuddhi. Without cittaśuddhi, no Brahmajñāna, without Brahmajñāna, no removal of nescience. (In fact, Brahmajñāna or mokṣa is nothing more than the removal of ajñāna) It is Jñāna which destroys ajñāna. Karma has no direct relation to mukti. In nyāya technique, it is anyathāsiddha. As the end of niṣkāma karma is cittaśuddhi, it has got no value when the goal is reached. What meaning has it for the man who has attained salvation ?

Kant also says that duty must be done for duty's sake—out of a pure regard for the moral law. It is a grand conception in the philosophy of the West. But the question is—What does it lead to? Vedānta has emancipation as the goal. But Kant finds the *Summum Bonum* elsewhere. He is compelled to bring in the idea of God as a necessary appendix to his ethical system. He finds virtue and happiness combined together—not analytically but synthetically. God will distribute happiness according to the degree of virtue, because He contains the principle of connection between virtue and happiness—which is the exact harmony of happiness with morality. Thus it is morally necessary with Kant to assume the existence of God.

The defect of Kant is his failure to rise to the height which Vedānta reaches. The conception of the personality of God (as the Distributor of good and evil) is perhaps the last vestige of anthropomorphism in Idealistic Philosophy. Vedānta retains all these in the vyāvahārika sphere. Try to rise higher and

then you will find that the personality of God, the problem of good and evil, ethics, religion, metaphysics—all sunk in that Ocean of Infinite Bliss. The beauty of the Vedāntic conception is that it retains everything, yet cancels everything (save Ātman). Rising higher and higher, you reach Brahman and then you will see that nothing higher can be conceived—the question of higher and lower, better and worse, loses its meaning altogether. "Morality," as Prof. Rādhākṛṣṇan says, "is a stepping-stone and not a stopping place." (Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 635.)

Vedānta is sometimes charged with inaction. But it is perhaps the only system of philosophy which supplies the real basis of morality. Christianity says—"Love thy neighbours as thyself." Kant writes—"Always treat humanity, both in your person and in the person of others, as an end and never as a means." We ask—why? The solution of this 'why' is satisfactorily given only in the Vedānta. Because all beings are Brahman in their essence or ultimate nature. The principle of advaita or abheda is the basis of morality. Bearing this in mind, we can establish the 'Kingdom of God' on earth. How noble is the conception of "vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam." It is not a fantastic dream of the theorist but a noble ideal.

"समानीव आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः।
समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति॥" (Ṛg. Veda.)

There are some critics who would find fatalism in the Vedānta doctrine of karma. They think that the Freedom of the Will is denied to man. This rests on a misconception. It is true that our life is shaped by karmas done in previous births. But the karmas are our own—we are to reap the fruit. We are responsible for our whole career. We are not determined by something from without. Thus determined by our *own* karmas, we are entirely autonomous. Determination is determination when it comes from without. We are not to suffer for the sins of Adam. We cannot hope for redemption through the

expiation of Christ—for there would be 'akṛtābhyāgama.' What we are—is the result of *our own* deeds. What we shall be—will be the result of *our own* actions. Vedānta teaches that man has the power to shape his future career. *Cf.* "Yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam." (Gītā, II. 50.) We thus see that Vedānta does not deny the doctrine of the Freedom of the Will. Without such a postulate, morality becomes meaningless, mukti cannot stand.

We close this chapter with a word on asceticism. It is a common fallacy to judge a thing on one level according to a standard which holds good on a different plane. The life of an ascetic is certainly different from that of an ordinary man. The man whose mind soars high, who nurses a passion for salvation, must regulate the senses, must control the passions, must try to set the mind at rest. There can be no denying the fact that the senses are naturally towards the external objects—**पराञ्चि खानि व्यतृणत् स्वयम्भूः।** (कठ, 2-1-1.) We can easily understand that **बलवानिन्द्रियग्रामो विद्वांसमपि कर्षति।** (Manu, Ch. II, 215.) So there is meaning in the retirement of the ascetic into solitude. But, even then, he is not relieved of duties. He has his karmas to perform. Even the Jīvanmukta who has nothing to do *for himself*, does work for 'Lokasaṁgraha.' "**ज्ञानोत्पत्तेस्तु पुरस्तात् कर्मणामुपयोगाभावेऽपि लोकसंग्रहार्थमनुष्ठानं कर्तव्यम्।**" (**हस्तामलक-भाष्यम्**, Jīvānanda's Ed., p. 14.). Otherwise, there would be no difference between a Jīvanmukta and a block of stone. Such karmas for 'lokasaṁgraha' on the part of the Jīvanmukta should not be understood to mean that he is still fettered by moral laws. But some would pertinently ask—if he is not bound by morality, is he at liberty to do immoral acts? They forget that for the Jīvanmukta, there exists neither immoral nor moral. If anything exists, we may call it non-moral. For him, morality is meaningless, immorality is psychologically impossible. He is not a "bundle of negations" as some suppose. He holds the mirror of life up to the ideal. To live such a life is certainly nobler than to

build a three-storied house or to fondle one's children, or to bestow a caress on one's wife or even to invent new theories, new appliances, to do social works like starting an orphanage or a rescue home.

Lastly we should remember that if we judge the liberated by worldly laws, "we might be tempted to call them monstrous aberrations from the paths of nature." In fact, they only are the 'choice specimens of humanity.'

CHAPTER V

VEDĀNTIC EMANCIPATION

We have seen above that Jīva is, in its essence, infinite and unlimited—it is Brahmasvarūpa. Due to avidyā or ajñāna, Jīva cannot realise its own essence. Really it is ever mukta. Emancipation, according to the Vedānta philosophy, means nothing more than the removal of the avidyā which veils the nature of Jīva. Emancipation is not produced—it is, for ever, established. For, to be mukta means to become Brahmasvarūpa which the Jīva naturally is. And Brahman is nothing but pure knowledge and pure bliss. This Brahmajñāna or Brahmānanda being nitya cannot be janya. For that which is janya is anitya. That which comes into being must end. We thus see that Jīva is ever mukta. Simply he forgets this, because he is avidyopahita. "Anīśayā śocati muhyamānaḥ"—(Muṇḍ., 3-1-2).

This fact is made clear by Vedāntins by resorting to a story. Mukti is like 'kaṇṭhacāmīkaravat.' A boy forgets that he has a necklace on his person but his superior points out that the ornament which he is searching for, is round his own neck. Thus the boy gets back the ornament. This sort of prāpti is Brahmaprāpti. So it is said that mukti is prāpta-prāpti and parihṛta-parihāra. **यथा हस्तगतविस्मृतसुवर्णादौ तव हस्ते सुवर्णम् इति आप्तोपदेशात् अप्राप्तम् इव प्राप्नोति। यथा वा बलयितचरणायां रज्जौ सर्पत्वभ्रमवतः पुंसो नायं सर्पः इति आप्तवाक्यात् परिच्छन्नस्येव सर्पस्य परिहारः प्रसिद्धः।** (**वेदान्त-परिभाषा**—Ghosal's Ed., pp. 261-262.)

The bliss one gets in the emancipated state is already got. So also the pain one avoids is already avoided. Before emancipation, all this is not clear to him because he has avidyā in him. With Brahmajñāna (here jñāna is avagatiparyantam)

which is the same thing as the realisation of its own nature, Jīva removes or destroys the ajñāna.

Now, to attain mukti, the following preliminaries are to be performed.

The man desirous of emancipation must, first of all, study all the Vedas with its aṁgas. He must perform nitya and naimittika karmas, either in this life or in previous birth. Nitya karma is Sandhyāvandanā, etc., the non-performance of which engenders pāpa. 'Akaraṇe pratyavāyasādhanāni sandhyā-vandanādīni.' (Jīvānanda's Vedāntasāra, p. 14.)

According to some, regular performance of sandhyā, etc., destroys all previous vices ; others would say that it precludes further vice—

क्षयं केचिदुपात्तस्य दुरितस्य प्रचक्षते ।
अनुत्पत्तिं तथा चान्ये प्रत्यवायस्य मन्वते ॥

It is further said—

सन्ध्यामुपासते ये तु नियतं संशितव्रताः ।
विधौतपापास्ते यान्ति ब्रह्मलोकमनामयम् ॥

(Quoted by Paṇḍit Durgā Caraṇa in his Fellowship Lectures, Part I, pp. 148 and 149.) Perhaps this eulogising is to maintain strict discipline.

Naimittika karma is performed on special occasions, as ' Jāteṣṭi kriyā of the son ' or ' bathing in the Ganges ' on the occasion of lunar or solar eclipse. He must avoid kāmya karmas (selfish actions) and niṣiddha karmas or prohibited actions. Thus, being purged of all impurities of the mind (' nirgata-nikhila-kalmaṣatayā') he becomes an adhikāri fit for Brahma-vidyā. He should also have the following sādhanas :

(1) Nityānityavastuviveka—distinction of nitya from anitya.

(2) Ihāmutrārtha-phalabhogavirāga—abstinence from enjoying fruit of any action either in this world or in other worlds.

(3)

(*a*) Śama—**अन्तरिन्द्रियनिग्रहः शमः ।**

(*b*) Dama—**बहिरिन्द्रियनिग्रहो दमः ।**

(*c*) Uparati—**विक्षेपाभाव उपरतिः ।**

(*d*) Titikṣā—**शीतोष्णादिद्वन्द्वसहनम् तितिक्षा ।**

(*e*) Śraddhā—**गुरुवेदान्तवाक्येषु विश्वासः श्रद्धा ।**

(*f*) Samādhāna—**चित्तैकाग्र्यम् समाधानम् ।**

(4) Mumukṣutva—the man must be desirous of mokṣa.

A man, possessing these virtues, should try to understand the Upaniṣads correctly—this is śravaṇa—**श्रवणं नाम वेदान्तानाम् अद्वितीये ब्रह्मणि तात्पर्य्यावधारणानुकूला मानसी क्रिया** (Vedānta-paribhāṣā, Sarat Ghosal's Ed., p. 272) ; he must then strengthen his conviction by arguments in favour of the purport of the Upaniṣads—this is manana—**मननं नाम शब्दावधारितेऽर्थे मानान्तर-विरोधशङ्कायां तन्निराकरणानुकूल-तर्कात्मकज्ञानजनक-मानमव्यापारः** (*ibid*, pp. 272-273). Then by meditation (nididhyāsana) he has to realise the truth. Meditation includes all the yoga processes. **निदिध्यासनम् नाम अनादिदुर्वासनया विषयेष्वाकृष्यमाणस्य चित्तस्य विषयेभ्यः अपकृष्यात्मविषयक-स्थैर्य्यानुकूलो मानसव्यापारः** (*ibid*, p. 273).

To recapitulate, the man should learn the purport of the Upaniṣadic texts such as "Tattvamasi" or "So'ham," then he should strengthen his conviction by manana and after that he is to meditate on the meaning of the texts.

"**श्रोतव्यः श्रुतिवाक्येभ्यो मन्तव्यश्चोपपत्तिभिः ।**
मत्वा च सततं ध्येय एते दर्शनहेतवः ॥"

Through these processes a man possesses Brahmātmaikatva-vijñāna and becomes emancipated.

In the acquirement of ordinary knowledge, the smaller states of ajñāna are removed ; when Brahmajñāna dawns, ajñāna as a whole is destroyed. When this knowledge arises, the state of knowledge which at first reflects itself (and which being a state is itself a manifestation of ajñāna) is destroyed. "As fire riding on a piece of wood would burn the whole city and then

the very same wood, so in the last state of mind, knowledge of Brahman would destroy the illusory world-appearance and at last destroys even that final state." (See Dr. Dāsgupta, History of Ind. Phil.). So the **नास्तिक** in Vyāsabhāṣya on Pātañjala satirically remarks—"**षण्ढक ! आर्य्यपुत्र ! भगिनी मे अपत्यवती, कथम् नाङ्गमिति—ऋतस्ते पुत्रम् उत्पादयिष्यामि ।**" (Pātañjala-sūtra, 2-24.)

According to the Vedānta, even when Brahmajñāna arises, the body continues. This is about Jīvanmukta. Karma is divided into three classes—(1) Sañcita, (2) Prārabdha and (3) Kriyamāṇa. The body is due to prārabdha karmas. Kriyamāṇa karmas are those which are performed in this life. Sañcita karmas are those done in previous births and which are not yet phaladāyi. By knowledge of the Ātman, sañcita and kriyamāṇa karmas are destroyed. So it is said in Śruti

"**भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः ।**
क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥" (**मुण्डक**, II. 2.9.)

Gītā also says, '**ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुते तथा ।**' (IV. 37) But the destruction of prārabdha karmas comes only through enjoyment or bhoga. **तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ सम्पत्स्ये ।** (**छान्दोग्य**, VI. 14. 2.) When the body is destroyed through bhoga, the Jīvanmukta completely realises his oneness with Brahman, *i.e.*, becomes Brahman. This is called Videha-mukti.

But a question is raised here. How is it that the Jñānī retains his body? Should we, then, suppose that ajñāna is not destroyed by Jñāna only or that Jīvanmukti is a mere shibboleth. The reply is—"**अप्रतिबन्धज्ञानस्यैव अज्ञाननिवर्त्तकतया प्रारब्धकर्मरूप-प्रतिबन्धकदशायामज्ञाननिवृत्तेरनङ्गीकारात्**"। (**वेदान्तपरिभाषा**, Ghosal's Ed., p. 291.) Śikhāmaṇi explains—"**जीवन्मुक्तानां तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारात् पारमार्थिकत्व - व्यावहारिकत्व - सम्पादनपटीयशक्तिविशिष्टाज्ञानविनाशेऽपि प्रातिभासिकत्व - सम्पादनपटीयशक्तिविशेष-विशिष्टाज्ञानस्यानिवृत्तेर्देहादिधारणं युक्तम् ।**" (Veṅkaṭeśvara Ed., p. 437).

Bālabodhinī, a commentary on Vedāntasāra writes :—**तथा हि अज्ञानेऽस्मिन् शक्तित्रयम्। एका तावत् पारमार्थिकसत्त्व-सम्पादनपटीयसी शक्तिः। तया च शक्त्या प्रपञ्चे पारमार्थिकत्वं स्फुरति, श्रवणाद्यभ्यासपरिपाक-वशेन च सा निवर्तते। तस्याञ्च निवृत्तायां प्रपञ्चः पारमार्थिकतया न स्फुरति, किन्तु व्यावहारिकतया। अतः अज्ञाने व्यावहारिकसत्त्व-सम्पादनपटीयसी अपरा शक्तिः विद्यते। सा च शक्तिः आत्मतत्त्वसाक्षात्कारेण निवर्त्तते। निवृत्तायां च तस्यां प्रपञ्चो न व्यावहारिकतया स्फुरति; किन्तु प्रारब्धस्य सत्त्वात् बाधितानुवृत्त्या स्फुरति। अतः प्रातिभासिकसत्त्व-सम्पादनपटीयसी अपि शक्तिः अज्ञाने विद्यते। सा च भोगेन प्रारब्धक्षये अन्तिमतत्त्वसाक्षात्कारेण अज्ञानेन सह निवर्तते। ततः न प्रपञ्चस्फुरणम्।** (Rājen Ghosh's Vedāntasāra, p. 120.) Ajñāna is not totally destroyed, so long as there are prārabdha karmas.

It cannot be said, as some hold, that the body which is the effect of ajñāna may continue even after the destruction of ajñāna, just as shivering of the body, which is the effect of the 'snake in the rope' continues even after the true knowledge of the rope, for **अविद्योपादेयदेहादिप्रपञ्चस्य तन्निवृत्तौ अवस्थानायोगात्।** (**शिखामणि**, Veṁkaṭeśvara Ed., p. 437.)

It may be noted in this connection that some Vedāntists do not admit such a thing as Jīvanmukti. Their contention is that Brahmajñāna totally cancels ajñāna—which is not so in the case of a man (who has attained the knowledge of the Ātman) retaining his body and living in the world. After Brahmajñāna, there should not be the least trace of ajñāna or its effects. Nayanaprasādinī, a commentary on Citsukhī, remarks that if the state of Jīvanmukti be not accepted, mukti cannot stand. **तदिह यदि जीवति ज्ञानमुत्पन्नमप्यविद्यां न निवर्त्तयेत् का वार्त्ता कालान्तरे तन्निवर्तते जीवत एव च ज्ञानोत्पत्तिः, इतरथा तदुत्पादककरणाभावेनानुत्पत्ति-प्रसङ्गात्, तद् यदि मुक्तिरस्ति अस्त्येव जीवन्मुक्तिः।** (Nirṇaya Sāgara Ed., pp. 383-84.)

We may note that one may have conceptual or discursive knowledge about the illusoriness of things. But such is not Jīvanmukta's—which is of intuitive character.

The conception of Jīvanmukti is one of the important achievements of Hindu Philosophy; although the idea appears, to some extent, in Platonism, Christian Mysticism and in some

of the philosophical products that have been nurtured on the Hellenic ethos.

We conclude this chapter with a brief reference to the exact nature of mukti. Mukti, in advaita vedānta, means identity with Brahman. Some interpreters, however, point out that according to the theory of eka-jīva-vāda (solipsism) mukti is identity with Brahman ; but according to the theory of aneka-jīva-vāda (the doctrine of many jīvas) it is identity with Īśvara or Saguṇa Brahman (see Paṇḍit Ananta Śāstrī's Com. on the Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 367). But there is a difficulty in adopting this view. For then, the māyā of Īśvara will not be negated or cancelled even after the mukti of all jīvas. It cannot be said that the māyā will be negated when the last jīva will be liberated. There is no reason (or vinigamaka) for such speciality in the mukti of the last jīva. Neither can it be said that Īśvara-bhāva is permanent, that is, the māyā of Īśvara will not be cancelled. For māyā, though beginningless, has an end. It has also been distinctly said that in the pāramārthika state there remains no distinction between Brahman and Īśvara or anything. "Neha nānāsti kiñcana"—says the Bṛha. Upaniṣad (4-4-19). Moreover, it is said that the jīva when liberated, realises its true nature and it has been clearly stated that the real nature of jīva is like that of Nirguṇa Brahman. The aspect of Īśvara (Īśvara-bhāva) is false from the pāramārthika standpoint and it is not proper to suppose that a liberated jīva attains a state which is ultimately false. The Śruti also says— "Brahmavidāpnoti param" (Taitti., 2-1). He who knows Brahman becomes Brahma-svarūpa. "Param" is "sarva-saṁsāra-dharmātīta-brahma-svarūpatvam" (see Śaṁkara's com. on the text). There are texts or sūtras signifying that mukti is Īśvarabhāva ; but they, according to Śaṁkara, refer to "gauṇa mukti" (not mukti in the real sense). In Śaṁkara, mukti always means identity with Nirguṇa Brahman.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

We bring our review of the doctrine of māyā to a close. The doctrine of Śaṁkara is one of the most important achievements in Hindu Philosophy. The genius of Śaṁkara is of a very high order. The important points in his philosophy are: Distinction between Pāramārthika, Vyāvahārika and Prātibhāsika reality; the doctrine of Māyā; and that Brahman is the only reality, Jīva is essentially Brahman and Jagat is ultimately false. Śaṁkara retains everything on the vyāvahārika plane but cancels everything (save Nirguṇa Brahman) on the pāramārthika plane. He explains the origin and diversity of the world of mind and matter by resorting to the principle of māyā. He does not posit māyā as a second principle side by side with Brahman. Māyā, though the explanation of Jīva and Jagat, is ultimately false—"Mithyābhūtā sanātanī;" this is often misunderstood. That is why Sir John Woodroffe says—'The fact of positing Māyā at all gives to Shangkara's doctrine a tinge of dualism' (Shakti and Shâkta, p. 105). According to Śaṁkara, every empiric action is true, so long as the true knowledge of self is not reached. "This fact is often ignored and consequently the Vedānta is charged with fostering inaction, pessimism leading finally to a zero-point." Śaṁkara repeatedly tells us that the transcendental unreality of the world does not deprive it of its empirical reality. Karma-tyāga, in Śaṁkara, refers only to kāmya and niṣiddha karmas. He lays stress on the point that karma has no direct relation to mokṣa. It is for cittaśuddhi only.

Śaṁkara's Brahman is 'Saccidānanda-svarūpam.' Thus it is distinguished from the Śūnya of the Mādhyamikas. Sat is being, Cit is consciousness and Ānanda is bliss. These do not

form the qualities of Brahman which is homogeneous. The meaning of the word 'Cit' is not generally understood. There is no word in English, says Sir John Woodroffe, that can adequately describe it. It is not mind ; it is not sentiency. It may be called consciousness, says Woodroffe, if by consciousness we mean ' atomic or physical consciousness, comatose or trance-like consciousness of plant-life, animal consciousness, and man's completed self-consciousness.' Cit is however pure consciousness which is, as Professor Pramathanāth Mukhopādhyāya describes it, an infinitude of ' awareness,' lacking name and form and every kind of determination—which is a state of complete quiescence where the potential is zero or infinity (quoted by Sir John Woodroffe).

Further the Vedānta is a practical philosophy. In fact almost all Hindu philosophical systems are not merely discursive but practical also. Indian philosophy has this peculiar advantage over the philosophy of the West. Sir John Woodroffe observes, " Hinduism will disappear if Sâdhanâ ceases—for then it will no longer be something real but the mere subject of philosophical and historical talk." (Shakti and Shâkta, p. 51.)

Some point out that knowledge derived from the śāstras cannot be regarded as true, for, according to Śaṁkara's own admission, the śāstras are false, being based on māyā. The śāstras have meaning only with reference to māyā. Śaṁkara has clearly stated this in his adhyāsa bhāṣya. In reply, Śaṁkarites would say that the effect may be true though the cause is false. As the knowledge of ' the snake in the rope ' though being false, yields results (*e. g.*, fear, shivering of the body, etc.) which are true, so the śāstras though ajñāna-mūlaka, yield true knowledge of Brahman. Or it may be explained in the following way. We maintain that there is no contradiction between the content of a saying and the speaker—the ego which formulates a judgment and the judgment itself. The śāstras say that the knowledge of Ātman cancels avidyā.

The śāstras might be ajñāna-mūlaka, but that does not invalidate the proposition—' the knowledge of Ātman cancels avidyā.' The subject and the content should not be brought into relation in order to prove any contradiction. Contradiction or inaccuracy, if there be any, must be sought within the content of the judgment itself. Perhaps the only possible exception to this rule can be found in the case where the ego formulates a judgment in which its own existence is denied.

Śaṁkara repeatedly says that the pāramārthika unreality of the world does not deprive it of its vyāvahārika reality. A misunderstanding of this caution has often engendered what may be called the ' Abuse of Vedāntism.' The following śloka will bear testimony to it.

"ब्रह्मैव सर्वमपरं न च किञ्चिदस्ति
तस्मान्न मे सखि परापरभेदचिन्ता।
जारे यथा गृहपतौ च तथा रतिर्मे
मूढाः किमर्थमसतीति कदर्थयन्ति॥"

To show the futility of such arguments it is sufficient only to state them. Prior to the knowledge of Brahman, the world is as real as anything and in vyāvahārika reality all distinctions are kept and observed.

Lastly we must not forget to mention that Śaṁkara is a master of the Sanskrit language. In discussing philosophical problems he uses so simple and beautiful Sanskrit that one is reminded of Kālidāsa. Moreover, his method of argumentation is simple, clear and forceful. We may not be at one with him in philosophy but we must not miss the opportunity of eulogising the qualities that he really had.

Dr. Thibaut writes—" Neither those forms of the Vedānta which diverge from the view represented by Śaṁkara nor any of the non-Vedāntic systems can be compared with the so-called orthodox Vedānta in boldness, depth and subtlety of speculation." (Introduction to the translation of the Brahmasūtras

with Śaṁkara's commentary.) Max Müller says that he was perhaps the greatest argumentator born in the world. Prof. Rādhākriṣṇa writes—"whether we agree or differ, the penetrating light of his mind never leaves us where we were." (Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 447.)

APPENDIX A

Analogous Conceptions in Western and Eastern Philosophy

1. *Māyā and the Hylê of Plato*

Almost similar to the distinction between pāramārthika and vyāvahārika worlds in Vedāntism, Plato distinguishes between the world of ideas and the world of sense. The world of ideas is only real. The world of sense is unreal—it is real in so far as it copies the world of ideas. The ideas are the eternal patterns after which the things of sense are made. The world of sense is fashioned after the patterns by the Demiurge who is the poetical personification of the Creator and the pattern of creation as merged in the creative Idea. But creation cannot be out of nothing. There are the patterns or forms which require something to be impressed upon. This something is Plato's Hylê or matter. It is indefinite, undefinable and formless, but it is capable of copying all kinds of forms. Being or reality belongs to the Idea. Matter is non-being, meaning that it has a lower kind of existence than that of the Idea. It is thus distinguished from both being and nothing. It is not-being for it is opposed to the Idea or being ; it is not pure nothing, for it is the substrate of the sensuous world. It is regarded as passive but its "passivity does not consist in non-interference." It resists the form while receiving it. Though it does not limit the Idea, it limits its operation. Matter is thus a second principle which is necessary for the explanation of the world.

Śaṁkara's māyā also is distinguished from sat and asat. Like Hylê it is indeterminate and undefinable. Though regarded as a śakti of Brahmaṇ, it is inert and passive. Thus it is akin to Plato's matter. In Śaṁkara, māyā is the material cause of the world ; in Plato, Hylê is regarded as the substrate

of the sensuous world. In both cases however, the actuality of matter is denied.

But there is important difference between the two. Māyā is regarded as a śakti of Brahman. Plato seems to posit matter side by side with the Idea. Hence Śaṁkara's system is absolutely monistic, while Plato, so far as his philosophy of nature is concerned, verges on dualism.

2. *Māyā and the Anstoss of Fichte*

According to Fichte, in the action of the Ego there is an opposed principle of repulsion which bends back the action of the Ego and reflects it into itself. This principle of repulsion is called Anstoss. "This repelling principle consists in this, that the subjective element cannot be farther extended, that the radiating activity of the Ego is driven back into itself and self-limitation results." We thus see that through the Anstoss, the Absolute of Fichte finitises itself, limits itself and becomes other than what it is. But Śaṁkara's Māyā, on the other hand, cannot be regarded as the principle of repulsion in Brahman. Brahman never finitises itself (the finitising of Brahman is not regarded by the Vedāntist as ultimately real).—It is ananta. Again, due to this principle of Anstoss, the unconscious Absolute of Fichte becomes conscious. But Māyā has got nothing to do with Brahman in this respect. Brahman is Consciousness as such. We have already said that through Anstoss, the Fichtean Absolute alienates itself—becomes other than what it is. In the case of Śaṁkara, though Māyā projects the appearance of the world and thereby leads to alienation, still this alienation, being illusory, does not materially affect the absolute reality of Brahman.

3. *Māyā and the 'Dark Ground' in the Absolute of Schelling*

The 'Dark Ground' in the Absolute of Schelling is conceived by him as something in the Absolute (not the Absolute

itself)—just as Māyā is considered by Śaṁkara as something in Brahman. The Absolute of Schelling becomes the creator or the God of Love only in and through the Dark Ground, as Śaṁkara's Brahman becomes Īśvara or the Lord of Creation in relation to Māyā. Again, finite individual forms are the results of Māyā in one case and of the Dark Ground in the other. "Lastly, every individual being has, in it, two principles both according to Śaṁkara and Schelling—a principle of Freedom or Self-will which makes it individual and finite and which it receives from the Dark Ground in the one case and from Māyā or its adjunct in the other; and another principle, *viz.*, Brahman or the Infinite itself whereby the individual is free from finitude."

Thus Schelling's Dark Ground is almost similar to Śaṁkara's Māyā with this difference that in the philosophy of Schelling the Dark Ground is a principle of self-revelation in the Absolute—but it is not so in the case of Śaṁkara. Brahman is eternally self-revealed and self-manifested.

4. *Māyā and the Materia Prima of Leibniz*

Māyā and Materia Prima agree in this respect that both of them hinder the self-realisation of the finite. In Śaṁkara, Māyā is the principle of obstruction in the individual. The individual is, in reality, the Universal—Jīva is, in its true aspect, Brahman. Owing to Māyā, Jīva fails to realise its own nature. Jīva is Brahmasvarūpa, Ānandasvarūpa, but on account of Māyā it forgets, for the time being, its infinitude and 'anīśayā śocati muhyamānaḥ.' Realising the truth of the Vedāntic texts such as 'So'ham,' 'Aham Brahmāsmi,' Jīva dispels Māyā and realises its identity or oneness with the Absolute. But Leibniz does not enter into all these discussions. He simply says that the Monad, due to the Materia Prima, fails to become one with God. The finitude of the Monad is due to the Materia Prima. As the string is to the bow, Materia Prima is to the Monad. The inherent tendency of the bow is to be straight. But the string stands in the way of realisation or

fulfilment of this tendency on the part of the bow. In like manner, Materia Prima does not allow the fulfilment of the ideal which is innate in every Monad. It is the inherent tendency of every Monad to become one with the Infinite or God. It cannot fulfil its cherished aim for the Materia Prima stands in the way.

5. *Māyā and the Matter of Bergson*

Bergson is a philosopher of experience and intuition, of action and vitality. He rejects Absolutism and Intellectualism for they do not satisfy the crying needs of humanity in general, for they fail to do justice to the ' sense and values of the average man.' Intellect gives us a distorted vision of reality ; and Logic fails to guide us in life.

Bergson believes in a real temporal creative evolution. The vital impulse or the Elân Vital is responsible for it. It is one conscious flow, a continuous upward psychical movement. For purposes of evolution it requires matter which retards, checks and sets back its forward movement and the result is the creation of novel things and beings. Thus alongside with life or vital impulse, matter has an independent separate existence. Matter is ' indispensable for both the origin and continuance of evolution.' There is thus set up a dualism between life and matter. This is the view advocated by Bergson in his ' Time and Free Will,' although he greatly modifies this dualism in ' Creative Evolution ' by making life and matter as the opposite or cross currents of the same movement.

Śaṁkara's Māyā, though responsible for the evolution of the world, has no independent existence of its own. It is the śakti of Brahman ; but it is false from the pāramārthika viewpoint. Thus while Bergson is dualistic, Śaṁkara is absolutely monistic. Further, according to Bergson, evolution is real ; but Śaṁkara allows only a vyāvahārika sattā to it.

Bergson holds that reality is a continuous flow. Change is the essence of reality. But, according to Śaṁkara, persistence is the criterion of reality. Lastly, Śaṁkara also is not a rigid intellectualist because he holds Intuition to be the final step towards the realisation of truth. But he does not underestimate reason or intellect. Reason carries us to the gate of reality ; it is the general assistant to Intuition or Aparokṣānubhūti.

6. *Māyā and the Prakṛti of the Sāṁkhya Philosophy*

Sāṁkhya-Prakṛti, like the Māyā of Vedānta, is something indefinable and undemonstrable. Originally it is the equilibrium of the three guṇas ' Sattva, Rajas and Tamas' " Sattvarajastamasām Sāmyāvasthā." It is ' indefinable because so long as the reals composing it do not combine, no demonstrable quality belonged to it with which it could be defined.'

Prakṛti as a category is different from Māyā in this respect that Prakṛti is real, while Māyā is neither real nor unreal but indefinite and indeterminate—"Sadasadbhyām Anirvācyā." Again, according to Sāṁkhya, when a Puruṣa becomes emancipated by cancelling the illusion arising from aviveka or non-discrimination between Puruṣa and Prakṛti, Prakṛti remains as real as before ; but, according to the Vedānta, when a man is emancipated, Māyā not only ceases to operate on him but is itself cancelled. Like Prakṛti, Māyā also is triguṇātmikā. " Ajāmekām Lohitaśuklakṛṣṇām," says Śvetāśvatara. Further, Prakṛti is independent ; Māyā, on the other hand, is wholly dependent on Brahman. It has got no separate, independent existence. Prakṛti, in Sāṁkhya, is a second principle posited side by side with Puruṣa.

7. *Vedāntic Māyā and Tāntric Māyā-Śakti*

Although Śākta Tantra has been regarded by some as the Practical Vedānta—the symbolisation of the Vedānta " through the chromatics of sentiment and concept," still there are marked differences between the two.

Māyā of Advaitavāda, though a śakti of Brahman is regarded as inert (jaḍa). But Māyā-śakti of Śākta-Tantra is not unconscious. (Sir John Woodroffe's Shakti and Shâkta, p. 71.) Māyā is a mysterious śakti of Brahman—a mystery which is separate and not yet separate from it. Māyā-śakti in Tantra is an aspect of Śiva Himself. According to Saṁkara, Māyā cannot be said to be real, it is Sadasadbhyām Anirvācyā. But Māyā-śakti (in Tantra) is real, for Śiva and Sakti are one ; Śiva represents the static, while Śakti the dynamic aspect.

According to Śaṁkara, the Māyic world is not true in the absolute (pāramārthika) sense but Śākta-Tantra says that the world is real, for it is Śiva's experience. (*Ibid*, p. 78.) " The Ābhāsa of Tantra is a form of Vivarta, distinguishable however from the Vivarta of Māyāvāda. Because in the Āgama whether Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva or Śākta the effect is regarded as real, whereas according to Śaṁkara, it is unreal " (*ibid*, p. 72). Thus the Śākta-Tantra School assumes a real causal nexus between Śiva and the world. Viśvasāra Tantra says—' what is here is there' (" Yad ihāsti tad anyatra ").

Again, according to Śaṁkara, mind and matter are unconscious but appear as conscious through Cidābhāsa. The Śākta Āgama reverses the position and says that they are in themselves conscious but appear as unconscious by the veiling power of consciousness itself as Māyā-śakti—" Niṣedhavyāpārarūpā Śaktiḥ." (See Woodroffe's Shakti and Shâkta, pp. 106-7.) We may note here that " Shakti is not a male nor a female 'person,' nor a male nor a female ' principle,' in the sense in which Sociology which is concerned with gross matter, uses those terms." (*Ibid*, p. 48.)

8. *Māyā and the Māyā-śakti of the Vaiṣṇava Philosophy*

The highest category of Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavism is Kṛṣṇa or Bhagavān. He has three energies : (*a*) svarūpa-śakti comprising Sandhinī, Saṁvit and Hlādinī. Sandhinī corresponds to Śaṁkara's being, Saṁvit to cit and Hlādinī to bliss. Among

these three the last is the best. Because, as Baladeva points out in his Siddhānta-ratna, in Hlādinī, there is being, cit, and bliss; in Saṁvit, being and cit; in Sandhinī, being only. (*b*) Kṣetrajña-śakti is jīva. (*c*) Māyā-śakti—an inert principle (jaḍa dravya) having the three qualities—sattva, rajas and tamas.

Bhagavān is being, consciousness, bliss and also existent, conscious and blissful. So is jīva. Śaṁkara vitally differs on this point from the Vaiṣṇava philosophers. The Trinity may be conceived in another way: Bhagavān, Nirguṇa Brahman, and Paramātman. "Bhagavān is the Perfect Person in His own Essence, unconditioned, absolute, infinite in excellence and power; Paramātman is Bhagavān, manifested in relation to the world and individual souls. At the same time, Paramātman is comprehended in Bhagavān as partial aspect in the whole. Brahma, again, is Bhagavān taken simply as pure and absolute Intelligence, without distinction of subject and predicate. Brahma is also a manifestation, either real in the Lord, or subjectively reflected in the worshipper when, in a certain state of trance or meditation (yoga-samādhi), he loses all sense of Ego and non-ego, subject and object, and appears to be merged in the absolute Intelligence." The Vaiṣṇava conception differs materially from the Christian. Sir Brajendranath Seal writes—"the Vaishnava Trinity, then, differs fundamentally from the Christian in as much as Brahma and Paramātmā are partial aspects, moments, stadia, in the Perfect, Lord. Brahma corresponds to Hegel's Absolute Idea; Paramātman to its heterization in Nature and Spirit, and Bhagavān to the completed cycle of the dialectical process. Only the Vaishnava philosophers more clearly than Hegel, begin with Bhagavān, the eternally perfected absolute person, and also end in him." (Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity, p. 89.) We may note here that Paramātman is regarded as the part (aṁśa) of Bhagavān and Brahman a manifestation of Him. (See Jīva Gosvāmī's Tattva-sandarbha, edited by Satyānanda Gosvāmī, p. 67.)

Bhagavān is being, consciousness, bliss and also existent, conscious, and blissful. So is Jīva. The difference is that Bhagavān is the whole, the eternal, infinite, the Lord (sevya), self-subsistent (svatantra) and the inner principle (antaryāmin) of jīva and māyā; while jīva is partial, eternal, infinitesimal, the servant of the Lord (sevaka), dependent on the Lord (asvatantra). Jīva's bondage is due to beginningless avidyā which subjects him, though pure in original eternal essence, to real impurity and imperfection. In the Bengal school, this avidyā or māyā is constituted by separation from the Lord, and release can come only through turning towards the Lord—which is effected by love of, and devotion to, God (prema and bhakti). Baladeva, in his commentary on Jīva Gosvāmī's Tattva-sandarbha writes: first, there is anādi-bhagavad-vaimukhya and then māyā. ईशेनमुख्येन पिहितं जीवं माया पिधत्ते, घटेनावृतं दीपं यथा तम आवृणोति। (Satyānanda Gosvāmī's Ed., p. 71.) Māyā thus deludes jīva and causes his bondage. Māyā is real, so her delusion too is real. When jīva is released, māyā (like Śaṁkara's) is not destroyed. Bhagavān knows and sees that māyā deludes jīva. He, out of charity (dākṣiṇya) towards her, does not obstruct her in her work. He is only indifferent. Jīva Gosvāmī writes—तस्या एव तत्र कर्त्तृत्वं, भगवतस्तत्र उदासीनत्वम्। (Satyānanda Gosvāmī's Ed., p. 71.)

According to Vaiṣṇavism, the cause of bondage is the beginningless Ignorance (which is negative) of the Lord. So Jīva Gosvāmī uses the word 'bhagavad-ajñānamaya-vaimukhya.' According to Śaṁkara, the cause of bondage is the beginningless Ignorance (which is bhāva-rūpa) of Brahman. There is, then, fundamental difference between the two views.

In this connection it may be noted that both Vaiṣṇavism and Advaitism regard Śruti as the ultimate proof. The Advaitist refers to the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, but the Vaiṣṇava to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Jīva Gosvāmī says that as the Vedas are vast and some portions of them have been lost (lupta and gupta) we cannot properly have recourse to them.

Vyāsa first systematised the Vedas and wrote their substance in the form of Brahma Sūtras and then 'discovered' the commentary to them—the Bhāgavata. In the matter of Brahma Sūtras and the Bhāgavata, Vyāsa had no agency (karttṛtva). They are eternal. They are Śruti. He simply discovered them in meditation. Jīva Gosvāmī adduces evidence in support of all these by quoting passages from different Purāṇas. Thus, in the Bhāgavata alone, we get the real teachings of Śruti. It is apauruṣeya (not written by any person), eternal, Śruti herself, a 'real' commentary to the Brahma Sūtras (akṛtrima-bhāṣya-bhūta) and contains the summary of the Vedas, the Purāṇas and the Itihāsa, etc. It is thus regarded as the highest proof (sarva-pramāṇānām cakravarti-bhūtam).

APPENDIX B

Is Śaṁkara a Pracchanna Bauddha ?

Śaṁkara's philosophy has been called 'concealed Buddhism' and he himself a Crypto-Buddhist. Vijñānabhikṣu, in support of his contention, quotes the following passage from Padma Purāṇa—"Māyāvādamasacchāstram pracchannam Bauddhameva ca." (Sāṁkhyadarśanam—Ed. by Jīvānanda, p. 6.)

Dr. S. N. Dās Gupta in his History of Indian Philosophy observes—"Śaṁkara and his followers borrowed much of their dialectic form of criticism from the Buddhists. His Brahman was very much like the Śūnya of Nāgārjuna. It is difficult to distinguish between pure being and pure non-being as a category. The debts of Śaṁkara to the self-luminosity of the Vijñānavāda Buddhism can hardly be overestimated. There seems to be much truth in the accusations against Śaṁkara by Vijñānabhikṣu and others that he was a hidden Buddhist." He further writes, "Śaṁkara's philosophy is largely a compound of Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda Buddhism with the Upaniṣadic notion of the permanence of the self superadded " (pp. 493-494). It is true that Śaṁkara had taken much of his dialectic form of criticism from the Buddhist Philosophers, he even used certain Buddhistic terms, but that does not signify that he was a hidden Buddhist. Śaṁkara's main object was to controvert Buddhism and to re-establish Brāhmaṇism. So it would be convenient for him to use Buddhistic terms and dialectic in discussing with the Bauddhas. Moreover, that form of dialectic and certain terms as prātibhāsika, etc., were familiarised in the philosophic world before the advent of Śaṁkara.

According to Śaṁkara, Nirguṇa Brahman is the only reality. This Nirguṇa Brahman must not be confounded with the Śūnya of the Mādhyamikas. It is 'Saccidānanda-svarūpam.' Rāmatīrtha, in his commentary on the Vedānta-sāra, notes that the force of the word 'Sat' lies in distinguishing Brahman from Anṛta and Śūnya. Vidyāraṇya-svāmī says —'yat na kiñcit tadeva tat.' (Pañcadaśī, III. 31.)

The following are some of the defects of Buddhism as pointed out by Śaṁkara. The Buddhists explain identity by similarity or sādṛśya. But identity implies continuity and not momentariness. Here Śaṁkara's arguments are the same as those of the Neo-Kantians against the Sensationalists. On the Kṣaṇika-hypothesis, the Buddhists cannot explain 'reciprocal action' between causal conditions co-operating to produce an effect. Again, 'Spontaneous action' cannot be explained on such a hypothesis.

Śaṁkara's Absolute Idealism is not nominalistic or conceptualistic. It is realistic in the sense that the categories if they are to be real, must correspond to reality—only the reality is vyāvahārika. Śaṁkara's philosophy is not subjective Idealism, for, like the Vijñānavādins, he does not hold that the things of the world are modifications of our mental states. External things, although not real in the strict sense of the term, enjoy at any rate as much reality as the specific cognitional acts whose objects they are. Buddhism favours Nominalism or rather Nominalistic conceptualism. It has been pointed out that the word Māyā occurs in early Pāli Buddhistic writings in the sense of 'deception or deceitful conduct.' Buddhaghoṣa uses it in the sense of 'magical power.' In Nāgārjuna and Laṁkāvatāra, the word has acquired the sense of 'illusion' both as a principle of creation as a śakti and as the phenomenal creation itself. But this need not throw out any hint that Śaṁkara took the idea of Māyā from the Buddhists. For, as we have already seen, the word with those meanings is found in the Vedas and the

Upaniṣads. From the apparent similarity we can only gather that both Śaṁkara and Buddhism suck the same mother—the Upaniṣads.

Perhaps obsessed with the Hegelian idea, some say that it is difficult to distinguish between Pure Being and Pure Non-being as a category. But the distinction is fully brought out in Vedāntic works. Pure Being or Sattvam, in Vedānta means non-contradiction in all times (trikālābādhyatvam) and Pure Non-being or Asattvam is " kvacidapi upādhau sattvena pratīyamānatvānadhikaraṇatvam" (Advaita-siddhi, Nirṇaya Sāgara Ed., pp. 50-51). Sat is that which is not contradicted in any time ; Asat is that which has not the capacity of being presented (pratītyanarhatvam). Śaṁkara, as it seems, understood the ultimate category of Vedānta as Pure Being and that of Buddhism as Pure Non-being. Hence to identify Buddhism with Vedānta is to identify zero with infinity.

Dr. B. M. Barua writes—" Was Śaṁkara's Philosophy itself ' possible or intelligible ' without reference to Buddhist philosophies, the Mādhyamika in particular, which flourished in South India? The question, as we are now persuaded, must be answered in the negative." (Prolegomena to a History of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 19.) Apart from the consideration that the doctrine of Māyā can be found in the Upaniṣads—that it is not a graft from without but a growth from within, it may be observed that " it would not be difficult to perceive that the doctrine of Māyā is a necessary corollary of the doctrine of the individual being Brahman in mokṣa (absolute liberation) ; for it is only in this identification that he realises that individuality was an illusion and that the distinction of Subject, Object, etc., possible only through this individuality, was an illusion too." (Prof. Bhattāchāryya's ' Studies in Vedantism,' Introduction, p. 8.)

APPENDIX C

A Note on Śruti-Pramāṇa

Almost all orthodox philosophical systems in India admit the validity of the Vedas as a distinct source of knowledge. "Śabda pramāṇa" is resorted to, generally in the case of 'Sampādya' or what is to be established, *e.g.*, Dharma; it is also applicable to the case of 'Sampanna' or 'that which is ever established,' *e.g.*, Brahman. The heterodox systems of Jainism and Buddhism also regard 'authority' as a pramāṇa, that is, they have their respective Gurus or 'Pravaktās,' although they refuse to obey the Vedas.

Śaṁkara's arguments in philosophy are always based upon Śruti. It is mainly for this reason, scholars are of opinion that Śaṁkara has mainly Theology and very little Philosophy proper.

Śaṁkara, in his Bhāṣya on 'Tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt,' etc. (Brahmasūtras, 2-1-11), conclusively proves the utter futility of arguments not based on authority or self-evident truths which are free from error. It is not merely for scholastic reference to authority that Śaṁkara and other eminent writers often refer to Śruti-texts or older authorities, but that critiques, in order to be rescued from barrenness or fragmentary character, must ultimately be based on some self-evident truths which are free from error; otherwise 'tarka' would have no pratiṣṭhā. We should bear in mind that Hindu Philosophy is essentially 'practical.'

As Bacon thought that the mysteries of creation and salvation, etc., form the subject-matter of Revealed Religion, because they are above Reason; but, as regards the existence of God and His attributes, Philosophy has its proper right—

although certain attributes of God (*e.g.*, His love of man) are above Philosophy, so Śaṁkara holds that in a general way the existence of God, etc., can be established by Tarka or Anumāna. But the nature of Brahman and the nature of the relation between Jīva and Brahman cannot be established indubitably by Tarka. Aparokṣānubhūti and Śabda as a necessary step to it, are necessary. Negatively Anumāna, etc., are very useful, but about positive knowledge of Brahman, Anumāna, etc. (not grounded on Śruti), are quite helpless. This is the position of Śaṁkara in Theology. Authority as a distinct pramāṇa is also found in the philosophy of the Middle Ages in Europe. But the Mediaeval philosophical systematisers made much of authority, which proved a bane to their philosophy. Indeed they really stemmed the tide of philosophic growth. But in India, authority, instead of arresting the growth of philosophy, sought to settle it on a firmer and sounder basis.

APPENDIX D

Indian Doctrine of Adhikāra

Foreign scholars fail to understand the proper significance of the Indian Doctrine of Adhikāra. Adhikāravāda plays an important role in Indian Philosophy. In ancient times the Guru never inculcated the Brahma-vidyā to the uninitiated. The learner of the secret doctrines of the Upaniṣads must, first of all, be an Adhikāri. By a careful study of the Vedas and by performing the necessary disciplines and nitya and naimittika karmas, the learner becomes purged of all impurities of the mind. He should also have faith in the Śāstric injunctions. As Bacon says—'Learners must be believers.' To such a man the principles of Brahma-vidyā are to be given, otherwise the secret doctrines will be abused by the uninitiated. Brahma-vidyā is secret and was kept in confidence among the gurus and the disciples. Dr. Thibaut is not correct when he says that Upaniṣad is not a secret treasure. In fact, it is often termed in the Upaniṣads themselves as 'Ṛṣisaṁghajuṣṭam.' The Śāstras themselves select disciples to whom such vidyā is to be given.

"प्रशान्तचित्ताय जितेन्द्रियाय प्रक्षीणदोषाय यथोक्तकारिणे।
गुणान्वितायानुगताय सर्व्वदा प्रदेयमेतत् सकलं मुमुक्षवे॥"

(Upadeśasāhaśrī, śloka 416.)

So disciples are to be chosen carefully—otherwise there is the danger of abuse of the doctrines—as we find in the case of present-day Vaiṣṇavism and Tāntrikism. The Christian gospel says—Throw not your pearls before swine lest they trample upon them and then rend you.

It is also a psychological fact that all minds are not of the same capacity. All kinds of glass do not reflect the sun in exactly the same manner. With an open eye to this fact the teacher should instruct the learners. Different minds are suited to different things. According to this principle, the Cārvāka philosophy and the 'six systems' are harmonised. The principle is technically called 'Arundhatī-darśana-nyāya.' Foreigners find it difficult to understand this principle of Adhikāra as they are naturally prone to think that philosophy is merely discursive. The doctrine of Adhikāra has an important function to perform with regard to Indian Philosophy as the latter is essentially 'practical.' Indian Philosophy, to borrow the words of Prof. Pramathanāth Mukhopādhyāya, is one "which not merely argues but also experiments" (quoted by Sir John Woodroffe). It is this practical aspect of Indian Philosophy which saves it from being merely 'logic-chopping' and 'intellectual jugglery.'

APPENDIX E

The Characteristics of Indian Philosophy

Philosophy, says Plato, begins with wonder. Man, confronted with the vast panorama of the world, stands stupefied, mystified and bewildered After the lapse of this state of mind, he naturally begins to ponder over these questions—What is this world in its ultimate nature ? Whence is it ? Who am I ? Is there a ruler, a regulator of all these beings and things ? Everything in this world is changing—but not without a principle. There is harmony in discordance, unity in multiplicity, uniformity in diversity. This regularity in the midst of change gives rise to metaphysical quest. But this questioning is inherent in man. Really speaking, there can be no such thing as the 'Origin of Philosophy.' Man, as man, must philosophise. So, as Dr. Stephen puts it, the question is not of philosophy or no philosophy but of a good philosophy and a bad one.

(1) Whatever may be the practical origin of Indian Philosophy, we find that at a later date, the question of philosophising in India had a practical bearing. It is the principle of Liberation or Mokṣa that determines the different systems of Indian thought. Philosophy has been cultivated—not merely for the sake of Truth as truth, nor as a sort of intellectual pastime. This practical touch mainly distinguishes Indian thought from the Western.

(2) Moreover, Indians had their own way of expressing things. For instance, we find—

"सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्
स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वाऽत्यतिष्ठद् दशाङ्गुलम् ।"

(Ṛgveda, Puruṣa Sūkta.)

"अग्निर्मूर्धा चक्षुषी चन्द्रसूर्यौ दिशः श्रोत्रे वाग्विवृताश्च वेदाः।
वायुः प्राणो हृदयं विश्वमस्य पद्भ्याम् पृथिवी ह्येष सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा॥"
(Mūṇḍakopaniṣad, 2-1-4.)

अनेकबाहूदरवक्त्रनेत्रं पश्यामि त्वां सर्वतोऽनन्तरूपम्।
नान्तं न मध्यं न पुनस्तवादिं पश्यामि विश्वेश्वर विश्वरूप॥ (गीता, 2-6.)

These descriptions do not refer to a Monster or a Demon as Gough understands by them. This 'Mammoth Man' denotes very much the same thing which Green understands by 'Eternal consciousness.'

(3) Sometimes the Ṛṣis of old would explain a thing gradually. Brahman is, at first, taken to be Anna (Food or Matter); this definition is cancelled and it is taken to be Prāṇa (Universal Life or Vital Force); from Prāṇa we pass on to Manas (Mind or rather the Sensations), then to Vijñāna (the Understanding or Reason) and finally to Ānanda (Bliss or the Absolute, the Infinite or the Perfect). 'Bhūmā' is the word in Chān., 7-24-1. (See Taitti., 3-2-1, 3-3-1, 3-4-1, 3-5-1, 3-6-1.) The lower definitions though cancelled in turn are not wholly false. They are true in their proper place. As in Hegel, the Absolute is first defined as Being; we rise high in the scale of Truth and get it as Essence; rising higher up we understand by it the Notion. The lower categories are regarded as incomplete definitions of the Absolute—as imperfect 'adumbrations' of God. Though negatived they are retained in the higher categories. Thus in the ballet dance of the categories, the meaning of the Absolute becomes fuller and richer till it becomes the fullest and richest. This is the process of self-realisation of the Absolute.

The difference between Śaṁkara and Hegel may be noted in this connection. According to Hegel, the lower categories though incomplete are not false. Simply they do not express the full truth. Śaṁkara would say that they are true in their proper place, *i. e.*, on the vyāvahārika plane; but on the

pāramārthika plane they are totally false. Hegel further adds that this intellectual process has its counterpart in the actual process. The Logical is thus identified with the Real.

We thus see that in Indian Philosophy, ideas are often expressed through Mythology and Symbology. Analogy also is often resorted to. It is for this reason that "the very name of philosophy has sometimes been denied to Indian speculation" and it has also been declared in a loud voice "that the Oriental intellect is not sufficiently dry and has not masculine virility enough to rise to anything higher than grotesque imaginative Cosmogonies."

Mythology makes the thing interesting and Symbology intelligible. The use of symbols in Hindu religion has a great significance. Like other religions, it does not overlook the different capacities of different minds. All are not equally capable of conceiving the Absolute as Nirguṇa, Formless, Pure Being. A symbol is not to be misunderstood as the thing itself. It helps a man to move forward in the path of religion. It is utter puerility to denounce it as a "conscious alliance with falsehood, the deliberate propagation of lies." On the contrary, it is criminal to ask every one to tread along the highest path from the very beginning. Religion, to retain its force and meaning, should be divested of all such vain boasting and conscious hypocrisy.

Analogy, as we know, serves different purposes. In Literature, it is often introduced for æsthetic purposes. It may have logical or scientific value. As we go on multiplying the instances through analogy we come very near the general or scientific truth. It has also a symbolic function as in Philosophy. The subtleties or abstractions that we reach through dialectic reasoning are kept in touch with the concrete through the legitimate use of analogy. Hindu Philosophy has this peculiar advantage over the Philosophy of the West. Of course, in some European Philosophers we sometimes find this tendency of keeping abstract thoughts in touch

with the concrete real. For instance, Plato gives the example of 'the chariot and the driver' when he considers the relation of the lower anima to the Nous.

(4) All systems of philosophy have presuppositions of their own. In fact, philosophy cannot proceed without positing some higher principles or evident truths—without something taken for granted. The Postulates of Indian Philosophy are :—

A. Logical and Pragmatic—

लोकव्यवहार—It is the limit to doubt, to tarka, to philosophy.

B. Moral—

(1) कृतनाश—No lapse of the effect of what has been done.

(2) अकृताभ्यागम—We cannot reap the fruit of what has not been done.

C. Epistemological—

जगत्प्रकाश—Conceptual knowledge is impossible without the subject-object series.

D. Psychological—

जगद्वैचित्र्य—Psychoses presuppose variety in nature.

E. Ontological—

(1) कार्यकारणभाव—None can do away with the causal nexus.

(2) अनवस्था—*Regressus ad infinitum.*

The following also are widely held :

(1) Ātman is eternal.

(2) It is ubiquitous.

(3) The Doctrine of Karma and connected with it the Doctrine of Re-birth.

(4) Belief in Mukti.

(5) Jīvanmukti or 'Life Divine' in this world.

(6) Yoga—some sort of moral or spiritual discipline is necessary for Cittaśuddhi which is preliminary to Mokṣa.

(See Dr. Seal's Syllabus of Indian Philosophy, pp. 8-12.)

Government and Administrative System of Tipu Sultan

BY

SURATH CHARAN SEN GUPTA, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

The career of Tipu Sultan is well worth study; for none of the native rulers of India in modern times has had a more ambitious political programme or more extended schemes, with the exception of Mahadji Sindhia, the great Maratha warrior and statesman of the 18th century. Tipu was no mere fanatic, though he certainly was a bigoted Moslem; he was possessed by a consuming ambition, and was not incapable of forethought, of diplomacy, of political combinations. But he had not much of the coolness, the clear-sightedness, the dispassionate calculation of the real statesman. His pride, it seems, supplied, in a greater or lesser degree, the motive force for his ambition.

Tipu's neighbours were all his enemies,—the three chief enemies were the English, the Marathas and the Nizam. He wanted to humble them and, if possible, conquer their territories. And he had perhaps a greater ambition. The most pathetic and pitiable position of the unfortunate Mughal Emperor did not escape his notice. The sovereignty of Delhi, it appeared, and, of the whole of India, would really pass, sooner or later, either to the hands of the Marathas or the English; and, it seems, he also wanted to have a chance in the game of political leadership of India.

Especially against the English he cherished an undying hatred. The humiliating peace of 1792 sank deep into his

soul. He was thenceforth guided by a strong sentiment with a keen sense of honour ; and a bitter spirit of revenge troubled his brain throughout the rest of his life. The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū* tells us that he forthwith gave up his bed and soft mattress and slept thenceforth on a coarse cloth (*khaddi*) spread upon the ground.[1] "A nice sense of honour," he once declared in his *Darbār*, "should be predominant in the character of a king, and that one who had suffered misfortunes from the superiority of his enemies, should not be appeased until he had obtained ample revenge." His mind, he said, was "principally occupied" for "effecting the ruin of his enemies ;" and "to keep in remembrance the misfortunes" he had experienced "six years ago," caused by the malice of his enemies,[2] he had "discontinued" sleeping in a cotton mattress. "When I am victorious," declared the Sultan, "I shall resume the bed of cotton."[3]

Tipu tried on all hands to raise up allies against his enemies. He had a series of correspondence with many foreign powers—both Muslim and non-Muslim as suited his purpose—and sent embassies beyond the seas to some of them, with a view to gain their sympathy and active help in the achievement of his own political ambition in India. He expected and tried his best to gain over Muslim sovereigns everywhere as his brothers and natural allies. He opened systematic correspondence with the "Grand Sultan" of Constantinople, with Zaman Shah, the King of Kabul, and Fatteh Ali Khan, the King of Iran, and sent embassies to the first two.[4] He seems to have assumed the rôle of Champion of

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* (Col. Miles' trans.), p. 281.

[2] Alluding to the conquests of Cornwallis and his humiliating treaty with the English in 1792.

[3] Beatson, *View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with the late Tipu Sultan* (London, 1800), pp. 152-153.

[4] *Official Correspondence* of Tipu's Government, translated and published by Kirkpatrick—'*Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*,' pp. 212-213 ; *Official Documents* of Tipu's Govern-

Islam in India and held out before them the plan, so to say, of starting a Pan-Islamic movement to crush the non-Muslim powers in India. He made repeated and most emphatic declarations of his grand ambition of waging a "holy war" against the "*Kāfirs*" (infidels) of India. He thus tried to excite the foreign Muslim sovereigns and the principal Muslim nobles of India to take up his cause.[1] The English and the Marathas were, no doubt, the two most obnoxious *kāfirs* who stood in his way; and the Nizam, though a co-religionist, was the third great *kāfir*, whom also he hated none the less. Plans of revenge against "the three *Kāfirs*"—by which he distinctly meant the English, the Marathas and the Nizam—formed the chief subject of his meditations and even of his dreams.[2]

Nor did he stop by trying to win over his co-religionists only. He knew very well the anti-English feelings and interests of the French in India, and he negotiated with the French, with the object of inducing them to make common cause with him and renew hostilities against the English in India. His first embassy to France was sent in 1787 *via* Constantinople; but it was stopped at Constantinople and in 1788 another embassy was sent, which reached France. With the Directory, he carried on a regular correspondence; he sent letters to Napoleon Bonaparte, who in return encouraged their "greatest friend, Tippoo Saib" in his schemes against his enemies and assured the Sultan of his help, to deliver him "from the iron yoke of England."[3] Towards the end of his

ment (trans. by Edmonstone), published in 1799 by order of the English Government in India, pp. 63-73 (or see *Documents and State Papers*, in *Asiatic Annual Register*, Vol. I: 'Supplement to the Chronicle', pp. 196-214).

[1] *Official Correspondence* (Kirkpatrick); *Official Documents* (Edmonstone), pp. 63-73. (See Chap. on *Church and Religious Policy*.)

[2] English translation of a part of the *Register of Tipu's Dreams* (Beatson's *View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with the late Tipu Sultan*, Appendix 35).

[3] *State Papers*, in Asiatic Annual Register, Vol. I: 'Supplement to the State Papers,' pp. 232-33 (Beatson, *op. cit.*, Appendix VII).

reign, the Sultan was making preparations to send a third mission to France, with a view to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Republic, so as to curb and, if possible, "annihilate" the power of the English, their "common enemy" in India. In his letter, dated July, 1798, to the French Directory, he made it a point to mention that he had incurred the enmity of the English because of his "connection and friendship" with the French. Between 1797 and 1799, he sent envoys to the Governor of Mauritius and obtained French recruits for his army.[1]

In the second half of his reign, while he was all along trying his best to make a mighty preparation to inflict a crushing blow to the English power, he took utmost care to continue his normal friendly correspondence with the English Governor-General in India.[2] And when the final war with the English became inevitable, he tried, though in vain, to win over the Marathas by sending at once a *Vakil* to the Poona Court for the purpose.[3]

The Sultan's passionate desire and his tenacious efforts for the realisation of his great political ambition did indeed make him mad; and he certainly showed here signs of a very active, though restless, mind,—and perhaps herein one may also discern some signs of his real greatness. But he could not always gauge a situation aright and underestimated the strength of his enemies. His plans, accordingly, were to a great extent grandiose rather than politic or practicable. In his *dream world*, he might have the pleasure of seeing the sure possibility of the destruction of "*the three Kāfirs*,"[4] but in the

[1] *State Papers*, in Asiatic Annual Register, Vol. I: 'State Papers,' pp. 96-99, 'Supplement to the State Papers,' pp. 215-232 (some of these *State Papers* to be found also in Beatson, *op. cit.*, Appendices III and XIII); Beatson, *op. cit.* pp. 38, 184-185.

[2] Sultan's Correspondence with the English Government (*Official Documents*, *Edmonstone*, pp. 143-171; or *Asiatic Annual Register*, Vol. I: 'State Papers,' pp. 68-74).

[3] Contemporary Marathi evidence (Khare's *Aitihāsik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. XI, p. 5758).

[4] *Register of Tipu's Dreams* (Beatson, *Op. cit.*, Appendix XXXV).

world of reality, he was fighting against forces which proved too strong for him. His allies were far away, unable, even if they were willing, to give him any effective help; and Tipu's elaborate political plans collapsed like a house of cards, and his grand ambition met with a tragic end.

In this work, however, we are concerned, not with Tipu's political programme and his diplomacy, but with his system of internal government and administration. Here also, as in the sphere of foreign policy, we meet with a restless mind, inventive, resourceful, full of designs, sometimes childish and futile, sometimes wise and brilliant. In whatever he did, the Sultan was always vigorous and energetic. He issued regulations without number, altered, amended, reformed indefatigably. He was an autocrat, no doubt, but he was no indolent voluptuary; the greatness of the monarch, the good of the country, the welfare of his peaceful subjects, were constantly in his mind.

The Sources.

In discussing the sources which have been used, it should be confessed that many of the relevant Persian manuscripts, which are now in the India Office and British Museum Libraries, have been available only in English translations. This is not satisfactory, as it is often very difficult to be certain whether the technical terms have been uniformly or accurately rendered. Where possible, the translation has been checked and corrections made if necessary.

The sources may be classified thus:

I. STATE PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS.

A. *Official Documents and Papers of Tipu's Government*

Translated by N. B. Edmonstone, the Persian Translator to the British Government in India, and some papers in French translated by G. G. Keble. Published by order of the Governor-General in Council in Calcutta, 1799.

This volume contains a large number of official papers of Tipu's Government, including his correspondence with the French, with the British Government in India and with some other powers.

Many of these papers were also printed in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1799 (Vol. I). They were also reprinted in the Appendix to another important publication, '*A Review of the origin, progress and result of the late decisive war in Mysore*, in a letter from an officer in India (James Salmond), with notes and appendix. Published by M. Wood, London, 1800. Salmond's letter was dated Fort St. George, 5th August, 1799. The Review itself is of no value for our present purpose.

A few of these official papers, with certain other interesting documents (translated from original Persian MS.) were printed in the valuable appendices to Beatson's '*View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with the late Tipu Sultan*' (London, 1800).

B. *Official Correspondence and other Papers*, translated and published by Col. Kirkpatrick:

(*i*) *Official Correspondence.*

A vast number of official letters, chiefly relating to internal government and administration, were found in a Register of Letters of Tipu's Government after the capture of Seringapatam. A selection of about a thousand were translated by Col. Kirkpatrick and published under the title of "*Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*" (1811); and some others were published in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, Vol. XII (for 1810-11). These, however, formed but "a fragment" of the Register, which Kirkpatrick supposed to contain copies of all the official correspondence of Tipu's reign.[1] He would seem to be wrong, however, in believing that these official letters were all Tipu's

[1] '*Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*,' Preface, pp. ix-x.

letters, *i.e.*, written by him personally or dictated by him in full to his *Munshīs* (writers).[1] It can hardly be supposed that Tipu used to sit down to deal personally with every detail of every department of his government, when there were so many departmental chief officers, described in this work. He tried, no doubt, to interfere very often in departmental questions, but surely there must have been a limit to his time and energy. Most likely, these were letters sent by the Central Government, generally by the departmental heads, to the officers of different kinds, in the capital, in the provinces and districts, as well as to those stationed in foreign countries—dispatches under the Sultan's seal or, in matters of special importance, over his signature. It may be reasonably assumed, of course, that some of the most important letters in the collection, including those addressed to some high officials in the capital and elsewhere, were written with direct and full instructions from the Sultan—letters written and despatched by the *Huzūr-Kachhārī* (described in Chap. IV), or those sent by the departmental heads, who, it appears, reported verbally important matters to the Sultan for his instructions on the same. The character of these letters or papers, some of which may be properly called Official Circulars, may thus be described. These were letters, occasionally sent by the Central Government, to the officers of various kinds, containing short instructions, referring to, or urging upon a strict observance of, the general elaborate instructions or rules already issued; instructions or orders amending or altering such general rules, as to the proper discharge of their duties; orders and instructions sent on particular occasions and on particular points; etc. (*hukm-nāmas*, *parwānas*, *etc.*).

This Collection is of the utmost value to us. The correspondence published by Kirkpatrick unfortunately ends with the year 1790; and we are unable to avail ourselves of the

[1] *Ibid*, Appendices, pp. xi, xvii.

later correspondence. But what there is, throws a great deal of light on the nature of the administrative system and especially on the manner in which it worked in the provinces, districts and even villages.

(*ii*) *Government Rules and Regulations and other documents*, published by Kirkpatrick.

Besides the official letters, Col. Kirkpatrick has given, in Appendices to his published volume, translations of some other official documents, including those containing some important Government Rules and Regulations, often only epitomes or abstracts rather than literal translations, such as the Commercial Regulations of 1793-94, Marine Regulations, Military Ordinance, etc.

C. *Fatḥ-almujāhidīn* (فتح المجاهدين)

A military treatise or code written under the direction of the Sultan himself by Zain-al ʿĀbidin Mūsawī ibn Sayyid Radī of Shūshtar (generally known as Zain-al ʿĀbidin Khān Shūshtrī) in 1783. The author sometimes commanded the Sultan's armies. This was not a mere ideal military treatise. It contained Rules and Regulations for the army, which were meant strictly for the practical guidance of the military officers, and is a valuable source of evidence on Tipu's army administration during the early part of his reign. The Persian MS. is now in the India Office Library (Hermann Ethé's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library, Vol. I, No. 2738). Col. Kirkpatrick has given extracts from it in Appendix I of '*Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*'. We have thought it proper and convenient to mention it under State Papers and Documents.

D. *Government Rules relating to the administration of a District*, dealing more particularly with revenue administration, issued in 1785—translated and published by Burrish Crisp under the title, 'The Mysorean Revenue Regulations.'

This detailed *Hukm-nāma* was sent to a district for the guidance of "the present and future" *Amils* or District Officers, who were bound to obey them exactly, under pain of "severe punishment." The Rules we have relate to one particular district, but there is no doubt that the same or similar rules applied to other districts as well. Crisp's translation, first published at Calcutta in 1792, was afterwards reprinted in a valuable anonymous publication, *British India Analysed*, London, 1795 (ascribed to Greville of the India Office). It is this edition of the translation that I have used; and the page references are to it. I shall refer to it as, *District Administration Rules* (*Crisp*); and sometimes as *Revenue Rules* (*Crisp*).

II. Charles Stuart's "*Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tipu Sultan of Mysore*" together with Memoirs of Hyder Ali Khan and Tipu Sultan (Cambridge, 1809), contains an account of the books and official papers in Tipu's Library and is of considerable value. The memoirs prefixed are, however, only of secondary importance.

III. *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū*: a history of Tipu Sultan's reign by a contemporary Muhammadan writer. The writer, Mīr Hussain 'Ali Khān Kirmanī, wrote a complete history of the Moslem rulers of Mysore. The first part, *Nishān-i-Haidarī*, describes the reign of Hyder Ali and the second, *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* that of Tipu. Both were translated and published by Col. W. Miles, the second part as '*The History of the Reign of Tipu Sultān*,' London, 1864. I have compared the translation with the Persian text[1]; references and quotations will generally be made from the translation.

IV. *History of the Reigns of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan —by a contemporary Hindu writer.*

A translation of the original Marathi MS. was published by Charles Philip Brown of the Madras Civil Service, in 1849,

[1] *Nishān-i-Haidarī* together with Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultan. Litho. ed. (Bombay, 1890).

under the title, "*Memoirs of Tipu and Hyder.*" He says that the MS. was probably found at Serangapatam after its capture, and was handed over by Lt.-Col. Barry Close in 1801 to Major Mackenzie. The work is anonymous, but Brown surmised the author to be one Ram Chandra Raw of Punganoor, commonly known as 'Punganuri,' who was in the service of Hyder and Tipu. He is not however to be confused with Raja Ram Chandra Raw, long *Diwān* of Bangalore under Tipu (Kirkpatrick's *Official Correspondence*; Brown, p. 46).

V. *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan, written by himself.*

The Persian MS. copy, which was in the possession of Col. Kirkpatrick, is now in the India Office Library (No. 3565, glass case). I have used a photographed copy of this MS., in the possession of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar. According to Kirkpatrick, in his 'Select Letters of Tipu Sultan,' this Persian work was designated '*Tārīkh-i-Khudā-dādi*,' History of the *Khudā-dād Sarkār* (God-given Government). He found the work in an imperfect state, the narrative coming down only to 1787. The India Office MS. wants in the first three pages and begins abruptly with the Siege of Bednore, of which there is a vivid account. (See the writer's article, '*Siege of Bednore, 1783*,' 'Indian Historical Quarterly,' Vol. II, No. 4, Dec. 1926 and Vol. III, No. I, Mar. 1927.)

VI. *An account written in 1790 by one of Tipu's Officials.*

A translation of the original Persian MS. was published in the *Asiatic Annual Register, Vol. I.*

VII. Francis Buchanan's '*Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar.*' 3 vols. (1807).

Buchanan commenced his journey on April 23, 1800, and travelled through various districts which had lately been under Tipu. He has left us minute accounts of various aspects of local administration in these districts, and a really valuable description of the social and economic condition of

the country, based for the most part on actual observation and inquiry on the spot, in others on reports from others. It can, of course, be hardly expected that he could always get correct and accurate reports or gather other reliable sources of accurate information. Buchanan's narrative, however, is of great value for our purpose, especially for certain old-established customs in Land Revenue administration and so forth. In some matters, he is our only source ; in others, he confirms and amplifies the evidence furnished by official papers of Tipu's government. He is particularly useful for the practical result on the country of the administrative system.

VIII. *Report on the Interior Administration, Resources and Expenditure of the Government of Mysore*, by Major M. Wilks, acting Resident at Mysore, written and transmitted to the Secretary to Government in the Secret, Foreign and Political Department, dated Mysore, 5th December, 1804, together with some valuable appendices. Published by Order of the Governor-General in Council, Fort William, 4th May, 1805.

The Report deals of course with the new regime after Tipu's fall, but is extremely useful for the reign of Tipu also ; and it is more detailed and accurate on some points than Buchanan.

IX. **English Papers.**—*Letters, Reports, Abstract Returns*, etc., on various matters relating to Tipu Sultan, published in *Asiatic Annual Register, Vol. I*, and a few others in the appendices to Beatson's '*View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with the late Tipu Sultan.*' Many English papers concerning Tipu may be found also in a later publication, '*Extracts from Capt. Colin Mackenzie's work, regarding the dominions of the late Tipu Sultan*' (Calcutta, 1854). But most of the papers in this publication which are valuable for our present purpose are only reprints of those published in Vol. I of the Asiatic Annual Register.

X. "*Historical and Political View of the Deccan*, south of the Krishnah, including a sketch of the Extent and Review of the Mysorean Dominions as possessed by Tipu Sultan at the commencement of the war in 1790, with an appendix showing the alterations which happened in the Finance and relative condition of that prince in consequence of the Partition Treaty concluded in 1792" and subsequent to that. Published anonymously, London, 1798. The author, as known to the contemporary English writers, was James Grant, the well-known writer on various important matters relating to India. (See *Asiatic Annual Register, Vol. I*: 'Characters,' p. 5; Beatson's *View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tipu Sultan*, p. 229.) From the manner of the author's treatment of the subject, it appears that he had accurate knowledge about Tipu's dominions. He has given an elaborate account of the revenue of the different parts of the Sultan's dominions, a subject of which he seems to have had a special study.

XI. **Records of the Sringeri Matha.**—The celebrated Hindu *Maṭha* of Sringeri (properly Śringagiri), on the left bank of the Tunga, founded by Śankarāchāryya, was in a most flourishing state even under the Muslim rulers of Mysore, Hyder and Tipu, in whose dominions it was situated. A few years ago, a large number of valuable records was discovered in this *Maṭha*, consisting of *Sanads*, grants, letters, etc., from the early 17th century on. Many of these are from the time of Hyder and Tipu; some of these records and particularly the letters of both of them to the *Swāmi* of the *Maṭha* throw a very interesting light on the relation between the Muslim rulers and the Hindu *Swāmi*. Many of them have been summarised in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1916*.

XII. **Narrative of contemporary English writers, having personal knowledge about various matters relating to Tipu and his dominions.**

There is a considerable number of these, which are all useful for a comprehensive study of the history of Tipu's reign, particularly his relation with the English. The most useful for our purpose, as giving a picture of Tipu's government, army, his treatment of the prisoners of war, the condition of the people and so forth, are the following :—

(*i*) *Memoirs of the War in Asia* from 1780 to 1784, including a *Narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings of English officers and soldiers*, by an officer of Col. Baillie's detachment. (*Second ed.*, London, 1789.)

The writer of the narrative has given a detailed description of the cruel treatment of the English prisoners in Mysore under both Hyder and Tipu (during 1780-84).

(*ii*) '*An Authentic Narrative of the treatment of the English who were taken prisoners on the reduction of Bednore by Tippoo Saib*, from 28th April, 1783 to 25th April, 1784.' By Capt. Henry Oakes, Adj. Gen. to the Army under the command of General Matthews (a sufferer and a spectator of the horrid scenes he has described). With an Appendix relating to " the conduct of the British forces upon their first becoming masters of that place," by Lt. John Charles Sheen, " who was upon the same service." (London, 1785.)

(*iii*) '*View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with the late Tipu Sultan.*' By Alexander Beatson. (London, 1800.) There are some valuable appendices.

(*iv*) '*A Narrative of the Operations of Capt. Little's Detachment*, commanded by Parsuram Bhaw, during the late confederacy in India against Nawab Tipu Sultan Bahadur.' By Edward Moor. (London, 1794.)

(*v*) '*A Narrative of the Campaign in India*, which terminated the war with Tipu Sultan.' By Major Dirom. (London, 1793.)

XIII. *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore. By Lt.-Col. Mark Wilks. (2nd Ed., 1869. 2 Vols.)

Wilks wrote the first comprehensive history of Mysore and a better history has not yet arrived. But he did not use the voluminous state papers of Tipu's government exhaustively, although he had access to them; and he had perhaps little or no access to the numerous contemporary Marathi documents and papers, which have been published in recent years.

Wilks pays very little attention to Tipu's internal government and administration and is therefore of little use for our purpose. His account of the administration of Mysore under the early Hindu rulers, including the famous reforms of Chick Deo Raj, is, however, valuable.

XIV. **Accounts of French writers**:

(*i*) '*The History of Hyder Ali Khan Nabob Bahadur*, or New Memoirs concerning the East Indies, with historical notes.' By M. Le Maitre De La Tour, for some time Commander-in-Chief of Hyder's Artillery, and of a body of European troops in his service. This work has been of some use for our purpose.

The original French edition was published at Paris in 1783 (2 tom in one). The first English edition was published in London, 1784. I have used the second edition, published in London, 1786, 2 Vols. It was afterwards reprinted in 1848 (Calcutta) and in 1855 (London).

(*ii*) Michaud—'*Histoire des progrés et de la chûte de l'Empire de Mysore*, sous les régnes d'Hyder Aly et Tippoo Saib.' (Paris, 1801. 2 tom.)

The work does not seem to be of first-rate importance and value for our purpose.

(*iii*) '*Tipu Sultan Revolutions de l'Inde pendant le dix-huitiéme siécle, ou Mémoires de Typoo Zaeb*...écrits par luiméme, et traduits de la langue Indostane.' Published by A. Fantin Desodoards. (Paris, 1796. 2 tom.)

I have not been in a position as yet to judge the work thoroughly and have not used it.

XV. Marathi Sources :

Much valuable material in Marathi on Hyder and Tipu is now available. Especially, there is a large number of newsletters of first-rate importance, including a long series of letters of the Maratha *Vakil* at the Mysore Court sent to the Poona Government (published in D. B. Parasnis's '*Itihās Sangraha*' ; Rajwade's '*Marāṭhyānchyā Itihāsachin Sādhanen*,' Vol. 19). Any attempt to write a complete and accurate political history of Tipu's reign and that of his father must take exhaustively the Marathi evidence into account; but for our purpose we have only been able to glean a few points from the letters published in V. V. Khare's '*Aitihāsik-Lekh-Sangraha*,' Vol. VIII.

Authorities how referred to and Abbreviations.

I. A.	Official Documents (Edmonstone)	.. *Off. Doc. Ed.*
I. B. (*i*)	Official Correspondence (Kirkpatrick)	... *Off. Corr. Kirk.*
	Official Correspondence (Kirkpatrick), Asiatic Annual Register, Vol. XII.	in *Off. Corr. Kirk. in A. A. R. XII.*
I. B. (*ii*)	Official Documents (Kirkpatrick)	... *Off. Doc. Kirk.*
	Rules and Regulations (Kirkpatrick)	... *Rules and Reg. Kirk.*
	Commercial Regulations (Kirkpatrick)	... *Comm. Reg. Kirk.*
	Marine Regulations (Kirkpatrick)	... *Mar. Reg. Kirk.*
	Military Rules and Regulations (Kirkpatrick), etc.	*Mil. Rules and Reg. Kirk., etc.*
I. C.	*Fath-almujāhidīn* (Kirkpatrick)	... *Mujāhidīn, Kirk.*
I. D.	District Administration Rules (Crisp).	... *Dist. Adm. Rules, Crisp.*
	Revenue Rules (Crisp)	... *Rev. Rules, Crisp.*
II.	Stuart's Descriptive Catalogue of Tipu's Library.	*Catl. Stuart.*
III.	*Tārīkh-i-Tīpū* (Persian)	... *T. T. (Pers.)*
	Tārīkh-i-Tipū (Miles)	... *T. T. (Miles).*

IV. Punganuri (Brown)	... *Punganuri, or Pung.*
V. Memoirs of Tipu Sultan (India Office MS., Sarkar's photographed copy).	*Memoirs of Tipu (I.O.MS.), or Mem. Tipu.*
VI. Persian Account of 1790 (Asiatic Annual Register, Vol. I).	*Pers. Acc. 1790 (A.A.R.I).*
VII. Buchanan's Journey	... *Buchanan*, or *Buch.*
VIII. Wilks, Report on Mysore Administration	... *Rep. Wilks.*
X. Historical and Political View of the Deccan	... *View of the Deccan, or View. Dec.*
XI. Sringeri Records	... *Sring. Rec.*
XII. (*i*) Narrative of an Officer of Col. Baillie's Detachment.	*Narr. Officer, Baillie's Detachment.*
(*ii*) Narrative of Capt. Henry Oakes	... *Narr. Capt. Oakes.*
(*iii*) Beatson, View of War with Tipu Sultan	... *Beatson's View of War, or Beatson.*
(*iv*) Moor, Narrative of the Operations of Capt. Little's Detachment.	Moor's *Narrative*, or Moor.
(*v*) Dirom, Campaign in India	... Dirom.
XIII. Wilks, History of Mysore	... *Wilks. My.*
XIV. (*i*) Le Maitre De La Tour, History of Hyder Ali Khan.	M. De La Tour, or M. D. L. T.
XV. Khare's *Aitihāsik-Lekh-Sangraha*, Vol. VIII	... *Lekh-Sangraha, VIII.*

Some of the other works consulted.

A.

1. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of the Peninsula of India, 1793.*

This work contains an estimate of Tipu's total revenue, which, however, differs from that of the author of the

View of the Deccan. The official materials are too scanty to allow of any definite, independent estimate being made. The two estimates, it appears, are not based on a thorough calculation and seem to include only the land revenue. Of the two writers, the author of the *View of the Deccan* seems to have had a more accurate study.

2. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindusthan* (2nd ed., 1792).

3. Mysore Gazetteer.

4. *Mysore Letters and Despatches of the Duke of Wellington.* (Bangalore, 1862.)

5. J. R. Henderson, *The Coins of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan.* (Madras, 1921.)

6. Krishna Raw, *Brief History of Mysore.* (Bangalore, 1868.)

Based on Wilks and other English authorities. The last chapter on Purnia's administration is valuable.

7. *Kārnāma-i-Haidari.*

A compilation in Persian, by Abdur Rahim, of second-rate importance, based mainly on English sources. (Calcutta, 1848.)

B.

1. Wilson's *Glossary of Revenue Terms.*
2. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam.*
3. *Encyclopædia of Islam.*
4. *A'in-i-Akbarī* (tr. Blochmann and Jarrett).
5. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* (2nd ed., 1924).
6. *Revenue Farmans of Aurangzib*—translated and published, with Persian text, by Prof. J. N. Sarkar in J. A. S. B., June, 1906 (pp. 223 ff.). The English translation is reprinted in Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India* and *Mughal Administration* (2nd ed.).
7. W. H. Moreland's *Development of the Land Revenue System of the Mughal Empire*, J.R.A.S., Jan. 1922.

8. *Akhbarat.* (Copies from Persian MSS.—Prof. J. N. Sarkar's collection.)

9. S. R. Kohli's *Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 'Journal of Indian History,' Vol. II, Part II, June, 1923.

10. Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls.*

11. *Selections from the Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries,* by G. C. Vād., 9 vols.

12. S. N. Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas* (2nd ed.).

13. *Qurān*—Sale's translation.

14. J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs,* 4 vols. (London, 1813.)

15. *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmi,* commonly known as *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta*—by *Ferishta,* properly Muhammad Qāsim Hindūshāh. English translation by J. Briggs: "History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India," London, 1829. 4 vols.

CHAPTER I

Our object in this chapter is to analyse briefly the character of Tipu's Government, its aim and policy, and to sketch some of the chief general features of the government and the administrative system, of which the later chapters will fill in the details.

Some preliminary observation would not perhaps be quite unnecessary. It would be difficult to make an accurate study of an Indian government and administration, if at every step we are too much possessed by some modern conceptions of western government and administrative system, and, moreover, if we fail to take proper note of the forces of particular time and environments. Our analysis, in short, must be thorough, deep and truly historical, and it should bear the mark of a really independent and detached observation and accurate judgment. In going to study Tipu's government and, in fact, any other Indian government flourishing during the century and a half before the establishment of the British Raj, we should always take into particular account the peculiar political forces prevailing in the country in that age. And in making a proper judgment about an Indian government in the pre-British period, it would be perhaps fair to judge it, from certain considerations, by the actual results of the administration upon the country and the people, especially upon the masses, which formed the backbone of the country.

A despotic monarchy of the paternal type.

Briefly and roughly, Tipu's government may be described as a despotic monarchy of the paternal type; and it shared in the generic characteristics of such a form of government. The sovereign was absolute; the administrative machinery was created by him and depended on him; there was no body or

institution which could limit or check the will of the monarch; there was no constitution in the strict sense of the term at all.

Elaborate and specialised administrative machinery.

It is true that the administrative machinery was elaborate and specialised. The number of boards and officials was multiplied, each charged with definite duties and functions. But none of them had independent powers and the monarch attempted to hold all the strings in his own hands. There was thus no real devolution of duties and the elaboration of the machinery in some way made the system more difficult, not more easy, to work. Externally, the administrative system of Tipu's government, with its various departments, of which the principal ones were organised into what may be described as Administrative Boards, and its Advisory Council of Departmental Heads consulted by the Sultan on important questions, was not unlike the administrative system of a modern state. But Tipu's policy of constant interference in all the business of the State, his personal whims, his love of power tended to impede the harmonious working of the system. The chief officials or administrative heads, too often checked and overborne by the Sultan's interference, and always required to carry out the Sultan's, often capricious, instructions, could very little develop any real initiative or responsibility and tended to degrade to a position of complete dependence. Apparently Ministers, in reality they were no better than Secretaries.

An obstacle to the harmonious working of the system.

An over-centralised Government.

As a natural corollary, the government was over-centralised.[1] If little freedom was left to the departmental heads, it was not likely that the local officials would be granted larger powers. An increasing stream of Despatches, Instructions, Orders poured on the provincial and district officers, the *Daroghas* of government commercial factories in foreign

[1] *Cf.* Napoleon's over-centralised government, as criticised by Holland Ros (*Life of Napoleon*, Vol. I, pp. 268-270).

countries, the generals in distant fields, etc., whose action in the smallest details was not only liable to correction, but was often dictated by the Central Government. They were directed to follow always strictly detailed official instructions or rules sent to them, and they were severely reproved if these were violated. Over and over again, we find in the official letters, the admonitory order, "Act according to the instructions which have been delivered to you and do not pursue the suggestions of your own fancy."[2] We see even a provincial *Diwān* asking for sanction to appoint a sweeper for his *Kachhārī* (office); the answer runs, "You may, as you propose, engage a sweeper, at the monthly wage of 10 or 12 *fanams*."[3]

Effect of over-centralisation.

The consequence was that the officials, local and central, feared to assume any responsibility. Even when immediate action was called for, they waited for instructions from headquarters. The Sultan seems to have often fully realised its bad effects; and sometimes he had, again, to reprove the officials for waiting for orders or for following their instructions too literally, without taking action on their own responsibility in urgent matters.[4]

A Paper-Government and its inevitable result.

Another result of this "*Kaghazi-rāj*" or "Paper-Government" (to borrow Prof. Sarkar's expression) was that it was almost impossible to maintain strictly the hierarchy of official rank. An order, on a matter not provided for in the General Instructions or Rules, might be sent for execution to a provincial *Diwān* or to the *Bakhshi* of *Ahshām* (in a provincial headquarter) or even to the *Qil'adār* of the fort. The Central Government might deal directly with any official. The instructions sent, again, were sometimes altered or cancelled or contradicted by later instructions; and the local officers often found it difficult to

[2] *Official Correspondence* (Kirkpatrick).

[3] *Ibid*, p. 12.

[4] *E.g.*, an official letter to the *Diwān* of Bangalore (*Off. Corr., Kirk.*, pp. 210-211).

know which to obey.[5] This was perhaps, at least to some extent, due to the neglect or inevitable mistakes of the officials keeping such bulky records.

A paternal and benevolent Government and its striking interferences.

The Sultan interfered not only with his servants, but with his subjects as well; his government was paternal, in the fullest sense, and, perhaps we can say, it was also benevolent. The preamble of many of his laws ran thus, "All praise and glory be to the most high God, who . . . had raised some chosen individuals to rank and power, riches and rule, in order that they might administer to the feeble, the helpless and the destitute and promote the welfare of their people."[6] Nor was this a mere empty profession ; the Sultan seems to have been really inspired by such lofty principles.

Interest and good of the subjects well attended to.

There is sufficient evidence, seen through reliable sources including official documents and papers, to show that Tipu was keenly alive, within the limits of his own despotism and fanaticism, to the needs and interests, the welfare, of his subjects ; and he did his best to promote their material prosperity and protect them from the oppression and extortion of the nobles and officials.[7]

Special and moral life of the people tried to be regulated.

The Sultan appears to have worked with the idea that he had a right, and perhaps he also regarded it his duty, to interfere with and regulate, if thought necessary, the social and moral life of the people. Much of his attempts in this direction, through legislation, instructions and orders, etc , was truly marked by a strong moral sense and puritanic spirit and extreme paternalism. The Rules of 1785 made it incumbent on District Officers to prevent persons of illegitimate or of slave birth from marrying into respectable families or receiving any education. No one was to keep prostitutes or female slaves

[5] *Off. Corr., Kirk.*

[6] *Rules and Regulations* (Kirkpatrick), Appendix E.

[7] See chap. on *Revenue Administration.*

in his household.[8] The Sultan's government was not also at all indifferent to the moral conduct of the official class. Officials, known to be immoral, were corrected or dismissed. To give an illustration, we learn from the official correspondence how Government tried to correct a *Faujdār*, the *Faujdār* of Calicut, who had been leading an immoral life under the influence of a favourite courtesan. The *Diwān* of Calicut was directed to take necessary action to correct him. The *Faujdār* was dismissed from his office, and the courtesan was imprisoned ; but afterwards, the *Faujdār* having come "to his senses," he was restored to his office, and the woman was released and "driven" from that place.[9]

Ban on liquors and other intoxicants.

Following the precepts of Islam, and perhaps guided more by his own strong sense of morality and puritanic spirit, Tipu made a determined effort to eradicate the use of spirituous liquors and other intoxicants, heedless of the heavy loss of excise revenue.[10]

The Sultan was never timid in undertaking social reforms. When he wanted to reform social evils or bad customs, he tried to do it boldly, by strict orders or drastic rules. Wilks has mentioned that Tipu made an attempt to reform certain social vices of Malabar.[11] We get definite information in the official correspondence that the Sultan tried to put a stop to the Nair custom of polyandry. Our information runs as follows. After the peaceful settlement of the country of *Furkhy* (Calicut), inhabited mostly by *Nāimārs* (Nairs) and *Māphilars* (Moplays or Moplas), when all rebellions and disturbances in that part of Sultan's territories had been crushed, a *Hukm-nāma* (Mandate or Circular) was addressed, in March 1789, to the chief men or leaders of the country. A part of

[8] See chap. on *Dist. Administration.*

[9] *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, p. 464.

[10] See chap. on *Revenue Administration.*

[11] Wilks, *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 288.

the *hukm-nāma* ran thus, "...Moreover, as among the tribe of *Nāimārs*, the woman has no fixed husband, or the man any fixed wife...now this not being [a] good [custom], it is fit that you should desist from so harmful a practice."[12] We learn from *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū* that in the Balaghat territories, "most of the Hindu women" were accustomed to go uncovered above the waist "like animals;" and the Sultan tried to abolish this "immodest custom" by issuing an order that "no woman should go out of her house without a robe and a veil."[13]

Drastic rules to prevent the evils of caste rivalries.

The Sultan's mind was much exercised by the evils arising from the rivalries and quarrels between two particular groups of very low-ranked Hindu castes, which gave rise to constant disturbances and riots; the Pariahs and Chucklars were the rival champions of the two respective groups. The Sultan tried to trace the origin of the sects and the grounds of their quarrels and device means to prevent the evils of such caste rivalries; and he made severe and drastic rules, under heavy penalties, intended to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. Wilks has aptly compared these rules to the Draconic Laws.[14] The Sultan, no doubt, acted from a good motive, but the nature of the regulation shows that he far exceeded the proper limits of a sound and sober reformation.

[12] Government Circular to Budruz Zuman Khān and others, dated 6th March, 1789 (*Off. Corr., Kirk., in A. A. R. XII*, letter 14).

Interesting accounts of the Nair custom of polyandry have been left by some well known European observers. Readers feeling interested in the subject may read the accounts of Lewis Vertomannus, a Roman traveller who visited Malabar in 1503, James Forbes, who visited the country after more than two centuries and a half (he wrote in 1773), and Francis Buchanan, who visited the land by the end of 1800 A. D. (See Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 385-386, 390; extracts from the old English translation from the original Latin ed. of L. Vertomannus's *Travels*, in *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. I, p 411; Buchanan's *Journey*, Vol. II, pp. 411-412.)

[13] *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū* (Miles), p. 283.

[14] *Wilks, My.*, Vol. II, pp. 271-272.

Attempt to regulate the economic life of the people.

Our Muslim ruler of Mysore even tried to regulate the economic life of the people. The village peasants or *rayats* were not to be allowed to waste their substance; it became the duty of the district officials to enforce strict economy upon the villagers and see that a village did not spend more than 1 % of its wealth on charity and festivals.[15] The Mughal Government, as we are told by Prof. J. N. Sarkar, refused to interfere with the life of the people in the village and did not disturb the villagers "so long as there was no violent crime or defiance of royal authority in the locality." Every village had been left "free to continue the noiseless even tenor of its life along the old grooves, untroubled by Government, if it did not trouble the Government."[16] Even Asoka, one of the greatest benevolent despots of Ancient India, who tried his best to enforce many moral and ethical rules upon the people, did not try to regulate their economic life.

Government in the rôle of medical adviser.

Tipu, it is apparent, did not believe in the policy of "*laissez faire, laissez aller.*" But perhaps the most striking instance of paternalism of the government was its rôle as medical adviser. The evidence of the Official Correspondence shows that if any officer fell ill, particularly if the case was serious, the government sent elaborate directions to him about medicine and diet and sometimes even sent the medicines too. It appears that medical aid was practically forced upon such a sick man; he was not generally allowed to choose his own doctor and take medicines as he liked. There is evidence to show that sometimes such an officer was directed which doctor he was to call in, if he had to call a private doctor, and the doctor himself was instructed what should or should not be done.[17] An amusing example is supplied by the following letter

[15] *District Administration Rules* (Crisp), p. 25. See chap. on *Dist. Administration.*

[16] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 13-14.

[17] *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, pp. 146-147, 231, 310, 311.

to a *hakim*: "What you have humbly set forth in support of [the expediency of] amputating the leg of Mīr Inait Kullah Khan, and which you state to be the opinion [both] of the physicians and the patient [himself] is known....But the moment the leg is cut off, the patient will resign his soul to God. You must [therefore continue to] administer [to him] the medicine with which we favoured you; and as soon as it is expended, state the same to the Presence, when a further supply shall be graciously bestowed [on you]" [18]

The Sultan was not content with healing the bodies of his servants, he must also save the souls of his subjects. Like other Muslim rulers, he was the religious as well as the temporal head of the State. Prof. Sarkar says, "Every Muslim Sovereign is, in strict theory, the *Khalif* of the age, or the latest successor of the Prophet in the command of the faithful." The Islamic conception of the State is a theocracy and its sovereign is "God's representative" (*Khalifa* or Vice-gerent) on earth.[19] Tipu assumed to the full this position. His government was variously described as '*Khudā-dād Sarkār*' and '*Ahmadī Sarkār*' and '*Asad-Ilāhī Sarkār*,' meaning a government by divine ordinance. [20] (*Off. Documents and Papers; Mem. Tipu.*) On the palace gate was inscribed in 1790 a high-sounding Arabic title which Tipu obtained from the Sultan at Constantinople, "The Royal Tipu Sultan, the shadow of the most gracious God, defender of the Faith: may God ever bless his country and kingdom

The severeign as the Religious Head of the State.

[18] Official letter to Hakim Wasil, dated 21st January, 1789 (*Off. Corr., Kirk., in A. A. R. XII*, letter 9).

[19] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 18, 146-148.

[20] *Khudā-dād Sarkār—lit.* God-given government. *Ahmadī* (احمدي)—adj. from *Ahmad*, one of the names of the Prophet Muhammad. *Ahmad, lit.* means, one who is praised (from *hamd*, praise).

Asad-Ilāhī (اسد الهي)—lit. means, Divine Lion. *Asad*, a lion; and *Ilāhī*, divine (*Ilāh*, for Allāh, a god).

with prosperity." [21] In the middle of the Great Seal of State ran an Arabic quotation from the *Qurān* (probably used as a motto), meaning, "I am the Messenger of the True Faith." [22]

In Muslim churches, part of the ceremony consisted of the *khutba*; it was a sort of sermon recited by persons called *khātibs*, wherein a sovereign was prayed for and his praises were sung, after praises of God, the Prophet, etc.; and the Emperor of Delhi was thus usually mentioned in the mosques of India. But in all the mosques in Tipu's dominions, his own name was substituted in the *khutba* as "a Prince of the Faith," "a true protector of the Muhammadan religion," who "keeps in view, on all occasions, the honour and interest of Islam and exerts himself for its increase and diffusion." All *khātibs* were ordered to use regularly this prescribed form in the *khutba*, "after the praise of God and the Prophet." [23] The Sultan does not appear to have been satisfied in remaining merely the head of Muslim religion in his own dominions. There was practically nothing but the empty title clung to the "Emperor of Delhi"; and Tipu seems to have aspired to be recognised as the leader of all Indian Moslems, as the Champion of Islam in India. [24]

Influence of the State Church.

The government was a theocracy and the influence of the State Church was constantly felt by the Muslim subjects. Religious and moral rules of the *Qurān* were strictly enforced upon them; and the transgressors were punished in the *Qāzis'* courts. To the non-Muslim subjects, the Sultan was generally indifferent. His respectable attitude towards the famous Hindu *maṭha* of Śringeri and his attention to its prosperity was the exception

[21] *Punganuri* (Brown), p. 42.
[22] Dirom, *Campaign in India*, Plate no. 9 (Appendix III).
[23] *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, pp. 360, 436.
[24] See chap. on *Church and Religious Policy*.

rather than the rule.[25] The enforcement of Hindu social and socio-religious or socio-moral rules, such as those of caste, rules regarding sexual relations, etc., was left to non-governmental bodies or agencies, such as the village councils, the authority of which was sanctioned by the government.[26]

Masjids as centres of education.

The *Masjids* or mosques served also as centres of education for the Muslim population. The Sultan paid special attention to primary education of Muhammadan boys, consisting of religious and moral teaching as well as rudimentary knowledge of arithmetic, reading, etc., which was imparted in the mosques He actually tried to enforce fully such primary education of boys among all his Muslim subjects.[27] No such attention was paid to the education of the non-Muslim subjects. But we should not forget that the great Hindu temples and *maṭhas* in the Sultan's dominions, most of them old, could continue to diffuse education and culture among the Hindus.[28]

Maṭhas and temples as centres of Hindu culture.

An active Government.

Tipu's government had really wide activities, some of them of the socialistic or rather quasi-socialistic character. We notice both activities or enterprises undertaken with the motive of enriching its treasury, as also those which aimed at the improvement of the condition of the country and the people. Its activities were sometimes unnecessary and arbitrary even, which we usually find in paternal despotisms. We have already given some idea before about the activities of the Government in some particular lines; and we shall mention below some other notable aspects of its activities or enterprises.

[25] See chap. on *Church and Rel. Policy.*

[26] See chap. on *Village Administration.*

[27] See chap. on *Dist. Admn.*

[28] Buchanan's *Journey.*

Government as manufacturer and trader, banker and money-changer.

Tipu's government took up the rôle of a trader and manufacturer, and it was quite successful in its attempt to become the chief merchant of the country. It paid strict attention to banking and money-changing business as well. It carried on manufacture and trading on a large scale, both at home and abroad. This, naturally, discouraged private enterprise and tended to thwart the natural development of the resources and commerce of the country.[29]

Arts and Industries.

Tipu's government was a great patron of the Arts and had attention to the development or improvement of arts and industries in the country. The Sultan warmly encouraged home industries; and he himself actually set the example of using only country-made goods. But he was fully alive to the advantage of establishing in the country some of the useful arts and manufactures of other peoples, which he actually tried to do by bringing experts from foreign countries. He was particularly keen about introducing some of the arts and crafts of Europe. He tried to draw from France artisans and mechanics, expert in different trades, offering tempting remuneration, and actually succeeded in obtaining the services of many such experts.[30]

A few words may be said next on justice, police and the military organisation.

Administration of Justice.

There was no organised system of law courts. The *Qāzīs'* courts were inadequate and dealt with only certain kinds of cases.[31] The highest Court of Justice, the King's *Darbār*, though open to all, was practically beyond the reach of many. The administration of justice by the responsible officers of the

[29] See chap. on the Admn. of the Commerce Department.
[30] See chap. on the Admn. of the Commerce Department.
[31] See Chap. IX.

provincial and district organisations was far from satisfactory. One of the reasons was that judicial, executive and revenue functions were all combined in the same hands; and such highly responsible officers like the provincial *Diwāns* and the District Officers were burdened with so many duties of different kinds,[32] that they could hardly be expected to pay proper attention to, and spare sufficient time for, this very important function of a government. Of course, as every high official was both a judge and a magistrate, justice could be summary and prompt. The villagers had a sufficient hand in certain branches of the rural administration of justice.[33]

The Police.

The entire police force was not controlled by a single head or organised in one separate department. In the capital, there was a strong body of police and spies, consisting of two separate sets of officials, working alternately month by month.[34] In other towns, the *Kotwals* had certain police duties.[35] In the country, the *Faujdārs* discharged the chief police functions—the maintenance of general peace and order, suppression of disturbances, etc.—as under the Mughal Government.[36] Besides, there was a large force of irregular troops or militia called *Ahshām*, who, together with a numerous body of armed men, constituted the chief police force, of a semi-military character. They served under different departmental officers and did different kinds of work, including police work. The *Bakhshi* of *Ahshām*, in the capital and in a provincial head quarter, also frequently discharged some high police functions like the *Faujdār*.[37]

[32] See chaps. on *Provincial Admn.* and *District Admn.*
[33] See chap. on *Village Administration.*
[34] See Chap. III.
[35] See Chap IX.
[36] See Chap. IX.
[37] See Chaps. II, III and VII.

Importance attached to the military strength of the State.

The military force was strongly organised in one prominent department. But it was not expected that all the civil officials would remain always confined to their civil duties only, detached wholly from the military side of the state. In the Mughal Government, Prof. J. N. Sarkar tells us, the *Wazir*, "like every other high official," "was expected to command an army." We further learn that "every officer" of the government was "enrolled as a commander of so many horse" (a *mansabdār*), although 'it did not mean that he had actually to maintain so many horsemen in his service;" and "thus, theoretically even the civil officers belonged to the military department, and therefore the salary bills of all officers had to be calculated and passed by the paymaster of the army."[38] In Tipu's government, the same principle was recognised, but was not so strictly enforced or so widely applied. Every officer of the government was not, even theoretically, regarded as a commander of horse, and the salary bills of all officers had not to be passed by the military department. But it appears that the high civil officials in the capital, including the Chief *Diwān*, were expected to be able to fight, if necessary. Mīr Muhammad Sadiq, the Chief *Diwān*, was a commander of horse. Purnia, a well-known *Diwān*, was equally a military commander; the evidence of an official document of March, 1797, shows that he was then even recognised as a *Mīr-Mīrān* (a chief officer of the military department), and he actually commanded a large section of the army in the last war of the Sultan with the English.[39] In a list, given by Beatson, of the "principal officers" who held commands in Tipu's army and were killed and wounded in the service from March to May, 1799, we find such high civil

High Civil Officials as Military Commanders.

[38] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp 4, 24.

[39] *Official Documents* (*Edmonstone*), p. 14; Beatson's *View of War*, p. 64, an Appendix no. XXX.

officials as the *Mīr-Asafs* and the *Mīr-Khazāins*.[40] Tipu's government also tried to enforce some kind of compulsory military training of the whole people.[41] It is thus clear that much importance was attached to the military strength of the state; and, in this connection, we may remember the critical political condition in India in the 18th century, particularly during the second half, when there were almost constant wars and diplomatic fights between the different powers, in the north as well as in the south.

Compulsory military training.

Tipu's system of administration, as it would appear from what has been said already, was to a great extent based on the Mughal system. The latter had taken deep root in India and all later governments owed much to it. Even the illustrious Maratha administrators, inspite of their Hindu orthodoxy, did not hesitate to borrow from the Mughal system. The early English administrators in India also had to retain the Mughal structure or frame-work to a great extent and to use many of the tested regulations of the Mughal Government. And it is nothing strange that the Muslim ruler of Mysore borrowed a good deal from the Mughal administration. We therefore notice, as is quite natural, many close similarities between Mysore administration and Mughal administration. But, on the other hand, Tipu's machinery was more elaborate and highly organised than the Mughal; and his fondness for innovations, the survival of many ancient customs in Mysore and other reasons account for the important differences between the two. The difference is particularly marked as regards certain elements in the administrative machinery; and it can be noticed also in the sphere of administrative policy, in its aims and principles.

Mysore Administration and Mughal Administration.

[40] Beatson, p. 199, and Appendix no. XXXI.
Mīr-Asaf and *Mīr-Khazāin*—see next chapter.

[41] See chap. on *Dist. Admn.*

Old traditions and customs of Mysore respected and retained.

The old traditions and customs of Mysore were, for the most part, respected and retained by both Hyder and Tipu as far as practicable. This was specially so in land revenue administration ; but it may be noticed in other departments as well, *e.g.*, in village administration, the system of *panchayat* trials which was used even in the capital in the case of persons accused of high treason, and in the Cattle Department, instituted by the famous Hindu ruler of Mysore, Chick Deo Raj, which was retained by the Sultan under the name of *Amrit Mahal*.[43] Many Kanarese terms survived, although Persian and Arabic terms were substituted for others.

Land Revenue System · some resemblances to the Maratha administrative system.

To the Maratha administrative system, we shall notice some resemblances in Mysore, particularly in the Land Revenue system, such as in some of the principles followed in this administrative branch and in the position of some of the lower officials of the revenue department.[44] This does not, however, necessarily indicate imitation or borrowing ; from a study of the resemblances, we have little doubt that both rested largely on the common traditional systems of South India and the Deccan. As to some of the principles followed in Land Revenue administration, we may further remember that the Indian rulers generally followed a wise traditional policy suited to the Indian soil, and blending happily the interests of the sovereign and of the general mass of the country, the great peasant class.

Imitation of European institutions in the army organisation.

In the organisation of the army, particularly, there was conscious imitation of European institutions. The French officers in the Sultan's army were probably consulted when military regulations were issued. Tipu, like his father, fully realised the utility of maintaining a strong European corps in the army, and of

[43] Wilks, *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 63. (See Chap. II.)

[44] See chaps. on *Dist. Admn.* and *Rev. Admn.*

organising the latter to a great extent on the European, particularly French, model. It should be mentioned that the Councils of War in the Mysore army may not be regarded as wholly borrowed from the Europeans, because there were also war-councils in the Mughal Army.[45] In some matters of army administration, we notice a mixture of the Mughal and the European systems.

Such, in broad survey, was the character of Tipu's government and administrative system. We proceed now to study its different aspects in greater detail.

[45] *E.g.*, Humayun's War-Council (Ilāhdād Faizī Sirhindī's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Shāhī*); Councils of War in Auranzib's army (Prof. J. N. Sarkar).

CHAPTER II

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

I

Administrative Departments and Boards—the Departmental Heads and other Officials of the Central Administrative Machinery.

There were various administrative departments,—the principal ones organised into Administrative Boards,—and there were the departmental heads or chief officers and the subordinate officials to conduct their business. The Sultan, of course, was the Supreme Head of every department—of every Board.

The Principal Departments and Boards were—

I. The Mīr-Āsaf Department.

This was the *Revenue and Finance Department*, with which were mixed up both the Judiciary and the Executive. The chief head of the department was the *Chief Diwān*, and under him there were other *Diwāns* for conducting or superintending the business of the Central Revenue *Kachhārī*. The Chief Officers of the department, including the *Chief Diwān*, were called the *Mīr-Āsafs*.[1(a)] They formed an administrative body, with the *Chief Diwān* as their head (or President), which may be described as the Central Board of Revenue and Finance. The President of this Board, the Chief Head of the Revenue Department, may perhaps be described as the Minister

[1(a)] *Off. Doc., Ed.*, pp. 23, 29. See *Notes* annexed to this chapter, note (i), on *Mīr-saf* ("Assof" in Edmonstone's translation).

(or the Chief Minister ?) of Revenue and Finance; and we should remember that he was the Prime Minister of the Sultan's State. We may conveniently refer him here as the Chief *Mīr-Āsaf*.

II. The Mīr-Mīrān Department—Military Department.

The Heads or Chief Officers of this department, the *Mīr-Mīrāns*,[1(b)] constituted, similarly, what may be described as the Military Board. One of them, having the same designation (*Mīr-Mīrān*), was the Head or President of the Board.[2]

III. The Malik-ut-tujjār Department—Commerce Department.

The Chief Officers of the department, the *Malik-ut-tujjārs*,[3] formed a Board that can be described as the Board of Commerce and Industries, with a Head or President, having the same designation.[4] We shall in the next chapter deal fully with the constitution and working of this Board.

IV. The Mīr-'Sudoor'[5] Department.

This was a semi-military department, concerned chiefly with the forts and garrisons, *viz.*, with the work of superintending and inspecting the forts and garrisons, and looking to their proper defence by the regular supply of armed force, ordnance and other war-like stores, provisions, etc.

[1(b)] " Meer Meeraun " in Edmonstone's translation.

[2] *Off. Doc.* (*ii*) *Ed.*, pp. 23, 29.

[3] See note *ii*, on *Malik-ut-tujjār* ("Mullick-oo-Toojar" in Edmonstone's translation and " Mulikūt Tūjār " in Kirkpatrick's).

Off. Doc., Ed., pp. 23, 29.

[5] As it appears in Col. Kirkpatrick's translation; " Suddoor " in Edmonstone's translation (?). I am not quite sure about the exact word in the original, and, for the present, I have thought it better not to make an attempt to have a correct rendering.

Col. Kirkpatrick has described it as the "Ordnance and Garrison Department."[6] The chief officers of this department, the *Mīr-Sudoors*, appear also to have constituted a sort of Board, with one of them at the head.[7]

The principal task of the department, of course, was that in connection with the forts and garrisons mentioned above; but the principal officers of the department, in the capital and in the provincial headquarters, were not confined to that work alone.[8] A large body of *Ahshām* troops was placed under this department, who performed different kinds of military or semi-military and police work,[9]—either engaged directly under the officers of this department or supplied to some other departments. And there was a numerous body of irregular Foot, or a general class of armed men, of different descriptions, who were employed in various sorts of work, including police work.[10] They served in large numbers under the officers of different departments, including that under discussion; but, as regards their pay-accounts, they appear to have been brought under the same department with the *Ahshām*. The *Ahshām* troops and these armed men (we shall call them *armed peons*) constituted, as mentioned in Chapter I, the chief police force, of a semi-military character. There is evidence in the official documents which shows that there were the "*Kushoons*[11] (regiments) of the *Mir-Sudoor* department," which were often sent, on "any service" of the Government, with "the *Kushoons* of the *Mir-Miran* department."[12] This would show the military character of the department.

[6] *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, Appendices, p. xlv; *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, in *A. A. R. XII*, letter no. XXIV.

[7] *Off. Doc., Ed.*, pp. 16-17; *Official Documents* (*Kirkpatrick*), Appendices A and E, pp. xxix, xlv.

[8] See chaps. iii and vii.

[9] & [10] Described fully in Chap. VII.

[11] Correctly, *Qashūn*—a brigade or regiment. (See chap. on *Army*.)

[12] *Commercial and Miscellaneous Regulations* (Kirkpatrick), Appendix E, p. xlv.

V. The Mīr-Yamm Department—Naval Department.

This was of later origin than the departments mentioned before. The marine force of the Sultan's government was at first directed chiefly to the purpose of conducting the maritime trade, and, as such, it was for a long time placed under the supervision and control of the Commerce Department. A separate and independent naval department was organised in 1706. The chief officers of the department, the *Mīr-Yamms*,[13] constituted a Board of Admiralty, with one of them at the head.[14]

VI. The Mīr-Khazāin Department.

This was principally in charge of the Treasury and the Mints. Some other subordinate establishments were also placed under this department.[15] The chief officers of the department, the *Mīr-Khazāins*[16] (Lords of the treasuries), appear to have constituted, in like manner, some sort of a Board, with one of them at the head[17] (who may perhaps be called the First Lord of the Treasury ?).

In certain official documents we notice that these six are considered to be the principal departments of the state. To these, however, we may add the following one, which was also an important department.

VII. The Department of Post and Intelligence.

Under the *Darogha* or Superintendent of the Post and Intelligence in the capital and those stationed in some other principal towns.

[13] See note (*iii*), on *Mīr-Yamm* ("Meer Yem" in Edmonstone's trans. and "Meer Yumm" in Kirkpatrick's).

[14] *Off. Doc., Ed.*, pp. 16, 29; *Marine Regulations* (Kirkpatrick), Appendix K.

[15] See next chapter.

[16] See note (*iv*), on *Mīr-Khazāin* ("Meer Khauzin" in Edmonstone's trans. and "Meer Khāzin" in Kirkpatrick's).

[17] *Off. Doc., Ed.*, pp. 17-18; *Rules and Regulations* (Kirkpatrick), Appendix, E, pp. xlv-xlvii.

Other Minor Departments.

1. *The Royal Household—under the Mīr-Sāmāni.*
2. *The Amrit Mahal—Cattle Department.*

Chick Deo Rāj had instituted a cattle department, both to form a breeding stud as well as to furnish milk and butter for the palace, which was called '*Bennea Chaouree,*' or Butter Department. Tipu first changed the name of the department which he retained to '*Amrit Mahal*' (*Amrit*, Sans. *Amrita*, nectar) and afterwards to '*Keren Barick.*'[18(a)] From the rules issued in 1785, it appears that this department was in charge of the government establishment of cows as well as sheep.[18(b)]

Besides those mentioned above, there were other establishments which appear to have ranked more or less as departments. In giving a short description of the state papers of Tipu's government, Charles Stuart says that there were several volumes of *Hukm-nāmas*, containing "rules and regulations" for various "departments of Government"; and he has referred to many such departments (not all), which are mentioned below (leaving aside two of the principal departments he has mentioned along with these, which we have discussed before).

3. (*i*) *Hospital.*
   [(*ii*) *Wardrobe*] ?

It must, however, be pointed out that there is evidence to show that the Wardrobe was brought in direct relation with the Treasury and was subordinate to it. (See next chapter.)

4. (*iii*) *Seals of Office.*
5. (*iv*) *Herald's Office.*

[18(a)] *Wilks, My.*, I, p. 63.
[18(b)] *Dist. Adm. Rules*, Crisp.

6. (*v*) *Caravan Department.*
7. (*vi*) *Armoury.*
8. (*vii*) *Fortifications.*
9. (*viii*) *Granary.*
10. (*ix*) *Kitchen.*[19]

To these we may add the following two :

11. (*i*) *The Slave Department*—under the Head *Darogha* of the slaves.[20]
12. (*ii*) *Public Buildings Department*—under the *Darogha* or Superintendent of public buildings.[21]

Officers in the Capital.

There was a large number of officers, high and low, in the capital. It is difficult to give a complete list of all of them, especially of the subordinate and petty officials. We can, however, obtain a fair idea from the following list.

1. The *Chief Diwān*, or the "*Huzūr Diwān.*" He was the highest and the most influential officer of the State. (See Chaps. III and V.)

2. *The Principal Departmental Chief Officers—i.e.*, the chief officers of each of the six principal departments enumerated before, *viz.*, the *Mīr-Asafs* (leaving the *Chief Diwān* as one of them), the *Mīr-Mīrāns*, etc.

3. The *Darogha* or Superintendent of the Post and Intelligence.

4. The subordinate officers and clerks of the principal departments.

5. The officers of the establishment of Espionage and Police in the Capital. (See next chapter.)

6. The Head *Munshī* or the Personal Secretary to the Sultan. (See Chap. V.)

[19] Stuart's *Descriptive Catalogue of Tipu's Library*, p. 93.
[20] *Narrative of an Officer of Col. Baillie's Detachment*, p. 127.
[21] *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū* (Miles), p. 140.

7. A large number of *Munshīs*, or Assistants (writers), of the *Huzūr-Kachhārī*, under the Head *Munshī*. (See Chap. V.)

8. The *Mīr-sāmāni*, who may be called the Lord Steward (or the Chief Chamberlain ?), at the head of the Royal Household. (*Cf.* the *Khan-i-Saman* of the Mughal Government.[22]) He "arranged all things conducive to pleasure and enjoyment." Like the *Khan-i-saman*, he was a distinguished officer; and a person appointed to this office was always selected from among the nobility, the *Khāns* and *Amīrs*.[23]

9. The *Darogha* or Superintendent of the '*Amrit Mahal*.'

10. The *Darogha* of public buildings.

11. The Head *Darogha* of the slaves ; and, apparently, one Assistant *Darogha*, or two or more Assistant *Daroghas*, under him.

12. The officers at the head of other minor departments (or establishments) mentioned before,—perhaps each under a *darogha* (?).[24]

13. The *Urz-Begī*—the presenter of petitions.[25]

14. The "*Taalukdār*" (?), or Superintendent (?), of the Dancers.

We get an idea as to the nature of his functions from an official letter, in which we notice the direction of the Government to a person holding this office to teach the dancers certain *Rekhta* Odes,[26a] meant chiefly for recitation and singing.[26b] The purpose of composing such odes, it is clear,

[22] See Prof. Sarkar's *Mughal Admn.*, pp. 25-26.

[23] *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū* (Miles), p. 241.

In the description of Hyder's *Darbār* given by De La Tour, an eye-witness, we find mention of a class of young "chamberlains," who were selected from the young nobility. "Ordinarily," four of them used to "stand in waiting each day" in the Hall of Audience, in the evening, "distinguished by their sabre," which they carried "in their hands in the sheath, using it nearly as a walking stick." [*M. De La Tour*, Vol. I, pp. 35-36.]

[24] In Mughal Government, every branch or establishment (*Karkhānah*) had its *darogha*. Prof. J. N. Sarkar has given a big list of the Mughal *karkhanahs* in his *Mughal Administration*, pp. 22, 190-196.

[25] *Tārīkh-i-Tipū* (Miles), p. 245.

[26a] *Rekhta*, Deccani Urdu.

[26b] *Off. Corr.*, *Kirk*, p. 391.

was to glorify the monarch ; these abounded in praises of "*our King*" (the Sultan), and touched specially upon the King's valour and the cowardice of his enemies—the English, the Marathas and the Nizam.[27]

15. The *Qil'adār* or Commandant of the Fort at Seringapatam, and other subordinate officers of the fort.

We shall deal fully with the fort administration in a subsequent chapter : here, we shall give very briefly an idea of the position and authority of the *Qil'adār* of the fort in the capital. At the head of the principal fort of the kingdom, he held naturally a high position, and exercised great authority in matters relating to the fort administration. Besides, it appears that he also often exercised high executive authority on even matters outside the jurisdiction of the fort. To give an illustration, there is an instance, mentioned in the contemporary Marathi account of Ramchandra Raw, of the *Qil'adār* of the fort of Seringapatam taking very prompt and rigorous action against an officer who had been strongly suspected of "plotting" against the Government. The *Qil'adār* without waiting for an order from the Sultan who was then absent from the capital, at once "imprisoned" that officer together with "two hundred persons connected with him," out of which "he hanged some and killed others by dragging them at the foot of an elephant," and sent the information to the Sultan at Mangalore. [*Punganuri*, 35.] There was one important and responsible duty of the *Qil'adār* in connection with prisons within the fort, meant specially for political or war-prisoners; he had, in this respect, to do more or less the work of a Superintendent of Jails of our time.[28] It may be further mentioned that his duties appear to have been multiplied by reason of the fort being often used to serve the purpose of miscellaneous store-houses. For example, in an official letter we

[27] Extracts from these odes, *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, pp. 391-393.

[28] *Narr. Officer Baillie's Detachment*, pp. 40 ff.

notice a direction to the *Qil'adār* of Seringapatam to make proper arrangements for storing silk-worms brought from Bengal, to supply their food (leaves of trees) and find out the best means "for multiplying them." [29]

16. The "Myars" or "Town-Majors"—the "*Munshoors*" (?).

In the narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings of the English officers and soldiers in the prisons of Tipu, by an officer of Col. Baillie's detachment, who was one of the sufferers, we find mention of an officer of Tipu's Government, in the capital, who has been called "the Myar or Town-Major"; and there is also mention of a "Second Myar." From the evidence of this English account, it appears that they were high officers, having much authority in connection with the treatment of political prisoners confined in prisons within the fort. Thus, it is mentioned that the English prisoners had to make repeated applications to the "Myar or Town-Major" for the removal of one of their grievances; and we further hear of the "Second Myar" visiting the prisoners and ordering an English officer's irons to be taken off.[30] From the Official Correspondence, we come to know of an officer called "*Munshoor*," [31] in a district town or in a provincial head-quarter; and there is also mention of a "Second *Munshoor*." Col. Kirkpatrick has described this officer as a "fort adjutant," or a kind of "town-major." The evidence of the *Persian Account of 1790* shows clearly that these "*Munshoors*" (more than two) were the officers of fort, with special duties assigned to each. From the evidence of the Official Correspondence also it appears that the "*Munshoors*" were the officers of fort; but it seems possible that the "First" and the "Second" *Munshoors* might have had certain other duties besides those strictly relating to the

[29] *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, p. 418.

[30] *Narr. Officer Baillie's Detachment*, pp. 41, 110.

[31] As rendered by the translator (?).

fort administration.[82] Now, it seems possible that the "Myar or Town-Major" and the "Second Myar" of Seringapatam, as mentioned by the English observer, referred to the *First* and *Second* "*Munshoors*" of the fort, who had naturally some jurisdiction over the prisoners confined within it. As to whether they had certain duties which justified their being called the *Myars* or *Town-Majors*, it is difficult to say anything definitely, in the absence of any positive evidence. We shall discuss fully the position and duties of the "*Munshoors*" in a subsequent chapter on Fort Administration.

17. The *Kotwāl* of Seringapatam.

We shall discuss fully the nature of the functions of this official, placed in principal cities and towns (including the district towns), in a subsequent chapter. We have no evidence to show whether the *Kotwāl* of the capital city did hold a particular important position, with some special functions, which the other *Kotwāls* did not possess.[83]

18. The *Qāzī* of Seringapatam, or the Chief *Qāzī*.

The office of the *Qāzī* was borrowed from the Mughal Government. We shall see in a subsequent chapter (Chap. IX) that there were several other *Qāzīs*, besides the *Qāzī* in the capital, who may be called the Chief *Qāzī*. Following the general character of the position and duties of the Mughal *Qāzī*,[84] so far as it is confirmed by the evidence of the official papers of Tipu's Government, we may thus describe briefly the position and functions of the Chief *Qāzī* at Seringapatam. He was the highest officer of the State Church and held a very dignified position. One of his principal religious duties was to carry out the missionary work of the Government, namely the conversion of *Kāfirs* to the "Holy Faith." This he did with the help of the *Qāzīs* in the provincial head-quarters,

[82] *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, pp. 287, 317, 340, 351; *Pers. Acc. 1790 (A.A.R.I)*.

[83] See Chap. IX.

[84] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 26-28, 108-109, 114-117.

district towns, etc. He had also high judicial authority in cases of the violation of the religious or socio-religious rules of Islam by the Muslim subjects. And, in fact, he could deal with matters relating to the *Qu'rānic* Law in general. The high authority of the Chief *Qāzī*, in this respect, may be guessed well from what we come to learn about the authority of a provincial *Qāzī* in dealing with such matters.[35] (See Chap. IX.)

[35] *Off. Corr., Kirk.*, pp. 56, 272; *Dist. Adm. Rules, Crisp*, p. 43; Beatson's *View of War*, p. 148

NOTES ON CHAPTER II.

Note I. *Mīr-Āsaf* (میر اصف):

Mīr (میر) *lit.*, a chief, leader. *Āsaf* (اصف)—Solomon's vizier; the grand vizier; a *pasha* having rank of such. [Steingass, *Arabic-English Dic.*] This *Wāzir* or Prime Minister of Solomon is alluded to in the *Qu'rān* as "he with whom was the knowledge of the Scripture." [Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 23.] Tipu appears to have tried to substitute the much familiar use of the term *Diwān* in Mughal India by this high-sounding name well known in the Islamic World. The principal officers of the Revenue department in the capital, including the Chief *Diwān* (Prime Minister), were called the *Mīr-Āsafs*, as a contrast to the *Āsafs* of the provinces. (See Chap. VII.)

Note II. *Malik-ut-tujjār* (ملك التجار)—*lit.* means, Prince or Lord of Merchants. From *Malik*, a king or lord; and *tujjār*, merchants. [Steingass, *Arabic-English Dic.*]

It may be mentioned that "*Malik-ut-tujjār*" was one of the most honourable titles prevailing in the Deccan when Ferishta wrote his memorable history, '*Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*,' in the very early part of the 17th century. In 1422 A.D., King Ahmad Shah of the Bahmuni dynasty conferred this title of "*Malik-ut-tujjār*" upon one Khulf Husan (خلف حسن), who had formerly been a merchant, but was now made a military officer of high rank, being given the command over twelve thousand horse. [*Ferishta*, Persian text, Briggs's trans., Vol. II, p. 398.]

Note III. *Mīr-Yamm* (میر یم)—*lit.*, "Lord of the Ocean" (Lord High Admiral). *Mir*, lord; and *Yamm*, the sea, the ocean.

Note IV. Mīr-Khazāin (میر خزاین)—*lit.*, Lord of the Treasuries. *Khazāin, lit.* treasuries; treasures. It is plural of *Khazāna* (خزانه), a treasury; treasure,—which should not be confused with *Khazīna* (خزینه), a treasury.

THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF CERTAIN DRAVIDIAN WORDS.

THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF CERTAIN DRAVIDIAN WORDS

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

A. Tam. tōn*d*ru, tō*tt*ru ; Kann. tō*r*; Tuḷu tōju ; Malayāḷam tō*r* and tō*nn*uka (Tam. tōnu), *to appear* or *to occur to the mind.*

(*a*) *Occurrence of the Form in Dravidian Dialects.*

Tō*nn*u is a common Malayāḷam word, current in every-day parlance with the figurative meaning: "to suggest itself in the mind." In old Malayāḷam, it had a literal signification: *to appear.* Old Mal. tō*r* also had the same meaning.

In modern Tamil the corresponding colloquial form tōnu (< tōn*d*ru) has the same metaphorical signification as in modern Malayāḷam, in common parlance.

In Old Tamil, tōn*d*ru with its variant tō*tt*ru had the literal meaning: *to appear* ; besides, the forms meant also: *to see.*

In Kannaḍa, the form appears as tō*r* with both the literal and metaphorical meanings. Kannaḍa tō*r* also bears, in addition, the causal signification: *to cause to appear, to show,* etc.

In Tuḷu, tōju similarly possesses both the literal and the figurative meanings.

In Kūi and in Kūvi (central Dravidian dialects), tōnj means: *to appear,* and tōss has the causal meaning: *to show.*

In Gōṇḍi, another Central Dravidian dialect, the form as such does not appear; but, as we shall see below,

Gōṇḍi does possess a cognate word with a slightly different meaning.

In Malto (a North Dravidian dialect) the form tuṇḍ or toṇḍ has the meaning: *to see.*

In Brāhūi (the Baluchistan Dravidian dialect) *toning* and its variant *toring* mean: *to show*; the cognate *hur* means: *to see.*

In Telegu, tsuḍi, undoubtedly cognate with the above forms, means: *to appear* or *to look.* Tel. tōnsu (to occur to the mind) is unmistakably allied to Tamil tōn*d*ru, Kann. tōr, etc.

(*b*) *Other Cognate Forms in Dravidian Dialects.*

Telugu tsūḍu and tsū: *to see.*
Tuḷu tū with its variants sū and hū: *to see.*
Gōṇḍi suḍ with its variants huḍ and hur: *to see.*
Kūi sūḍ and Kuvi hūṇḍ: *to see.*
Kurukh hūr and īr: *to see.*
Brāhūi hur: *to see.*
Kannaḍa sūsu: *to appear.*

That these forms are allied, through the root, to the forms given in (*a*) will be seen from the following discussion.

(*c*) *Original Radical and Derivative Forms.*

The original Dravidian radical or base from which all the above words have been formed is tu. The resemblance[1] of this form to Skt. dhū (to shine), dhūp, dhī, chīy, tidha, etc., is remarkable, but the antiquity of the Dr. root is beyond any doubt.

In its most elementary state, the root *tū*, appears in Tuḷu with the meanings: *fire, heat, light, to shine* and *to see.* All the meanings exist in current Tuḷu.

[1] Other correspondences may also be mentioned here in view of the recent postulates about the contact of Dravidian with Austric on the one hand, and with Finno-Ugrian on the other (*vide* Prof. Przyluski's articles in BSL, and Prof. Schrader's in ZII):— Finno-Ugrian *tū*, *tūz* (fire), etc.; Austric *sin* (sun), *sör*, *sur* (to burn), etc. These resemblances may, however, be purely fortuitous. Austric initial s- in the above is, according to Schmidt, original in that group of languages.

The primary meaning should have been *light* from which by a process of semantic development, the other meanings given above have arisen.

Tamil tī (a variant of tū, as in the case of mī (before) from mū, etc.) conveys this primary meaning: *fire*; Tamil tuṇi, *light*; tūṇḍu, *to light up*; tūy, *to shine*, etc.; tū, *purity, whiteness*, etc., show the original root. In Tamil tiṅgaḷ, *to shine*, the form tī appears as the radical. Tī occurs in Kann. and Mal, while Tel. has kittu which is different, and probably cognate with kāy, *to heat*. [1]

Tamil śuḍ, *to heat* (with its derivative śūḍ, *heat*) also shows the root tu (*vide infra* for the initial fricative).

Kurukh suṇḍyas (distiller) is cognate.

Gōṇḍi taw (to see, to be seen); sur (to see); sur*r* (to bake); and sūr (to look out for) are clearly related to this group.

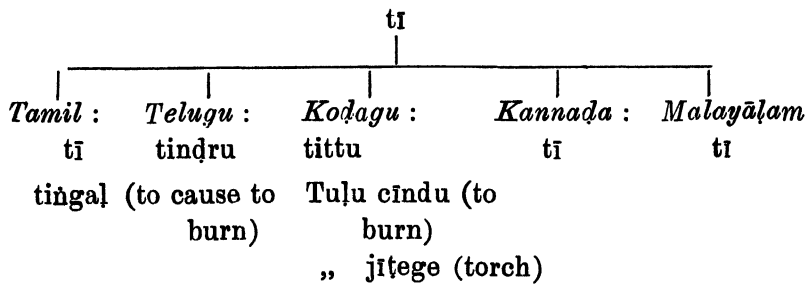
Kūi-Kūvi hūḍ (to burn); dispa, *to burn*, hēṇḍ (to see); tōj (to appear) and tōs (to show) are similarly allied.

Telugu turupu, *east*, as we shall see below, is derived from tu; Telugu tsūḍu (to see) and its development tsūpattu, *to appear* contain the root tu. *Cf.* also Tel. tsūḍu (to burn), tsūpu (look) and tōntsu (to appear).

tū

Tamil:	*Telegu*:	*Kannaḍa*:	*Tuḷu*:	*Kui-Kuvi*:	*Malayāḷam*:	*Gōṇḍi*:	*Kurukh*:
tūy	tsūḍi	tōr	tū	hūḍ	tōnnu	sur	tūv
tuṇi	tsū	cūpu	sū	heṇḍ	cuḍ	(hur)	suṇḍ
tūṇḍu	tsūḍu	sūḍ	hū	tōj	tūy	sur*r*	
tōndru	turupu	suḍar	cūḍu	tōs	cūḍ	sūr	
tōttru	tōntsu	sūsu	tōju				
śuḍ			toḍar (lamp)				
śūḍ							

[1] Brāhui khāykhar (fire), Gōṇḍi kis, Kūi-Kūvi hijje, Gōṇḍi kis, Kurukh cicc and Telugu kittu are all to be derived from a base Kāy which has produced numerous other forms Comparison of these forms with the other group with initial t- might suggest that the initial t- of the latter may have been derived from k- through the intermediate stage represented by ś or c. Indeed the change of s to t is not uncommon in the south, especially in the adaptation of Skt. words, *e.g.*, samayam (time), tamayam, etc. But such



(*d*) *Phonetic History of the Forms.*

(i) Tamil tōndru, Malayāḷam tōnnu etc.

1. The root tu meaning *brightness, light*, etc., combined with the Old Dravidian formative affix -ir (from ir, *to be*, and produced the form [1] tur with the verbal force, meaning: *to have light* or *brightness*, and hence *to be visible, to appear.* For the formative affix producing such verbs from roots, compare Tamil ūn*d*ru (ū+ir), *to be fixed*, for r- verbs; and for r- nouns, kuḷir (kuḷ+ir), veḷir (veḷ+ir), etc. (*infra*).

2. Ancient Dravidian *r* (which alternated with r) often incorporated an alveolar *d* [1] when conspicuously rolled. Compare, for the production of such an alveolar, Tamil causals of verb-bases ending in *-r*, ē*ttr*u, *to raise*, etc., transitival adjectives formed from nouns ending in -r, *e.g.*, paya*ttr*aṅgāy, *bean fruit*, and flexional terminations. The alveolar so produced was either the single voiced alveolar with the spontaneous nasal (n*d*r), or the long voiceless alveolar (*ttr*); the difference depended entirely on the stress with which *-r* was rolled.

a change of k>ś>t cannot at present be postulated for the following reasons: (*a*) conclusive parallel instances could be given; (*b*) Initial t- of the forms for "see," etc. is presumably original in view of its occurrence in many dialects and, further, in view of the existence of forms in which t- has changed into ś or c in an earlier stage (see below).

[1] *Vide* my paper on *Alveolar* t, d *in Tamil-Malayāḷam* ("Indian Historical Quarterly," March, 1929).

See also my paper on the same topic in the first number of the *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute* (1929).

Tūr therefore became tūn*d*r and then tōn*d*ru, the alternation of u and o being common in Dravidian.

Tō*tt*ru was an alternative Tamil form where -*r* was rolled with greater stress.

3. The consonant group n*d*r developed invariably in Malayāḷam into *nn* through an obvious intermediate *n*d. Compare Tamil pan*d*ri, nan*d*ru, kon*d*ru and Malayāḷam pa*nn*i (pig), na*nn*u (good), ko*nn*u (having killed), etc., the change in Mal. therefore was :

tōn*d*ru > tōn*d*u > tō*nn*u

The fondness of Malayāḷam for nasals accounts for this assimilative process. Compare, in this connection, the manner in which Malayāḷam assimilates the Sanskrit consonant groups ṇḍ, ñj, *n*d and ṅg as ṇṇ, ññ, *nn* and ṅṅ, respectively.

4. The group -n*d*r developed into -ju in Tulu and -ñj in Kui ; the change of n*d*r or *d*r into -ju and -ñju is illustrated by many instances like the following :

Tuḷu :	*Kūi* :	*Tamil* :
āji	āju	ā*r*u (six)
pajji	pañji	pan*d*ri (pig)

5. -n*d*r developed into ṇḍ in Kurukh and Malto. The cerebralisation of the alveolar group n*d* has analogies in the Tamil dialects Kaikadi and Burgandi, in Tel. and in Kurukh.

6. Kannaḍa preserved the primitive form in tō*r* ; it has also a few forms with c, *e.g.*, cūpu (to show), etc.

7. Telugu tsūḍu, *to see*, is derived from tū*d*ru with the initial t- fricatised directly, or through a post-dental ś, into s and with the cerebralisation of the alveolar. The cerebralisation of the alveolar in Telugu is illustrated by the oblique inflectional forms of the so-called "irregular" nouns in Telugu which show the cerebral ṭ, while in the corresponding forms of Tamil we have the alveolar, *e.g.*, Tel. ēru (river), ēṭi ; pagalu (day), pagaṭi, etc., Tam.

*ā**ttr**u* from *ā**r**u* (river), etc. Telugu never assimilated the alveolar but in numerous cases substituted the cerebral. Compare Tel. vaṭṭu (to be dried) and Tamil va*ttr*u, etc. In Telugu, therefore, the change was : tūr > tū*d*r (without the nasal) > tsūḍ. The cognate forms with initial s- are all to be explained in this way.

8. The forms with initial h- (hūḍ, hu*r*) found in Brāhūi, Kurukh and Malto are peculiar. s- does not seem to have directly changed into h in these dialects of Dravidian, as it undoubtedly has done in some dialects of Indo-Aryan. On the other hand, it appears probable that s and h were *independently* produced in the process of the change of an original k- or t-, or prothetically as in certain central Dravidian dialects, as for instance Kūi, where common Dravidian forms with initial vowels appear alternatively with initial s- and initial h-, these being peculiar to the central Dr. dialects only : *e.g.*, Kui ēḷu, *wisdom*, has the alternative forms sēḷu and hēḷu. The initial s in this instance is certainly due to the full development of the on-glide y into ś and s, the alternative aspirate being produced by a parallel but independent line of change.

Aspirate sounds, it is true, are not native in Dravidian ; but some of the Central Indian and Northern Indian dialects have at a comparatively late stage developed aspirates as shown above.

The Tulu dialectal forms sū and hū have to be explained on the basis of the same principle of change of t to s and to h along independent lines.

(ii) Other Forms from the Root tu and tī.

1. *Malayāḷam and Tamil.*

Śuḍ and śūḍ [1] are from tu+iḍ, the latter being a common formative ending in Dravidian.

[1] The change of an initial t to s may have been direct in Telugu, Tuḷu, etc. ; or it may have passed through an intermediate palatal fricative ś as a result of the point of articulation of the tongue being raised. Tamil shows the latter process in words like

Tamil tuy, *to shine* is obviously a verb from the root tu; tuṇi, *light*, is its noun-derivative with the ending -ṇi; tūṇḍu (used in the literal sense): *to light up*, and in the figurative sense: *to intimate*, should have arisen from an older tūḍ.

Tamil tigaḷ, *to shine*, is composed of tī *light*, -g- (from gey, *to do*) and the Tamil ending il, l having subsequently changed to ḷ-.

Tamil tiṅgaḷ, *moon*, is similarly constituted of tī (n) +g+aḷ(< eḷ < uḷ). The meaning: *month* which this word has in Kannaḍa is derived from *moon* by the semantic process of prossemy.

Kannaḍa has sogasu (shine), sokku (to become mad) suḍ (to be hot), tigaḷ, tiṅgaḷ, tuy, like Tamil.

In addition it has the form cuḍar,[1] which means: *the sun*; the development of the meaning from the combination of cuḍ and the affix -ar (< ir) is self-evident. For the similar use of affixes -ar, -ir, compare kuḷir, *cold*; veḷir, *to become white*; peyar, *name*; malar, *fried rice*; taḷir, *young shoot*, etc.

śorandu (to scrape) from torandu (√tor). Kannaḍa s in initial and medial positions is the further development of the palatal fricative ś which may have been derived from an original k or an original t (*vide* my paper on "The Affricates and Fricatives in Dravidian").

It seems doubtful if in all cases where s and h alternate, we could straightway say that s directly gave rise to h; Kui s (which should have arisen, in some instances, from an older t or k and, in some others, in connection with the production of the characteristic prothetic palatal glide y) suggests that s and h may have been independently developed along different lines of change:

(*a*) k (æ) > cy > ś > s — (*b*) k (æ) > cy > ç > h

Brāhūi kā, Kurukh khe, *to die* — Kui sā and hā

(*a*) y̆ (glide) > y > ś > s — (*b*) çy̆ (with palatal fricative) > ç > h

Tamil ēr, *plough* and Kui sōru, hōru

The initial affricate c [c/] appearing in Mal., Kann. and some instances of Kurukh is derived directly from cy.

[1] The change of t to ś or c under the influence of a neighbouring palatal vowel has been recognised in Dravidian; what, however, has escaped the notice of students of Dravidian is the change, apparently not under the influence of any extant palatal, of an original initial t to s or c which should have occurred at a comparatively early stage in Dravidian, as the following instances would show: tōrai, śorai (blood); tōl, sōl (in Kannaḍa, to be defeated); Tamil śuḷi and Kann. suḷi (√tuḷ); tōru, śōru

B. ñāyir, *the sun.*

(*a*) This is an old Malayāḷam word, in current use only in the derived form ñāyarāḻcha, *Sunday.* It is directly related to Tamil ñāyir, *the sun.* Neither modern Tamil nor modern Malayāḷam employs the word to-day for conveying the idea of *the sun,* for which the Sanskrit sūrya has been adapted with characteristic changes (sūryan in Malayāḷam and śūriyan in Tamil).

Kannaḍa has nēsaru, meaning: *the sun*; Tuḷu [1] also shows the word.

(*b*) *Probable Original Radical from which the form has been produced:*

1. The original root has been a puzzle. Caldwell, in despair, gave up the task of tracing it, contenting himself with a suggestion that it is cognate with a "Scythian root." None of the later philologers have been able to give a sufficiently satisfactory explanation of the constitution of the word or of the original root on which it is based.

The basic root, in my opinion, is *āy or *æy which should have meant: *heat.*

æ+ir produced æyir, *that in which heat exists,* on the analogy of kuḷir, *cold*; taḷir, *young shoot*; payir, *plant,* etc. The formative -ir originally should have denoted more or less the same signification as -il, though the root -ir (from which the affix arose) subsequently came to possess a verbal force.

(to drop; √tor, to open); Tamil taṭṭai (< √tag, to fit) and Kann. saṭṭe (flatness); Tam. śori (to itch) and Kann. tore; Tamil tōl (skin) and Tuḷu coli, etc. The interchange of t and ś or s is most active in mod. Tuḷu and dialectal forms of Tamil-Mal. In the above instances, t- is undoubtedly original. *Cf.* Tuḷu sūka (< tūka, weight), sōpu < √tōl, to be defeated, etc., Kūi sūṇju (to sleep) for Southern tūṅgu; supu (to spit) for tuppu, etc.

[1] Southern Prakrit nesru is from Dravidian. Kūi nāni (fire) is probably connected with Indo-Aryan agni. Tam. ñegiru (fire), Tel. negaḍi (fire) may, however, be cognate with nāyiru; *cf.* also Tam. nagu (to shine).

2. There are a large number of words in Tamil which show forms with and without the initial n-, alternatively :

a*r*akku,	*to cut*	na*r*akku
aḷavu,	*measure*	naḷam
īr,	*wetness, water*	nīr
agiḻ,	*to smile*	nagiḻ
igaru,	*to become high*	nigaru
iḻal,	*shade*	niḻal
īṅgu,	*to move*	nīṅgu
ī*r*u,	*that which has percolated*	nū*r*u

It will be seen that in all such instances, the forms without the initial n- are the originals, for they are directly connected with original Dravidian roots with initial vowels. In all such cases, therefore, the initial n- of the alternative forms should be considered to be *prothetic*. This is indeed a unique phenomenon which can be explained only on the basis that the tendency to introduce an initial n- in words like nān, -ān, (*I*) ; naman, eman, *yama*, etc., under the influence of the nasal already existing in the words, should have become generalised and applied also to words *without* the included nasals. Julien Vinson wrongly considers the forms with initial n- as the originals and explains the other set of forms as having rejected the initial nasal. This explanation becomes totally invalid when we analyse the forms and find that it is those which are *without* the initial nasals that show direct relationship to the original Dravidian roots from which numerous independent forms have arisen.

On this principle, then ǣyiru,[1] *that in which heat exists, i. e., the sun*, took on an initial nasal intrusive n- and became nǣyiru. For the meaning, *cf.* kann. cuḍar (cuḍ + ir), *the sun*.

Initial n- in Tamil words developed in Tamil itself the tendency to become ñ, as in ñæman, etc.

3. nǣyiru, following this tendency, became ñāyiṟu in late Old Tamil and this form was adopted by Maḷayāḷam.

[1] This form is represented in Tamil by ǣndru (sun) where ndr <old r.

4. Kannaḍa nēsaru < nǣsaru < nǣyiru.

(*c*) *Other forms that have sprung up from the same root*:

The above view receives abundant confirmation, when we examine the various other forms that have probably arisen from this root āy or æy.

The following native Dr. forms, when analysed and divested of their characteristic Dr. formative endings, would furnish sufficient inductive evidence to justify our postulate :—

1. This primitive root exists in Tamil avā (to desire), aḍu (to cook), avir (to glisten), āvi, *steam*; iyiṅgu, *heat*; ehgu, *to heat*; eyyil, *sunshine*; eri, *to burn*. Tamil nīr, *ashes* and ner- in nerippu, *fire*, show the prothetic n-. Tam. ēn*d*ru (< ē+ir) *sun*; ēṅgal, *to fade*, contain the primal root.

Kannaḍa isu (< isi < æyi) *heat*; elli, *sun*; ese, *to burn*; also show the old root.

Telugu eṇḍa, *sunshine*; ēṇḍu, *to heat* ākali (hunger), āvi (steam) are direct developments from the root, while nippu, *fire* shows the prothetic nasal. Gōṇḍi addi (heat), ā*r*u (to feel heat), ā*r*ki (fever), aṭṭu (to cook), nir, *to burn*, ei, *to be scalded* are instances of connected forms, *with* and *without* the prothetic nasal.

Tuḷu has eri, *glare* and eriyuni, *to burn*.

Kui ay, āṭu to cook; nā*r*i, *fire* and nirahpa (to be burnt) are also cognate. Brāhūi ira*gh* (bread) may also be connected. *Cf.* also Kur. ir (to fry), erchar (perspiration) and āc (flame).

2. These are not all; there is another group of words which have been formed along a different line of development.

v (< v, the prothetic on-glide[1]) is found sometimes as a permanently assimilated initial sound in many Tamil and

[1] The recognised usage of mod. Tamil shows a palatal prothetic glide before palatal vowels and a dorsal glide before dorsal vowels. But the latter in prothetic positions has apparently not been assimilated in the modern dialect, though in the ancient forms it appears as a full initial consonant; and, further, even before a back vowel like a (in ār, ānai, etc.) the palatal glide is found inserted to-day. This may have been either due to a tendency to change the character of a in late Old Tamil or to an indiscriminate use of the glides in the past.

Gōṇḍi words. Originally, it should have appeared as a mere glide (v) which later developed into the full bilabial v.

Thus an initial v- having appeared before ay, we had the root vay or vey, *heat* or *to burn*, from which are produced Tamil veyil, *sunshine*, vēnal, *summer*, veyirve, *perspiration*, vaṟa (to fry), vēgu, *to get hot* or *boiled*; Malayāḷam vaiku, *to grow late*, etc., Kannaḍa beṅki, *heat*, bii, *hot*; Kūi bis, *hot*, vaja (to cook) er (to kindle); Brāhūi bega, *evening*, bis, *hot*, basing, *to become hot*, beghing, *to knead*; bising, *to bake*, etc.; Kurukh biy (to heat); bis (to cook), etc.; Telugu vaṇḍu (to cook), veca (hot), vette (hot summer), veṅki (fever), vensu (to fry), vedi (heat).

The change of the initial v into b, of æ (or a under the influence of palatal y) into e, and of y into s (through ś) are characteristic changes in Dravidian.

The remarkable fact thus emerges as a serious probability worth further inquiry, that the *same primary root* æy *or* ay forms the basis of a number of *apparently unallied* groups in Dravidian.

ay (æy)—Tamil-Mal.

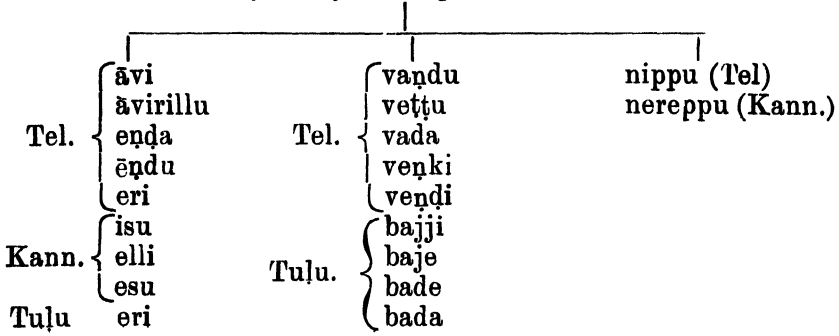
āvi ēn*d*ru eyyil ēḫgu iyuṅgu eri nerippu nī*r*u, etc.	Tamil-Mal.	veyyil vēgu veyirve vaigu*nn*ēram vaippa, etc.

(n)æyiru
nesaru

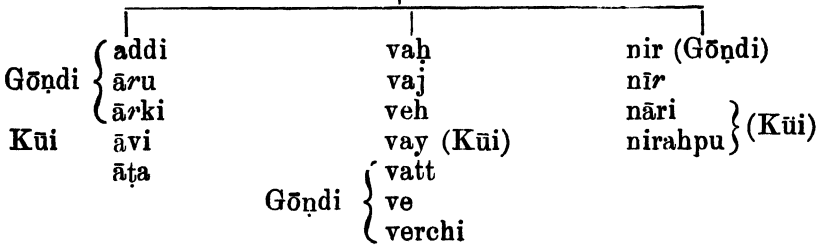
It may be observed here that even in Old Tamil the rule of palatal and dorsal glides was not strictly followed (see Vinson's Grammar, page 30),—a fact which is only to be expected from the character of glides which merely perform the function of inducing ease in pronunciation.

In the particular instance given in this article, we can in any case reasonably presume the dorsal glide which later developed into full v. Compare, in this connection, the following groups of words in Tamil: alayal, valayal (sorrow); aṇṇan, vaṇṇam (size); igattal, vigattal (to separate); āḷu, vāḷu (to rule); etc. *Cf.* Tam. aḍu and Tel. vaṇḍu; ari and vari (paddy), etc. *Cf.* also Gōṇḍi vank < an, *to say*; bōr < ār, *who*, etc.

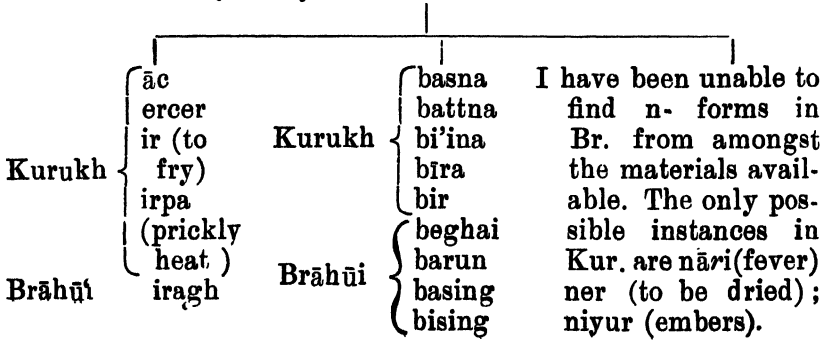
āy or æy—Telugu, Kauns. Tuḷu.



āy or ǣy—Central Dravidian dialects.



ay or æy—Kurukh and Brāhūi.



C. Vayiru, basir, bañji (belly).

(*a*) This is another form in Dravidian which has not yet been properly explained.

Tamil has the forms vayiru, vayi*r*u, *belly*.

Kannaḍa has basir, *belly*.

Tuḷu has bañji, *belly*.

None of the other [1] Dravidian dialects, so far as the material available enables us to see, possesses cognate forms for *belly*; Telugu has kaḍupu, and some of the central Dravidian dialects have potta (which latter is also found in some of the Southern dialects), Brāhūi has pid, Kurukh kul and Malto pot. These latter forms are evidently not allied to the bayiru-group; but as we shall see now, there are words in the Central and the Northern dialects of Dravidian, which have arisen from the base underlying bayiru.

(*b*) *Derivation of bayiru or vayiru.*

In my opinion, vayiru or vayi*r*u (r alternates with *r* in Dravidian) is constituted of

vay, *hunger*+ir, the formative affix. For the force of the formative affix, see above.

The meaning: *belly* or *the place where hunger exists* is obvious, as in kuḷir (cold).

The physical feeling of hunger should undoubtedly have led to the creation of the word signifying *the place where this feeling is located.*

vayi, *hunger*, exists in Old Malayāḷam; Kannaḍa shows bayi, *hunger*; Tamil shows payi, paidal, pasi, *hunger*, vayāvu, *pain* or *hunger*; these latter evidently are developed forms where p <b <v, and d < ś < y; Kuvi bis, *hunger*; Brāhūi bin (in *bingun*), *hunger*, and Malayāḷam veś (in veśappu are directly allied to vayi. *Cf.* also Kurukh pac-tā (to feel hungry).

[1] Gōṇḍi pir (*belly*) may be connected with vayiru, bayiru.

Exactly analogical to bayiru or vayiru is the formation of Telugu Kaḍupu, *belly*.

kaḍu means *pain*, *hunger* in Old Telugu ; and Kurukh karu, *hunger* and Kūi karu are cognate. The formative -pa (< vei, to place) should have helped in evolving the meaning : *belly*, from *hunger*. That the "belly" is considered to be the seat of feelings, is clear from the Telugu forms (derived from Kaḍupu) :—Kaḍup-ubbu (envy), Kaḍupu-maṇta (ill-will, etc.)

Tulu banji < ḅa(i)*d*ri < baṿi*d*ru < baṿi*r*u.

THE SONGS OF JNANADAS

BY

BISWAPATI CHAUDHURI, M.A.

The Vaisnava padas are admittedly recognised as the most valuable lyrical treasure of the Old Bengali Literature; but it is a pity that they have not yet received any scientifically accurate treatment from our scholars. True, Radhamohan Thakur's 'Padāmrita Samudra,' compiled in the 18th century, gives us a valuable Sanskrit commentary on the Bengali and Brajabuli songs of the Vaisnava poets and 'Padakalpataru,' compiled a little while after by Vaisnab Das, presents us with a rich anthology in which we find the largest collection of Vaisnava lyrics yet extant, arranged and classified according to the canons laid down in the 'Ujjala Nilmani' and other works on poetics,—yet none of these compilers have avowed the accuracy of the texts or compared the different readings in order to find out their correct versions. As these songs were extensively sung in the country-side, they underwent great changes owing to local causes, loss of memory and desire to improve the original to adapt the language to more modern forms.

We find now quite a wilderness of readings, presenting different forms, in which not only the language but also the spirit of the lyrics have been tampered with, showing striking dissimilarities and a great departure from the original. The reader will indeed be perplexed if he compares the texts of the various anthologies published by the enterprising editors of Vaisnava works with those found in hundreds of old manuscripts.

A thorough scrutiny is indispensably required in this direction if we are to preserve the pristine beauty and accuracy of the poems, which have been declared as the best in our early literature.

It is indeed a huge work, for the number of these poets beginning with Chandi Das in the 14th century down to Gokulananda Sen, the compiler of the 'Padakalpataru' in the middle of the 18th century,

verges on more than a thousand, and if we choose the noted ones among them, there will be about two hundred poets, who have shown some singular merit in the field, deserving a close examination and scrutiny. We intend to do this work in a thorough manner, and for this must first of all take up a dozen of poets, who are decidedly the best of these. We have begun with Jnanadas and shall proceed to discuss the various readings of the texts so far as his poems are concerned.

The different readings of the padas of Jnanadas as found in the old manuscripts and printed editions available to us, are noted below.

Variations in readings in regard to the pada "একে কুলবতী চিতের আরতি বিধি বিড়ম্বিত কাজে।"

শুন শুন সই মর্ম্ম তোরে কই।
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

শুন শুন শুন সই।
মরম তোমারে কই॥
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

পড়িনু বিষম ফাঁদে।
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

ঠেকিনু বিষম ফাঁদে। Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

অমূল্য রতন বেড়ি ফণিগণ
দেখিয়া পরাণ কান্দে॥
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

এ বড়ি বিষম বাধা।
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

সে মোর বিষম বাঁধা। Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

সে যে গো বিষম বাধা। Padāmṛtasindhu.

The song beginning with "আলো মুঞি জানো না জানিলে জাইতাঞ না যমুনার জলে।" Different readings:

চিত মোর হরিয়া নিলে
ছলিয়া নাগর ছলে॥
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

চিত চোরাইয়া নিলে
ছলনা করিয়া ছলে॥
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

রূপের পাথারে আঁখি
ডুবিয়া রহিল।
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

রূপের সাগরে আঁখি
ডুবিয়া রহিল।
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

রূপের সায়রে আঁখি
ডুবে যে রহিল।
Padāmṛtasindhu.

যৌবনের বনে মন হারাইয়া গেল॥
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

যৌবনের বনে চিত্ত হারাইয়া গেল॥
Padāmṛtasindhu.

ঘরে যাইতে পথ মোর
হৈল অফুরাণ।
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

ঘর যাইতে পথ মোর
ভেল অফুরাণ।
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

অন্তরে বিদরে হিয়া
কি জানি করে প্রাণ।
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

অন্তর বিদরে
কি করিয়া উঠে প্রাণ।
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

তার মাঝে হিয়ার পুতলী রৈল বান্ধা।
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

তার মাঝে হিয়ার পুতলী গেল বাধা।
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

তার সনে পরাণ পুতলী রল বান্ধা।
Padāmṛtasindhu.

কটি পীত বসন রসনা তাহে জড়া।

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

কটি তটে বসন রসন তাহে বেঢ়া।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

কটিতে বসন তার রসনা দিয়ে বেঢ়া।

Padāmṛtasindhu.

বিধি নিরমিল কুল কলঙ্কের কোঁঢ়া।

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

বিধি নিরমিল ঘাটে

কলঙ্কের কোঁঢ়া॥

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

বিধি নিরমিল সখি

কুল কলঙ্কের গোড়া॥

Padāmṛtasindhu.

ভুবন ভরিয়া মোর

ঘোষণা রহিল।

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

ভুবন ভরিয়া মোর

কলঙ্ক রহিল।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

কুলবতী সতী হৈয়া

দুকুলে দিলুঁ দুখ।

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

কুলবতী হৈয়া

দুকুলে থুইনু দুখ।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

কুলবতী সতী হৈয়া

দুকুলে থাপিনু দুখ।

Padāmṛtasindhu.

জ্ঞানদাস কহে দঢ় করি থাক বুক।

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

জ্ঞানদাস কহে দড় করিয়া থাক বুক।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

জ্ঞানদাস কহে দৃঢ় করি ধর বুক।

Padāmṛtasindhu.

জ্ঞানদাস কহে দৃঢ় যে করি থাক বুক।

Padalahari (Bangabasi edition).

Regarding the song "চলিতে না পার রসের ভারে....." we get the following variations in the reading :

না জানিয়ে কিবা অন্তর সুখে।

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

সজনি কিবা সে অন্তর সুখে।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

প্রেম কলেবর ততহি সাথী।

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

প্রেম কলেবর তাহাতে সাথী।

Padalahari (Bangabasi edition).

প্রেম কলেবর সতত সাথী।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

জ্ঞানদাস রস ভাবিয়া গায়।

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

জ্ঞানদাস অনুভবিয়া গায়।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

জ্ঞানদাস রস ভরিয়া গায়।

Padāmṛtasindhu.

Different readings in regard to the song beginning with "সই কিনা সে বন্ধুর প্রেম।"

সই কিনা সে বন্ধুর প্রেম।

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

সই কিনা সে কানুর প্রেম।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

সজনি কিবা সে কাহ্নুর প্রেম।

Padāmṛtasindhu.

চন্দন না মাখে অঙ্গে।

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

চন্দন না পরে অঙ্গে।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

চন্দন না দেয় অঙ্গে।

Padāmṛtasindhu.

গায়ের ছায়া বায়ের দোসর
সদাই ফিরয়ে সঙ্গে।

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

গায়ের ছায়া রাইয়ের দোসর
সদাই থাকয়ে সঙ্গে।

Vaisnavapadalahari.

গায়ের ছায়া বায়ের দোসর
রাতে দিনে থাকে সঙ্গে।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

তিলে কত বেরি মুখানি হেরয়ে।

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition)

তিলে কত বেরি মুখ নিরখয়ে।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

তিলে কত বেরি মুখানি নিরখে।

Padāmṛtasindhu.

দূর হেন মানয়ে।

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

দূর হেন বাসিয়ে।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

Regarding the song "ননদি গ রহিতে নারিলাম ঘরে" we get the following variations in the reading:

সসি তেজি বাহু পসারিয়া
মোরে গরাসল আসি॥

Parishad MS. No. 978.

হেনই সময়ে সে বন দেবতা
মোরে গরাসল আসি ॥
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

শশি তেজি রাহু বাহু পসারিয়া
মোরে গরাসল আসি ॥
Vaisnavapadalahari.

এ মোর বিতথা সে বন দেবতা
হাসিয়া ভুলাল রঙ্গে।
Parishad MS. No. 978.

এ মোর বিতথা সে বন দেবতা
শুনি চমকয়ে চিতে।
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

এ বোল শুনিয়া ননদী চমকি
ভ্রমিয়া বুলয়ে ভিতে।
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

Different readings in regard to the song—"আজু অবধি দিন ভেলা। কাক নিকটে কহি গেলা ॥"

মনোমথ ভেল সুভ কারি।
Parishad MS. No. 201.

মনমথ কহে শুক সারী।
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

In the manuscript we get the following two new lines, which are absent in the Padakalpataru :—

অনুখন হৃদয়ে উল্লাস।
পূরল পথিক পরবাস ॥

Regarding the song "চাহ মুখ তুলি রাই চাহ মুখ তুলি....." we get the following variations in the reading :

চাহ মুখ তুলি রাই চাহ মুখ তুলি।
পরশিতে চাহি তুয়া চরণের ধুলি ॥
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

চাহ মুখ তুলি রাই চাহ মুখ তুলি।
নয়ান নাচনে নাচে হিয়ার পুতলি॥
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

বিনোদিনি চাহ মুখ তুলি।
নয়ান নাচনে নাচে মোর পরাণ পুতলি॥
Parishad MS. No. 201.

পীত পিন্ধন মোর তুয়া অভিলাষে।
পরাণ চমকে যদি ছাড়হ নিশ্বাসে॥
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition).

পীত পিন্ধন মোর তুয়া অভিলাষে।
পরাণ কাঁপয়ে যদি ছাড়হ নিশ্বাসে॥
Parishad MS. No. 201.

লেহ লেহ লেহ রাই সাধের মুরলী।
পরশিতে চাই তোমার চরণের ধুলি॥
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition, p. 344, Part I).

লেহ লেহ লেহ রাই সাধের মুরলী।
নয়ান নাচনে নাচে হিয়ার পুতলি॥
Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition, p. 291, Part I).

তুয়া রূপ নিরখিতে
আঁখি ভেল ভোর।
নয়ন অঞ্জন তুয়া
পরচিত চোর॥
Padakalpataru (Battala edition).

তুয়া রূপ হেরইতে
আঁখি মোর ভোর।
নয়ন অঞ্জন কালা
পরচিত চোর॥
Parishad MS. No. 201.

রূপে গুণে যৌবনে
ভুবনে আগলি।
বিহি নিরমিল তুহে
পিরিতি পুতলি॥

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition, p. 344).

রূপে গুণে যৌবনে
ভুবনে আগলি।
বিহি নিরমিল তোহে
পরাণ পুতলি॥

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition, Part I, p. 291).

রূপে গুণে যৌবনে
ভুবনে আগলি।
বিহি নিরমিল করি
প্রেমের পুতলি॥

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

এত ধনে ধনী যেই
সে কেনে কৃপণ।
জ্ঞানদাস কহে কেবা
জানে কার মন॥

Padakalpataru (Mr. Satis Roy's edition, p. 344, Part I).

এত ধনে ধনী যেই
সে কেনে কৃপণ।
জ্ঞানদাস কহে কেবা
জানিবে কেমন॥

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition, p. 291).

এত ধনে ধনী যেই
সে কেনে কৃপণ।
জ্ঞানদাস কহে কেবা
জানে কার মন॥

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

রাই কত পরখসি আর।
তুয়া আরাধন মোর বিদিত সংসার ॥

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

গোরি নাগরি না পরখসি আর।
তুয়া আরাধন মোর বিদিত সংসার ॥

Aprakāshita Padaratnāvali, p. 52.

The following four lines are to be found nowhere except in the song belonging to the Calcutta University Manuscript No. 331 :—

প্রতি অঙ্গে আখন অনঙ্গ সুখ সিদ্ধি।
না জানি কি লাগি পরশন নহে বিধি ॥
এত অনুনয় করি আমি নিজ জনা।
দুর দিন হয় যদি চাঁদে হরে জোনা ॥
যজ্ঞদান যপ তপ সবি তুমি মোর।
মোহন মুরলী আর বয়ানের বোল ॥

Aprakāshita Padaratnāvali, p. 52.

রতন মঞ্জরি কিবা পরাণ পুতলি।
কত ধারে সুধা সাঁচে বিধি নিরমিলি ॥

Parishad MS. No. 201.

তোমার পরশে মোর
চিরজীবি তনু।
অতি অন্ধকারে যেন
প্রকাশিত ভানু ॥

Aprakāshita Padaratnāvali, p. 52.

তোমার পরশে মোর
চিরজীবি হউক তনু।
যপ তপ তুহুঁ সকলি আমার
করের মোহন বেনু ॥

Parishad MS. No. 201.

জ্ঞানদাস কহে শুনহ সুন্দরি
এ কোন ভাব যুবতী।
কানু সে কাতর সদয় হইয়া
কেন না কর প্রতীতি ॥

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

Regarding the song "বোল মোরে করিব কি।" we get the following variations in the reading :—

মুণি জ্বলে যেন তিমির পুঞ্জে।

Aprakāshita Padaratnāvali.

রতন জ্বলে যেন তিমির পুঞ্জে।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

কালার পিরিতে এ তনু বান্ধা।

Aprakāshita Padaratnāvali.

বন্ধুর পিরিতে এ তনু বান্ধা।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

টুটিলে না টুটে বিষম ধান্ধা।

Aprakāshita Padaratnāvali.

ছুটিলে না ছুটে বিষম ধাঁদা।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

জ্ঞানদাস কহে
কি ভেল ভান।
এ কালা শ্যাম ত্রিজগত আন ॥

Aprakāshita Padaratnāvali.

জ্ঞানদাস কহে
কহিলে ভাল।
এ কাল শ্যাম চান্দে
জগত আলো ॥

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

Different readings in regard to the song "কানু সে জীবন জাতি প্রাণধন এ দুটি নয়ানের তারা।" are given below :—

পরাণ অধিক হিয়ার পুতলি
নিমেখে হইয়ে হারা ॥
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

পরাণ অধিক পরাণ পুতলি
নিমেষে বাসিএ হারা ॥
Calcutta University MS. No. 324.

পরাণ অধিক হিয়ার পুতলি
নিমিখে নিমিখে হারা ॥
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

কি আর বুঝাও মোরে
ধরম বিচার
মন সতন্তর নয়।
কুলবতী হঞা রসের পরাণ
আর কারো জানি হয় ॥
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

কি আর বুঝাও কুল ধরম বিচার
মন সতন্ত্র নয়।
কুলবতী হঞা রসের পরাণ
কভু জানি কাহার হয় ॥
Calcutta University MS. No. 324.

তোরা কুলবতী ভজ নিজ পতি
যার যেবা মনে লয়
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

তোমরা কুলবতী ভজ নিজ পতি
জার মনে যেই লয়।
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

ভাবিয়া দেখিনু শ্যাম বন্ধু বিনু
আর কেহো মোর নয় ॥
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

ভাবিয়া দেখিলুঁ শ্যাম বন্ধুআ বিনে
আর কেহো মোর নয় ॥
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

Regarding the song—"নিতি নিতি আসি যাই এমন কভু দেখি নাই....." we get the following variations :—

সো তনু পরশ পবন নব পরশিতে
মলয়জ পঙ্ক শুকায় ।
Vaisnavapadalahari.

সো তনু পবন পরসন পরসিতে
মলয়জ পঙ্ক সুখায় ।
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

সজনি কতয়ে বুঝায়ব নিতি
কানু কঠিন পথ করল আরোহন
গুনি গুনি তোহারি পিরীতি ॥
Vaisnavapadalahari.

সজনি—কতনা সিখাওব নিতে ।
কানু কঠিন পথ করল আরোহন
গুনি গুনি তোঁহারি পিরীতি ॥
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

Different readings in regard to the song—"সহজে সুনিক পুতলি গোরি....." are noted below :—

শুনহ মাধব কহহুঁ তোয় ।
সমতি না দেই সতত রোয় ॥
Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

মাধব কহলোঁ তোয় ।
সমতি নাহি দিন রজনি বোয় ॥
Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

অরুণ অধর বান্ধুলি ফুল।

Padakalpataru (Parishad edition).

সুন্দর অধর বান্ধুলি ফুল।

Calcutta University MS. No. 331.

THE MAHĀRĀṢṬRA PURĀṆA.

BY

TAMONASH CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

First Chapter, Bhāskar Parābhava, by Gaṅgārām Bhāt. Substance, country-made paper, size 14″ × 5½″. Folia 1-6. Lines, 12 to 14 on a page. Date 14th Pauṣa, Saturday, 1672 Śaka and 1158 B.S.; condition, soiled and worn-out in part. Hand-writing, good.

INTRODUCTION.

The present Bengali manuscript, the Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa (Chapter I) was discovered by the late Mr. Kedarnath Majumdar of Mymensingh, who first brought it to public notice in an Industrial-Agricultural Exhibition held at the town of Mymensingh in 1311 (B. S.). Unfortunately the book is incomplete. But though it consists of only six folia, it gives within that small compass a tolerably large mass of historical materials. The matter treated in these few pages pertains to the First Chapter; but it is complete in itself beginning with the Maratha incursions of Bengal in 1743 A. D. and ending in the death of the Maratha leader Bhāskar Paṇḍit in 1744 A. D.

The native place of the poet Gaṅgārām is not known. From the fact that the manuscript in question was found out in a village of Mymensingh Mr. K. N. Majumdar surmised that Gaṅgārām was a native of that district. It has also been said of him that though he was an inhabitant of Mymensingh, he passed many years in Murshidabad, the then capital of Bengal, where he had opportunities of knowing the incidents of Maratha invasion direct. From the spelling of certain words indicating the intonation of

the people of 'Rāḍha Deśa,' Mr. Byomkesh Mustafi imagined that Gaṅgārām was probably a native of the Burdwan district.[1] Prof. Jogendranath Samaddar stated, on what authority I do not know, but probably following Mr. K. N. Majumdar's assertion, that the descendants of the poet still lived in Mymensingh.[2] A theory has been started that the manuscript in question is in the hand-writing of the poet himself and much conjecture is rife in regard to such points, but we are not prepared to countenance any of these, as no historical evidence has yet been adduced to prove any of them.

The date (14th Pauṣa, Saturday, 1672 Śaka and 1158 B. S.) given at the end of the poem is believed by some to be that of the composition of the poem. In that case Gaṅgārām himself might have written this manuscript.[3] It is usual with the scribes to give their names at the end of the manuscripts. As, however, in the present case, no such name is found, but the date is given, one might suppose that the poet himself was the scribe. But after all, these are conjectures on which we cannot fully rely.

The date of the poem is 1751 A. D. according to Mr. Mustafi and Prof. Samaddar, and 1750 A. D. according to a recent writer on the subject.[4] This discrepancy in respect of dates is due to a misapprehension. If a close scrutiny is made it will be found that the discrepancy is an imagined one, and that the Śaka and the Bengali Eras refer to the same date, *e.g.*, 1750 A. D. There is, besides, a specific mention of

[1] See the article কবি গঙ্গারাম ও মহারাষ্ট্র পুরাণ, Sāhitya-Pariṣad Patrikā, Part IV, 1313 B. S., p. 193, by Byomkesh Mustafi.

[2] See "The Maratha Invasions of Bengal" in 1743, by Prof. J. N. Samaddar,—Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. XXVII, p. 55.

[3] See বাঙ্গালায় বর্গীর হাঙ্গামার প্রাচীনতম বিবরণ, by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, Part II, 1335 B. S.

[4] Babu Chintaharan Chakravarti, writer of the article, বাঙ্গালায় বর্গীর হাঙ্গামার প্রাচীনতম বিবরণ : see Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, Part II, 1335 B. S.

the exact day and month, which exactly show the correct time of the copy (1750 A. D.).

In discussing about the poet Gaṅgārām and his poem, Mr. Mustafi makes the remark—"কবির দক্ষিণ সহরের সাহুরাজা যে কে, তাহা নির্ণয় করিতে পারি নাই ; কারণ ভাস্কর পণ্ডিত যখন আসেন, তখন মহারাষ্ট্রে বালাজী রাও পেশওয়া রাজত্ব করিতেন।" (Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, Part IV, 1313 B. S., p. 194.)

Sāhu,[1] the grandson of Sivaji, is a well-known and conspicuous historical figure. The word 'দক্ষিণ সহর' evidently refers to a town in the Deccan. The name of his capital Satara is also to be found in the poem. We do not know how in the face of these significant historical facts there should be any hesitancy felt in identifying the great prince Sahu of the Maratha history. Further, that the poet did not care to mention adequately the names of the commanders who served under the Nawab of Bengal (Aliverdy Khan), is also unfounded, as will be shown later on.

Mr. Mustafi observed that Bhāskar's worshipping the Goddess Durgā is not justified as the Marathas do not worship that deity. All such reflections we consider to be mere gibberish. There are many sects amongst the Marathas and the worship of Śakti is nowhere interdicted in their religious code. Further, all facts of Bhāskar's life are not described anywhere that we know of. The omission of an incident in stray historical treatises does not justify its rejection.

Prof. J. N. Samaddar of the Patna University published a free translation of the book in the periodical "Bengal, Past and Present" in the year 1924 (Jan.-June), Vol. XXVII.[2] The translation gives in many places a mere gist of the

[1] During the reign of Sāhu, three Peshwas (chief ministers) succeeded one another, *e. g.*, Bālājī Visvanāth, Bājī Rāo, and Bālājī Rāo. It was during the Peshwaship of Bālājī Rāo who became Peshwa in 1740 A. D. (August) that the Maratha raids in Bengal occurred.

[2] Before this translation Mr. Samaddar referred about the Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa in his articles on Seir-ul-Mutakherin in Bengal, Past and Present (Vol. XXV, Jan.-June, 1923, pp. 158-163). Besides he devoted another article on the subject entitled "The Bargi

Bengali work omitting much of its details which we believe to be important. As the descriptions given by Gaṅgārām of this momentous period of the history of Bengal show the point of view of a Bengali, these details possess a unique interest. We have already Mahomedan and Maratha accounts of these times. The Bengalis, however, suffered greatly from the Bargi raids and the tale told by one of them, who was a contemporary writer, has the value of directness and a picturesque presentment of the psychological side of a suffering population. It ushers us straight into the arena of the military operations, giving occasionally such informations as no other historical account would provide. It has therefore been found necessary to give here a full literal translation of the texts omitting nothing of its details. We have, besides, given exhaustive notes relating to each of the historical episodes involved. The readers will find an opportunity to compare the different versions of the same historical event given by the different writers.

The chief interest of the Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa lies in the fact that it gives a graphic description of the ravages of the Maratha army and some very valuable details about the routes followed by the Marathas in Bengal and also the localities in which they committed their marauding depredations. There are certain differences as regards some historical details about the raids. Special attention should be drawn to the circumstances leading to the expedition undertaken by the Bargis as the Maratha raiders were called. In the Bengali manuscript we find that Sāhu demanded 'chouth' for Bengal from the then Emperor of Delhi (Mohammed Shah) who expressed his inability to comply with it on the ground that his authority was hardly recognised in the Province.

Invasion of Bengal" in a meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. VI, pp. 160 ff. He had also another article on it entitled "Mahratta Invasion of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa," in the Journal of Indian History, 1925, p. 80.

The Emperor suggested that Sāhu should himself invade Bengal for realising the 'chouth.' The advice was accepted and Sāhu directed Raghujī (Raghujī Bhonslā of Nagpur) to take the responsibilities by leading an army into Bengal for the purpose. Raghurāja, however, did not personally take up the task and he, in his turn, appointed his deputy named Bhāskar-vana or Bhāskar Paṇḍit to march at the head of a Maratha army. It will be seen from the quotations in the early portion of the poem dealing with the Maratha raids in Bengal that our poet's description of the cause of the raids does not fully tally with the historical facts. His account of the interview of Bhāskar Paṇḍit with Aliverdy Khan is also different. Again it should be remembered here that our poet gives a somewhat different story regarding the last interview of Bhāskar Paṇḍit with Aliverdy Khan at Monkora. Grant Duff in his Maratha history does not give any detail while Mutakherin, which is a much later work than the Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa, gives some details of this interview which do not agree with that of Gaṅgārām. We are inclined to give a greater credit to the account of Gaṅgārām as he wrote it only seven years after the occurrence of the said event. Gaṅgārām says, the Nawab outwardly put on a friendly appearance and left the place on a frivolous plea, and as he never returned and as it was getting late, the Maratha general left the Durbar accompanied by the leading men of both sides. As he was just going to mount his horse he was cut to pieces by somebody from behind. But Mutakherin makes the following statement :—

"When the Viceroy asked in an audible voice which of those eminent officers was the valorous Bha-Sukur Pandit ? And having been answered on the point by Mirza-Hekim-beg, who pointed to him with the finger, as did many others who had been stationed there for that purpose, the question was repeated. Three times did the Viceroy ask the question and three times was it answered by pointing with the fingers

and now Bha-Sukur drawing near, the Viceroy commanded his people to fall upon those free-booters. * * * * Mir-Cazem-Qhan, being the foremost of all, closed with Bha-Sukur and at one stroke felled him to the ground."[1]

Besides some differences as regards these points there is another point on which our poet is silent. It was the circumstances which led to the first departure of Bhāskar from Bengal. Gaṅgārām is also studiously silent about Bālājī Bājī Rāo and Raghujī Bhonslā's attack of Bengal in person. The ravages of the Marathas, as described by Gaṅgārām, covered an extensive area. It was chiefly the present Burdwan and Presidency Divisions which suffered most from the cruelties perpetrated by the Bargis. The villages affected, named by the poet, are as follows :—

Chandrakonā, Medinipur, Dignagar, Khirpai, Burdwan, Nimgachhi, Shergā, Simaita, Chandipur, Syampur, Satsaika, Chandpur, Kalna (Kalmara, Parishaded.), Bansberia, Madwai, Jadupur, Bhatchhala, Meerjapur, Chandaḍa, Kuḍban, Palāsy, Bauchi, Beuḍa, Samudragaḍ, Jānnagar, Nuddea, Mahatapur, Sunanthapur, Purānpur, Bhātara, Mādaḍā, Sarbhāngā, Dhitpur, Jagirabad, Kumirā, Baultali, Nimdā, Kaḍai Kaithan, Chāḍail, Siddhibākā, Ghoḍānā, Samastail, Gotpāḍā, Āgdiā, Pātani (burnt in one night), Ātāihāt, Pātāihāt, Dāinhāt, Bedā-bhāosing, Biki-hat, Indrail Pargannah, Kāgā-Mogā (Kāgā-Mogā was an inland port belonging to the Dutch), Jenuākāndi, Birbhum Pargannah, Āmdaharā, Mahādevpur, Goalābhuin, Senabhuin, Vishnupur (it was saved due to the mercy of the tutelary deity, Gopāla), Malukpādā, Sātai, Kāmnagar, Mahunā, Chourigāchhā, Kāthālia, Ādhār-mānik, Rāngā-māitā, Goāljān, Budhaipādā, Neanispādā, Dāhāpādā and Hajiganj.

[1] For a detailed account see S. U. Mutakherin (published by R. Cambray & Co.), Vol. I, pp. 434-436.

It appears from the description of the ravages wrought by the plundering Marathas that some of these villages were in a highly flourishing condition, at the time. The author tells us how the palaces of the millionaire Jagat Seth and the Rājā of Satsaika were looted. Parts of Viṣṇupur were ravaged but Vana-Viṣṇupur, it is said, was saved through the favour of the tutelary deity Gopāla. There are many country ballads current in Birbhum describing this supernatural tale.

In this connection it should be noted that the Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa mentions the Dutch port of Kāga-Mogā on the bank of the river Hooghly. The Marathas under the direction of Meer Habib requisitioned some of their sloops for transport purposes.

Gaṅgārām incidentally throws some valuable light on the composition of the Maratha army. The whole Maratha army which invaded Bengal under Bhāskar Paṇḍit was divided into several parts each under a Jamādār. Bhāskar himself was the Sardar (General) or Commander-in-chief of the army. No definite information is given as regards the exact number of soldiers who were led by each of these Jamādārs. That their position in the army was of considerable importance, unlike that of the present day, is shown by the fact that some of them are often mentioned as leading thousands. There may be some exaggeration in these statements, but the information given by the poet seems to be substantially correct. On the whole, mention is made of twenty-four Jamādārs leading the Maratha army. They were :—

(1) Dhāmdhwamā, (2) Hirāmankasi, (3) Gangaji-Āmrā, (4) Simanta-Yasi, (5) Bālāji, (6) Sivāji Kohadā, (7) Sambhuji, (8) Kesaji Amodā, (9) Kesava Singha, (10) Mohan Singha, (11) Bālā Rāo, (12) Sesa Rāo, (13) Sisa Pandit, (14) Semanta Sehaḍā, (15) Hiraman Pandit, (16) Mohan Rai, (17) Siso Pandit, (18) Pita Rai, (19) Nirāji, (20) Sāmāji, (21) Firanga

Rai, (22) Ādi- (other letters indistinct), (23) Sultan Khan, and (24) Bhāskara.[1]

It is necessary, if possible, to attempt identification of these Maratha leaders, from contemporary Maratha records that are extant even now.

On the other hand the following names of the Jamādārs who fought on the side of the Nawab of Bengal, have been mentioned by Gaṅgārām, but not noticed by Mr. Mustafi :—

(1) Mustafa Khan, (2) Samser Khan, (3) Raham Khan, (4) Karam Khan, (5) Ataulla Khan, (6) Meer Jafar Khan,[2] (7) Umar Khan, (8) Asalat Khan, (9) Thakur Singh, (10) Fateh Haji, and (11) Chhedan Haji. Many of these commanders became famous afterwards.

It is interesting to note that there were Mahomedan officers of a superior, though unspecified, rank in the army of the Marathas. Two of them, Meer Habib and Ali Bhai (Aly-Carāol) deserve special notice. Meer Habib was a man of talent and served as the Dewan of Orissa which province was under the Government of Bengal when Aliverdy Khan slew his rivals and made himself independent. Meer Habib quarrelled with Aliverdy and joined the Marathas who first invaded Bengal at his invitation. He was of the type of Daulat Khan Lodi and Meer Jafar Khan—men who have appeared often during India's political turmoil. About Ali Bhai, we learn from Mutakherin that, "Bha-Sukur who had attached to himself Aly-Carāol, a famous General of the Deccan, to whom he had given the command of six or seven

[1] Prof. J. N. Samaddar writes Sivaji in place of Niraji, Sambhaji in place of Samaji and Kesari Singh in place of Kesava Singh, which we find in the MS. Besides in the translation he makes no mention of the illegible word. Sesa Rao has been mentioned in S. U. Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 394. Jamādār No. 24 bears the same name as that of the Commander-in-chief.

[2] Evidently the same Meer Jafar Khan who afterwards became the Nawab of Bengal.

thousand horse, now thought of putting his talents to a trial."[1] Aly-Carāol was, inspite of his abilities, a bit credulous which made him a puppet at the hands of Aliverdy when the former was on an embassy to the latter's camp.[2] This at the end proved disastrous to Bhāskar Paṇḍit so much so that it cost him his life.

The Maratha raiders were known as the 'Bargis' in Bengal. We quote below from Grant Duff the meaning and significance of this term.

"The Bargirs are the people next in importance in the history of the Marathas. Bargir is not a caste. Any cavalry soldier who could not supply his own horse and who was therefore left in charge of an animal belonging to a higher soldier was a Bargir. He may have belonged to any caste. He was the dread of Bengal, where he was known as Borgi. Sir Herbert Risley gives a lucid description of this Borgi—the Maratha cavalry officer." He says :—

"The following notice of it in the new edition of *Hobson-Jobson* makes the matter clear :—'A trooper of irregular cavalry who is not the owner of his troop, horse and arms (as is the normal practice) but is either put in by another person, perhaps a native officer in the regiment, who supplies horses and arms and receives the man's full pay, allowing him a reduced rate, or has his horse from the State in whose service he is. ["According to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers would be the rank (*mansab*) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man

[1] S. U. Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 430.

[2] "Aaly-verdy-qhan did not cease to cultivate the Mahratta's (meaning Ali Bhai's) good disposition by plying him incessantly with everything curious, costly or delicious, either in stuffs or in fruits, whether of the growth of Bengal, or imported from abroad..... in one word, the Marhatta's mind was entirely changed; he became fond of Aalyverdy qhan, etc., etc."—S. U. Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 432.

N. B.—Here Ali Bhai is described as a Maratha, probably because he belonged to the Maratha army.

with a little money would buy extra horses, and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *Sil:dār* (literally 'equipment-holder') and one riding somebody else's horse was a bàrgir ('burden-taker')—*W. Irvine.*" The army of the Indian Moghuls, J. R. A. S., July, 1896, p. 539.][1]

Prominent mention is made of three principal officers of the Nawab in connection with the Maratha raids. One of them was a Hindu named Jānakīrām and the two others were Mahomedans named Mustapha Khan and Haji Saheb. From Mutakherin we know that "Radja Djanki-ram, Divan to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and of course a minister of the highest trust and credit with his master, who imparted to him alone his real scheme.....Radja Djanki-ram, as being himself a Hindoo as well as the Marhatta, passed whole days in his (meaning Bhāskar's) company and by that very reason proved greatly instrumental in this affair" [2] (meaning entrapping and assassination of Bhāskar Paṇḍit).

The writer of Mutakherin makes the following incidental observation about Mustapha Khan:—"...he (meaning Aliverdy Khan) held frequent consultations with Mustapha-qhan about the manner of destroying the invaders, and of entrapping the Marhatta general and his principal officers, in such a manner, as that the whole of them, officers and troops and all, should take a journey to nothingness..... Mustapha-qhan, who was a man of design and contrivance as well as of prowess and execution and who to those advantages joined the talent of speaking as well as he acted, could not resist so many temptations." [3]

[1] A History of the Mahrattas (Duff. Published by R. Cambray & Co., 1912), Vol. I, Appendix, p. iii.

[2] S. U. Mutakherin, Vol. I, pp. 434, 433.

N. B.—In Bengal there is a term still in existence called "বর্গী." Here in land tenure বর্গাদার or ভাগচাষী is one who tills the land of another and shares the produce of land with the owner.

[3] Mutakherin, Vol. I, pp. 430-431.

Haji Saheb of the present topic seems to be Sayed-Ahmed-qhan, a favourite of Aliverdy. In Mutakherin we find the following observation :—

"The subject [1] of discontent proved to be the government of Hooghly, which the Hadji wanted for himself, and which Aaly-Verdy-qhan bestowed on the Hadji's second son, Sayed-Ahmed-qhan."

In this connection we also mention the name of Rājā Rām Singh who was Faujdār of Midnapur and was in charge of the C. I. D. Department of the Nawab.

The details of the ravages committed by the Bargis, as given in the work under notice, shows the nature and extent of the enormity of atrocities perpetrated by them. The worst sufferers were, of course, fair-looking youthful women. Inhuman cruelties were committed upon the helpless people, whose limbs were chopped off and many of them were mercilessly slaughtered.

It is regrettable to notice the entire absence of any organised effort amongst the people for resisting the reckless oppressions of these marauders. The Nawab himself proved unequal to the task, shifting his camp from place to place for avoiding an open engagement with the enemy. A general panic was raised; even the very name of the Bargis was sufficient to make the people desert their homes in a body. The ever memorable Bengali nursery rhyme current in Bengal remind one of the horrors of the Bargi invasion even to-day. The following articles contain references to the Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa :

(1) কবি গঙ্গারাম ও মহারাষ্ট্র পুরাণ,
—ব্যোমকেশ মুস্তফী।
—সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, ৩য় সংখ্যা, সন ১৩১৩, পৃঃ ১৯৩।
(also বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, Vol. XV, p. 249).

(2) বঙ্গে বর্গী,
—বিহারীলাল সরকার।

1 Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 430.

(3) অষ্টাদশ শতাব্দীর বাঙ্গালার ইতিহাস, নবাবী আমল, পৃঃ ১৪৭.
—কালীপ্রসন্ন বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়।

(4) Bengal, Past and Present.
Vol. XXV. (Jan.—June, 1923, pp. 158-163.)

(5) Bengal, Past and Present,
Vol. XXVII, pp. 14 ff.
(English translation of the Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa by J. N. Samaddar.)
The article—"The Maratha Invasion of Bengal in 1743" by J. N. Samaddar containing the above translation.

(6) The Bargi Invasion of Bengal,
—J. N. Samaddar (Proceedings of the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. VI, pp. 100 ff.).

(7) Marhatta Invasion of Bengal, Behar and Orissa,
—J. N. Samaddar (Journal of Indian History, 1925, pp. 85 ff.).

(৮) বাঙ্গালায় বর্গীর হাঙ্গামার প্রাচীনতম বিবরণ,
—চিন্তাহরণ চক্রবর্ত্তী (সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, সন ১৩৩৫, দ্বিতীয় সংখ্যা)।[1]

(9) A brief notice of the work in "বঙ্গভাষা ও সাহিত্য" and "A History of Bengali Language and Literature" by D. C. Sen.

Besides the above, the following English and Persian works contain some references about the Bargī raids in Bengal:—

(1) Hill's Bengal in 1756-57.
(2) Salimulla's Tarikh-i-Bangla.
(3) Riyaz-us-Salatin.

[1] The writer has drawn attention to an incidental reference of the Bargī raids in Bengal as given in a Sanskrit work named চিত্রচম্পূ by Bāneśvar, which according to the author contains earliest reference of the Bargī troubles incidentally. The work being completed in 1744 A. D.

(4) Seir Mutakherin.
(5) Tarikh-i-Yusufi.
(6) Holwell's accounts
(7) A History of the Marhattas (Vols. 1 & 2) by Grant Duff.

Prof. Samaddar writes that "the Nagpur Marathas have left us no historical records and therefore, there are no Maratha sources. Neither there are any letters in Marathi, at least to my knowledge, on the subject, as these raids were undertaken by the now defunct house of Nagpur." [1]

As Grant Duff based his treatment of the subject evidently on materials found partly from the Maratha manuscripts as acknowledged by him in footnotes we cannot accept Prof. Samaddar's view.

There are some words like ডেরহাস্তি, মনসুবাদ, মহিসবাৎ and ডেহড়, etc. in the Bengali manuscript (the Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa) which are difficult to comprehend. Mr. Mustafi and Prof. Samaddar have also confessed their inability to explain the words.

We give below a brief outline of historical events which occasioned the Maratha raids in Bengal for better appreciation of the subject:—

The Maratha raids occurred when Nawab Aliverdy Khan was the ruler of Bengal. Sāhu (the grandson of Sivaji I) was the nominal head of the Maratha territories with Bāllājee Bājī Rāo (Bālājī Rāo) as his Peshwa (or Prime Minister), and Raghujī Bhonslā, one of the Marata chiefs, was the ruler of Nagpur territory with Bhāskar Punt as his Commander-in-chief. Nadir Shah's invasion of India was over just a few years ago (*e.g.*, in 1739 A. D.) and the Moghul Emperor of Delhi Mohammed Shah "had received his liberty and his crown after both had been subjected to the will of a despot." [2] The Central power in Delhi being weak at the time ambitious

1 "The Maratha Invasion of Bengal in 1743" by J. N. Samaddar, Bengal Past and Present, p. 44, Vol. XXVII, Jan.-June.

2 Grant Duff's "A History of the Marhattas," Vol. I, p. 459.

members of the aristocracy in various parts of India asserted their independence. Thus Aliverdy Khan established his independence in Bengal while various Marata chiefs established their authority in various parts of Western and Central India. Sāhu was only the nominal head of the Marata confideracy while his Brahmin minister, the Peshwa really ruled the territories under his control. The following passage from the Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa will give an idea of the circumstances under which the Mahrattas invaded Bengal.

"About this period, the usurper, Aliverdy Khan, established his authority over the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. From a humble situation in the service of Shujah-ud-deen Khan, Nabob of Bengal, Aliverdy had been appointed the Nabob's deputy in Behar; Surfuraz Khan, the heir apparent to the nobobship, was stationed at Dacca, and Morshed Koolee Khan, the son-in-law of Shujah-ud-deen, was the deputy governor of Orissa, having for his dewan a native of Arabia,[1] named Meer Hubeeb. On the death of Shujah-ud-deen, Surfuraz Khan was appointed Nabob. Aliverdy Khan rebelled and slew him in battle. He also attacked and drove Moorshed Koolee from Orissa. Meer Hubeeb, the dewan, a person afterwards so instrumental in Marhatta progress, also fled, but subsequently submitted, and entered the service of the successful insurgent. Aliverdy Khan was acknowledged by the emperor as Nabob of Bengal, in consequence of sending a part of the property and jewels of Surfuraz Khan to Court.—(Grant Duff, p. 460, History of the Marhattas, Vol. I.).....It appears, that immediately after his master's defeat, Meer Hubeeb had invited Bhaskar Punt, the Dewan of Rughoojee Bhonsla, who was left in charge of the Government of Behar during his master's absence in the Carnatic, to advance into the Province of Kuttack, but Bhaskar Punt, having found it necessary to

[1] Mahratta MSS. Gholam Hossein Khan, author of the Seyr-ool-Mutuaqhereen, (Seir ul Mutakherin) calls him a native of Persia, a pedlar from Iran. Meer Hubeeb was intimately known to the Mahrattas, who always designated him as an Arab.

apply for his master's permission. Before an answer could be received and the troops prepared, Aliverdy Khan had conquered the province, and Meer Hubeeb had submitted his authority. (Grant Duff, Vol. II, pp. 8 and 9.)……Since the Peshwa's arrival at Mundelah, a negotiation had been going on between him and the Emperor, through the mediation of Raja Jey Singh, supported by Nizam-Ool-Moolk. The chouth of the imperial territory was promised (1742 A. D.)…… In the meantime Bhasker Punt had invaded Behar…… The Marhatta army consisted of ten or twelve thousand horse, and report had swelled their numbers to nearly four times that number. Aliverdy Khan, although only at the head of three or four thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, resolved to oppose them; but the Marhattas attacked him with great success, surrounded his army, carried off most of his baggage, and reduced him to great distress……He made good his escape to Cutwa……In the meantime, the Emperor, on being apprized of the irruption into Bengal, ordered Sufdar Jung, Nabob of Oude, to drive out Bhaskar Punt, and at the same time applied to Ballajee Bajee Rao, to afford his aid."

The Peshwa arrived at Mursidabad by the route of Allahabad as a friend of the Nawab. Raghujī Bhonslā with a powerful army, was advancing as an enemy of the Nawab from eastward. A settlement was arrived at by this time between Aliverdy and the Peshwa as a result of which Raghujī Bhonslā had to beat a retreat. The Peshwa alone "overtook, attacked and defeated Raghujee's army." "Bhaskar Punt who was at the head of a party in reserve immediately retreated through Orissa." So Bāllājī Rāo returned to Malwa (1743 A.D.) (Duff, Vol. 2, pp. 14-15). But eventually Raghujī reconciled with the Peshwa and Bāllājī resigned Bengal to Raghujī Bhonslā (Duff, Vol. 2, p. 17).

"Raghujee Bhonslay was intent on recovering his last footing in Bengal, and the Peshwa, in order to excuse himself

to the Emperor for not acting against Raghujee remaind in the Deccan. * * * Bhaskar Punt, Alee Kuraweel and several officers of note, supported by twenty thousand horse, were sent into Bengal by the route of Orissa. Aliverdy Khan prepared his troops, but on pretence of coming to an agreement, opend a negotiation with Bhaskar Punt, invited him to a Ziafut, or entertainment, with twenty of his principal officers, and most treacherously murdered them (1744 A. D.). One Seerdar, named Raghujee Gaekwar, who remained in charge of the camp, was the only one out of twenty-two principal officers, who escaped this perfidious massacre : he conducted the retreat of the army to Berar by the same route they had come, but many of the Marhatta stragglers were cut off by the exasperated peasantry." [1] Raghujī Bhonslā, then invaded Orissa and demanded thirty millions of rupees. Aliverdy at first assented but afterwards sent a vaunting message to Raghujī which put an end to all negotiations. [1]

This is, in short, the history of the Maratha raids in Bengal. Bhāskar Punt attacked Bengal twice, as will be seen from above,— once in 1742 A. D, and again in 1743 A. D. when he was treacherously murdered by Aliverdy Khan in 1744 A. D. But the Marathas mainly attacked Bengal thrice, *e.g.*, in 1742, 1743 and in 1744 A. D. and the trouble finally ended in 1751 A. D. The Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa deals, as mentioned before, with the attack of 1743 A. D. The poem while describing the political events of Bengal for a short period throws some important light on the social condition of the people. Interesting points relating to the manners and customs of the people who were oppressed, and of the invading Bargīs, are mentioned incidentally, and we hold the poem to be an important contribution not only to the political history of the country, but also to the history of society of the Bengali people of that period.

---

[1] A History of the Mahrattas, Grant Duff, Vol. 2, pp. 23-24.

অধ্যাপক রাধাকৃষ্ণম্-প্রণীত ইংরাজী হিন্দুদর্শনের ইতিহাস

ভগবদ্‌গীতা

(অনুবাদ)

শ্রীকোকিলেশ্বর শাস্ত্রী, বিদ্যারত্ন, এম্ এ. লিখিত।

শ্রীমদ্‌ভগবদ্‌গীতা মহাভারতের ভীষ্মপর্ব্বের অন্তর্গত। সংস্কৃত-সাহিত্যে কবিতায় নিবদ্ধ ধর্ম্ম-বিষয়ক যত গ্রন্থ আছে, তন্মধ্যে ইহার মত সর্ব্বজন-সমাদৃত গ্রন্থ আর নাই। পৃথিবীতে প্রচলিত ভাষাসমূহের মধ্যে, এমন সুন্দর দার্শনিক গীতি-গ্রন্থ আর দ্বিতীয়টী দেখিতে পাওয়া যায় না। এই গ্রন্থে দর্শন, ধর্ম্ম এবং সামাজিক নীতি সম্বন্ধে উপদেশ প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে। ইহা শ্রৌত-গ্রন্থ নহে; ইহা স্মৃতি-গ্রন্থ বলিয়াই বিবেচিত হইয়া থাকে। মানুষের মনের উপরে প্রভাব বিস্তারকেই যদি কোন গ্রন্থের উপযোগিতার মূলসূত্র বলিয়া গণনা করা যায়, তাহা হইলে ভারতের চিন্তারাজ্যে ভগবদ্‌-গীতার মত প্রভাবশালী গ্রন্থ আর নাই। গীতা যে মুক্তির সংবাদ আনিয়াছে তাহা অতি সহজ। যাহারা ধনবান্, তাহারাই যজ্ঞদ্বারা দেবতার দয়া কিনিয়া লইতে পারে; যাহারা বিদ্বান্ তাহারাই জ্ঞান-মার্গে প্রবিষ্ট হইতে পারে; কিন্তু গীতা যে পরমেশ্বরে ভক্তির সমাচার দিয়াছে, তাহা সর্ব্বসাধারণ সকলেই গ্রহণ করিতে পারে। গীতার যিনি উপদেষ্টা, তিনি মানবদেহধারী ভগবান্। অর্জ্জুনকে উপলক্ষ করিয়া, সমগ্র মানবজাতিকেই, মনুষ্য-জীবনের ভয়ঙ্কর মুহূর্ত্তে, গীতা উপদেশ-বাণী শুনাইতেছে। অর্জ্জুনের পক্ষে যুদ্ধই ন্যায়ানুমোদিত, যুদ্ধই তাঁহার কর্ত্তব্য,—ইহা বুঝিয়াই অর্জ্জুন যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে উপস্থিত হইয়াছেন; শত্রুর সম্মুখীন হইয়াছেন। চিত্তের এইরূপ অতি সঙ্কটময় অবস্থায় অর্জ্জুন সহসা আত্মকর্ত্তব্যে পরাঙ্মুখ হইলেন।

তাঁহার অন্তরস্থ সদসদ্বিচারশক্তি চঞ্চল হইয়া উঠিল; দুঃখের ঝটিকা তাঁহার চিত্তকে আন্দোলিত করিতে লাগিল। "একটা ক্ষুদ্র রাজ্যে প্রজা-বিদ্রোহ উপস্থিত হইলে যেমন তাহা অস্থির হইয়া উঠে," অর্জ্জুনের চিত্তও তদ্রূপ অস্থির হইয়া উঠিল! নর-হত্যা যদি পাপ হয়, তাহা হইলে যাহারা আমাদের স্নেহ-ভাজন এবং যাঁহারা আমাদের পূজ্য, তাঁহাদিগের প্রাণনাশ সমধিক পাপের কার্য্য সন্দেহ নাই। এই বিশ্বের রহস্য-জাল ভেদ করিতে না পারিয়া, মানুষের মন যে সময় সময় শূন্য বোধ করিতে থাকে এবং চিত্ত ভারাক্রান্ত হইয়া পড়ে,—কবি অর্জ্জুনকে দিয়া মানব-চিত্তের এই ব্যাকুলতার তত্ত্বই প্রকাশিত করিয়াছেন। অর্জ্জুন তখন পর্য্যন্তও আপন আত্মার মধ্যে এমন একটা গভীর অন্তর্দৃষ্টি লাভ করিতে পারেন নাই, যাহার বলে—সেই সুদৃঢ় আত্ম-কেন্দ্রের দৃষ্টিতে কেবল যে নিজের কামনা-বাসনাদিরই অসারতা উপলব্ধি হইতে থাকে তাহা নহে, তখন যে বাহ্য-প্রকৃতি মানুষের বিরোধিতা করে, তাহারও প্রকৃত শক্তি কতটুকু তাহাও বুঝিতে পারা যায়। অর্জ্জুনের এই বিষাদ-যোগ, নৈরাশ্যপূর্ণ ও হতাশ ব্যক্তির একটা সাময়িক চিত্ত-বিকার মাত্র নহে; কিন্তু মানুষ যে সময় সময় আপনার অন্তরে একটা শূন্যতার উপলব্ধি করে, হৃদয়-মধ্যে যে একটা অসাড় নিস্পন্দ অবসাদের অনুভব করে, যাহার ফলে সমস্ত বস্তুকে মানুষ অসত্য অসার বলিয়া বোধ করিতে থাকে,—অর্জ্জুনের এই বিষাদ-যোগ তাহাই! আবশ্যক হইলে, অর্জ্জুন জীবন ত্যাগ করিতেও কুণ্ঠিত নহেন। কিন্তু এক্ষেত্রে তাঁহার কর্ত্তব্য কি, তাহা তিনি বুঝিয়া উঠিতে পারিতেছিলেন না। তিনি অতি ভয়ঙ্কর প্ররোচনার সম্মুখীন; তাঁহার অন্তরের মধ্য দিয়া আজ এক তুমুল দুঃখের ঝটিকা বহিয়া যাইতেছে; তাঁহার কণ্ঠে যে আর্ত্তনাদ ফুটিয়া উঠিতেছে উহা সহজ বোধ্য হইলেও নিতান্ত মর্ম্ম-ভেদী; ইহা জীবন-নাটকের 'বিয়োগান্ত' ভাবেরই পরিচায়ক! যাঁহারা জীবন-নাট্যের বর্ত্তমান অভিনয় হইতেও সম্মুখের দিকে অধিকদূর পর্য্যন্ত দেখিতে পান, তাঁহারাই অর্জ্জুনের এই অবস্থাটী সম্যক্ উপলব্ধি করিতে পারিবেন। গীতার প্রথম অধ্যায়ে এই যে অর্জ্জুনের নৈরাশ্য বর্ণিত হইয়াছে, ইহাকে ব্রহ্মতত্ত্বের অনুভবকারীরা, আত্মার ঊর্দ্ধগতির—উন্নতির পথের 'তামস-রজনী' বলিয়া উল্লেখ করিয়া

থাকেন। আত্মোন্নতিকামীর এরূপ অবস্থা প্রথমে আসিবেই, এই কথা তাঁহারা বলিয়া থাকেন। আত্মোন্নতি-মার্গের অপরাপর সোপানগুলি, পরে, ক্রমে ক্রমে, অর্জ্জুন-কৃষ্ণ-সংবাদে কথিত হইয়াছে। দ্বিতীয় অধ্যায় হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া, ক্রমেই দার্শনিক বিশ্লেষণ দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। মনুষ্যের দেহ বা ইন্দ্রিয়বর্গ সার বস্তু নহে; নির্ব্বিকার আত্মাই সার বস্তু। অর্জ্জুনের চিত্ত একটা নূতন পথে পরিচালিত হইল। কুরুক্ষেত্রের সমর-ভূমিকে মানবের আত্মার ক্ষেত্র বলিয়াই গণনা করা যাইতে পারে; এবং কৌরব-পক্ষ যেন সেই আত্মার উন্নতি-মার্গের শত্রু বা বাধা বলিয়া বিবেচিত হইতে পারে। অর্জ্জুন, অপহৃত আত্মরাজ্যের পুনরুদ্ধারে সমুদ্যত হইয়া, প্রলোভনকে শাসিত ও বাসনাকে সংযত করিতে যত্নশীল। কিন্তু আত্মার এই উন্নতির পথটী, স্বার্থত্যাগ ও কষ্টদুঃখাদির তীক্ষ্ণ কণ্টকে পরিপূর্ণ। তাই অর্জ্জুন আজ, এই কণ্টকাকীর্ণ পথে যাইতে চাহিতেছিলেন না; নানাবিধ কুটিল তর্ক-যুক্তি উত্থাপিত করিয়া, বিবিধ আপত্তি তুলিয়া, এই পথ হইতে প্রতিনিবৃত্ত হইবার চেষ্টাই করিতেছিলেন। অর্জ্জুনকে নৈরাশ্য ও বিষাদের মধ্যে পতিত হইবার পক্ষে সতর্ক করিয়া দিয়া, শ্রীকৃষ্ণ জলদ-গম্ভীর স্বরে, পরমেশ্বরের বাণী, মুক্তির সংবাদ শুনাইতে আসিয়াছেন। গীতার প্রারম্ভ-ভাগ, মানব-মনের অন্তস্তলদর্শিতার পরিচয় প্রদান করে। মানবের নিভৃত অন্তরে বিরুদ্ধ প্রবৃত্তির দ্বন্দ্ব, সুখস্পৃহা ও স্বার্থপরতার উৎকট বল, এবং চিত্তে উপজাত কুমতির মোহন মৃদু কণ্ঠস্বর,—এই সকল দেখাইয়া, গীতার কবি যে মানব-চিত্তের প্রকৃত রহস্যজ্ঞ তাহার সাক্ষ্য প্রদান করিয়াছেন। কৃষ্ণার্জ্জুনের কথোপকথন যতই অগ্রসর হইতে থাকে, ততই আমরা গীতার যেটী নাট্যাংশ সেটীকে ক্রমেই অপগত হইতে দেখি। সমরক্ষেত্রের যুদ্ধ-কোলাহল ধীরে ধীরে যেন বিরত হইয়া যায় এবং মানবাত্মা ও পরমাত্মার মধ্যে যেন সাক্ষাৎকার হইতেছে, দেখিতে পাই। যুদ্ধের রথ যেন ধ্যানের নির্জ্জন মন্দিরে পরিণত হইয়াছে, বুঝিতে পারি; এবং যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রের প্রান্তদেশ যেন—জগতের সমস্ত কলরব নিবৃত্ত হইয়া গিয়া—ঈশ্বর-ধ্যানের একটী প্রশস্ত ও প্রশান্ত ক্ষেত্রে পরিণত হইয়া গিয়াছে, অনুভব করি।

গীতার যিনি উপদেষ্টা, তিনি ভারতের সর্ব্বজন-প্রিয় দেবতা। তিনি একাধারে মানুষ ও দেবতা দুই-ই। তিনি সৌন্দর্য্য ও প্রেমের দেবতা। তাঁহার ভক্তেরা বিহঙ্গ-রাজের পক্ষোপরি তাঁহার সিংহাসন স্থাপন করাইয়াছে; কোমল নলিনী-দলের উপরে তাঁহার চরণ-বিন্যাস দেখিয়াছে; এই পৃথিবীতে যাহা কিছু সুন্দর ও আনন্দপ্রদ, তাহারই উপরে তাঁহার স্থিতি কল্পনা করিয়াছে। স্বর্গের দেবতা মনুষ্য-দেহে অবতীর্ণ হইলে, কিরূপে কথা বলেন,—গীতার কবি তাহার জ্বলন্ত অনুভব আপন অন্তরে করিতে পারিয়াছেন। কবির পক্ষে, ইহার অনুকূলে প্রাচীন 'নজীরের' অভাব হয় নাই। মানবাত্মা ও পরমাত্মায় যে কোন ভেদ নাই, এই দার্শনিক তত্ত্ব, আমরা 'ব্রহ্মসূত্রের' যে স্থলে ইন্দ্র আপনাকে ব্রহ্ম বলিয়া অনুভব করিয়া কথা বলিতেছেন সেই স্থল হইতেই বুঝিতে পারি। ঋষি বামদেব যে বলিয়াছেন, "আমিই মনু, আমিই সূর্য্য,"—ইহাও সেই দার্শনিক তত্ত্বেরই প্রকৃষ্ট উদাহরণ। গীতার নিজেরও উপদেশ এই যে, যখন মানুষ বাসনা ও ভয় হইতে বিমুক্ত হয়, যখন মানুষের চিত্তের মলিনতা জ্ঞানাগ্নিদ্বারা দূরীভূত হইয়া যায়, তখন মানুষ ঈশ্বরকে লাভ করে, উভয়ে ভেদ থাকে না। এই সান্ত মানবাত্মার মধ্যে যে অনন্ত পরমাত্মা বাস করেন, গীতার শ্রীকৃষ্ণ—তিনিই। মানুষের এই রক্ত-মাংসের ও ইন্দ্রিয়বর্গের আবরণে যিনি সমাচ্ছন্ন হইয়া আছেন, মানবের অন্তরস্থ সেই পরমেশ্বরই—গীতার শ্রীকৃষ্ণ।

গীতা যে সংবাদ বহন করিয়া আনিয়াছে, উহাতে কোন সংকীর্ণতা নাই; উহা বিশ্বজনীন, উদার। প্রচলিত হিন্দুধর্ম্মের, গীতাই দার্শনিক ভিত্তি। গীতার কবি গভীর জ্ঞানী ও ধর্ম্ম-মতে নিরপেক্ষ এবং উদার। ধর্ম্ম-প্রচার কার্য্যে তিনি ব্রতী হন নাই; কোন সম্প্রদায়-বিশেষকে লক্ষ্য করিয়া তিনি কিছু বলিতেছেন না; দার্শনিক কোন মত-বিশেষ স্থাপন করিতেও তিনি প্রয়াসী হন নাই। তিনি সকলের পক্ষেই পরমেশ্বর-প্রাপ্তির পথ খুলিয়া দিয়াছেন। পরমেশ্বরোপাসনার সকল প্রণালীর উপরেই তাঁহার সমাদর দৃষ্ট হয়। কোন সাধন-বিশেষকে, কোন চিন্তা-প্রণালীকে অনাদর বা অনাস্থা প্রদর্শন না করাই হিন্দুধর্ম্মের বিশেষত্ব। সুতরাং, এই হিন্দু-ধর্ম্মের যাহা সারাৎসার তত্ত্ব, সেই তত্ত্বের ব্যাখ্যা-কার্য্যে গীতার কবির যে

সম্পূর্ণ যোগ্যতা আছে, তৎপক্ষে কোন সন্দেহ নাই। ভগবদ্‌গীতা যে কেবল জ্ঞান ও চিন্তার ঔজ্জ্বল্যে এবং অগ্রদর্শিতার মহিমায় আমাদের হৃদয়ের অন্তস্তল স্পর্শ করে তাহা নহে; ঈশ্বর-ভক্তির জ্বলন্ত আগ্রহে ও আধ্যাত্মিক ভাবের কমনীয় মাধুর্য্যেও গীতা আমাদের অন্তরের বহুল স্থান ব্যাপিয়া থাকে।

গীতায় উল্লিখিত তত্ত্ব-কথার মধ্যে, আমরা যেন স্ব-সিদ্ধান্তের উপরে একটা অবিসংবাদিত দৃঢ়তার ঝঙ্কার শুনিতে পাই। গীতার কবি যাহা বলিয়াছেন, তাহাতে যে কোন ভ্রম-প্রমাদ নাই, এইরূপ একটা অবিচলিত বিশ্বাস তাঁহার আছে, ইহা বুঝিতে পারা যায়। তিনি নিজে যে তত্ত্ব যে প্রকার বুঝিয়াছেন তাহাই বলিয়া যাইতেছেন; এবং তাঁহার দৃষ্টিও বহু-ব্যাপিনী ও পূর্ণতা-গ্রাহিণী এবং তাঁহার উপদেশে মানুষের মুক্তি পর্য্যন্ত হইতে পারিবে, এ বিশ্বাস তাঁহার আছে। "গীতায় একজন অসাধারণ পুরুষ, তাঁহার জ্ঞানের ও অনুভবের উৎসাহে ও পূর্ণতায়, আপন বাণী বলিয়া যাইতেছেন, এবং তিনি কোন দর্শন-বিশেষের সাম্প্রদায়িক গণ্ডীর ভিতরে আবদ্ধ থাকিয়া, কোন মত-বিশেষের অনুকূল করিয়াও কোন কথা বলিতেছেন না।" কোন দার্শনিক মত-বৈশিষ্ট্য এবং স্বভাব-সিদ্ধ কবি-প্রতিভা—গীতা এই উভয় প্রকারের মধ্যবর্ত্তী গ্রন্থ। উপনিষদে যেমন আমরা গূঢ় ব্যঙ্গ্যার্থের অফুরন্ত উৎস দেখিতে পাই, গীতায় সে প্রকার কিছু দেখা যায় না। তাহার কারণ এই বোধ হয় যে, জীবনের গুরুতর সমস্যাগুলি সম্বন্ধে, বুদ্ধির বলে, যে সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হইতে পারা যায়, সেইরূপ সিদ্ধান্ত প্রদর্শনই গীতার অভিপ্রেত ছিল। বিবেকের তাড়না ও চিত্তের ব্যাকুলতা হইতে যে অবস্থা সৃষ্ট হইয়াছিল, সেই অবস্থার প্রতীকারকল্পেই গীতা উৎপন্ন হইয়াছিল।

উপনিষদের তাৎপর্য্যের সঙ্গে গীতার ঐক্য আছে; কেবল ধর্ম্মাচরণের দিক্‌টা গীতায় কিছু প্রবল। বুদ্ধির বিচার-ক্রিয়া, মানব-চিত্তের তৃপ্তি উৎপাদনে একান্ত উপযোগী হইতে পারে না। গীতাকার বুঝিতেন যে, মানুষ শুষ্ক ন্যায় ও তর্ককে ভালবাসিয়া জীবন ক্ষয় করিতে পারে না। তাই গীতাকার, উপনিষদে ধর্ম্মতত্ত্বের যে আভাস মাত্র প্রচ্ছন্ন ছিল, তাহার

বিস্তৃতি-সাধন করিয়া, তাহার মধ্যেই প্রাণ-সঞ্চার করিয়া দিয়াছেন। জন-প্রিয় পৌরাণিক কাহিনী ও জাতীয় পরিকল্পনাগুলিও উহার অন্তর্নিবিষ্ট হইয়া রহিয়াছে।

ভগবদ্-গীতার সময়-নির্দ্ধারণ সম্বন্ধে স্থির সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হওয়া সহজ নহে। কেহ কেহ এরূপ সন্দেহও প্রকাশ করিয়া থাকেন যে, গীতা মহাভারতের মধ্যে পরবর্ত্তী কালে কেহ প্রক্ষিপ্ত করিয়া থাকিবে। শ্রীযুক্ত টল্‌বয়জ্ হুইলার সাহেব মনে করেন যে, "যুদ্ধারম্ভের প্রথম দিবসে, যখন উভয় পক্ষের সেনাদল যুদ্ধার্থ পরস্পরের সম্মুখীন হইয়াছে এবং শস্ত্র-সম্পাতে প্রবৃত্ত হইয়া দণ্ডায়মান,—এমন সময়ে যে কৃষ্ণ ও অর্জ্জুনের মধ্যে, কি প্রকারে আত্মা মুক্তি লাভ করিতে পারে তদ্বিষয়ে, একটা সুদীর্ঘ দার্শনিক আলোচনাত্মক কথোপকথন হইয়াছিল, এ প্রকার মনে করা বড় অস্বাভাবিক বলিয়াই প্রতীত হয়।" শ্রীযুক্ত টেলাঙ্ মহোদয়ও, সম্পূর্ণরূপে না হউক্, অংশতঃ এই মতেরই পক্ষপাতী, এবং তিনি বিবেচনা করেন যে, ভগবদ্গীতা একখানা স্বতন্ত্র গ্রন্থ এবং মহাভারতকার নিজের প্রয়োজন-সাধনোদ্দেশে ইহাকে মহাভারতের অঙ্গীভূত করিয়া লইয়াছেন। যুদ্ধের প্রাক্‌কালে, এ প্রকার দার্শনিক আলোচনা তত সুসঙ্গত ও সমীচীন বলিয়া বোধ হয় না ইহা অবশ্যই সত্য, কিন্তু তথাপি ইহাও অস্বীকার করা যায় না যে, সমরক্ষেত্রের ন্যায় সঙ্কটময় মুহূর্ত্তগুলিই কেবল চিন্তাশীল ব্যক্তির চিত্তে জগতের মূল সমস্যা-সকলের চিন্তা উদ্বুদ্ধ করিতে সমর্থ। কেবল এই প্রকার মুহূর্ত্তেই প্রকৃত ধার্ম্মিক ব্যক্তির চিত্তের মধ্যে এমন একটা বিক্ষেপ উপস্থিত হয়, যাহা দুর্গম বিষয়বর্গের আবরণ ভাঙ্গিয়া ফেলিয়া আন্তর-রাজ্যে প্রবেশ করিবার পক্ষে একান্ত উপযোগী। অবশ্য ইহা সম্ভব যে, শ্রীকৃষ্ণ তাঁহার সখা অর্জ্জুনকে যে সকল মর্ম্মস্পর্শী উপদেশ বলিয়া গিয়াছিলেন, মহাভারতের কবি সেই উপদেশগুলিকে সাত শত শ্লোকাকারে নিজ গ্রন্থে নিবদ্ধ করিয়া লইয়াছেন। মহাভারতকার যখনই সুবিধা পাইতেন, তখনই ধর্ম্মের মূলতত্ত্ব-গুলির বিস্তৃতি-সাধনে সততই সমুৎসুক ছিলেন; বর্ত্তমান ক্ষেত্রেও তিনি অবশ্যই সে সুবিধা ত্যাগ করেন নাই।

মহাভারতের মধ্যেই স্থানে স্থানে ভগবদ্-গীতার সম্পর্কে বিশেষ উল্লেখ

দেখা যায়; এতদ্‌দ্বারা ইহাই প্রতীত হয় যে, প্রথম হইতেই গীতা, মূল মহাভারতের একটা বিশিষ্ট অংশরূপেই পরিগণিত হইত। মহাভারত ও গীতা—উভয় লইয়াই যে এক মূল গ্রন্থ ইহা উভয় গ্রন্থের লিখন-ভঙ্গী হইতেও সুস্পষ্ট হইয়া পড়ে। অন্যান্য দর্শন শাস্ত্র ও ধর্ম্ম-মত সম্বন্ধে উভয়েরই বিশেষ ঐকমত্য আছে। মহাভারত এবং গীতা—উভয় গ্রন্থেই, অকর্ম্ম অপেক্ষা কর্ম্মের শ্রেষ্ঠতা কীর্ত্তিত হইয়াছে। বৈদিক যজ্ঞ সম্বন্ধে, সৃষ্টি-তত্ত্বের নির্দ্দেশে, ত্রিগুণ সম্বন্ধে সাংখ্য-মতের বিবরণে, বিশ্ব-রূপ বর্ণনে—উভয় গ্রন্থের দৃষ্টি একই প্রকার। মত-সামঞ্জস্য-বিধান যে সুধু গীতারই নিজস্ব, মহাভারতের নহে,—একথাও আমরা বলিতে পারি না।

কিন্তু ভগবদ্‌-গীতাকে মহাভারতের একটা বিশিষ্ট অংশ বলিয়া স্বীকার করিলেও, ইহার ঠিক সময়-নির্দ্ধারণ সহজসাধ্য নহে; কেন না, বিভিন্ন কালের বিভিন্ন আবিষ্কারগুলিও উহার অন্তর্নিবিষ্ট রহিয়াছে। শ্রীযুক্ত টেলাঙ্‌, তৎ-সম্পাদিত গীতার অবতরণিকায়,—গীতার উপদিষ্ট বিষয়গুলির সাধারণ প্রকৃতি, গীতার প্রাচীন 'আর্ষ' লিখন-ভঙ্গী, ইহার ছন্দঃগুলি, এবং ইহার অন্যান্য বিষয়ের আলোচনা করিয়া এই সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হইয়াছেন যে, গীতা খৃষ্টপূর্ব্ব তৃতীয় শতাব্দীরও পূর্ব্বে রচিত। শ্রীযুক্ত ভাণ্ডারকর গীতাকে খৃষ্টপূর্ব্ব চতুর্থ শতাব্দীর গ্রন্থ বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করিয়াছেন। শ্রীযুক্ত গার্ব্বে সাহেবের মতে, মূলগীতা দ্বিতীয় শতাব্দীর গ্রন্থ হইলেও উহার বর্ত্তমান আকার খৃষ্ট-পরবর্ত্তী দ্বিতীয় শতাব্দীতে সংঘটিত হইয়াছে। নবম শতাব্দীতে প্রাদুর্ভূত শ্রীমচ্ছঙ্করাচার্য্য গীতার ভাষ্য লিখিয়া গিয়াছেন, এবং কালিদাসও গীতার কথা জানিতেন। কালিদাসের রঘুবংশে গীতার অনুরূপ শ্লোক দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। মহাকবি বাণভট্টও গীতার উল্লেখ করিয়াছেন। এই দুই মহাকবি, যথাক্রমে পঞ্চম ও সপ্তম শতাব্দীতে প্রাদুর্ভূত হইয়াছিলেন। কতকগুলি পুরাণের (দ্বিতীয় শতাব্দী) মধ্যে, ভগবদ্‌-গীতার প্রণালী অনুসরণ করিয়া, অনেক প্রকারের গাতা রচিত হইয়াছিল দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। ভাস কবি রচিত 'কর্ণভার' নাটকে, একটী শ্লোকে যেন গীতারই শ্লোকের প্রতিধ্বনি শুনিতে পাওয়া যায়; এবং ভাস কবিকে অনেকে- খৃষ্টপূর্ব্ব দ্বিতীয় শতাব্দীর এবং কেহ কেহ

খৃষ্টের পরবর্ত্তী চতুর্থ শতাব্দীর কবি বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করিয়াছেন। বৌধায়ন প্রণীত গৃহ্য-সূত্রে বাসুদেবের উপাসনার উল্লেখ আছে এবং গীতা হইতেই একটী শ্লোক উদ্ধৃত হইয়াছে দেখা যায়। তৎপ্রণীত পিতৃ-মেধ সূত্র সম্বন্ধেও একথা প্রযোজ্য। যদি আপস্তম্বকে খৃঃ পূঃ তৃতীয় শতাব্দীর গ্রন্থকার বলিয়া ধরা যায়, তাহা হইলে বৌধায়ন তাহা হইতেও এক বা দুই শতাব্দীর পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী গ্রন্থকার হইয়া পড়েন। এই সকল আলোচনা হইতে আমরা গীতাকে খৃঃ পূঃ পঞ্চম শতাব্দীর গ্রন্থ বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করিলে, বিশেষ অন্যায় হইবে না আশা করি।

তৎকাল প্রচলিত প্রায় সর্ব্বপ্রকার মতের প্রভাব গীতাকারের উপরে পড়িয়াছিল; তাই তিনি, ইতস্ততঃ বিপ্রকীর্ণ সূর্য্য-কিরণকে এক বিন্দুতে কেন্দ্রীভূত করিলে যেমন উহা সমধিক প্রোজ্জ্বল হইয়া উঠে, তদ্রূপ, প্রচলিত ধর্ম্মমতগুলিকে একত্র সংগ্রহ করিয়া তাহাদের প্রভাব বৃদ্ধি করিয়া দিয়াছেন। আমরাও এস্থলে, একদিকে গীতা এবং অপর দিকে বেদ, উপনিষদ্, বৌদ্ধধর্ম্ম, ভাগবত-ধর্ম্ম ও সাংখ্য-যোগ-তত্ত্ব—ইহাদের মধ্যে প্রকৃত সম্বন্ধ কি প্রকার তাহা নির্ণয় করা প্রয়োজনীয় বলিয়া মনে করি।

গীতা কোনদিনই বেদের প্রামাণ্যকে অস্বীকার করেন নাই। কতকগুলি বিশিষ্ট অধিকারীর পক্ষে বৈদিক যজ্ঞাদির উপযোগিতা গীতাকার স্বীকার করিয়াছেন। গীতার মতে, বেদের বিধি-নিষেধ পালন না করিলে মনুষ্যের চরমে মুক্তিলাভ সম্ভব নহে। কর্ম্মফলে আকাঙ্ক্ষা না রাখিয়া, বৈদিক যজ্ঞ সম্পাদন কর্ত্তব্য। বেদোক্ত কর্ম্ম করিতে করিতে, কর্ম্ম-যোগীর এমন এক অবস্থা উপস্থিত হয়, যে অবস্থায় কর্ম্মের আর কোন প্রয়োজনীয়তা থাকে না; কর্ম্ম তখন মুক্তি-পথের বিঘ্ন বলিয়াই পরিগণিত হইতে থাকে। বৈদিক যজ্ঞানুষ্ঠানের ফলে আমরা পুত্র-পশু-স্বর্গাদি লাভ করিতে পারি বটে, কিন্তু তদ্দ্বারা মুক্তিলাভে মানুষ সমর্থ হয় না। আত্মানুসন্ধান ব্যতীত মুক্তিলাভ সুদূর-পরাহত। কি উপায়ে মুক্তিলাভ করিতে পারা যায় তাহা যখন আমাদের হস্তগত রহিয়াছে, তখন আর বৃথা বৈদিক যজ্ঞানুষ্ঠানের একান্ত আবশ্যকতা কোথায় রহিল?

যে দার্শনিক ভিত্তির উপরে গীতা প্রতিষ্ঠিত, তাহা উপনিষদ্ হইতে গৃহীত হইয়াছে। অনেকগুলি শ্লোক গীতা ও উপনিষদ্—উভয়েরই সাধারণ সম্পত্তি। ক্ষেত্র ও ক্ষেত্রজ্ঞ সম্বন্ধে, এবং ক্ষর ও অক্ষর সম্বন্ধে যে বিচার গীতায় দৃষ্ট হয়, উহা উপনিষদের ভিত্তিতেই করা হইয়াছে। এই মূল উৎস হইতেই ব্রহ্মতত্ত্বও গৃহীত হইয়াছে। উপনিষদে যে উপাসনা-প্রণালী কথিত আছে, গীতার ভক্তি-যোগ তাহারই সম্প্রসারণ। পরমার্থ বস্তুতে ভক্তি করিতে হইলে, সংসারের সমস্ত বস্তুই তাঁহাতে অর্পণ করিতে হয়। "যখন আমরা আত্মাকে পাইয়াছি, তখন আর আমাদের পুত্র-বিত্তাদিতে প্রয়োজন কি?" পরমেশ্বরে ভক্তি, ইন্দ্রিয়-বিজয়, পরমা শান্তির অধিগম—এই সকল তত্ত্ব তৎকালে ভারতের আকাশে সর্ব্বত্র ছড়াইয়া পড়িয়াছিল। উপনিষদের মধ্যেও নিঃস্বার্থ-কর্ম্মের মহিমা কীর্ত্তিত আছে। চিত্ত বিশুদ্ধ হইলে কর্ম্ম-ফলে স্পৃহা নিবৃত্ত হইয়া যায়,—ইহা উপনিষদেরই কথা। কেন এই সংসার?—ইহার ব্যাখ্যায় অবশ্য সংসারাতীত নির্ব্বিকার অবস্থা-লাভ ছাড়া অন্য কোন বিষয়েরই নাম করা যায় না; ইহা ব্যতীত এ দারুণ সংসারের অপর কি উপযুক্ত ও মহিমান্বিত ব্যাখ্যা হইতে পারে?—একথা অবশ্যই ঠিক। কিন্তু এই অবস্থার কথাটা বড় শুষ্ক ও নীরস; ইহা জীবনকে পরিবর্ত্তিত করিবার পক্ষে তাদৃশ উপযোগী নহে। তৎকাল-প্রচলিত ভাগবত-ধর্ম্মের প্রভাবে পড়িয়া গীতাকার উপনিষদের নির্গুণব্রহ্ম-তত্ত্বে একটা মধুর, জ্বলন্ত ও সরস ভাব আনিয়া দিয়াছেন—যদ্দ্বারা উহা সকলের মধ্যেই প্রবেশ করিতে পারে। তিনি নির্গুণ ব্রহ্মকে সগুণ পরমেশ্বরে পরিণত করিয়া লইয়াছেন; এই সগুণ পরমেশ্বরই শিব, বিষ্ণু প্রভৃতি লোক-প্রিয় নানা নামে পরিচিত। গীতাকার জানিতেন যে, তিনি এতদ্দ্বারা কোন নূতন বস্তু লইয়া আসেন নাই; তিনি কেবল পুরাতন মৃত অতীতের মধ্যে প্রাণ-সঞ্চার করিতেছেন। "এই পুরাতন অক্ষয় যোগটীকে আমি বিবস্বান্‌কে (সূর্য্যকে) বলিয়াছিলাম, বিবস্বান্ মনুকে এবং মনু ক্ষত্রিয় রাজা ইক্ষ্বাকুকে উপদেশ করিয়াছিলেন,"—এবং এই রহস্যই এখন শ্রীকৃষ্ণ অর্জ্জুনকে বলিয়া দিতেছেন। গীতার এই শ্লোক হইতে আমরা ইহা বুঝিতে পারি যে, গীতা যে উপদেশ, যে সংবাদ লইয়া আসিয়াছেন, তাহা সেই

সুপ্রাচীন তত্ত্ব কথা—যাহা গায়ত্রী-মন্ত্রের দ্রষ্টা ঋগ্বেদের তৃতীয় মণ্ডলের ঋষি, ঋষি বিশ্বামিত্র কর্ত্তৃক উপদিষ্ট হইয়াছিল, এবং উহাই পরে রাম, কৃষ্ণ, গৌতম বুদ্ধ ও সূর্য্যবংশীয় অন্যান্য রাজা দ্বারা উপদিষ্ট হইয়াছে। প্রত্যেক অধ্যায়ের সমাপ্তিসূচক কথাগুলি হইতে আমরা বুঝিতে পারি যে, গীতার পূরা নাম প্রকৃত পক্ষে—'ভগবদ্-গীতা উপনিষদ্' ব্যতীত অন্য কিছু নহে। গীতা এবং উপনিষদে কিরূপ সম্বন্ধ বর্ত্তমান, তাহা চির-প্রচলিত নিম্ন-কথিত শ্লোকটী হইতেই বুঝিতে পারা যায়। এই শ্লোকটী এতই প্রচলিত ও সুবিদিত যে, উহা উদ্ধৃত না করিলেও চলিতে পারে।—"উপনিষদ্‌রূপ ধেনু হইতে, দোগ্ধা শ্রীকৃষ্ণ অর্জ্জুন-রূপ বৎসের সাহায্যে, উৎকৃষ্ট সুস্বাদু দুগ্ধরূপ অমৃত দোহন করিয়া লইয়াছেন।"

ভগবদ্-গীতায় আমরা যে সমন্বয় দেখিতে পাই, উহা ভাগবত-ধর্ম্ম হইতেই গৃহীত। কথিত আছে যে, ভাগবতদিগের মত-বাদ এবং গীতার উপদেশ—ইহার মধ্যে অনৈক্য নাই। কখন কখন ভগবদ্গীতাকে হরি-গীতা নামেও বলা হইয়া থাকে।

বৌদ্ধ মতের কোন কোন অংশের সহিত গীতার মতের সাদৃশ্য থাকিলেও, গীতায় বৌদ্ধ ধর্ম্মের কোনই উল্লেখ নাই; এই উভয়েই, বেদের সর্ব্বতোভাবে প্রামাণ্য স্বীকৃত হয় নাই; জাতি-ভেদের কাঠিন্যও গীতা ও বৌদ্ধ ধর্ম্ম উভয়েই, অনেকটা শিথিল ভিত্তির উপরে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করা হইয়াছে। যাগযজ্ঞাত্মক ধর্ম্মের বিরুদ্ধে যে প্রবল আন্দোলন উপস্থিত হইয়াছিল, উভয় গ্রন্থেই তাহার সুস্পষ্ট নিদর্শন দৃষ্ট হয়; তন্মধ্যে, বৌদ্ধ ধর্ম্মে যতটা গীতায় ততটা প্রাবল্য আত্মবিকাশ করে নাই; গীতার 'স্থিতিশীলতাই' (Conservatism) উহার হেতু। ধর্ম্ম-সম্বন্ধে বুদ্ধদেব মধ্য-পন্থারই অনুসরণ করিয়া গিয়াছেন। কিন্তু বুদ্ধদেবের নিজের কথিত উপদেশে এই মধ্য-পন্থার প্রতি তাদৃশ পক্ষপাত দেখা যায় না। বিবাহিত জীবন অপেক্ষা ব্রহ্মচর্য্যের শ্রেষ্ঠতা-খ্যাপনে, ভোজনোৎসব অপেক্ষা উপবাসের শ্রেষ্ঠতা-কীর্ত্তনে কি এই মধ্য-পন্থার অনুসরণ করা হইয়াছে? গীতায় সন্ন্যাসীদিগের ধর্ম্মোন্মাদনা নিন্দিত হইয়াছে; এবং যে সকল তপস্বী আলোক অপেক্ষা অন্ধকারকে, আনন্দের পরিবর্ত্তে নিরানন্দকে, বরণ করিয়া লয়, তাহাদিগকে

আত্ম-হননকারী বলিয়া নিন্দা করা হইয়াছে। সংকীর্ণ স্বার্থ ও মৃত্যুর উপাসনা না করিলে কি মুক্তিলাভ সম্ভব হয় না? যদিও নির্ব্বাণ শব্দটী গীতায় প্রযুক্ত হইয়াছে, তথাপি ইহা যে বৌদ্ধ শাস্ত্র হইতে গৃহীত হইয়াছে এরূপ মনে করিবার কোন কারণ নাই। গীতায় ও বৌদ্ধ গ্রন্থে জীবন্মুক্ত পুরুষের যে বর্ণনা আছে তাহা একই প্রকার। দর্শন ও ধর্ম্মশাস্ত্র হিসাবে গীতা, বৌদ্ধ গ্রন্থ অপেক্ষা অধিকতর পূর্ণ। বৌদ্ধ গ্রন্থে শূন্যের দিকেই অধিক পক্ষপাত দৃষ্ট হয়। ধর্ম্মের ও নীতির সাধনগুলি বৌদ্ধ শাস্ত্র হইতেই গীতায় গৃহীত হইয়াছে; কিন্তু অপর পক্ষে, বৌদ্ধদিগের শূন্য বা অসদ্‌বাদকে গীতা, ভ্রম ও অবিশ্বাসের নিদান বলিয়া নিন্দা করিয়াছেন। গীতা অতীতেরই অনুগমন করায়, বৌদ্ধধর্ম্ম অপেক্ষা, ভবিষ্যৎকালে সমধিক প্রতিষ্ঠালাভে সমর্থ হইয়াছে।

শ্রীযুক্ত গার্ব্বে সাহেব মনে করেন যে, "সাংখ্য ও যোগ-দর্শনে যে সকল তত্ত্ব উপদিষ্ট হইয়াছে, সেই সমস্তই ভগবদ্‌-গীতার দার্শনিক ভিত্তি। বৈদান্তিক তত্ত্ব গীতায় দ্বিতীয় স্থান অধিকার করিয়া রহিয়াছে। গীতায়, সাংখ্য ও যোগের, অনেক স্থলে, সুস্পষ্ট উল্লেখ করা হইয়াছে; কেবল একবার মাত্র বেদান্তের উল্লেখ দৃষ্ট হয় ('বেদান্তকৃৎ', ১৫।১৫); এবং এই উল্লেখটীও উপনিষদ্‌কে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই করা হইয়াছে। গীতার যেটী প্রকৃত মৌলিক অংশ, তাহা যে বেদান্তের উপকরণে সংঘটিত ছিল, ইহা মনে করিবার কোন কারণ নাই। সাংখ্য-যোগকেই বরং গীতার উপকরণ বলা যায়। এ কথা দৃঢ় হয়, যখন আমরা সাংখ্য-যোগ এবং বেদান্ত—এই দুইএর মধ্যে যে দুরুচ্ছেদ্য বিরোধ দৃষ্ট হয়, সেই বিরোধের কথা স্মরণ করি। কোন্‌টী বা প্রাচীন এবং কোন্‌টীই বা অপেক্ষাকৃত পরবর্ত্তী তাহার মীমাংসা দ্বারাই কেবল, উভয়ের মত-গত বিরোধের ভঞ্জন হওয়া সম্ভব।" গার্ব্বে সাহেবের এই মতটী আমরা মানিয়া লইতে পারিতেছি না। সাংখ্য-যোগ শব্দ যেখানেই গীতায় ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে, সেইখানেই উহা সাংখ্য-দর্শন বা যোগ-দর্শনকে লক্ষ্য করিয়া ব্যবহৃত হয় নাই। ঐ শব্দ দুইটী, মুক্তি-লাভের সহায়রূপে, বিচার-প্রণালী ও ধ্যানক্রিয়াকে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে বুঝিতে হইবে। আবার, গীতা যে সময়ে রচিত হয়, তৎকালে

একদিকে সাংখ্য-যোগ, অপর দিকে বেদান্ত—এরূপ কোন ভেদ বা সুস্পষ্ট স্বাতন্ত্র্যও স্থাপিত হয় নাই। এবং শ্রীযুক্ত ফিট্‌জ্ এড্‌ওয়ার্ড হল্ সাহেবের কথাই অধিক যুক্তিযুক্ত বলিয়া মনে হয়। তিনি বলেন যে,—"উপনিষদ্, ভগবদ্-গীতা ও অন্যান্য প্রাচীন গ্রন্থগুলির মধ্যে আমরা অত্যন্ত মিশ্রিত-ভাবে বিবিধ দার্শনিক মতগুলির উল্লেখ দেখিতে পাই। পরে, পরিবর্ত্তিত ও পরিবর্দ্ধিত হইয়া এই মতগুলি এক একটা স্বতন্ত্র প্রস্থান-ভেদে পরিণত হইয়া পড়ে। এই স্বতন্ত্রীকরণের ফলে উহারা সাংখ্য ও বেদান্ত নামে পরিচিত হইয়া পড়িয়াছে। কখন্ যে এই ভাবে স্বতন্ত্র হইয়া পড়ে, তাহা ঠিক করিয়া নির্দ্ধারণ করা সম্ভব নহে।" সাংখ্যদিগের মনস্তত্ত্ব এবং ক্রম-পরিণামবাদ অবিকল গীতায় গৃহীত হইয়াছে। কিন্তু সাংখ্যোক্ত জীব-বহুত্ব ও প্রকৃতির স্বাতন্ত্র্য গৃহীত হয় নাই। কপিলের নাম কীর্ত্তিত হইয়াছে, কিন্তু পতঞ্জলির কোন উল্লেখ নাই। এই কপিল যে সাংখ্যাচার্য্যই হইবেন, এরূপও কোন কথা নাই। বুদ্ধি, মন, অহংকার—এই শব্দগুলি গীতায় ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে; কিন্তু সর্ব্বত্রই যে উহারা সাংখ্য-পরিভাষোক্ত পদার্থ, তাহা নহে। 'প্রকৃতি'-সম্বন্ধেও একথা প্রযোজ্য। সাংখ্যে ঈশ্বর-তত্ত্বের বর্জ্জন করা হইয়াছে; কিন্তু গীতায় পরমেশ্বর-তত্ত্বের সংস্থাপনে বিশেষ আগ্রহ দৃষ্ট হয়।

যদিও প্রকৃতি হইতে পুরুষের ভেদ কথিত হইয়াছে, তথাপি গীতায় দ্বৈত-বাদ গৃহীত হয় নাই। পুরুষ বা জীবকে কোন স্বতন্ত্র স্বাধীন তত্ত্ব বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হয় নাই; উহাকে ভগবানেরই প্রকৃতি বলিয়া সিদ্ধান্ত করা হইয়াছে। পুরুষ বা জীব-হৃদয়োত্থ বৌদ্ধ জ্ঞানকে পরা বা শ্রেষ্ঠতরা প্রকৃতি বলিয়াই ধরিয়া লওয়া হইয়াছে। সাংখ্যোক্ত প্রকৃতির বিকার-গুলিকে নির্ব্বিকার পুরুষের প্রয়োজন-সাধক দৃশ্যাবলী রূপে (Phenomena) বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। প্রকৃতি যদিও অচেতন জড়, তথাপি উহার ক্রিয়াগুলি সবই উদ্দেশ্যমূলক এবং পুরুষের অপবর্গ ঘটাইবে বলিয়াই উহা ক্রিয়াশীল। প্রকৃতিকে জড় বলিয়া আবার উহার বিকার বা ক্রিয়াগুলিকে অভিপ্রায়-সাধক বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা—এই দুই কথার মধ্যে সামঞ্জস্য করা যায় না। গীতায় এ গোলযোগের সমাধান করা হইয়াছে। প্রকৃতির ক্রীড়া ও নৃত্যের

মূলে পুরুষ-চৈতন্য বর্ত্তমান। পুরুষ বা জীব গীতায়, সাংখ্যের ন্যায় কোন স্বাধীন স্বতন্ত্র বস্তু নহে। কেবল জ্ঞানই যে ইহার স্বরূপ তাহা নহে, আনন্দও জীবের স্বরূপভূত। গীতায় পুরুষবর্গের মধ্যে কোন ভেদ স্বীকৃত হয় নাই। ইহা ছাড়া একটী 'উত্তম-পুরুষের' সত্তাও গীতায় স্বীকৃত হইয়াছে। কিন্তু তাহা হইলেও গীতার উপরে সাংখ্যের যে প্রভাব পড়িয়াছিল, তাহাতে কোন সন্দেহ নাই। পুরুষ দ্রষ্টা মাত্র, তিনি কর্ত্তা নহেন। সকল ক্রিয়ার কর্ত্রী—প্রকৃতি। যিনি মনে করেন—'আমি কর্ত্তা', তিনি ভ্রান্ত। প্রকৃতির বন্ধন হইতে পুরুষের মুক্তি-লাভকেই পরম-পুরুষার্থ বলিয়া কথিত হইয়াছে। সাংখ্যকারের ত্রিগুণ-তত্ত্বও গীতায় পরিগৃহীত হইয়াছে। "এই মর্ত্ত্যে বা স্বর্গে, মনুষ্য-লোকে বা দেব-লোকে এমন কোনও বস্তু নাই, যাহা ত্রিগুণ দ্বারা অধিকৃত নহে।" এই গুণ-ত্রয়ই পুরুষ-বন্ধনের ত্রিদগুরজ্জু। যত-দিন আমরা এই গুণ-ত্রয়ের বশীভূত রহিয়াছি, তত'দিন আমাদিগকে এই সংসারে জন্ম-মৃত্যুর ফেরে ঘুরিতেই হইবে। গুণ-ত্রয় হইতে বিমুক্তি-লাভকেই মুক্তি বলা যায়। অন্তরিন্দ্রিয় ও বাহ্যেন্দ্রিয়ের তত্ত্ব গীতায় সাংখ্যেরই অনুরূপ। যোগানুষ্ঠানের কথাও গীতায় উল্লিখিত আছে। এই চঞ্চল অস্থির চিত্তের দমন কিরূপে সম্ভব, অর্জ্জুন যখন এই প্রশ্ন জিজ্ঞাসা করেন, একমাত্র অভ্যাস ও বৈরাগ্য বলেই তাহা সুসম্পাদ্য—শ্রীকৃষ্ণ এইরূপ উত্তরই দিয়াছিলেন।

(ক্রমশঃ)

SOME CENTRAL PROBLEMS OF THE RIG-VEDIC HISTORY AND THE VEDIC SCHOLARS

By Dr. N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

The Rig-Vedic Hymns: Their Composition and Arrangement.

The Rig-veda: and its importance.

"There is nothing," says Prof. Max Müller, "more ancient and primitive, not only in India, but in the whole Aryan world, than the hymns of the Rig-veda." The Rig-veda is, indeed, the oldest known record of the Aryan world, and a living monument, and the hoary witness, of a hoary civilisation —of the lofty ideals and many-sided activities and achievements of the early Aryans, who came and settled on the banks of the Indus, and the Sarasvatī, and their tributaries, from without, about at least four thousand years ago. Though in the Rig-veda we meet with occasional references to the Ganges and the Jumna, yet it is evident, from the hymns themselves, that the regions watered by the Indus and its tributaries, and the Sarasvatī, the Āpayā, and the Dṛṣadvatī—the tract of land now covered by Kabulisthān, the Punjab and the North-Western part of the desert of Rajputana, and probably Patiala, formed the earliest home of the Aryans in India, and the main scene of the many-sided activities of their life. And 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 that 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, offered, in hymns, their earliest prayers to their gods and goddesses—elemental powers, and bright

and conspicuous objects of Nature—and carried on various other activities of their life, and laid the foundation of their future society, religion and philosophy. As a history of the times and the peoples it deals with, the Rig-veda is, therefore, precious beyond words. And as a record of the genesis and gradual evolution of God-consciousness among men, it is simply invaluable, and without a rival, in the world. No record in the world, as Prof. Max Müller himself very aptly observes, affords such excellent materials and " opportunities for a real study of the genesis and growth of religion " as the Rig-veda. In the science of Comparative Religion, the Rig-veda, therefore, naturally occupies a unique position. And over and above its importance as a faithful history of the period, herein lies the special significance of the Great Book, we have inherited from the past as a rich and precious ancestral legacy.

The Rig-veda is a collection of 1,017 hymns, called Sūktas, supplemented by 11 others, from the 49th to the 59th Sūktas of Maṇḍala VIII, known as Vālakhilya Sūktas. The celebrated commentator, Sāyaṇa, has left no commentary on the Vālakhilyas; and they are, accordingly, regarded by some critics as forming no genuine part of the Rig-veda. Sāyaṇa, has, however, mentioned only eight Vālakhilyas. But in Prof. Max Müller's edition of the Rig-veda, they are found to be eleven in number. Very likely the manuscripts of the Rig-veda, known to Sāyaṇa, contained only eight of the Vālakhilyas ; and hence probably the discrepancy referred to above.

The hymns or the Sūktas of the Rig-veda are, according to one arrangement, divided into Ten Books, known as Maṇḍalas, and, according to another arrangement, into eight parts, called Aṣṭakas. Each Sūkta consists of a number of verses, known as Riks. And the Rig-veda is a collection of such 1,028 Sūktas or hymns, composed by the early Aryan settlers in India, and divided into Maṇḍalas or Aṣṭakas, as the case may be. The Rig-veda, in X, 114, 18, tells us that the Riks number 15,000 in all, "सहस्रधा पञ्चदशानि उक्था," Sahasradhā

pañcadaśāni ukthā. This, however, must not be taken seriously. The very expression immediately following the above, "यावत् द्यावापृथिवी इति," Yāvat dyāvāpṛthivī iti, 'they are as extensive as the sky and the earth,' unmistakably proves that the statement was never intended to be construed literally. In fact, quite as early as 600 B.C., every verse, every word, and even every syllable of the Rig-veda had been counted with the utmost care and devotion. And according to these estimates, the actual number of the verses varies from 10,402 to 10,622, which contain 153,826 words, and 432,000 syllables in all.

The Sūktas are, however, of great historical value. Each of them begins with what may be characterised as a head-line, consisting of the name or names of the Ṛṣi or Ṛṣis who composed or "saw" it, the name or the names of the deity or deities, *i.e.*, the subject invoked or described therein, and lastly, the metre or metres in which it has been composed. Thus, the Sūktas themselves contain a history of their own origin and purpose. From the head-line itself, the reader can at once find out how a particular hymn was composed, who composed it, and the subject it deals with. These head-lines were introduced by Kātyāyana—he flourished in the 4th century B.C.,—chiefly from internal evidences, contained in the hymns themselves, and in part, it appears, from traditions, several centuries after the compilation of the Rig-veda Saṃhitā. Owing, however, to the great distance of time, the index of every particular Sūkta could not be determined with certainty and exactness. But Kātyāyana, it must be said to his credit, discharged his duties honestly and faithfully. In cases of doubt, he never tried to conceal his honest doubts, but has, on the contrary, frankly confessed them. But in-spite of all vigilance and circumspection on his part, errors have crept into his statements here and there. In the Anukramaṇikā, the name by which the Index is commonly known, Kātyāyana has, for instance, mentioned King

Trasadasyu as both the Ṛṣi and the deity of the opening six Riks of the 42nd Sūkta of Maṇḍala IV. But it is evident, from the perusal of the Riks in question, that Varuṇa is the deity described. The expressions "मम विश्वे अमृताः," Mama viśve amṛtāḥ, "all the immortals are mine," and "अहम् राजा वरुणः," Aham rājā Varuṇaḥ, "I am the king Varuṇa," occurring in the two opening Riks of the Sūkta, make it quite clear that Varuṇa is the deity described in them, and not Trasadasyu, as Kātyāyana imagined. The word, "Kṣatriyasya," occurs in the very first Rik of the Sūkta. But the word has, throughout the Rig-veda, been used to denote the strong, and been applied to gods and men alike. Kātyāyana, it appears, forgot this fact, and hence the confusion referred to above. Sāyaṇa, in blindly following the Anukramaṇikā, has only fallen into the same blunder, and given it the additional support and authority of his great name. Kātyāyana's guidance is, however, thoroughly sound and reliable on the whole. And had it not been for his labours, the study of the Rig-veda would have been infinitely more difficult than it is now, and this glorious record would have probably remained, more or less, a sealed book to the world. Judged in the light of the Anukramaṇikā, the Sūktas of the first and last Maṇḍalas are regarded as contributions of different Ṛṣis, belonging to different families, and those of the remaining eight Maṇḍalas as contributions, each of a particular Ṛṣi family. Madhucchandā Vaiśvāmitra, Medhātithi Kāṇva, Śunaḥśepa Ājigarthi, Hiraṇyastūpa Āngirasa, Kāṇva Ghoura, Praskaṇva Kāṇva, Nodhā Gautama are among the foremost Ṛṣis of the first Maṇḍala. The hymns of the second Maṇḍala are attributed to Gṛtsamada of the family of Bhṛgu, and his descendants. The third Maṇḍala is, likewise, attributed to Viśvāmitra, and his family. The fourth Maṇḍala to Vāmadeva and his descendants, the fifth to Atri and his family, and the sixth to Bharadvāja and his descendants, the seventh to Vasiṣṭha and his family, the eighth to Kaṇva and his descendants, and the ninth

to the descendants of Angirā. And lastly, Dīrghatamā Aucithya, Viśvakarmā Bhauvana, Prajāpati Parameṣṭhī, Kavaṣa Ailuṣa, and Dhruva are among the foremost Ṛṣis of the tenth Maṇḍala.

The expansion of the Aryan settlement from the eastern Afghanistan, along the banks of the Indus, the Sarasvatī, and their tributaries, is generally believed to have taken at least six centuries; and it was during this period that the hymns of the Rig-veda were originally composed. The scholars are, however, divided in their opinions as to the exact time of the Aryan settlement and expansion in Kabulisthān, the Punjab and its neighbourhood, and the age of the composition of the hymns. Colebrooke maintains the hymns to have been originally composed between 2000 to 1400 B.C., and finally compiled together and thrown into their present form at the end of that period. As far as the majority of the hymns are concerned, Dr. Martin is also of the same opinion; but he regards the oldest hymns to be of still earlier origin. Prof. Max Müller is, however, of opinion that the hymns were originally composed between 1500 to 1000 B.C., and finally collected together at the end of that period. Prof. Hopkins thinks that the hymns were composed between 1000 to 800 B.C. Prof. Macdonell regards the date of the Rig-veda to be 1200 B.C. Mr. B. G. Tilak regards the hymns to be about 5,000 years old. But in the midst of such differences of opinion, one fact stands out most clearly, namely, that the hymns are compositions of different Ṛṣis or poets, and of different periods, and that they, on being composed, originally remained scattered, for a long time, in different families, committed to memory, and were transmitted, from generation to generation, by oral traditions. Each family took a great pride in the hymns, composed by its distinguished members, committed them to memory, and, as the art of writing was unknown then, transmitted them, from generation to generation, as a rich legacy, until they were finally compiled together and thrown into

their present form. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was the compiler of the Rig-veda Saṃhitā; and this explains why he is generally known as "Veda-Vyāsa." There are reasons to think, as we shall see presently, that Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana lived about 1000 B.C. So, that also must be the date of the compilation of the Rig-vedic hymns into their present form.

The Age of the Epic.

According to a weighty and hoary tradition, the authorship of the Mahābhārata is also attributed to Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. And this has considerably added to the complexity of the problem of the date of the compilation of the Rig-veda Saṃhitā. The terms "Bhārata" and "Bhāratadharmācārjyāḥ" (in some MSS. "Mahābhārata-dharmācārjyā") occur in Aśvalāyana's Gṛhya Sūtra. Prof. Macdonell has, accordingly, inferred that the great Epic came into existence about the fifth century B.C., the date generally ascribed to Aśvalāyana (History of Sans. Lit., p. 285). But there are weighty and ample reasons to think that the Epic, in its original form, is a much older work, and that it was composed about 1000 B.C. We incidentally propose to discuss this problem here. It is clearly stated in Book 1 of the Epic that it has passed through at least three distinct stages of transformation to attain its present form, and that before the incorporation of the stories and episodes into the work, it contained 24,000 verses, and that originally it had consisted of only 8,800 verses. The original kernel, consisting of 8,800 verses, was then evidently the work of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana; and this kernel was based on a real and very ancient inter-tribal war between two neighbouring Aryan clans. And from what has been stated before elsewhere, it is evident that this was no other than the Great War of the Ten Kings, in the Rig-vedic age, between the Tṛtsu-Bharatas and the 'Five Tribes.' The Tait. Ār. (XI, 8) mentions Vyāsa Pārāśarjya and Vaiśampāyana as the original authors of the Epic (see also Weber, Indian Lit., pp. 93, 184).' We further learn on the authority of the

Mahābhārata itself that Vaiśampāyana first recited it to Janamejaya Parikṣita, and that it was next recited by Ugrasena before the assembly of the Ṛṣis under Śaunaka, the teacher of Aśvalāyana, at the Naimiṣīya Forest. Ṣaḍgurusiṣya further tells us that, when recited at the Naimiṣīya Forest, the Epic had Harivaṃśa already incorporated into it (*cp.* Müller, Ancient Sans. Lit., pp. 223, 239). It is, therefore, quite clear that the Epic, in its original form, existed long before Aśvalāyana's time. "The Mahābhārata," aptly observes Max Müller (*ibid*, p. 42 note), "is called the Fifth Veda or the Kārṣṇa-Veda," after the name of its reputed author, but not from "Kṛṣṇa, a form of Viṣṇu," as Prof. Macdonell wrongly holds (History of Sans. Lit., p. 284). In the Śatap. Brāh. (XIII, 3, 1, 1) we meet with a statement about the various sacred works required to be read at the celebration of the Aśvamedha Sacrifice. The same account also occurs both in the Sāṅkhāyana Sūtra (XVI, 1) and Aśvalāyana Sūtra (X, 7), as was long pointed out by Max Müller (*ibid*, pp. 37-40). On the eighth day of the celebration, which lasted for ten days, "the priest," we are told, "says 'the Itihāsa-veda is the Veda, this is the Veda'; and then recites an Itihāsa." Here the term "Itihāsa-veda" evidently stands for the Epic, in its original form. We also learn from the Chāndogya Up., that Nārada, while approaching Sanatkumāra for Brahma-vidyā, had already studied "the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Atharva-veda (which is) the fourth, the Itihāsa and Purāṇa (which is) a fifth, and the Veda of the Vedas (Grammar), etc., etc." In the Tait. Ār. (XI, 9) we also meet with a reference to "the Brāhmaṇas, the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas," as included among the sacred books; and Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the same, has identified the term, "Itihāsa," with the Epic. Max Müller has treated this identification as untenable (*ibid*, p. 41 note). But we find no force in his objection. It is further quite clear from Pāṇini's rule IV, 2, 60, that the term "Itihāsa"

really stood for the title of a written work then in existence, as has long been pointed out by Weber. It is, also, quite clear from above that the Epic, in its original form, existed even before the composition of the Śatap. Brāh. But the Śatap. Brāh., we know, was regarded as an ancient work even in Pāṇini's time (see Pāṇini's rule, IV, 3, 105). From a misconstruction of Pāṇini's rule, Max Müller, Weber, and Benfey held that in Pāṇini's time Śatap. Brāh. was regarded as a work of recent origin. The mistake has, however, long been pointed out by Goldstücker (Pāṇini: His Place in Sans. Lit., p. 138), and it has been clearly shown that, even in Pāṇini's time, the said work was regarded as an ancient one. The origin of the Śatap. Brāh. must, therefore, be referred to a date at least about five centuries prior to Pāṇini. But what is the age of Pāṇini? Macdonell has placed Pāṇini "about 300 B.C." (*ibid*, p. 431). Weber has also placed him "subsequent to Alexander" (Ind. Lit, p. 22 note). Goldstücker and Bhāndarkar have gone to another extreme, and placed Pāṇini in the Pre-Buddhistic period (Pāṇini: His Place, pp. 12, 227, 243). But none of these views is tenable. It is evident from a perusal of Pāṇini's Grammar, Kātyāyana's Vārttika on the same, and Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya, as has long been pointed out by Bhāndarkar (Early History of the Deccan, p. 6), that in Pāṇini's time the Indo-Aryans were not familiar with the provinces and the tribes in the Deccan, but that they were so in Kātyāyana's time, and that the Mahābhāṣya shows that Patanjali had an intimate knowledge of the South as well as of the different readings of Kātyāyana's Vārttika, found in the texts of the different schools of grammarians. It is, therefore, clear that the three grammarians were separated from one another by long intervals of time. Patanjali, we, however, know to-day on clear and definite evidence, lived in the second century B.C. We must, accordingly, place Kātyāyana in the fourth century B.C., and Pāṇini in the fifth century B.C. Max Müller has, on very good

grounds, placed Kātyāyana "about 350 B.C." (*ibid*, p. 242); but he is clearly wrong in treating Pāṇini as a contemporary of Kātyāyana. There is nothing to show that Kātyāyana ever saw Pāṇini even in the latter's old age. On the contrary, it is quite clear from what has been stated above that Pāṇini lived at least one century before Kātyāyana. This can be proved in another way yet. The word 'Nirvāṇa' has been used by Pāṇini (VIII, 2, 50), in the sense of "not blowing as wind," and by Kātyāyana in the sense of "blowing out." Again, Pāṇini has explained the term 'Āraṇyaka' to mean "living in the forest." But Kātyāyana has remarked in his Vārttika (IV, 2, 129) that the word is also used in the sense of "read in the forest." Such differences between the two grammarians in the use of the terms also clearly prove that they lived in two different ages, and were separated from each other by a long interval of time. The said differences in the meanings of the terms do not, at the same time, at all establish Dr. Goldstücker's contention, namely, that Pāṇini lived in the Pre-Buddhistic age, before the origin of the treatises known as the Āraṇyakas. There are reasons to think that the word 'Nirvāṇa' was originally used in the Buddhistic literature to mean "the cessation of (selfish) desires and tranquillity of the mind attained by perfect self-control." And thus understood 'Nirvāṇa' really meant "not blowing as wind." 'Nirvāṇa,' in Kātyāyana's sense of "blowing out," or perhaps better "blown out," evidently represents the Buddhistic ideal in a later stage of the movement. All that can, therefore, be reasonably inferred from the aforesaid differences in the meaning of the term is that Pāṇini lived in the earlier part of the Buddhistic movement, and Kātyāyana during a later stage, which is also exactly our contention. Again, the Āraṇyakas, we know, originally formed integral parts of their respective Brāhmaṇas; and it was subsequently that they obtained recognition as independent treatises. So, all that we can infer from the above-mentioned

differences in the meaning of the term, 'Āraṇyaka,' is that in Pāṇini's time the Āraṇyakas had existed as integral parts of their respective Brāhmaṇas, but that in Kātyāyana's time, they obtained recognition as independent treatises. Thus, we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that Pāṇini lived in Post-Buddhistic age, and was prior to Kātyāyana by a long interval of time. Now, it is evident from Pāṇini's rule IV, 3, 105, as already noticed, that even in Pāṇini's time Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa was regarded as an ancient work. So, if for reasons already considered, we have to place Pāṇini about the middle of the fifth century B.C., we must place the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa about 900 B.C. And as the expressions, "Itihāsa-veda," and "this is the Veda," occur in so ancient an work, we must place the Epic earlier still. The teachers' dynasty-list, given in the last book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, shows that Tittiri, the promulgator of the Black Yajur-veda, was a pupil of Yāska Pāingi, the pupil of Vaiśampāyana, the pupil of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. But Yājñavalkya, the author of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, was, it appears, a contemporary of Tittiri. We must, accordingly, place Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, and the composition of the Epic, in its original form, in the tenth century B. C. And this must also be the date of the compilation of the Rig-veda Saṃhitā.

The human origin of the hymns.

Now, to examine the problem of the composition and arrangement of the Rig-vedic hymns. In the R.V. V, 18, 4, we meet with a reference to a class of men, whose business it was to preserve the hymns by oral recital. The passage runs as follows:—

"आसन् उक्था पान्ति ये," Āsan ukthā pānti ye,

'those who preserve the hymns by oral recitals.' In the R. V. IV, 4, 11, Vāmadeva, referring to a hymn, tells us that it came down to him from his father Gautama. The Rik runs thus:—

"तत् मा पितुः गोतमात् अन्वियाय,"

Tat mā pituḥ Gotamāt anviyāya,

'That hymn has come down to me from my father Gotama.' In the R.V. III, 39, 2, Viśvāmitra thus refers to another hymn :—

"वितथे शस्यमाना सा इयम् अस्मे सनजा पित्र्या,"

Vitathe śaśyamānā sā iyam asme sanajā pitryā,

'This hymn, utterable in sacrifices, has come down from our ancestors, and is very old.' Again, in R.V. II, 36, 6, Gṛtsamada tells us:—

"होता पूर्व्यः निविदः," Hotā pūvyāḥ nividaḥ,

'Hotā (one of the seven priests required in a sacrifice) is reciting old ancestral hymns.'

Now, it is evident from above that the hymns, on being composed, remained scattered in different families, committed to memory, and were transmitted from generation to generation, until they were finally compiled together, and thrown into the form in which they are found to-day. Many of the hymns are invocations to various gods and goddesses for protection and guidance amidst trials and sorrows, for victory in war, and for blessings in life; and as such, they must needs be regarded as mere outbursts of human sentiments, and, therefore, as purely human in origin.

The belief in the divine origin of the hymns.

But the orthodox opinion regards the hymns as of divine origin, eternal, and as uncreated, and the Ṛṣis as mere seers of the hymns," "मन्त्रद्रष्टारः," Mantradraṣṭāraḥ,

(ऋषिर्दर्शनादिति यास्कः,' Ṛṣirdarśanāditi Yāskaḥ),

and not as their composers or authors. It is impossible to state definitely when and under what circumstances the belief in the divine origin of the Vedas first came into existence, and obtained gradual acceptance. Jaimini, the reputed author of "Pūrva Mīmāṃsā," endeavoured, in his well-known work, to establish the eternality of the Vedas philosophically, as a necessary corollary following from the supposed immutability and eternality of the relation

between words and their meanings. Bādarāyaṇa maintained the Veda to be the Original and Eternal Word, the fountain-head of all realities, the ultimate source from which the universe, with its multiplicity of things and beings, has emanated, and, therefore, as divine. But the belief in the divine origin of the Vedas must have been in existence long before Jaimini attempted to demonstrate the same philosophically. Gautama Buddha, who flourished in the 6th century B.C., condemned externalism in religion in all its forms, and preached his Gospel of Universal love, Self-discipline, and Karma. He also denied the eternality of the Vedas, as inculcated in the Brāḥmaṇas, the oldest books of Hindu Rituals. The Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad (II, 4,10) describes the Vedas as well as all other forms of learning, and all existents as "the breathings of the Supreme Being." The passage runs thus:—

"अस्य महतो भूतस्य निश्वसितमेतत् यद्दग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानानि... अयञ्च लोकः परश्च लोकः सर्वाणि च भूतानि अस्यैव एतानि सर्वाणि निश्वसितानि।"

(Asya Mahato Bhūtasya niśvasitametat yad Rig-vedo Yajur-vedaḥ Sāma-vedo' tharvāṅgirasaḥ Itihāsaḥ Purāṇaṃ vidyā Upaniṣadaḥ Ślokāḥ Sūtrāṇyanuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni... Ayanca lokaḥ paraśca lokaḥ sarvāṇi ca bhūtāni asyaiva etāni sarvāṇi niśvasitāni). But this is only a figurative description of the origin of all existents out of one Eternal Principle. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, however, tells us:—

"प्रजापतिः प्रावृहत् अग्निं पृथिव्याः वायुमन्तरिक्षात् आदित्यं दिवः।
सः प्रावृहत् अग्नेर्ऋचो वायोर्यजूंषि सामं आदित्यात्॥"

(Prajāpatiḥ prāvṛhat Agniṃ pṛthivyāḥ Vāyum antarikṣāt Ādityaṃ divaḥ: Saḥ prāvṛhat Agner Ṛco Vāyor Yajuṃṣi Sāma Ādityāt).

"Prajāpati (the Lord of the Universe) produced fire from the earth, the wind from the mid-region, and the sun from the sky. He then produced the Rig-veda from fire, the Yajur-veda from the wind, and the Sāma-veda from the sun."

The same conception also occurs both in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI, 5, 8, 1ff.), and in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (V, 32-34). It is, therefore, quite evident that the belief in the divine origin of the Vedas is, at least, as old as the days of the Brāhmaṇas.

Ṛṣis claim the authorship of the hymns.

But there are ample reasons to think that, though very old, the said belief is the mere excrescence of a corrupt and degenerate age, and that it was more or less unknown in the Rig-vedic age. There are hundreds of Riks in the Rig-veda, which, indeed, give a distinct lie to the aforesaid belief. In these Riks, we are told by the Ṛṣis themselves, in the clearest and most unequivocal terms, that the hymns are purely human productions, and the outcome of their own composition. In fact, the historical evidence on the point is so very clear and conclusive that, had it not been for men's ignorance and bigotry, the absurd belief, in the divine origin of the Veda, would have long completely vanished from the world. Here are some significant and highly interesting Riks, in point, which will speak for themselves :—

1. Ṛṣi Nodhā Gotama says :—

"एव ते इन्द्र ब्रह्माणि गोतमासः अक्रन्,"

Eva te Indra brahmāṇi Gotamāsaḥ akran,

"O Indra, the descendants of Gotama have composed hymns surely for thee."

2. The same Ṛṣi says in R. V. I, 62,13 :—

"गोतमः इन्द्र नव्यम् अतक्षत् ब्रह्म हरियोजनाय,"

Gotamaḥ Indra navyam atakṣat brahma Hariyojanāya,

"O Indra, Nodhā, the son of Gotama, has *composed this new hymn for thee*, the User of horses."

3. In VII, 18, 4, Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha says :—

"धेनुं न त्वा दुधुक्षण् उप ब्रह्माणि सस्रजे वसिष्ठः,"

Dhenuṃ na tvā dudhukṣaṇ upa brahmāṇi sasṛje Vasiṣṭhaḥ,

"O Indra, Vasiṣṭha composes these hymns with a view *to wrench blessings from thee, like milk from a cow.*"

4. In R.V. X, 80, 7, Ṛṣi Saucika says :—

"अग्नये ब्रह्म ऋभवः ततक्षुः,"

Agnaye brahma Ṛbhavaḥ tatakṣuḥ,

"Ṛvus composed hymns for Agni."

5. In R.V. X, 4, 6, Ṛṣi Āpta Tṛta says :—

"इयं ते अग्ने नव्यसी मनीषा," Iyaṃ te Agne navyasī manīṣā,

"O Agni, *for thee this new hymn* (is composed by me).

6. In R.V. IV, 16, 20, Ṛṣi Vāmadeva says:—

"इन्द्राय ब्रह्म अकर्म भृगवो न रथं,"

Indrāya brahma akarma Bhṛgavo na ratham,

"We, like carpenters, have made hymns, like chariots, for Indra."

7. In R.V. X, 91, 14, Ṛṣi Arjuna says :—

"हृदा मतिं जनये चारुम् अग्नये,"

Hṛdā matiṃ janaye cārum Agnaye,

"*I create, by reflexion,* this excellent hymn for Agni."

8. In R.V. II, 39, 8, Ṛṣi Gṛtsamada says :—

"एतानि वाम् अश्विना वर्धनानि ब्रह्म स्तोमं गृत्समदासः अक्रन् ।"

Etāni vām Aśvinā vardhanāni brahma stomaṃ Gṛtsamadāsaḥ akran,

"O Aśvins, Gṛtsamadās have made these extolling hymns for you two."

9. In R. V. I, 131, 6, Ṛṣi Purucchepa Daivadāsi says :—

"वज्रिन् आ मे अस्य वेधसः नवीयसः मन्म श्रुधि ।"

Vajrin ā me asya vedhasaḥ naviasaḥ manma Śrudhi.

"O wielder of the thunder, hear well this excellent hymn of this new Ṛṣi, my own self."

10. In R. V. I, 9, 4, Ṛṣi Madhucchandā Vaiśvāmitra says :—

"असृग्रम् इन्द्र ते गिरः ।"

Asṛgram Indra te giraḥ.

"O Indra, I have composed hymns for thee."

11. In R. V. X, 148, 5, Ṛṣi Pṛthu, the son of Vena, says :—

"श्रुधि हवम् इन्द्र शूर पृथ्याः उत स्तवसे वेन्यस्य अर्कैः ।"

Śrudhi havam Indra Śūra Pṛthyāḥ uta stavase Venyasya arkaiḥ.

"O mighty Indra, hear Pṛthu's invocation. Thou art adorned with the hymns of Pṛthu, the son of Vena."

12. In R. V. V, 2, 11, Ṛṣi Kumāra, son or descendant of Atri, says :—

"एतं मे स्तोमं विप्रः रथं न धीरं स्वपाः अतक्षम् ।"

Etaṃ me stomaṃ vipraḥ rathaṃ na dhīraṃ svapāḥ atakṣam.

"O Agni, I, thy worshipper, *have composed these hymns as a wise and skilful man constructs a chariot.*"

13. In R. V. VII, 22, 9, Ṛṣi Vaśiṣṭha says :—

"ये च पूर्वेऋषयो ये च नूत्नाः इन्द्र ब्रह्माणि जनयन्त विप्राः ।"

Ye ca pūrvaṛṣayo ye ca nūtnāḥ Indra brahmāṇi janayanta viprāḥ.

"O Indra, those who are old Ṛṣis as well as those that are new have composed hymns (for thee)."

14. In R. V. I, 61, 4, Ṛṣi Nodhā Gotama says :—

"अस्मा इत् उ स्तोमं संहिनोमि रथं न तष्टेव तत्सिनाय ।"

Asmā it u stomaṃ saṃhinomi rathaṃ na taṣṭeva tatsināya.

"I send this hymn to Indra, as a carpenter sends a chariot to its owner."

15. In R. V. I, 41, 7, Ṛṣi Kānva Ghoura, addressing his colleagues, says :—

"कथा राधाम सखायः स्तोमं मित्रस्य अर्यम्णः महिप्सरो वरुणस्य ।"

Kathā rādhāma sakhāyaḥ stomaṃ Mitrasya Aryamṇaḥ mahipsaro Varuṇasya.

"*O friends, how shall we prepare hymns worthy of the greatness of Mitra, Aryama and Varuṇa ?*"

16. In R. V. I, 20, 1, Ṛṣi Medhātithi Kāṇva says :—

"अयं स्तोमः विप्रेभिः आसया अकारि ।"

Ayaṃ stomaḥ viprebhiḥ āsayā akāri.

"This hymn has been *composed by wise men with their own mouths.*"

17. In R.V. VII, 94, 1, Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha says :—

"इयं वाम् अस्य मन्मनः इन्द्राग्नी पूर्व्यस्तुतिः ।
अभ्रात् वृष्टिरिव अजनि ॥"

Iyaṃ vām asya manmanaḥ Indrāgnī pūrvyastutiḥ :
Abhrāt vṛṣtiriva ajani.

"O Indra and Agni, *this great hymn has sprung from my mind like rains from the cloud.*"

18. In R. V. VII, 22, 7, Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha again says :—

"तुभ्यं ब्रह्माणि वर्धना कृणोमि ।"

Tubhyaṃ brahmāṇi vardhanā kṛṇomi.

"For thee, O Indra, I compose extolling hymns."

19. In R. V. VII, 37, 4, Vasiṣṭha says:—

"वयं नु ते स्याम ब्रह्मकृन्वन्तो हरिवो वसिष्ठाः ।"

Vayaṃ nu te syāma brahmakṛnvanto Harivo Vasiṣṭhāḥ.

"O Indra, the possessor of horses, *we Vasiṣṭhas shall continue to live composing hymns for thee.*"

20. Again, in R. V. I, 38, 14, a Ṛṣi thus addresses his men:—

"मिमीहि श्लोकम् आस्ये पर्ज्जन्यः इव ततनः ।
गाय गायत्रम् उक्थम् ॥"

Mimīhi ślokam āsye parjjyanyaḥ iva tatanaḥ:
Gāya gāyatram uktham.

"*Compose hymns by the mouth and scatter them like clouds.* Sing hymns composed in the Gāyatrī metre."

21. In R. V. VI, 45, 25, Śanju Vārhaspatya says:—

"इमाः उ त्वा शतक्रतो अभि प्रणोनुवुः गिरः ।
इन्द्र वत्सं न मातरः ॥"

Imāḥ u tvā Śatakrato abhi praṇonuvuḥ giraḥ:
Indra vatsaṃ na mātaraḥ.

"O Indra, performer of hundred feats, *our hymns do repeatedly go towards thee, as the mother-cows go towards the calves.*"

22. In R. V. X, 152, 1, Śāsa says:—

"शासः इत्था महान् असि अमित्रखादः अद्भुतः ।"

Śāsaḥ itthā mahān asi amitrakhādaḥ adbhutaḥ.

"I, Śāsa, thus adore (Indra)—'O Indra, thou art the destroyer of the enemies, (thou art) great and wonderful.'"

23. In R. V. II, 19, 8, Gṛtsamada says :—

"एव ते गृत्समदाः शूर मन्म अवस्यवः न वायुनानि तक्षुः ।"

Eva te Gṛtsamadāḥ śūra manma avasyavaḥ na vāyunāni takṣuḥ.

"O mighty (Indra), *Gṛtsamadas have composed excellent hymns for thee, as men willing to go (from place to place) construct roads for them to go.*"

24. In R. V. VII, 35, 14, Vasiṣṭha says :—

"आदित्याः रुद्राः वसवः जुषन्त इदं ब्रह्म क्रियमाणं नवीयः ।"

Ādityāḥ Rudrāḥ Vasavaḥ juṣanta idaṃ brahma kriyamānaṃ navīyaḥ.

"O Suns, Rudras and Vasus, enjoy this (our) newly-composed hymn."

25. In R. V. I, 31, 18, Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa says :—

"एतेन अग्ने ब्रह्मणा वावृधस्व शक्ती वा यत् ते चकृम विदा वा ।"

Etena Agne brahmaṇā vavṛdhasva śaktī vā yat te cakṛma vidā vā.

"O Agni, be thou extolled by this hymn, *which has been composed to the best of my powers and knowledge.*"

26. Here is another Ṛik which will speak for itself :—

"मा त्वा रुद्र चक्रुधाम नमोभिः मा दुष्टुती वृषभ ।"

Mā tvā Rudra cakrudhāma namobhiḥ mā duṣṭutī vṛṣabha.

"O Rudra, the satisfier of desires, *we shall not enrage thee by improperly-performed salutes nor by improper hymns.*"

27. In R. V. X, 39, 14, Ghoṣā, daughter of King Kakṣīvān, says :—

"एतं वा स्तोमम् अश्विनी अकर्मं अतक्षाम भृगवो न रथम् ।
न्यमृक्षाम योषणां न मर्ये ॥"

Etaṃ vā stomam Aśvinau akarma atakṣāma Bhṛgavo na ratham :

Nyamṛkṣāma yoṣanāṃ na marye.

"O Aśvins, we have composed this hymn for you two, and have adorned it, as carpenters adorn a chariot, and as men adorn their wives."

28. The R. V. X, 21, 1, runs thus :—

"आ अग्निं स्ववृक्तिभिः त्वा वृणीमहे ।"

Ā Agniṃ svavṛktibhiḥ tvā vṛṇīmahe.

"O Agni, we invoke thee *with hymns of our own making.*"

29. The R. V. I, 25, 3, runs thus :—

"वि मृळीकाय ते मनः रथीः अश्वं न सन्दितम् ।
गीर्भिः वरुण सीमहि ॥"

Vi mṛlīkāya te manaḥ rathīḥ aśvaṃ na sanditam :

Gīrbhiḥ Varuṇa sīmahi.

"O Varuṇa, as the owner of a chariot eases his tired horse, so do we please thee with hymns for our happiness."

30. In R. V. VIII, 100, 3, Nema Vārgava says :—

"न इन्द्रोऽस्तीति नेम उ त्व आह, कः इं ददर्श कम् अभिष्टवाम ।"

Na Indro'astīti Nema u tva āha, kaḥ iṃ dadarśa kam abhiṣṭavāma.

"*Nema says—'Indra does not exist; whoever saw Indra? Whom shall we adore?'*"

31. In R. V. X, 88, 18, Mūrdhaṇvāna says :—

"कत्यग्नयः कति सूर्यासः कत्युषसः कत्युस्विदापः ।
नोपस्पिजं वः पितरो वदामि पृच्छामि वः कवयो विद्मने कम् ॥"

Katyagnayaḥ kati Sūryāsaḥ katyuṣasaḥ katyusvidāpaḥ :

Nopaspijaṃ vaḥ pitaro vadāmi pṛcchāmi vaḥ kavayo vidmane kam.

"How many Agnis are there? How many Suns? How many Uṣās? How many Water-goddesses? O Fathers, I do not ask an insolent question. *O wise men, being ignorani, I ask you the above question only to know.*"

It is needless to multiply instances. In the foregoing passages we have been distinctly told by the Ṛṣis themselves that the hymns are entirely of human origin, and that they were composed by different Ṛṣis for different purposes. In some of them (*vide* Extracts Nos. 6, 12, 14 and 27), the authors of the Riks have themselves told us, in the clearest and most unequivocal terms, that they have composed the hymns, and have adorned them with utmost care, as carpenters adorn the chariots of their own making. In the extract No. 27, Ṛṣi Ghoṣā, daughter of Kakṣīvān, not only claims the authorship of the hymns, but frankly declares that she has adorned it as carpenters adorn chariots of their own making, and as men adorn their wives. In the extract No. 25, Hiraṇyastūpa most explicitly tells us that *he has composed the hymn to the best of his powers and knowledge.* The extracts Nos. 26 and 29 are also full of significance. These clearly show that the Ṛṣis were also particularly careful in making their hymns as much attractive as possible. In the last two extracts, *the Ṛṣis have doubted even the very existence of the deities mentioned in them.* Thus, it is evident that the theory of the divine origin and infallibility of the hymns is mere excrescence of a later and degenerate age. Moreover, in many places in the Rig-Veda, the Ṛṣis have characterised themselves as "ऋतब्रह्माणः," kṛtabrahmāṇaḥ, 'the makers of hymns,' "स्तोमतष्टासः," stomataṣṭāsaḥ, 'the composers of hymns,' "कारवः," kāravaḥ, 'makers of hymns,' and so on. In IX, 111, 3, Ṛṣi Śiśu Āṅgirasa thus speaks of himself "कारुरहम्," kāruraham, 'I am a maker of hymns.' Now, all these most

conclusively prove that the Ṛṣis regarded the hymns as purely human productions, and as of their own making.

Here are four more Riks, on the point, which also will be read with great interest:—

1. "जोषयासे गिरः नः वधूयुरिव योषणाम् ।"

Joṣayāse giraḥ naḥ vadhuyuriva yoṣaṇām.—IV, 32, 16.

"(O Indra), *relish our hymns as a hen-pecked husband relishes the speech of his wife.*" This is quite significant, and clearly shows the hymns to be of human composition.

2. "प्र वां मन्त्राणि ऋचसे नवानि कृतानि ब्रह्म जुजुषण इमानि ।"

Pra vāṃ mantrāṇi ṛcase navāni kṛtāni brahma jujuṣaṇa imāni.—VII, 61, 6.

"(O Mitra and Varuṇa), may these (our) hymns, newly-composed for your satisfaction, please you two immensely."

3. "महो रुजामि बन्धुता वचोभिः ।"

Maho rujāmi bandhutā vacobhiḥ.—IV, 4, 11.

"O (Agni), I shall destroy the powerful Rākṣasas, *fortified with our friendship generated by the hymns.*"

4. "अयं सु तुभ्यं वरुण स्वधावो हृदि स्तोम उपश्रितश्चिदस्तु ।"

Ayaṃ su tubhyaṃ Varuṇa svadhāvo hṛdi stoma upaśṛitaścidastu.

"O Varuṇa, possessor of food, may this hymn, composed for thee, be well impressed on thy mind."

Now, in these Riks also human authorship of the hymns has been claimed in the clearest and most unmistakable terms. The first and the last are both highly significant. Again, in R. V. I, 42, 10, we are told, "We do not blame Pūṣā. We, on the contrary, adore him with hymns," "न पूषणं मेथामसि सूक्तैः अभि गृणीमसि," Na Pūṣaṇaṁ methāmasi

sūktaiḥ abhi gṛṇīmasi. Here also the impress of human hand is as clear as anything.

Other proofs of human origin of the hymns.

This is not all. The Rig-Veda is not exclusively scriptural in character. It is the repository of all sorts of poems, religious or otherwise, composed by the early Indo-Aryans, and found in the field at the time of their compilation. Some of these poems, technically called hymns,—and there are many such in the Rig-Veda—dwell on such topics as "अक्षः," Akṣaḥ, 'Dice,' "ग्रावाणः," Grāvāṇaḥ, 'the Stones for grinding Soma plants,' "अरण्यानि," Araṇyāni, 'the Forests,' "मण्डूकाः," Mandūkāḥ, 'the Frogs,' "घृतम्," Ghṛtam, 'Clarified butter,' "सपत्नीवाधनम्," Sapatnīvādhanam, 'the Suppression of Co-wives,' "यक्ष्मघ्नं," Yakṣāghnaṃ, 'the Cure of Consumption,' "दुःस्वप्ननाशनं," Duḥsvapnanāśanaṃ, 'the Prevention of Evil Dreams,' "दक्षिणा," Dakṣiṇā, 'the Sacrificial Fee,' "गौ," Go, 'the Cow,' and the like. The Rig-Veda also abounds in hymns dealing with such purely abstract notions as 'Unity,' "संज्ञानं," Saṃjñānaṃ, 'The Praise of the King,' "राज्ञः स्तुतिः," Rājñaḥ stutiḥ, and the like. Again, there are hymns which merely say something about the authors themselves, or describe some events of their lives. The Sūkta 159 of Maṇḍala X is an instance in point. Its author is a woman named Śacī, and the deity or the subject-matter it deals with is also Śacī. These poems have no religious significance whatsoever. And is it not, therefore, most ridiculous and puerile to treat all such poems as inspired or of divine origin in any sense of the term ? In some of these hymns, as in the hymn Sapatnīvādhanam, the lowest feelings and passions of human mind have found their expressions. And is it not most absurd to treat such compositions as of divine origin ? There can evidently be only one answer to this question.

In what follows we propose to examine some of the hymns mentioned above more fully. Here are some extracts

from a hymn on "अक्षः," Akṣaḥ, 'Dice,' which will speak for themselves:—

1. "प्रवेपाः मा बृहतो मादयन्ति इरिणे वव्रतानाः।"

Pravepāḥ mā vṛhato mādayanti iriṇe vavṛtānāḥ.—X, 34, 1.

"Large moving Dice, thrown about on the dice-board, please me greatly."

2. "द्वेष्टि श्वश्रूः अप जाया रुणद्धि न नाथितो विन्दते मर्दितारम्।"

Dveṣṭi śvaśruḥ apa jāyā ruṇaddhi na nāthito vindate marditāram.—X, 34, 3.

"The mother-in-law dislikes and the wife forsakes the player at dice, and he gets no money-lender, even when he seeks one."

3. "अन्ये जायां परिमृशन्ति अस्य यस्य अगृधत् वेदने वाजी अक्षः।"

Anye jāyāṃ parimṛśanti asya yasya agṛdhat vedane vājī Akṣaḥ.—X, 34, 4.

"Others touch his wife, whose wealth mighty Dice covet."

4. "न मा मिमेथ न जिहीळे एषा शिवा सखिभ्यः उत मह्यम् आसीत्।
अक्षस्य अहम् एकपरस्य हेतोः अनुव्रताम् अप जायाम् अरोधम्॥"

Na mā mimetha na jihīḍe eṣā śivā sakhibhyaḥ uta mahyam āsīt:

Akṣasya aham ekaparasya hetoḥ anuvratām apa jāyām arodham.—X, 34, 2.

"She (my wife) was never displeased with me nor was she ever angry. She was kind to me and to my friends. But for the sake of Dice alone, I have forsaken my devoted wife."

5. "जाया तप्यते कितवस्य हीना माता।
ऋणा बिभ्यद् धनमिच्छमानो अन्येषाम् अस्तम् उप नक्तम् एति॥"

Jāyā tapyate kitavasya hīnā mātā :

Ṛṇā vā dhanamicchamāno anyeṣām astam upa naktam eti.—X, 34, 10.

"The wife as well as the mother of the Dice-player suffer, being forsaken. If sunk in debts, he, eager for money, goes to others' houses at night (to steal)."

6. "अक्षैः मा दीव्यः कृषिम् इत् कृषस्व वित्ते रमस्व बहुमन्यमानः।
तत्र गावः कितव तत्र जाया ॥"

Akṣaiḥ mā dīvyaḥ kṛṣim it kṛṣasva vitte ramasva bahumanyamānaḥ :

Tatra gāvaḥ kitava tatra jāyā.

"O Dice-player, do not play at dice, better take to cultivation, and remain satisfied with its proceeds. Cows as well as wife are (found) in the same."

7. "मित्रं कृणध्वं खलु मृडत नः नि वो नु मन्युः विशताम् अरातिः।"

Mitraṃ kṛṇvadhvaṃ khalu mṛḍata naḥ ni vo nu manyuḥ viśatām arātiḥ.—X, 34, 14.

"O Dice, make us friends, do good to us. May your wrath fast befall our enemies!"

Now, in the foregoing extracts Ṛṣi Kavaṣa Ailuśa has described the evils of Dice-playing, and has expressed an anxiety to be free from them. In the concluding extract the Ṛṣi has solicited Dice to cast their wrath on his enemies and to be friendly with him. These Riks must needs be treated as purely human productions, and can, in no sense of the term, be regarded as of divine origin.

Again, here are some extracts from a hymn on "मण्डूकाः" Mandūkāḥ, 'Frogs,' which will also speak for themselves :—

1. "संवत्सरं शशयानाः ब्राह्मणा व्रतचारिणः।
वाचं पर्जन्यजिन्वितां प्र मण्डूकाः अवादिषुः ॥"

Saṃvatsaraṃ śaśayānāḥ Brāhmaṇāḥ vratacāriṇaḥ :
Vācaṃ parjanyajinvitāṃ pra Mandūkāḥ avādiṣuḥ.

"The Frogs, lying prostrated for a year, are, like worshippers engaged in sacrifices, uttering words delightful to Parjanya."

2. "दिव्याः आपः अभि यत् एनम् आयन् दृतिं न शुष्कं सरसीशयानम्।
गवाम् अह न मायुः वत्सिनीनां मण्डूकानां वग्नुः अत्र समेति ॥"

Divyāḥ āpaḥ abhi yat enam āyan dṛtiṃ na śuṣkaṃ sarasīśayānam :
Gavāṃ aha na māyuḥ vatsinīnāṃ mandūkānāṃ vagnuḥ atra sameti.—VII, 103, 2.

"When heavenly waters reach the Frogs, lying on large tanks like dry pieces of leather, their noise resembles that of cows, united with their calves."

3. "गोमायुः अदात् अजमायुः अदात् हरितो नो वसुनि ।"

Gomāyuḥ adāt ajamāyuḥ adāt harito no vasuni.—VII, 103, 10.

"May the Frog that shouts like a cow grant us riches! May the Frog that shouts like a bull, and may the yellow-coloured Frog grant us riches!"

Now, could anything be more absurd than to regard such Riks as of divine origin ?

Again, here are some extracts from a hymn on सपत्नीबाधनम्, Sapatnīvādhanam, 'the Suppression of Co-wives,' composed by Ṛṣi Indrāṇī, which are still more interesting :—

1. "उत्तरा अहम् उत्तरे उत्तरा इत् उत्तराभ्यः ।
अथ सपत्नी या मम अधरा सा अधराभ्यः ॥"

Uttarā aham uttare uttarā it uttarābhyaḥ :
Atha sapatnī yā mama adharā sā adharābhyaḥ.—X, 145, 3.

"O excellent (Plant), may I be great, the greatest of the great, and may she, who is my co-wife, be the lowest of the low!"

2. "उप ते अधां सहमानाम् अभि त्वा अधां सहीयसा।
माम् अनु प्र ते मनः वत्सं गौरिव धावतु, पथा वाः इव धावतु॥"

Upa te adhāṃ sahamānām abhi tvā adhāṃ sahīyasā:
Mām anu pra te manaḥ vatsaṃ gauriva dhāvatu, pathā vāḥ iva dhāvatu.—X, 145, 6.

"O husband, I make this powerful plant thy pillow, and support you (your head) well with this enchanted and powerful pillow. May your mind seek me as the cow seeks the calf, and as the water seeks the lowest level!"

3. "अहं मूर्धा मम इत् अनु क्रतुं पतिः सेहानायाः उपाचरेत्।"

Ahaṃ mūrdhā mama it anu kratuṃ patiḥ sehānāyāḥ upācaret.—X, 145, 2.

"I am the chief (among the Co-wives). My husband shall only follow me, the suppressor of the Co-wives."

Now, these Riks are the expressions of some of the vilest passions of human mind, and as such, no sane man can seriously treat them as of divine origin, or even as revealed, in any sense of the term whatever.

Here, again, are some extracts from some hymns on ग्रावाणः, Grāvāṇaḥ, 'the Stones for pasting Soma plant,' which will also speak for themselves :—

1. "सुन्वति सोमं रथिरासः अद्रयः निः अस्य रसं दुहन्ति ते।"

Sunvati Somaṃ rathirāsaḥ Adrayaḥ niḥ asya rasaṃ duhanti te.—X, 76, 7.

"These Stones, being moved, make Soma juice. They squeeze out all the juice from the Soma plant."

2. "अत्यः न हस्तयतः अद्रिः।"

Atyaḥ na hastayataḥ Adriḥ.—X, 76, 2.

"The Stone, when seized by the hand, becomes (*i.e.*, moves) like a horse."

3. "तृदिलाः अतृदिलासः अद्रयः च अश्रमणाः अशृथिताः अमृत्यवः।
अनातुराः अजराः स्थ सुपीवसः अतृषिताः अतृष्णजः॥"

Tṛdilāḥ atṛdilāsaḥ Adrayaḥ ca aśramaṇāḥ aśṛthitāḥ amṛtyavaḥ :

Anāturāḥ ajarāḥ stha supīvasaḥ atṛṣitāḥ atṛṣṇajaḥ.—X, 94, 11.

"O Stones, you crush others, without being crushed yourselves. You are never tired, and are without indolence, without death, without decrepitude, without disease, full of vigour, without thirst, and without desires."

4. "अप हत रक्षसः सेधत अमतिं।
आ नः रयिं सर्ववीरं सुनोतन देवाव्यं भरत श्लोकम् अद्रयः॥"

Apa hata Rakṣasaḥ sedhata amatiṃ :

Ā naḥ rayiṃ sarvavīraṃ sunotana devāvyaṃ bharata ślokam Adrayaḥ.—X, 76, 4.

"O Stones, destroy Rākṣasas, remove the evil-doers, procure us wealth, together with descendants, and inspire us with hymns delightful to the gods."

Now, these Riks also can, in no sense of the term, be regarded as of divine origin, and must needs be treated as human productions, pure and simple.

Here, again, are some extracts from a hymn on "यक्ष्मघ्नं" Yakṣāghnaṃ, 'the Cure of Consumption' by Ṛṣi Vitrihā Kāśyapa, which are also very interesting :—

1. "अक्षीभ्यां ते नासिकाभ्यां कर्णाभ्यां चुबुकात् अधि।
यक्ष्मं मस्तिष्कात् जिह्वायाः विवृहामि ते॥"

Akṣībhyāṃ te nāsikābhyāṃ karṇābhyāṃ chuvukāt adhi :
Yakṣaṃ maṣtiṣkāt jihvāyāḥ vivṛhāmi te.—X, 163, 1.

"(O Patient,) I drive consumption away from both thy eyes, both thy nostrils, both thy ears, thy chins, the brains, and from thy tongue."

2. "अङ्गात् अङ्गात् लोम्नः लोम्नः जातं पर्वणि पर्वणि ।
यक्ष्मं विवृहामि ते ॥"

Angāt angāt lomnaḥ lomnaḥ jātaṃ parvaṇi parvaṇi :
Yakṣaṃ vivṛhāṃi te.—X, 163,6.

"I drive consumption away from thy every limb, every hair, and from every joint it has grown in."

Now, can any sane man possibly regard these Riks as of divine origin? There can evidently be only one answer to this question.

Here, again, are some extracts from a hymn on "सारमेयः," Sārameyaḥ, 'the Dog,' composed by Vasiṣṭha, which will also speak for themselves :—

1. "स्तेनं रय सारमेय तस्करं वा ।
स्तोतृन् इन्द्रस्य रायसि किम् दुच्छुनायसे निषुस्वप ॥"

Stenaṃ raya Sārameya taṣkaraṃ vā :
Stotṛn Indrasya rāyasi kim ducchunāyase niṣusvapa.—VII, 55,3.

"O Sārameya, attack the thief and the robber. Why dost thou attack the worshippers of Indra? Why dost thou oppose them? Sleep well."

2. "त्वं शूकरस्य दर्दृहि तव दर्दर्तु शूकरः ।
स्तोतृन् इन्द्रस्य रायसि किम् अस्मान् दुच्छुनायसे निषुस्वपः ॥"

Tvaṃ śūkarasya dadṛhi tava dardatu śūkaraḥ :
Stotṛn Indrasya rāyasi kim asmān ducchunāyase niṣusvapa.—VII, 55, 4.

"O Sārameya, may thou pierce the hog, and may the hog pierce thee! Why dost thou attack the worshippers of Indra? Why dost thou oppose them? Sleep well."

Now, here the Ṛṣi has simply described an ordinary event of his life. These Riks also must, therefore, be regarded as purely human productions.

It is needless to multiply instances. It is quite clear from the above Riks—and there are thousands of such Riks in the Rig-Veda—that the Ṛṣis regarded themselves as the authors of the hymns, and that the theory of the divine origin and eternality of the hymns is but a concoction of a later and degenerate age.

Divine origin of the Riks claimed in some places.

In the Rig-Veda, we, however, come across some Riks which seem to indicate the presence of a belief, in some quarters, among the Vedic Ṛṣis themselves, that the hymns were composed under divine inspiration. Nay, in some places, the hymns have even been represented as having been composed by gods themselves. In R.V. X, 88, 8, for instance, Ṛṣi Murdhānvan tells us, सूक्तवाकं प्रथमम् अजनयन्त देवाः, Sūktavākaṃ prathamam ajanayanta Devāḥ, 'the gods first generated the hymns.' Again, in R.V. I, 23, 3, Ṛṣi Gṛtsamada says:—

"बृहस्पते उस्राः इव सूर्यः ज्योतिषा महः।
विश्वेषाम् इत् जनिता ब्रह्मणाम् असि॥"

Vṛhaspate usrāḥ iva sūryaḥ jyotiṣā mahaḥ:
Viśveṣām it janitā brahmaṇām asi.

"O Vṛhaspati, as the great sun generates the rays by its radiance, so art thou the creator of all the hymns."

Again, in the celebrated Puruṣa-Sūkta, as it is called, we are told; R. V. X. 90, 9:

"तस्मात् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे।
छन्दांसि जज्ञिरे तस्मात्, यजुस्तस्मात् अजायत॥"

Tasmāt yajñāt sarvahūtaḥ Ṛcaḥ Sāmāni jajñire:
Chandāṃsi jajñire tasmāt Yajustasmāt ajāyata.

"From that sacrifice, wherein the Universal Person was given as an offering, came forth the Riks, and the Sāmans. Thence came forth metres as well as the Yajur-Veda."

Now, in these Riks, the Ṛṣis have, no doubt, characterised the hymns as of divine origin. But expressions like these must needs be taken with great caution and reservation, and should be construed more as effusions of sentiments than as serious statements of facts. It is quite evident that although in each of the three preceding Riks the hymns are represented as generated by gods, yet in no two of them have they been attributed to the same god. This is not all. In R. V. IX, 103, 4, Ṛṣi Āpta Dvita describes the Soma as "नेता मतीनाम्," Netā matīnām, 'the Inspirer of the hymns.' In R. V. X, 96, 5, Ṛṣi Pratardana even goes a step further and characterises Soma as "जनिता मतीनाम्" Janitā matīnām, 'the Creator of the hymns.' In the same Rik Soma is also described as "जनिता दिवः जनिता पृथिव्याः जनिता अग्नेः जनिता सूर्यस्य जनिता इन्द्रस्य जनिता उत विष्णोः." Janitā divaḥ janitā pṛthivyāḥ janitā Agneḥ janitā Suryasya janitā uta Viṣṇoḥ, 'the Creator of the sky, the creator of the earth, the Creator of the sun, the Creator of Indra, and the Creator of Viṣṇu.' In the next Rik, Soma is similarly described as "ब्रह्मा देवानाम्" Brahmā devānām, 'Brahmā among the gods.' In R. V. IX, 86, 10, Soma is again described as "पिता देवानाम्" Pitā devānām, 'the father of the gods,' and in Rik 5 of the same hymn as "पतिः विश्वस्य भुवनस्य" Patiḥ viśvasya bhūvanasya, 'the Lord of the Universe.' Now, Soma is a kind of intoxicating drink, prepared from a plant of the same name. But yet it is represented in the preceding Riks as the Creator of the hymns, and of the gods, and as the Lord of the Universe. Expressions such as these are mere effusions of human sentiments, and, as statements of facts, they cannot but be regarded as extremely absurd and ridiculous. Again, in R. V. X, 76, 4, Ṛṣi Jaratkarṇa describes the Stones for grinding the Soma plants as the inspirer of hymns, and invokes the Stones to inspire him and his men with such hymns as will be

pleasant to the gods. The Rik runs as follows:—

"आ नो देवाव्यं भरत श्लोकमद्रयः ।"

Ā no devāvyaṃ bharata slokamadrayaḥ.

"O Stones, inspire us with hymns pleasing to the gods."

Now, it is evident from above that the expressions like those mentioned before must be taken with great caution and reservation, and construed as mere outbursts of poetic effusions rather than as serious statements of facts. Moreover, the entire Puruṣa-sūkta has, for various reasons, been rightly regarded by scholars as, more or less, an interpolation, and as forming no genuine part of the Rig-Veda. In the said Sūkta a reference has been made to the division of the Vedas into Rik, Sāman and Yajur-Veda. And this alone most conclusively proves that the Sūkta containing such a reference must have been composed after the compilation of the Rig-Veda, and the original tripartite division of the Vedas into the Rig-Veda, the Sāma-Veda, and the Yajur-Veda. The said Sūkta also contains a reference to the fourfold division of the Indo-Aryans into castes. But in the Rig-vedic age, there was no hard and fast division of labour, as we shall see in the next chapter and caste, as based on division of labour according to fitness and capacity of individual men, was entirely unknown. This reference also clearly proves that the Sūkta in question must have been composed at a time when the caste-system had made its appearance among the Indo-Aryans. These considerations irresistibly drive us to the conclusion that, if not the entire Puruṣa-Sūkta, at least the parts containing the aforesaid references, must needs be regarded as an interpolation.

Thus, it is quite clear that in the Rig-vedic age the hymns were treated as purely human productions, and that the belief in the divine origin of the hymns must be regarded as mere excrescence of a fallen and degenerate age.

But Muir has attempted a reconciliation of the two aforesaid contradictory sets of Riks. He is of opinion (Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. III, pp. 274-275) that very likely different Ṛṣis entertained different views on the question of the origin of the hymns, and that, in some cases, the same Ṛṣi maintained different views, according as the one or the other was dominant in his mind for the time being. Mr. B. G. Tilak, however, considers Muir's explanation as unsatisfactory. Mr. Tilak has made a distinction between "the expression, language or form" of the hymns on the one hand, and their "contents, substance or subject-matter" on the other, and is of opinion that the Ṛṣis regarded the "expressions of the hymns" as human, but "the subject-matter as superhuman or divine." (Tilak, Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda, pp. 459-462.) The distinction made by Mr. Tilak is, no doubt, an ingenious one. But though apparently ingenious, it is entirely without any foundation, and does not stand even a moment's scrutiny. In no sense of the term, for instance, can the subject-matter of the hymn on "सपत्नीवाधनम्" Sapatnīvādhanam, 'the Suppression of Co-wives,' be regarded as superhuman or divine. And this remark also applies, with equal force and cogency, to the hymns on "यक्षाघ्नं," Yakṣāghnam, 'the Cure of Consumption,' "म ण्डूकाः," Maṇḍūkāḥ, 'the Frogs,' "अरण्यानि," Araṇyāni, 'the Forests,' and to scores or hundreds of similar other hymns, found in the Rig-Veda. Evidently, therefore, Mr. Tilak's contention is entirely untenable. Nor does Muir's reconciliation, referred to above, seem to be at all satisfactory. The very fact that even Soma has been characterised as 'the Creator of the hymns' as well as of the gods, and "as the Lord of the Universe," clearly proves that the Riks of the second set were never intended to be understood as serious statements of facts, and, therefore, as literally correct. And even if, for argument's sake, Muir's explanation be accepted as correct, though it is extremely

Muir and Tilak's contention untenable.

difficult to do so, our main position, namely that the hymns are, after all, mere human productions, remains substantially intact and unassailable. So, we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that the Ṛṣis, under the normal state of things, and when in the proper mood of mind, looked upon the hymns as of their own composition. Evidently, therefore, the hymns must needs be regarded as human productions, pure and simple.

Rationalistic unsoundness of the said belief.

The problem of the divine origin of the hymns has hitherto been considered only historically. From the rationalistic standpoint as well, the theory of the divine origin of the hymns is equally untenable. We cannot here dwell on this aspect of the question adequately. But nevertheless, the following remarks will amply vindicate our position. Many of the hymns deal with past events; and in describing these events, verbs, in the past tense form, have frequently been used in the Rig-Veda. But in an eternal and uncreated script, there can be absolutely no room for verbs in the past tense form. So the very use of the verbs in the past tense form, frequently used in the Rig-Veda, alone clearly proves that the hymns dealing with the events so described, can, under no circumstances, be regarded as eternal and of divine origin. To the Universal and Omniscient Mind all events are directly present before its all-embracing sweep of vision; and the limitations of time and space are *non est*. Evidently, therefore, the hymns which are subject to such limitations must needs be regarded as purely human productions. This argument applies with equal force to the theory of the divine origin of the scriptures in general. Again, among the hymns we, here and there, meet with statements that are unscientific, ridiculous and absurd; and we have already noticed some hymns of this description. In the Rig-Veda we also occasionally meet with instances of morally degrading conceptions —the hymn on सपत्नीवाधनम्, Sapatnīvādhanam, 'the Suppression of Co-wives' is an instance in point. The presence of

contradictions in the contents of a work is another clear proof of fallibility and human origin. The R. V. contains many contradictory utterances. Some of these we have already noticed. We shall mention one more here. In R. V. X, 88, 8, we are told that the hymns were first created by the gods, "सूक्तवाकं प्रथमं अजनयन्त देवाः," but in R. V. X, 167, 4, its author declares himself to be the first hymn-maker "स्तोमं चेयं प्रथमः सूरिरभ्यृहे." Again, the Rig-Veda abounds in prayers offered to various deities. In R. V. I, 114, 7, for instance, its author prays—"O Rudra, do not kill our father, do not kill our mother, and do not strike on our dear selves," मा न वधीः पितरं मा उत मातरं मा नः प्रियाः तन्वः रुद्र रीरिषः. The Rig-Veda is full of such prayers. And these are mere outbursts of personal sentiments, and as such, purely human. And all these most clearly prove that the hymns must be treated as mere expressions of finite and progressive minds, and, as such, as purely human productions. The theory of the divine origin of the hymns, therefore, entirely falls to the ground both from the historical and the rationalistic standpoints.

The Arrangement of the Hymns, and its Effect.

The arrangement of the hymns is neither chronological nor logical.

The hymns being compositions of different Ṛṣis and of different periods, naturally existed, as already noticed, loosely and scattered in different families in the beginning, and were transmitted from generation to generation by oral traditions, until they were finally compiled together and thrown into the form in which they now stand in the Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā. But during the long interval of time between the composition of the hymns and their final compilation, the authors of most of the hymns had died, and the hymns had existed only in the memory of their respective descendants. And it was from these sources that the hymns

were subsequently gathered and thrown into their present form. But people only remembered the words and seldom did they remember the occasions and the associations, much less the chronological order and the mutual relations of the hymns. And this rendered an arrangement of the hymns in their chronological and natural order entirely impossible. The existing arrangement of the hymns in the Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā and their division into the various Maṇḍalas has, accordingly, been exceedingly clumsy and unhappy. And read in their present order, the hymns form a mere jumble, without any intelligent plan or order underlying them. In fact, the Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā, as it stands now, looks like a huge wilderness, devoid of any traces of development and progress of thought and doctrine; and the whole work looks more like a confused mass of endless repetitions than an intelligent and edifying record, which it really is. But this was more or less a necessary evil, and the compiler was almost helpless in the matter. For reasons already stated, an arrangement of the hymns in their chronological order, was a sheer impossibility. But even if an arrangement according to the chronological order was out of the question, an arrangement of the hymns in their logical order was certainly possible. And had the hymns been arranged in their logical order of development, the Rig-Veda would have been infinitely more interesting and edifying than it is. But there was one great difficulty in the arrangement of the hymns in their logical order. The theory of the divine origin of the hymns had already been in the field. And not only the hymns themselves, but also the order in which they were remembered had, it appears, long come to be regarded as sacred, and viewed with a superstitious awe and veneration. And perhaps the demon of superstitious veneration for the order in which the hymns were found, made any change in the arrangement of the hymns equally impossible and inconceivable. But inspite of the

absence of any methodical arrangement, the hymns, rightly understood, and read between the lines, reveal unmistakable traces of growth and development of thought; and as such, to an intelligent and wary reader, the Rig-Veda is still an interesting and highly edifying study. In the Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā the hymns, excepting those of the first and last Maṇḍalas, originally composed by the Ṛṣis of the same family, have, as a rule, been sought, as already noticed, to be preserved together within one and the same Maṇḍala. This was, no doubt, a very convenient arrangement. But it was exactly the reverse of the true and natural arrangement. The following observations will most conclusively prove that the existing arrangement of the hymns, in the Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā, is extremely unhappy and unnatural. It is well-known that even in Pāṇini's time the second Maṇḍala was regarded as of a later date than those of the other Maṇḍalas; and even a careful perusal of the very first Rik of the second Maṇḍala fully confirms this view. In it we meet with a reference to the seven kinds of priests required in big sacrifices. And this clearly shows that this Rik was composed at a time when the sacrificial rites had grown extremely complex in their character. But we shall examine the problem more fully in what follows.

1. In R. V. I, 45, 3, Praskaṇva Kānva, the author of the hymn, prays to Agni to hear his invocation as he heard (or hears) Priyamedha, Atri, Virupa, and Angirā. The Rik runs as follows :—

"प्रियमेधवत् अत्रिवत् जातवेदः विरूपवत्।
अङ्गिरस्वत् प्रस्कन्वस्य श्रुधि हवम्॥"

Priyamedhavat Atrivat Jātavedaḥ Virupavat :
Angirasvat Praskanvasya śrudhi havam.

Now, the above Rik occurs in Maṇḍala I; and from its position, one should naturally expect that the hymns of Priyamedha,

Atri and others mentioned therein, at least some of them, must have been prior to it in origin. But in the Rig-Veda as we find it to-day, the proper order has been completely reversed; and Atri's hymns occur only in the fourth Maṇḍala, and are met with nowhere before, and those of Priyamedha and Virupa occur in the eighth Maṇḍala.

2. Most of the hymns of Medhātithi Kāṇva occur in Maṇḍala I. But some of the hymns of the 8th Maṇḍala (*vide* Suktas 1, 2, 32, etc.) as well as some of Maṇḍala IX (*vide* Sūktas 42, 43, etc.) are also attributed to him. This also clearly proves that the chronological order of the hymns has been totally reversed in the existing arrangement. Had it not been so, these hymns, composed by the same author, would have stood much nearer than they are found to-day.

3. In R. V. I, 117, 7, we are told by a Ṛṣi that Ghoṣā, daughter of King Kakṣivān, struck with leprosy, had lived in her father's house, and that the twin gods, Aśvins, having been invoked, had cured her, and had united her with a husband. The Rik runs as follows :—

"घोषायै चित् पितृषदे दुरोणे पतिं जूर्यन्ता अश्विनौ अदत्तम् ।"

Ghoṣāyaī cit pitṛsade duroṇe patiṃ jṛryantā Aśvinau adattam.

Now, the foregoing Rik must have originally been composed after the actual occurrence of the event referred to therein. But yet Ghoṣā's own hymn—Ghoṣā was also a Ṛṣi, and had composed hymns herself—relating these events of her life, immediately after their occurrence, have been mentioned in the 10th Maṇḍala. This is also certainly a most absurd and chaotic arrangement. This is how Ghoṣā herself relates her change of fortune :—

"अमाजुरः चित् भवथः युवं भगः ।"

Amājuraḥ cit bhavathaḥ yuvaṃ bhagaḥ.—X, 39, 3.

"(O Aśvins), you two have become the fortune of one (Ghoṣā) who, (struck with leprosy), had lived in her father's house."

Again :—

"जनिष्ट घोषा पतयत् कनीनकः ।"

Janiṣṭa Ghoṣā patayat kanīnakaḥ.—X, 40, 9.

"(O Aśvins), this Ghoṣā has grown into a woman, and a husband, desirous of a wife, has come to her."

Now, these last mentioned Riks were evidently composed by Ghoṣā immediately after the occurrence of the events; and as such, they ought to have preceded the description of the same events given by another Ṛṣi. But yet the description given by the latter occurs, as we have seen, in Maṇḍala I, whereas Ghoṣā's own Riks, containing an account of the events, are found in Maṇḍala X, which is evidently most absurd. Again, in R. V. I, 122, 5, we also meet with a reference to the hymns composed by Ghoṣā relating the said events of her life. This is also most absurd. In the natural order of things Ghoṣā's own hymns should have been given a position prior to those composed by other Ṛṣis relating the same events. Under no circumstances, Ghoṣā's own hymns should have been given in the last Maṇḍala, and those others mentioned above in Maṇḍala I.

4. The opening hymns of the 1st Maṇḍala are attributed to Madhucchandā Vaiśvāmitra, the son of Viśvāmitra, and some of the hymns immediately following the same are attributed to Jetā, the son of Madhucchandā. From their positions in Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā, these are apt to be taken as the oldest of the Rig-vedic hymns. But in reality they are some of the latest hymns of the Rig-vedic age. The hymns of Viśvāmitra, the father of Madhucchandā, and grand-father of Jetā, are mentioned in the 3rd Maṇḍala. This is most

absurd. The hymns composed by Visvāmitra should have, in the natural order of things, preceded those composed by his son and the grand-son. But in the existing Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā the natural order has been reversed, and the hymns of the son and the grand-son have been placed at the very beginning of Rig-Veda, whereas those of Visvāmitra himself have been placed in the 3rd Maṇḍala.

The Riks with which the very first hymn of the Rig-Veda opens—and similar Riks also occur in the hymns attributed to Jetā—run as follows :—

"अग्निमीले पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवं ऋत्विजम् । होतारम् रत्नधातमम् ।
अग्निः पूर्व्येभिः ऋषिभिः ईड्यः नूतनैः उत ॥"

Agnimīle purohitaṃ yajñasya devaṃ ṛtvijam ;

Hotāraṁ ratnadhātamam. Agniḥ pūrvyebhiḥ ṛṣibhiḥ īdyaḥ nūtanaiḥ uta.—I. I, 1-2.

" I adore Agni, who, like the priest, invokes gods (to the place of sacrifice), and is the greatest giver of wealth. Agni was adored by the old Ṛṣis and is adored by the new Ṛṣis as well."

Now, here Agni is represented as the Priest presiding over sacrifices and invoking all other gods to come and partake of the sacrificial offerings. But this is, to be sure, an extremely complex conception, and it implies and presupposes a considerable growth of thought and power of abstraction. And as such, a considerable period of time must have elapsed for such a complex conception to have suggested itself to the imagination of the Ṛṣis. This also proves that the opening hymns of the Rig-Veda can, by no means, be treated as the oldest of the Rig-vedic hymns. To make our position quite clear we shall examine this point more fully here. If we take the following Riks addressed to Agni into consideration, the contrast between the opening hymns, mentioned above, and

these other hymns will be found to be quite evident —

(*i*) "इभ्यान् न राजा वनानि अत्ति ।"

Ibhyān na rājā vanāni atti.—I, 65, 4.

"(Agni) consumes the forests, as a king consumes his enemies."

(*ii*) "वि द्वेषांसि इनुहि वर्धय इलाम् ।"

Vi dveṣāṃsi inuhi vardhaya ilām.—VI, 10, 7.

"(O Agni), scatter away the enemies, and increase our food."

(*iii*) "कृणुष्व पाजः प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीं याहि राजेव अमवान् इभेन ।
अस्ता असि विध्य रक्षसः तपिष्टैः ॥"

Kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ prasitiṃ na pṛthvīṃ yāhi rājeva amavān ibhena :

Astā asi vidhya Rakṣasaḥ tapiṣṭaiḥ.—IV, 4, 1.

" O Agni, thou art the killer of the enemies. Spread thy heat like a net (spread for catching birds), and attack the Rākṣasas with thy fiercest rays, as a king, seated, with his ministers, on the elephant, attacks his enemies."

(*iv*) "तम् उ त्वा वृत्रहन्तमं यो दस्यून् अवधूनुषे ।
द्युम्नैः अभि प्र णोनुमः ॥"

Tam u tvā vṛtrahantamaṃ yo Dasyūn avadhūnuṣe :
Dyumnaiḥ abhi pra nonumaḥ.—I, 73, 4.

" O Agni, thou removest the Dasyus from their places. We salute thee, the greatest killer of the enemies, repeatedly with bright hymns."

Now, the contrast between these simple Riks and the extremely complex Rik, अग्निमीले पुरोहितमिति, Agnimīle purohitam, etc., ' I adore Agni, the Priest, etc.,' referred to above is quite evident. The Ṛṣis knew the use of fire, and by making the best use of their superior knowledge, they killed

or drove away their enemies whenever possible, by setting fire to the forests which gave them shelter, and wherefrom they surprised and harassed the Aryans from time to time. The Ṛṣis, therefore, naturally looked upon Fire with a superstitious awe and veneration, and worshipped Fire as "the greatest destroyer of the enemies" and as "the greatest giver of wealth." With the gradual widening of the range of their knowledge and experience, they, however, came to perceive that Fire pervaded the universe, and that it was as much in heaven as on earth. And with the recognition of this fact a new conception dawned upon the minds of the Ṛṣis, and they exclaimed with joy and wonder—

"अग्ने यत् ते दिवि वर्चः पृथिव्याम् यत् ओषधिषु अप्सु।"

Agne yat te divi varcaḥ pṛthivyām yat oṣadhiṣu apsu.—III, 22. 2.

"O Agni, the rays that are in the sky, those that are on earth, those in the wood, as well as those in the water, are all thine."

Now, with the dawn of this new consciousness, there was a distinct and perceptible change in the attitude of the Ṛṣis towards the Fire, as well as in the nature of their invocations to the Fire. And from the very depths of their heart they now exclaimed—

"अदब्धेभिः तव गोपाभिः अस्माकं पाहि त्रिसधस्थ सूरीन्।"

Adavdhebhiḥ tava gopābhih asmākaṃ pāhi trisadhastha sūrīn.—VI. 8, 7.

"O Agni, thou Pervader of the three worlds, protect us, thy worshippers, with thy invincible and sheltering rays."

Now, the conception that Fire was as much in heaven as on earth, and that he pervaded the universe, gradually paved the way for a belief that Fire might, with great advantage, be employed as a mediator between men on earth and

gods in heaven. And henceforward the Ṛṣis first learned to worship Agni as the Priest presiding over sacrifices, and as the divine Invoker of gods. Thus, it is evident that the conception underlying the very opening Rik of the Rig-Veda अग्निमीळे पुरोहितमिति, Agnimīle purohitam, etc., referred to above, is highly abstract and complex in its character, and that it could not have dawned upon the minds of the Ṛṣis before they had considerably advanced in knowledge and experience, and learned to conceive Agni as त्रिसधस्थः, Trisadhasthaḥ, 'the Pervader of the three worlds.' And hence the opening hymn of the R. V. as well as the similar other hymns following it, can, by no means, claim a place among the earliest of the Vedic hymns. In fact, these hymns must have been composed after the Ṛṣis have considerably advanced in knowledge and in their power of imagination and abstraction; and as such, these hymns must be regarded as entirely misplaced in the Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā.

Moreover, in the very second Rik of the opening hymn, referred to above, Madhucchandā himself characterises him as a new Ṛṣi, and as having been preceded by many others who had worshipped Agni before him. And from this reference also it is quite clear that the hymn with which the Rig-Veda opens must needs be regarded as of much later origin, and that it can, under no circumstances, be regarded as the oldest of the Rig-vedic hymns, though, from its existing position, it appears to be so. In fact, the hymns attributed to Madhucchandā and Jetā, with which the Rig-Veda opens, ought to have come after Viśvāmitra's own hymns, and not before them. The existing arrangement cannot but, therefore, be regarded as extremely unnatural and absurd.

5. From what has been stated elsewhere in connection with the War of the Ten Kings, it is evident that Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha were contemporaries, the former having been replaced by the latter as the high priest of the Bharatas under

Sudās. Under the normal state of things, one should, therefore, naturally expect the hymns composed by Vasiṣṭha to be more or less of the same age as those composed by Viśvāmitra. But in the existing arrangement of the hymns in the Rig-Veda-Saṃhitā, the hymns attributed to Viśvāmitra are found in the 3rd Maṇḍala, whereas those attributed to Vasiṣṭha are in the 7th Maṇḍala. Here also the natural order of the hymns has been completely reversed.

6. The 20th Rik of the 164th Sūkta, Maṇḍala I, beautifully describes the nature of the extremely complex and subtle relation between man and God, in the light of an analogy taken from the world. The Rik runs as follows:—

"द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते।
तयोः अन्यः पिप्पलं स्वादु अत्ति अनश्नन् अन्योऽभिचाकशीति॥"

Dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānaṃ vṛkṣaṃ pariṣasvajāte:

Tayoḥ anyaḥ pippalaṃ svādu atti anaśn anyo'abhicākaśīti.

"Two birds, beautiful in movement and attached as friends, dwell on the same tree. One of them eats delicious fruits, and the other, all the while fasting, simply looks at the former."

Now, the conception underlying this Rik is evidently extremely complex and highly philosophical in its nature; and it could have only dawned upon the mind of its author after he had greatly advanced in spiritual vision and experience. The foregoing Rik is evidently an embodiment of the maturest spiritual experience of the age. This Rik also occurs both in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (IV, 6), and in the Mūṇḍaka Upaniṣad (III, 1, 1) exactly in the same form. In fact, the conception underlying the Rik in question, is out and out Vedāntic; and such a highly complex conception must

have dawned upon the mind of its author after he had attained considerable progress in knowledge and philosophical speculation. It is, therefore, impossible to treat it as one of the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda, though from its position in Maṇḍala I it appears to be so. Here also the natural order has evidently been reversed.

It is needless to multiply instances. From what has been stated above it is quite evident that, while compiling the scattered hymns and dividing them into various Maṇḍalas, the hymns were arranged in a promiscuous manner without any well-defined and definite plan or order, and that the original order of the hymns has been lost for good. But although the chronological order was lost for good, an arrangement of the hymns in their logical order was quite feasible. And had the Hymns been arranged according to the growth and development of the thoughts underlying them, the Rig-Veda would have been a much more interesting and edifying study. But probably out of fear and from a superstitious veneration for the order in which the hymns had been found preserved in different families, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana shrank from any such attempt. But this reversion of the chronological order has rendered the Rig-Veda a doubly human production, and has robbed it of much of its beauty, excellence and utility.

The Early Indo-Aryans: Their Administration, Social Condition and Culture.

The early Aryan invaders came into India, in hordes, with their wives, children and cattle; and wherever they came upon fertile tracts of land, they founded little colonies of their own, and lived as bands of strangers, in a strange land, surrounded by enemies. They were often intercepted, on their ways, by the inhabitants of the regions through which they had to pass, who, as already noticed, tried all their guiles and stratagems

to way-lay and kill them. No sooner, however, had the Aryans reached their destination, then they found themselves hurled into a nest of bees, as it were; and swarms of swarthy races continued to pour upon the invaders, from all sides, and fought tooth and nail, with a grim determination, to expel the unwelcome visitants from their midst. But the invaders had come to stay, armed with the equipments of a superior civilisation; and by their superior weapons, they gradually overcame all hostilities, and vanquished the enemies, and subjugated them in part; and the rest, driven from their homes, were obliged to take shelter in forests and mountain fastnesses. The Rig-Veda abounds in hymns referring to these early wars between the Aryans and the primitive occupants of the soil. These hymns are of great historical importance, and throw a flood of light into the dark subterranean chambers of the history of the period, and furnish the reader with precious and interesting details regarding the lives, manners and customs of the peoples concerned. Here are some Riks which will speak for themselves:—

1. "इन्द्र हत्वी दस्यून् प्र आर्यं वर्णम् आवत्।

Indra hatvī Dasyūn pra Āryaṃ varṇam āvat.—III, 34, 9.

"Indra having killed the Dasyus, saved the superior class (the Āryas)."

2. "अनासः दस्यून् अमृणः वधेन।"

Anāsaḥ Dasyūn amṛṇaḥ vadhena.—V, 29, 10.

"(O Indra) thou hast killed the speechless (*i.e.*, without language) Dasyus with thy thunder."

3. "अदेदिष्ट वृत्रहा गाः अन्तः कृष्णान् अरुषैः धामभिः।"

Adediṣṭa Vṛtrahā gāḥ antaḥ kṛṣṇān aruṣaiḥ dhāmabhiḥ.—III, 31, 21.

"May Indra, the Destroyer of Vṛtra, send us rains! May he destroy the black-complexioned with his great and radiant prowess!"

4. "इन्द्रः मनवे शासत् अव्रतान् त्वचं कृष्णाम् अरन्धयत्।"

Indraḥ manave śāsat avratān tvacaṃ kṛṣṇām araṇdhayat.—
I, 130, 8.

"Indra destroyed those without rites for men, and took off their black skin."

5. "शासः तम् इन्द्र मर्त्यम् अयज्युम् शवसः पते।"

Śāsaḥ tam Indra martyam ayajyuṃ Śavasaḥ pate.—
I, 131, 4.

"O Indra, Lord of prowess, thou hast punished the mortal Rākṣasas, without sacrifices."

6. "अक्रमा दस्युः अभि नः अमन्तः अन्यव्रत अमानुषः।
त्वम् तस्य अमित्रहन् वधः दासस्य दम्भयः॥"

Akramā Dasyuḥ abhi naḥ amantaḥ anyavrataḥ amānuṣaḥ;
Tvam tasya amitrahan vadhaḥ Dāsasya dambhayaḥ.—
X, 22, 8.

"O Destroyer of the enemies, pierce through the Dasyus, who are without sacrifices and without faith, and are unlike men, and of different rites, and seek to overpower us."

7. "पिशङ्गभृष्टिम् अभृणम् पिशाचिम् इन्द्र संमृण।
सर्वं रक्षो निबर्हय॥"

Piśaṅgabhṛṣṭiṃ abhṛṇam Piśācim Indra saṃmṛṇa:
Sarvaṃ Rakṣo nivarhaya.—I. 135, 5.

"O Indra, kill the copper-coloured and yelling Piśach, outright, and extirpate all Rākṣasas."

8. "सरस्वति देवनिदः निवर्हय।"

Sarasvati devanidaḥ nivarhaya.—VII, 6, 3.

"O Saraswati, thou hast exterminated the revilers of gods."

9. "नि अश्रधान् अयज्ञान् दस्यून् अग्निः विवाय।"

Ni aśradhān ayajñān Dasyūn Agniḥ vivāya.—VII. 6, 3.

"May Agni completely disperse the Dasyus, who are without reverence and without sacrifice!"

10. "महः रुजामि बन्धुता वचोभिः।"

Mahaḥ rujāmi vandhutā vacobhiḥ. —IV, 4, 1!.

"O Agni, I destroy the powerful Rākṣasas by means of our friendship generated by the hymns."

11. "रायस्कामो वज्रहस्तं सुदक्षिणं पुत्रो न पितरं हुवे।"

Rāyaskāmo vajrahastaṃ sudakṣiṇaṃ putro na pitaraṃ huve —VII, 32, 3.

"Desirous of wealth, I invoke Indra, the wielder of thunder and excellent giver, as the son invokes the father."

12. "न यस्य हन्यते सखा न जीयते कदाचन।"

Na yasya hanyate sakhā na jīyate kadācana.—X, 152, 1.

"Whose (Indra's) friend is never killed nor vanquished."

13. "अश्विना पुत्रायेव पितरा मह्यं शिक्षतम्।"

Aśvinā putrāyeva pitarā mahyaṃ śikṣatam.—X, 39, 6.

"O Aśvins, teach me as parents teach the son."

14. "जम्भयतम् अभितः रायतः शुनः हतम् मृधः अश्विना।"

Jambhayatam abhitaḥ rāyataḥ śunaḥ hatam mṛdhaḥ Aśvinā.—I, 182, 4.

"O Aśvins, destroy these that are yelling like dogs, and are coming to fight and kill us."

15. "यजया इत् अयजोः विभजाति भोजनम्।"

Yajyā it ayajyoḥ vibhajāti bhojanam.—II, 26, 1.

"May the offerer of sacrifices enjoy wealth (the food) of those opposed to sacrifices!"

16. "परा चित् शीर्षा वव्रजुः ते इन्द्र अयजयानः यज्वभिः स्पर्धमानाः।"

Parā cit śīrṣā vavṛjuḥ te Indra ayajyānaḥ yajvabhiḥ spardhamānāḥ.—I, 33, 5.

" O Indra, those without sacrifices and yet varying with the offerers of sacrifices, have fled with their faces (heads) turned back."

17. "यो दासं वर्णम् अधरं गुहा अकः।"

Yo dāsaṃ varṇam adharaṃ guhā akaḥ.—II. 12, 4.

" Who (Indra) has made the Dāsa class low in caves or hiding places."

18. "त्वं दस्यून् ओकसः अग्ने आजः उरु ज्योतिः जनयन् आर्याय।"

Tvaṃ Dasyūn okasaḥ Agne ājaḥ uru jyotiḥ janayan Āryyāya.—VII, 5, 6.

" O Agni, having generated great heat, *thou hast expelled the Dasyus from their homes for the Āryyas.*"

19. "सुदासे इन्द्रः सुतुकान् अमित्रान् अरन्धयत् वध्रिवाचः।"

Sudāse Indraḥ sutukān amitrān araṇdhayat vadhrivācaḥ.—VII, 18, 9.

" Indra brought the chattering enemies, with their children, under the subjugation of Sudās."

20. "अनु दह सहमूरान् क्रव्यादः।"

Anu daha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ,—X, 87, 19.

" O Agni, may thou consume *the eaters of raw meat* root and branch ! "

Now, in the foregoing Riks, the non-Aryans, whom the early Aryan invaders found in possession of the soil, fought and vanquished, are described as 'black-complexioned,' "कृष्णाः," kṛṣṇāḥ or ' copper-coloured,' " पिशङ्गभृष्टयः," piśaṅgabhṛṣṭayaḥ, ' Dasyus,' ' Piśācis,' ' Asuras,' ' god-less,' " अदेवाः," adevāḥ, ' without sacrifices,' " अयज्वानः," Ayajvānaḥ, and as with different rites " अन्यव्रतः," anyabrataḥ ; whereas the Aryans are described as ' friends of the gods,' " आभूवः, " ābhūvaḥ, ' offerers of sacrifices,' " यज्वानः," yajvánaḥ, as ' white-complexioned,' " शित्यञ्चः," śityañcaḥ (VII, 33, 1), and as ' makers of hymns,' " कारवः," kāravaḥ (VI, 45, 33). Some of the non-Aryans were, we are told, " अनासः," anāsaḥ, ' without language,' and even " अमानुषाः," amānuṣāḥ ' unlike men,' and lived on raw-meat, " क्रव्यादः," kravyādaḥ, and were like yelling dogs. It is thus evident that the Aryan invaders widely differed from the children of the soil both in their complexion as well as in their customs, usages, rites and culture, and that they were much superior to their enemies in culture and civilisation. It was, therefore, no wonder if the Aryans, by their prowess and superior weapons and culture, completely crushed their enemies in war, and brought many of them under subjugation. Indra, we are told, in the extract No. 19, brought the enemies of Sudās, with their children, under his subjugation. But many of the non-Aryans, it is evident, preferred a life of exile to a miserable existence as serfs, under the victors, and took shelter in forests and mountains. Indra, we are told in extract No. 17, drove the Dāsas to caves or hiding places. But some among the non-Aryans were evidently considerably advanced in civilisation, knew the uses of metals, and lived, it appears, in fortified towns and forts. Some of these were very rich ; and in R. V. IV, 25, 7, we are told that Indra does not approve of any alliance with the

wealthy Paṇis, "न रेवता पणिना सख्यम्," Na revatā Paṇinā sakhyam. In R. V. VI, 45, 33, we find Bharadvāja singing the glory of Bṛvu, and thus praising him for his wisdom and liberality :—

" तत् सु नः विश्वे आ सदा गृणन्ति कारवः ।
ब्रुवं सहस्रदातं सूरिम् ॥"

Tat su naḥ viśve ā sadā gṛṇanti kāravaḥ :
Bṛvuṃ sahasradātaṃ sūrim.

" All our hymn-makers always sing the glory of wise Bṛvu, the giver of thousands."

Bṛvu was, as Sāyaṇa tells us, the carpenter of the Paṇis, "ब्रुवूर्नाम पणीनां तक्षा," Bṛvurnāma Paṇīnāṃ takṣā.

Again, it appears that some of the non-Aryans were traders. In R. V., I, 33, 3 we meet with the following :— "मा पणिर्भूः," Mā Paṇirbhūḥ, " Do not be (*i.e.*, want any return) like a trader." It is, therefore, quite clear that some of the non-Aryans, particularly the Paṇis, were considerably advanced in civilisation. The expression, "यः कश्चि अहविः महीयते" (I, 182, 3), Yah kaścit ahaviḥ mahīyate, " Whosoever among those without sacrifices has attained glory," is indeed highly significant. It clearly shows that there were some among the non-Aryans who had really made considerable progress in culture and civilisation. But the superior valour and higher civilisation of the Aryans, gradually, hushed all opposition ; and the enemies were expelled from their hearths and homes, and were subjugated or driven to a life of exile. Thus, gradually there grew up powerful and flourishing Aryan colonies, here and there, on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries. And as time went on, these colonies multiplied in number, and the wave of the Aryan colonisation rolled on more and more eastward. The Five Tribes, on the banks of the Sarasvatī and its tributaries, already referred to, was one of

the most powerful of these colonies. And their territories formed the most easterly limits of the early Indo-Aryan settlement, known as Brahmāvarta.

Dr. A. C. Das, in his Rig-vedic India, has, as already noticed, held that the original inhabitants of the tract of land watered by the Rig-Vedic "Seven Rivers," "सप्तसिन्धवः" were all Aryans, and that the Rig-Vedic wars were only wars between the advanced Aryans and their backward kiths and kins. The foregoing Riks, however, clearly prove the utter absurdity of Dr. Das's contention. In fact, the expression, "O Agni, thou hast expelled the Dasyus from their houses for the Āryya (R. V. VIII, 5, 6) is alone quite conclusive.

The weapons and accessories of war used by early Indo-Aryans

The following Riks will give us some idea of the weapons and the accessories of war with which the Aryans had armed themselves :—

1. "त्वं चोदय नॄन् कार्पाणे शूर।"

Tvaṃ codaya nṝn kārpāṇe sūra.—I. 22, 10.

"O mighty Indra, thou sendest men to fight in war with swords."

2. "चोदय धियम् अयसः न धाराम्।"

Codaya dhiyam ayasaḥ na dhārām.—VI, 47, 10.

"O Indra, grant me intelligence as sharp as the blade of a scimitar."

3. "धन्वना गाः जयेम आजिं जयेम।"

Dhanvanā gāḥ jayema ājiṃ jayema.—VI, 75, 2.

"With the bow, we shall win the enemies' cows, and shall win battles."

4. "आलाक्ता या यस्याः अयः मुखम्।"

Ālāktā yā yasyāḥ ayaḥ mukham.—VI, 75, 15.

"(The arrow) which is dipped in poison and whose mouth is made of iron."

5. "अवसृष्टा परापत शरव्ये ब्रह्मसंशिते।
गच्छ अमित्रान् प्रपद्यस्व मा अमीषां कञ्चन उत्शिषः॥"

Avasṛṣṭā parāpata Śaravye brahmasaṃśite :
Gaccha amitrān prapadyasva mā amīṣām
kañcana utśiṣaḥ.—VI, 75, 16.

" O enchanted and skilful Arrow, when hurled, go hence, reach the enemies, and leave none of them alive."

6. "जीमुतस्य इव भवति प्रतीकम् यत् वर्मी याति।
त्वा वर्मणो महिमा पिपर्त्तु॥"

Jīmutasya iva bhavati pratīkam yat varmī yāti :
Tvā varmaṇo mahimā pipartu.—VI, 75, 1.

" When the warrior, armed with a coat of mail, goes, he looks like a (terrific) cloud. May the glory of the coat of mail protect thee (O Warrior)!"

7. "वाजे न अश्वाः सप्तिवन्तः।"

Vāje na aśvāḥ saptivantaḥ.—X, 6, 6.

"Like swift chargers in war."

8. "सप्तिम् आशुमिव आजिषु।"

Saptim āśumiva ājiṣu.—X, 156, 1.

"Like fast-moving cavalry in war."

9. "बृहस्पते रक्षय आशूनिव आजौ।"

Bṛhaspate rakṣaya āśūniva ājau.—X, 68, 2.

"O Bṛhaspati, place thy scattered rays among thy worshippers, like chargers scattered in war."

10. "जेन्यं यथा वाजेषु वाजिनम् ।"

Jenyaṃ yathā vājeṣu vājinam.—I, 130, 6.

"As men admire a charger victorious in battles."

11. "रथान् इव वाजयतः ।"

Rathān iva vājayataḥ—I, 130, 5.

"As men, desirous of war, construct chariots of war."

Now, it is evident from above that the Aryans fought from chariots in war, put on coats of mail, and fought with swords and scimitars, unpierced by the enemies' weapons. Some tribes of the Aryans excelled in archery ; and metallic arrow-heads were often dipped in poison to make them more effective and fatal. In the extract No. 5, quoted above, we find Bharadvāja invoking an enchanted arrow, dipped in poison, to go and fall upon the enemies, and to leave none of them alive. The Aryans, moreover, made use of horses and, of cavalries, in war, and occasionally even fought on elephants. The expression, "याहि राजेव अमवान् इभेन," Yāhi rājeva amavān ibhena, IV, 4, 1, "Go like a king, on the elephant, surrounded by the ministers," is quite significant. We, further, learn from the Rig-Veda that the excited chargers often caused a great violence upon the enemies, and created consternation among them, and, at times, routed them in confusion and disorder. The following Riks shall be read with interest :—

1. "तीव्रान् घोषान् कृन्वते वृषपाणयः अश्वाः रथेभिः सह वाजयन्तः ।
अवक्रामन्तः प्रपदैः अमित्रान् क्षिणन्ति शत्रून् अनपव्ययन्तः ॥"

Tīvrān ghoṣān kṛṇvate vṛṣapāṇayaḥ Aśvāḥ rathebhiḥ saha vājayantaḥ :

Avakrāmantaḥ prapadaiḥ amitrān kṣiṇanti śatrūn anapavyayantaḥ.—VI, 75, 7.

"The chargers, rushing violently with the war-chariots, and scattering dusts with their feet, make terrible noises, and instead of fleeing away, strike the enemies with their hoofs."

2. "उत स्म एनं वस्त्रमथिं न तायुम् अनुक्रोशन्ति क्षितयो भरेषु ।
नीचा अयमानं जसुरिं न श्येनं श्रवः च अच्छ पशुमत् च यूथम् ॥"

Uta sma enaṃ vastramathiṃ na tāyum anukrośanti kṣitayo bhareṣu :

Nīcā ayamānaṃ jasuriṃ na śyenaṃ śravaḥ ca accha paśumat ca yūtham.—IV, 38, 5.

"The enemies scream on seeing it (the war-horse Dadhikrā) making for their food and cattle, in the field of battle, as men scream on the approach of a purloiner of clothings, and as birds scream on seeing a hungry hawk coming down."

Vanquished in open war, the non-Aryans often took shelter, as has already been stated, in forests and mountains, and waged a sort of guerilla war against the victors, and often harassed them from their hiding places. But even in such trying circumstances, the Aryans were not found wanting. When ordinary resources failed, they punished the enemies by setting fire to their hiding-places, and often captured or massacred them by thousands. Thus, fire, apart from its other uses, did the Aryans a yeoman's service, and in many cases, proved to be the only means of completing the effects of their hard-won victories. Naturally, therefore, Fire came to enjoy the highest esteem and veneration among the early Aryan settlers in India, and was worshipped as the greatest destroyer of the enemies, "वृत्रहन्तमः," Bṛtrahantamaḥ, 1, 78, 4, and as the killer of the Aṣuras "असुरघ्नः," Asuraghnaḥ, and as "the destroyer of the Rākṣasas," "रक्षोहा," Rakṣohā, 1, 13, 1. Here are some Riks, in point, which will speak for themselves :—

1. "सनात् अग्ने मृणसि यातुधानान् न त्वा रक्षांसि पृतनासु जिग्युः ।"

Sanāt Agne mṛṇasi yātudhānān na tvā Rakṣāṃsi pṛtanāsu jigyuḥ.—X, 87, 19.

"O Agni, thou always killest the Rākṣasas, but they never vanquished thee in war."

2. "राजा इव जेः," Rājā iva jeḥ.—VI, 4, 4.

"(O Agni), conquer our enemies like a king."

3. "यः देह्यः अनमयत् वधस्नैः ।
स निरुध्य नहुषः अग्निः विषः चक्रे वलिहृतः सहोभिः ।"

Yaḥ dehyaḥ anamayat vadhasnaiḥ :
Saḥ nirudhya Nahuṣaḥ Agniḥ viṣaḥ cakre valihṛtaḥ sahobhiḥ.—VII, 6, 5.

"Agni who lowered the skill of the Asuras by his weapons, made them vassals of King Nahuṣa, besieging them by force."

4. "अग्निः जम्भैः तिगितैः अत्ति भर्वति योधः न शत्रून् सः वना ।"

Agniḥ jambhaiḥ tigitaiḥ atti bharvati yodhaḥ na śatrūn saḥ vanā.—1, 143, 5.

"Agni kills the enemies like a mighty warrior, and consumes forests with his sharp teeth."

5. "तूर्वन् न यामन् एतशस्य नु रणे आ यः घृणे ।"

Tūrvan na yāman Etaśasya nu raṇe ā yaḥ ghṛṇe.—
VI, 15, 5.

"Who (Agni) was kindled quickly, in war, for the assistance of Ataśa, (to kill the enemies), like a destroyer of the foes."

6. "क्षणुष्व पाजः प्रसितिं पृथ्वीं याहि राजेव अमवान् इभेन ।
तृष्वीम् अनु प्रसितिं द्रुणानः अस्ता असि विध्य रक्षसः तपिष्ठैः ॥"

Kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ prasitiṃ pṛithvīṃ yāhi rājeva amavān ibhena :

Tṛṣvīm anu prasitiṃ druṇānaḥ astā asi vidhya Rakṣasaḥ tapiṣṭaiḥ.—IV, 4, 1.

"Thou art, O Agni, the destroyer of the foes. Spread thy heat like a net spread on the earth, and attack the Rākṣasas with thy fiercest rays, like a king, seated on the elephant, behind his quickly marching hosts, surrounded by his ministers."

The method of obtaining fire.

In those early times, however, the modern scientific methods of kindling fire were unknown, and fire could only be kindled by the tedious process of rubbing two pieces of twigs against each other. In every house, therefore, fire was, as a rule, preserved day and night, with utmost care, so that no house could ever be left without this most resourceful of friends. On this point the following expressions shall be read with interest :—

"अग्ने जज्ञानः," Agne jajñānaḥ.—I, 12, 3.

"Thou art, O Agni, born of sacrificial sticks."

2. "प्र मातृभ्यः अधि क्रनिक्रदत् गाः।"

Pra mātṛbhyaḥ adhi kranikradat gāḥ.—X, 1, 2.

"O Agni, thou art born of two mothers, making repeated noise."

3. "यो जागारः," Yo jāgāraḥ.—V, 44, 14.

"He who is always awake."

4. "दिवा न नक्तम्," Divā na naktam.—1, 144, 4.

"Adored at night as in day-time."

5. "नक्तं यः प्रत् अरुषः यः दिवा नॄन् ।"

Naktaṃ yaḥ im aruṣaḥ yaḥ divā nṛn.—VI, 3, 6.

" Who, kindled at night, sends men to their work as in day-time."

Evidently, the great utility of fire gradually gave rise to the cult of Fire-Worship among the early Indo-Aryans. And Fire soon beeame one of the foremost deities of the Rig-Veda, and was adored as the greatest of the mundane gods.

The Aryans, though split up into tribes and clans, were as a rule, conscious of the unity of their blood and religion, culture and civilisation, and regarded one another as their kith and kin. Occasionally, however, differences and hostilities arose among them ; and at times, they even took up arms in settlement of these differences. And the Rig-Veda contains distinct references to turmoils of wide-spread and gruesome inter-tribal wars among the early Indo-Aryans themselves. And the War of the Ten Kings is an instance in point.

The Early Aryan Administration.

The early Indo-Aryans were divided into clans, each consisting of several tribes. Each clan was under a king or sovereign, and each tribe had a ruling Chief or King. There were also confederacies of allied tribes. The Rig-Veda tells us of the great and powerful confederacy of the 'Five Tribes' on the banks of Sarasvatī and its tributaries, and of its great King Asamati, who, whether with sword in hand or not, always had his enemies prostrated in war, like buffaloes prostrated before a lion. The Rik in question runs as follows :—

"यः जनान् महिषानिव अतितस्थौ पवीरवान् उत अपवीरवान् युधा ।"

Yaḥ janān mahiṣāniva atitasthau pavīravān uta apavīravān yudhā.—X, 60, 3.

The Rig-Veda describes him as "सत्पतिः," Satpatiḥ, "the protector of the good," and his kingdom as "त्वेषसंदृशम्," tveṣasandṛśam, "bright." We are further told that Ikṣāku was the Governor of the kingdom, and that "the people of the 'Five Tribes' were as happy as in Heaven" (X, 60, 1 & 4). The Bharatas under King Sudās formed another powerful Aryan clan, consisting of Kuśikas and several other tribes. And subsequently the tribe of the Tṛtsus, under Vasiṣṭha, joined the Bharatas as an ally, and led them to victory in their war against the 'Five Tribes.'

The ideal of the government, among the early Indo-Aryans was exceedingly high and noble; and the good of the people was the great ambition of the monarchs. In R. V. VI, 19, 1, Indra is represented as "gladly fulfilling the desires of men like a king," "नृवत् चर्षनिप्राः," Nṛvat carṣaniprāḥ. The Kings had their ministers and governors to help them in carrying on their work of administration. The expression "याहि राजेव अमवान् इभेन," Yāhi rājeva amavān ibhena, IV, 4, 1, clearly proves that, in times of war, the kings, with their ministers, often accompanied the armies on elephants to instruct the generals. And the expression, "दिवि इव पञ्चकृष्टयः," Divi iva Pañcakṛṣṭayaḥ, "the five tribes were as happy as in Heaven," clearly shows that, at least under some rulers, the people were really as happy as in Heaven, and that good kings always tried to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of their subjects, and that the good of the subjects was the end of the administration.

In R. V. X, 173, we come across a most beautiful description of a Coronation Ceremony. Here are some extracts from the same, which will speak for themselves:—

1. "आ त्वा अहार्षम् अन्तः एधि ध्रुवः तिष्ठ अविचाचलिः।
विशः त्वा सर्वा वाञ्छन्तु मा त्वत् राष्ट्रमधिभ्रशत्॥"

Ā tvā ahārṣam antaḥ edhi dhruvaḥ tiṣṭa avicācaliḥ :
Viśaḥ tvā sarvā vāñchantu mā tat rāṣṭramadhibhraśat.
—X, 173, 1.

"O King, I place thee on the throne. Be thou the Lord among the people, and remain still and immovable. *May all the subjects desire thee.*"

2. "ध्रुव द्यौ ध्रुवा पृथिवी ध्रुवासः पर्व्वताः इमे ।
ध्रुवं विश्वमिदं जगत् ध्रुवो राजा विशामयम् ॥"

Dhruvā dyau dhruvā prithivī dhruvāsaḥ parvatāḥ ime :
Dhruvaṃ viśvamidaṃ jagat dhruvo rājā viśāmayam.—
X, 173, 4.

"The sky is immovable, the earth is immovable, these mountains are immovable, this universe is immovable. May this king of the people be also immovable!"

Again, in R. V., I, 173, 10, we also meet with a reference to "the ruler of a town always engaged in good government," "पूर्पतिं सुशिष्टौ," Pūrpatiṃ suśiṣṭau. Now, it is evident from above that the good of the people was the chief object of the government. It also appears from the above-mentioned coronation Riks that the people had some voice in the election of the King. The expression, "विशः त्वा वाञ्छन्तु," Viśaḥ tvā vāñchantu, 'may the subjects desire thou,' is not without its significance. In fact, the two expressions, "Be thou still and immovable," and "may the people desire thee," occurring side by side in the first of the above-mentioned Riks, clearly suggest that even then it was clearly known that the safety and stability of the monarchs always depended on the good wishes and the support of the people. It is also quite clear from above that every town had its ruler, or Magistrate, "Pūrpatiḥ," and that it was the ambition of the ruler of a town always to rule the people well and for the good of the people. Amidst all uncertainties, it is quite certain that the

government did not then exist for the few, but that it, on the contrary, existed for the good and welfare of the multitude. It is also clear, from the Riks quoted above, that the unhealthy theory of the Divine Origin or of the 'Trusteeship' of the kings was totally unknown among the early Indo-Aryans.

The Social Organisation.

The Rig-Veda presents to us the picture of a social organisation in which vocations of life stood undifferentiated, and every individual was both a civilian and a soldier. Pretensions of classes and sectional monopolies, based on a fancied superiority of origin and birth, which form the ban of modern Hindu society, were totally unknown in the Rig-vedic age. The Ṛṣis of the Rig-Veda were, as we have seen, all householders, and were engaged in different occupations. The Ṛṣihood, morever, then formed no monopoly of any privileged class or sect. The Ṛṣis, with the rest of the people, formed, on the contrary, one undivided and homogeneous nation, inspired by one common end, and knit together by the ties of one common origin, one common social life, and one common culture. The Ṛṣis, like others, lived in families, and discharged the manifold duties of life as householders and citizens, with the greatest fidelity and diligence. Those among the people who composed hymns or poems, preserved in the Rig-Veda, are known as the Ṛṣis. Some of the Ṛṣis were, as we have seen, kings, such as Kutsa, Divodāsa, Pṛthuśravā, and the like. There were princes among the Ṛṣis as well, such as Ṛhjaśva, Ambariṣa, Sahadeva, Vayamāna, and the like. Many of the Ṛṣis were valiant warriors, and led men in war, such as Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, and the like. There were physicians as well among the Ṛṣis, such as Bṛtriha Kaśyapa, Saṃkasuka Yāmāyana, and the like. Some of the Ṛṣis were,

again, engaged in commerce; and we have been told that Ṛṣi Dīrghaśravā was a merchant (*vide* R.V.I, 112,11). Some of the Ṛṣis were engaged in agriculture; and there were others who followed various other pursuits.

The Ṛṣihood was not, moreover, a monopoly of the stronger sex alone. The Rig-Veda tells us of many Ṛṣis who were women, and possessed great talents and learning. Viśvavārā and Apālā, two daughters of Atri, Ghoṣā, daughter of King Kakṣivān, Lopāmudrā, wife of Agastya, Romaśā, wife of King Bhabatavya, were all Ṛṣis, and their poems are found in the Rig-Veda. The Rig-Veda contains references to several other Ṛṣis as well, who belonged to the fair sex. Many of these ladies were highly cultured; and the hymns attributed to Viśvavārā and Ghoṣā are of a very high order, both in elegance and richness of diction as well as in the sublimity of conception. Here is a Rik, attributed to Viśvavārā, which will be read with interest:—

"समिद्धः अग्निः दिवि शोचिः अश्रेत् प्रत्यङ् उषसम् उर्विया विभाति।
एति प्राची विश्ववारा नमोभिः देवान् इलाना हविषा घृताची॥"

Samiddhaḥ Agniḥ divi śociḥ śrayet pratyaṅ Uṣasam urviyā vibhāti;

Eti prācī Viśvavārā namobhiḥ devān ilānā haviṣā ghṛtācī.
—V, 28, 1.

"Bright Agni acquires brightness in heaven, and approaching the dawn, shines brightly. Viśvavārā, who adores gods, in heaven, with offerings of clarified butter in hands, with her face turned towards the east, approaches Agni."

Thus in the Rig-Veda, the very first thing that strikes the reader is the total absence of all those unhealthy and artificial usages and restrictions that vitiate and clog the progress of the modern Hindu society. The Ṛṣis of the Rig-Veda did not live in wilderness in meditation and penance, cut off from

all healthy concerns of life. They, on the contrary, lived as we have seen, in families, owned herds of cattle, cultivated lands, fought their enemies, and followed various other pursuits, and prayed to their gods and goddesses, the Sun, the Dawn, Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, and the like, for wealth, cattle and progeny, as well as for protection and victory in war. Generally the father of every family worshipped Fire, the chief domestic deity, and poured libations into it. And the women also joined in the worship, and helped men in the performance of their rites. The following Riks will be read with interest :—

1. "विमयन्ते अध्वरे ये," Vimayante adhvare ye.—X, 40, 10.

"Those who engage (their wives) in the performance of sacrifice."

2. "या देवत्रा कृणुते मनः," Yā devatrā kṛṇute manaḥ.—V, 61, 7.

"Who (Śaśīyaśī, the wife of King Taranta) devotes her mind to gods."

3. "वि त्वा ततसे मिथुनाः," Vi tvā tatase mithunāḥ.—I, 131,3.

"(O Indra), the married couple are engaged in sacrifice for thy satisfaction."

4. "पुरुकुत्सानी हि वाम् अदशत् हव्येभिः इन्द्रवरुणा नमोभिः।"

Purukutsānī hi, vām adaśat havyebhiḥ Indra-Varuṇā namobhiḥ.—IV, 42,9.

"O Indra and Varuṇa, the wife of King Purukutsa propitiated you two with sacrificial offerings and hymns."

Some men and women were, however, more prominent than the rest, and distinguished themselves by their learning and influence and the excellence of their hymns. And these were the great Ṛṣis of the Rig-Veda.

The Position of Women.

The position of women in the family and in the society is an index of the culture of the age. The women, during the Rigvedic times, occupied a high position, both within the domestic circles and in the society, and were honoured and respected. They looked after all domestic affairs, and, at the same time, helped men, as already noticed, in the performance of various domestic, social and religious ceremonies. Some of the women were, however, more cultured than the rest, and composed hymns and performed sacrifices themselves. The unhealthy institution of the seclusion of women, which is one of the greatest evils of the modern Hindu society, was totally unknown in the Rigvedic age. The women then took part in all healthy concerns of life, and even fought, when occasion arose, side by side with men, against their common enemies, and even led men in war. The Rig-veda tells us of the great prowess of Mudgalānī, the wife of Ṛṣi Mudgala, who, we are told, "cast arrows like rains," defeated the non-Aryans, and captured their cows, or recovered her husband's lost cows. The Riks in question run as follows:—

1. "उत् स्म वातः वहति वासः अस्याः अधिरथम् यत् अजयत् सहस्रम्।
रथीः अभूत् मुद्गलानी गविष्टौ भरे कृतम् व्यचेत् इन्द्रसेना॥"

Ut sma vātaḥ vahati vāsaḥ asyāḥ adhiratham yat ajayat sahasram:

Rathīḥ abhūt Mudgalānī gaviṣṭau bhare kṛtam vyacet Indrasenā.—X, 102, 2.

"When Mudgalānī, on ascending the chariot, captured thousands of cows, the fringe of her cloth was blown upwards by the wind. Indrasenā, the wife of Mudgala, was in the chariot in search of cows, and took away herds of cows, from the enemies in war."

2. "परिवृक्ता इव पतिविद्यमानट् पीप्याना कुचक्रेण इव सिञ्चन् ।"

Parivṛktā iva patividyamānat pīpyānā kucakreṇa iva siñcan.—X, 102, 11.

"Mudgalānī, like a woman deserted by her husband, glorified herself, and *cast down arrows like rains from a cloud.*"

The following Riks will also be read with interest:—

1. "गिरिं न वेनाः," Giriṃ na venāḥ.—I, 56, 2.

"Like women, climbing on hills (for flowers)."

2. "सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्वां भव ।
ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधिदेवृषु ॥"

Samrājñī śvaśure bhava samrājñī śvaśrvāṃ bhava:
Nanāndari samrājñī bhava samrājñī adhidevṛṣu.—
X, 85, 46.

"Be a queen to your father-in-law, be a queen to your mother-in-law, be a queen to your husband's sister, and be a queen to your husband's brothers."

It is quite evident from above that the wife was the mistress of the family, and that she always had a great influence over the inmates of the house. And it is also clear that in the Rigvedic age, women, as a rule, enjoyed great respect and freedom in society.

The Institution of Marriage.

The unhealthy institution of early marriage, which is a great ban of the modern Hindu society, was also totally unknown in the Rigvedic age. And although the fathers generally selected bridegrooms for their daughters, yet the women had always some voice in the selection of their husbands. Here are some Riks which will be read with

interest, and will convey to the reader some idea of the nature of the institution of marriage as it existed among the early Indo-Aryans :—

1. " कियती योषा मर्य्यतः वधूयोः परिप्रीता पन्यसा वार्य्येण ।
भद्रा वधूः भवति यत् सुपेशाः स्वयं सा मित्रं वनुते जने चित् ॥"

Kiyatī yoṣā maryataḥ vadhūyoḥ paripritā panyasā vāryyeṇa :
Bhadrā vadhuḥ bhavati yat supeśāḥ svayaṃ sā mitraṃ vanute jane cit.—X, 27, 12.

" Many women are pleased with the wealth of those who woo them. But the woman who is gentle in character, and is graceful in appearance, *seeks her beloved from among many (suitors)*."

The following Riks also clearly indicate that girls were married when they had grown adults :

1. "उदीर्ष्वातो पतिवतो हि एषा विश्वावसो ।
अन्यामिच्छ पितृषदं व्यक्तां स ते भागः जनुषा तस्य विद्धि ॥"

Udīrṣvāto pativatī hi eṣā Viśvāvaso :
Anyāmiccha pitṛṣadaṃ vyaktāṃ sa te bhāgaḥ januṣā tasya viddhi.—X, 85, 21.

" O Viśvāvasu, arise from here. This girl has got a husband. Go to such other maiden in her father's house *as has got signs of puberty*. Know her as thy share."

2. "उदीर्ष्वाता विश्ववसो नमसा ईळामहे त्वा ।
अन्यामिच्छ प्रकव्यं सं जायां पत्या सृज ॥"

Udīrṣvāto Viśvavaso namasā īḍāmahe tvā :
Anyāmiccha prakavyaṃ saṃ jāyāṃ patyā sṛja. —X,85, 22.

" O Viśvavasu, arise from here. Go to some other maiden *who has her person well developed*. Unite her with a husband as wife."

It is evident from above that early marriage was unknown in the Rigvedic age, and that women had a voice in the selection of their husbands. In R. V. VIII, 46, 24, we are again clearly told that Pṛthuśravā was the son of an unmarried girl. And this also clearly proves that girls were married after they had grown adult. The Rig-veda also tells us of old maidens, who, for ever, lived with their parents, and obtained a share of the paternal property. And from this it is evident that in the Rigvedic age the marriage of women was not even regarded as absolutely compulsory, and that there were women who remained unmarried for ever, and lived with their parents. Here is a Rik in point :—

"अमाजूरिव पित्रोः सचा सती समानात् आ सदसः त्वामिये भगम् ।"

Amājūriva pitroḥ sacā satī samānāt ā sadasaḥ tvāmiye bhagam—II, 17, 7.

"*As a maiden living for ever with the parents*, longs for a share of property from the common paternal house, so do I (O Indra), long for thee."

This is quite conclusive and it clearly proves that the marriage of girls was not even compulsory in the Rigvedic age.

The Remarriage of Widows.

The Rig-veda also contains unmistakable references to the remarriage of widows. From these references it is quite clear that the barbarous and inhuman custom of Satī was totally unknown among the early Aryans, and that it was the invention of a corrupt priesthood of a later and degenerate age. The following Riks on the point will speak for themselves :—

"उदीर्ष्व नारि अभि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतम् उपशेष एहि ।
हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोः तवेदं पतुः जनित्वमभि संबभूथ ॥"

Udīrṣva nāri abhi jīvalokaṃ gatāsumetam upaśeṣa ehi :
Hastagrābhasya didhiṣoḥ tavedaṃ patyuḥ janitvamabhi saṃvabhutha.—X, 18, 8.

"Rise up, O Woman, thou art lying by the side of thy deceased husband. Come to the world of the living *and become the wife of one who, desiring to have thee for a wife, holds thy hand to marry thee.*"

"इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु ।
अनश्रवो अनमीवाः सुरत्नाः आरोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥"

Imāḥ nārīravidhavāḥ supatnīrāñjanena sarpiṣā saṃviśantu :
Anaśravo anamīvāḥ suratnāḥ ārohantu janayo jonimagre.—X, 18, 7.

"Let these women, who have desirable husbands, enter into the house with collyrium and *ghee*, without feeling the pangs of widowhood. May these women (widows) enter the house at the head of others, well adorned and without shedding tears, and without being depressed."

"कः वाम् शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं कृणुते सधस्थे आ ।"

Kaḥ vām sayutrā vidhaveva devaraṃ kṛṇute sadhasthe ā.—X, 40, 2.

"O Asvins, who invoke you two to the sacrificial place, like a widow greeting her (deceased) husband's brother, when lying on her bed ?"

It is evident from above that in the Rigvedic age, the remarriage of widows was in vogue. The last of the above-mentioned Riks throws, it appears, a considerable light on the exact form which such marriages then generally assumed. The expression, "like a widow greeting her deceased husband's brother, when lying on her bed," evidently indicates that the

latter-day custom of the remarriage of Hindu widows with their deceased husbands' brothers is as old as the days of the Rig-veda itself.

The Rite of Sati.

The institution of Sati was, as has already been stated, totally unknown in the Rigvedic age. And it is curious to note that subsequently it arose from the distortion of the Rik, "इमाः नारोरविधवाः" (Imāḥ narīravidhavāḥ, etc.), "let these women, who have desirable husbands, etc.," quoted above in support of the remarriage of widows. In the said Rik there is absolutely no reference to the burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands. It, on the contrary, urges the widows to shake off the pangs of widowhood, and "*return home at the head of others*," with a view to be remarried, if necessary. But the corrupt and ingenuous priesthood, in a later and corrupt age, changed the word "अग्रे" (Agre), occurring at the end of the Rik, into "Agne" "अग्ने" in the sense of "अग्नौ" (Agnau), "into the Fire," with a view to support and justify Sati (*vide* Raghunandana's Aṣṭāviṃśatitattvaṃ, Part—Śuddhitattvaṃ, pp. 427 and 430). It is difficult to say how first the custom came into existence. In Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, we meet with the following passage :—

"मृते भर्त्तरि ब्रह्मचर्य्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा।"

Mṛte bharttari brahmacarjyaṃ tadanvārohaṇaṃ vā.

"On the death of the husband, the widow has to practise Brahmacarjya or to accompany the deceased husband on the funeral pile."

But in the same Samhitā we also meet with references to remarriage of widows. The expressions, "पौनर्भवश्चतुर्थः" (Paunarbhavaścaturthaḥ), "the son of a remarried widow is the fourth kind" (of the twelve kinds of son) "निर्धनश्च स्त्रीपाही"

(Nirdhanasya stṛigrāhī), VI, 30, "the debts of a sonless (dead) man are to be liquidated by one who takes or weds the widow," are quite conclusive. Parāśara and Yājñavalkya Smṛtis also support remarriage of widows. But when, it seems, the practice of Sati came into existence, a justification of the inhuman custom was felt indispensable; and interested men took recourse to the device referred to above.

Some Other Social Customs.

In R. V. III, 31, 1, we are told "वह्निः दुहितुः नप्तारम् गात्।" (Vahviḥ duhituḥ naptyaṃ gāt), "a father without a son obtains his daughter's son (as his)." Again, in R. V. VII, 4, 7, we come across a reference to the custom of adoption of sons. But it is evident that men tried to avoid having an adopted son as much as possible, on the ground that such a son, "even if good and devoted, cannot be regarded as one's own," and that "he subsequently returns to his own house." "ओकः पुनः इत् सः एति" (Okaḥ punaḥ it saḥ eti), as the Rig-veda puts it.

Food.

The Rig-veda contains frequent references to Java, "barley," and to granaries for the preservation of barley, "उर्दरं न यवेन।" (Urdaraṃ na yavena), R. V. II, 14, 11. It is, therefore, quite clear that barley formed the staple food of the early Aryans in the Punjab and its neighbourhood. Among other articles of food, milk, butter, curds, honey, sesame, beans, sugar-cane and various other kinds of vegetables were of frequent use. The animal food was also of very common use; and the Aryans took fishes and ate the flesh of rams, goats, birds, and even of horses, buffaloes and oxen. They also freely indulged in a kind of intoxicating drink made of Soma plant; and, in addition to several other hymns, the whole of the ninth Mandala of the Rig-veda has

been devoted to hymns composed in honour of the Soma, the most familiar and favourite drink of the time. In the Rig-veda we also come across references to Surā, an inferior kind of drink, and also to a kind of leather vessel, "दृतिः" (Dṛtiḥ), used for its preservation. It is, therefore, evident that as regards food also, the early Indo-Aryans were altogether free from all restrictions of the later age. Here are some Riks which will be read with interest :—

"प्रभर वृत्राय वज्रं गौर्न पर्व विरद तिरश्चा इषन् अर्नांसि अपां चरध्यै ।"

Prabhara Vṛtrāya vajram gaurna parva virada tirañcā iṣyan arnāṃsi apāṃ caradhyai.—I, 61, 12.

"O Indra, strike this Bṛtra (cloud) with thy thunder, and cut off his limbs, *like those of a cow*, for the downpouring of the rains."

"अपचत् अग्निः महिषा त्री शतानि ।"

Apacat Agniḥ Mahiṣā trī Satāni.—V, 29, 7.

"Agni cooked three hundred buffaloes."

"अग्ने वशाभिः उक्षभिः अष्टापदीभिः आहुतः ।"

Agne vaśābhiḥ aṣṭāpadibhiḥ āhutaḥ.—III, 7, 5.

"O Agni, thou art invoked with barren cows, bulls and pregnant cows (given as offerings)."

"अहम् अमा ते तुम्रं वृषभं पचानि ।"

Aham amā te tumraṃ vṛṣabhaṃ pacāni.—X, 27, 2.

"O Indra, I cook for thee a bull having a hump, with the priests."

"पचन्ति ते वृषभान् ।"

Pacanti te vṛṣabhān—X, 28, 3.

"They are cooking the oxen."

Now, it is evident from above that the early Indo-Aryans took beef without scruples. The Rigveda also tells us that they took even the flesh of the horse (I, 162, 12), and of the buffaloes. The expression, "ये वाजिनं परिपश्यन्ति पक्वं" (Ye vājinaṃ paripasyanti pakvaṃ), "those who see the horse being cooked," is indeed quite significant. In R. V. X, 89, 14, we meet with a reference to slaughter-houses, where cows were slaughtered probably for sale. The very expression, "शशने न गावः" (śaśane na gāvaḥ), 'like cows in a slaughter-house,' clearly shows that slaughter-houses were very common then, and that in these places beef was kept ready for sale. The leather of the cow was also utilised for various purposes and among other articles of use, bowstrings, chariot covers, and vessels for preservation of wine were made of it (*vide* VII, 75, 11; VI, 47, 27). In a later age, however, beef came to be forbidden chiefly from climatic considerations, and also, to some extent, from considerations of the utility of the cows. But even in the Vasiṣṭha Smṛti and the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, it is allowed on important occasions. The expression, "ब्राह्मणाय राजन्याय वा अभ्यागताय वा महोक्षं वा महाजं वा पचेत्।" (Brāhmaṇāya rājanyāya vā abhyāgatāya vā mahokṣaṃ vā mahājaṃ vā pacet), Vashiṣṭha Sam., Chap. IV, "a large bull or a large goat should be cooked in honour of a Brahmin, a royal person, or a guest" is quite significant. Moreover, one of the synonyms of the word, "गोघ्नः" (Goghnaḥ), is 'guest,' which is also highly significant. But although forbidden subsequently, nowhere, in the Smṛtis, beef-eating is included among the five Mahāpātakas, the 'great sins.' So the present-day Hindu attitude towards beef is entirely due to ignorance and fanaticism.

Caste totally unknown.

It is also evident from the Rig-veda that the unhealthy institution of caste, which has split up the later Hindu society into a thousand hostile camps and warring sects, with mutually

conflicting interests, was totally unknown among the early Indo-Aryans. The institution of caste originally arose from a division of labour, which, though originally innocent, became hereditary and extremely pernicious in the long run. But the Rig-veda contains absolutely no traces of any cut-and-dry form of division of labour, or of any hereditary monopolies whatsoever. Here are, for instance, some Riks which will speak for themselves :—

"कारुरहम् ततो भिषक् उपलप्रक्षिणी नना ।
नानाधियो वसुयवः अनु गाः इव तस्थिम ॥"

Kāruraham tato bhiṣak upalaprakṣiṇī nanā :
Nānādhiyo vasuyavaḥ anu gāḥ iva tasthima.—IX, 111, 3.

"I am a composer of hymns. My father (or son) is a physician, and my mother (or daughter) grinds corns on the stone. Desirous of wealth, *we are engaged in various occupations,* like cows wandering in various directions for food."

"अग्ने सहन्तमाभर द्युम्नस्य प्रसहा रयिम् ।
विश्वाः यः चर्षणीः अभि आसा वाजेषु सासहत् ॥"

Agne sahantamābhara Dyumnasya prasahā rayim :
Viśvāḥ yaḥ carṣanīḥ abhi āsā vājeṣu sasahat.—V, 23, 1.

"O Agni, give me (Ṛṣi) Dyumna, a son, who will overcome the enemies, and, equipped with hymns, will vanquish in war all enemies coming to attack us."

Now it is evident from above that all unhealthy restrictions of the present-day Hindu society imposed by caste, were conspicuous by their absence in the Rigvedic age. In the last-mentioned Rik, Ṛṣi Dyumna prays for a son, who will be a great warrior, and vanquish enemies in war. We have seen that, in cases of emergency, even the wives of the Ṛṣis fought side by side with men, and led men in war. In the first of the abovementioned Riks, we have been told in the

clearest and most unequivocal terms, that the caste, as based on the division of labour, was totally unknown among the early Indo-Aryans, and that the members of one and the same family were employed in different occupations for self-maintenance.

It is true that in the Rig-veda one comes across frequent uses of such words as 'Varṇa,' 'Vipra,' 'Kṣatriya,' and 'Brahma;' and that even the word 'Brāhmaṇa' has occasionally been used in the Rig-veda. But these words have been used in senses having absolutely no reference to the modern unhealthy institution of caste. The word 'Varṇa,' for instance, has been exclusively used, in the Rig-veda, to indicate the distinction between the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. Again, the words, 'Vipra' and 'Kṣatriya,' have been used in the sense of 'wise' and 'strong' respectively, and have been applied to gods and men alike exactly in the same sense. And lastly, the word 'Brahma' has always been used, in the Rig-veda, to signify a hymn; and the word, 'Brahmana,' simply means 'the composer of hymns.' There is only one place in the Rig-veda where the word 'Brahmana' has been used in its modern sense, namely in the Puruṣa-Sūkta. But the Puruṣa-Sūkta is, for reasons already stated, rightly treated as an interpolation, and as forming no genuine part of the Rig-veda. In fact, throughout the Rig-veda, the word 'Brāhmaṇa,' has been used exclusively in the sense of 'a composer of hymns,' or a worshipper or Stotā. Here are some Riks, which will speak for themselves:—

1. "यो दासं वर्णं गुहाकः।"

Yo dāsaṃ varṇaṃ guhākaḥ.—II, 12, 4.

"Who (Indra) drove away the Dāsa Class to caves and hidden places."

2. "हत्वी दस्यून् प्र आर्यं वर्णं आवत्।"

Hatvī Dasyūn pra Āryaṃ varṇaṃ āvat.—III, 34, 9.

"Having slaughtered the Dasyus, Indra saved the superior class."

3. "सुक्षत्रः वरुणः।"

Sukṣatraḥ Varuṇaḥ.—VII, 64, 1.

"Very strong Varuṇa."

4. "विप्रं विप्रासः अवसे देवं मर्त्तासः ऊतये अग्निं गीर्भिः हवामहे।"

Vipraṃ viprāsaḥ avase devaṃ marttāsaḥ utaye Agniṃ gīrbhiḥ havāmahe.—VIII, 11, 6.

"We, wise men, invoke bright and wise Agni, with hymns, for our protection."

5. "ब्रह्मद्विषः तपनः बृहस्पते।"

Brahmadviṣaḥ tapanaḥ Vṛhaspate.—II, 23, 4.

"O Vṛhaspati, thou art the oppressor of the enemies of the hymns (*i.e.* the hymn-makers)."

6. "कृतब्रह्मा।"

Kṛtabrahmā.

"One who makes hymns."

7. "संवत्सरं शशयानाः ब्राह्मणाः व्रतचारिणः।
वाचं पर्जन्यजिन्वितां प्र मण्डुकाः अवादिषु॥"

Samvatsaraṃ śaśayānāḥ Brāhmaṇāḥ vratacāriṇaḥ:
Vācaṃ parjanyajinvitāṃ pra mandukāḥ avādiṣu.—
VII, 103, 1.

"The frogs, lying prostrated for a year, are uttering words delightful to Parjanya, *like worshippers engaged in sacrifices.*"

Now, it is quite clear from above that in the Rigvedic age the unhealthy institution of caste, *based on birth*, was totally unknown. Here is another hymn which is full of significance :—

"इमे ये नार्वाक् न परश्चरन्ति न ब्राह्मणासो न सूतेकरासः ।
ते एते वाचमभिपद्य पापया सिरीः तन्त्रं तन्वते अप्रतज्ञपयः ॥"

Ime ye nārvāk na paraścaranti na Brāhmaṇāso na sūtekarāsaḥ :

Te ete vācamabhipadya pāpayā sirīḥ tantraṃ taṇvate apratajñapayaḥ).—X, 71, 9.

"These ignorant men who do not reflect on the world to come, *nor compose hymns*, nor can prepare Soma, acquiring common (filthy) language, *become fit for the work of a cultivator or of a weaver.*"

In the last-mentioned Rik, we meet with a clear and most convincing proof of the organic unity and solidarity of the early Indo-Aryan community. It also shows that a natural and healthy system of division of work according to fitness and capacity, was already in the field. But although the Rik seems to indicate a sort of division of work based on personal capacity and fitness, it is entirely free from any reference to all artificial and unhealthy restrictions between man and man imposed by caste on the present-day Hindu society. It simply tells us that men then had to choose their vocations according to their capacity and fitness. But the evils of hereditary caste were totally unknown in the Rig-vedic age. The word Brāhmaṇa also occurs in R. V. X, 97, 22 in the expression, "यस्मै क्रणोति ब्राह्मणः" (Yasmai kṛnoti Brāhmaṇaḥ), "(the patient) whom the Brāhmaṇa treats," but the term is used simply in the sense of "an offerer of sacrifices, versed in the knowledge of medicinal properties of plants, "ओषधिसामर्थ्यज्ञो स्तोता" (Oṣadhisāmarthyajño stotā) as Sāyana

puts it. Here also a priest is represented as a physician as well.

Crem tion and Burial.

It is evident from the Rig-veda that the early Aryans in India generally buried their dead. But in the Rig-veda we meet with references to cremation as well. Here are two Riks which will speak for themselves, and will show that both the systems were in vogue then :—

"उच्छ्वञ्च पृथिवि मा निवाधथाः ।
माता पुत्रं यथा सिचा अभि एनं भूमे ऊर्णुहि ॥"

Ucchvañcasva Pṛthivi mā nivādhathāḥ :
Mātā putraṃ yathā sicā abhi enaṃ Bhūme urṇuhi.—
X, 18, 11.

"O Earth, raise him (the dead) up, and do not cause him pain. Do thou cover the deceased, as the mother covers her son, with the hem of her cloth."

"मा एनमग्ने विदहः मा अभिशोचः ।
यदा शृतं कृणवो जातवेदः अथ इमेनं प्रहिणुतात् पितृभ्यः ॥"

Mā enamagne vidahaḥ mā abhiśocaḥ :
Yadā śṛtaṃ kṛṇavo Jātavedaḥ atha imenaṃ prahiṇutāt pitṛbhyaḥ.—X, 16, 1.

"O Fire, do not burn him (the dead) completely. Do not cause him pain. Jātaveda, as soon as thou hast burnt him well, send him to our fathers."

The last-mentioned hymn is very significant. It contains a clear expression of the belief in the world to come, as well as in the Immortality of the soul ; and as such, it marks a distinct landmark in the evolution of moral progress of the early Aryans. We shall return to this topic hereafter.

Various Occupations of Life.

(1) *Agriculture.*

Most of the early Indo-Aryans possessed lands, owned herds of cattle, and were engaged in agriculture. Their fields were watered by canals or by wells ; and the soil was cultivated by ploughs, with iron or wooden shares, drawn by bullocks. In the Rig-veda, we meet with frequent references to cultivation of lands by ploughs, and to other instruments of agriculture. Here are some Riks which will be read with interest :—

1. "यवं वृकेन अश्विना वपन्ता इषम् दुहन्ता मनुष्याय दस्रा ।
अभि दस्युं वकुरेण धमन्ता उरु ज्योतिः चक्रथुः आर्य्याय ॥"

Yavaṃ vṛkeṇa Aśvinā vapantā iṣuṃ duhantā manuṣyāya dasrā ;

Abhi Dasyuṃ vakureṇa dhamantā uru jyotiḥ cakrathuḥ Aryjāya.

"O beautiful Aśvins, you two have displayed your great mercy towards the Aryans, sowing corns, with the plough, for the Aryans, sending down the rains, and killing the Dasyus by the thunder."

2. "गोभिः यवं न चकर्षत् ।"

Gobhiḥ yavaṃ na cakarṣat.—I, 23, 15.

"As the peasant tills the land repeatedly with the bullocks for the cultivation of barley."

3. "कदा वसो स्तोत्रं हर्य्यते आ अव श्मशा रुधत् वाः ।
दीर्घं सूतं वातात्याय ॥"

Kadā vaso stotraṃ harjyate ā ava śmaśa rudhat vaḥ ;
Dirghaṃ sūtaṃ vātātyāya.—X, 105, 1.

"O Indra, we have given thee hymns, which thou desirest, and have given thee Soma in abundance for rains. *When will the channels of our fields be full of waters, and will stop them from running out.*"

4. "सः नो वृष्टिं दिवस्परि सः नः सहस्रिनीः इषः ।"

Saḥ no vṛṣṭiṃ divaspari śaḥ naḥ sahasrinīḥ iṣaḥ.—I, 6, 5.

"May he (Agni) give us rains from the heaven, and *may he give us thousand kinds of crops.*"

5. "अर्वाची सुभगे भव सीते वन्दामहे त्वा ।
यथा नः सुभगा अससि यथा नः सुफला अससि ॥"

Arvācī subhage bhava Sīte vandāmahe tvā :
Yathā naḥ subhagā asasi yathā naḥ suphalā asasi.—IV, 57, 6.

"O Fortunate Plough-share, proceed onward ; we adore thee so that thou mayest bestow on us excellent wealth and abundant crops."

6. "शुनं वाहाः शुनं नरः शुनं कृषतु लाङ्गलम् ।"

Sunaṃ vāhāḥ sunaṃ naraḥ sunaṃ kṛsatu lāngalam.—IV, 57, 4.

"May the bullocks work well, may the cultivator work well, and may the plough till the fields well."

(2) *Mechanical Arts.*

(i) *Carpentry.*

The Rig-veda abounds in references to carpentry. The Aryans lived mostly in mud and wooden houses, built forts and mansions, and made wooden boats, ships, carts and chariots. They thus naturally acquired a great skill

in carpentry. Here are some Riks which will speak for themselves :—

(*a*) "ब्रह्म अकर्म भृगवो न रथं ।"

Brahma akarma Bhṛgavo na ratham.—IV, 16, 20.

"We have composed hymns, as carpenters make chariots."

(*b*) "चक्रथुः सिन्धुषु प्लवं पक्षिणम् ।"

Cakrathuḥ sindhuṣu plavaṃ pakṣinam.—I, 112, 5.

"Made a boat, *propelled with sails*, on the sea."

(*c*) "सिन्धौ इव नावम्,","

Sindhau iva nāvam.—X, 186, 9.

"As men send boats to the sea."

(*ii*) *Weaving.*

The early Aryans also wove and put on fabrics of wool and cotton on a kind of simple hand-loom very much similar to those seen even now in India. And in the Rig-veda we meet with frequent references to weaving. And it is interesting to note that, in these references, the persons engaged in weaving are generally represented as women. Probably weaving was then largely a domestic industry, and was generally left in the hands of the women. Here are some Riks in point :—

(*a*) "पुनः समव्यत् वितनं वयन्ती ।"

Punaḥ samavyat vitataṃ vayantī.—II, 38, 4.

"The Night draws back the scattered rays of the sun, like a woman engaged in weaving."

(*b*) "मा तन्तुः च्छेदि वयतः।"

Mā tantuḥ cchedi vayataḥ.—II, 28, 5.

"While weaving, *may not our threads be torn.*"

(*c*) "वय्या इव वणिते तन्तुं ततं संवयन्ती।"

(Vajyā iva vanite tantuṃ tataṃ saṃvayantī.—II, 3, 6.

"Like two skilful women engaged in weaving."

(*d*) "नाहम् तन्तुम् न विजानामि ओतुम्।"

Nāhaṃ tantuṃ na vijānāmi otuṃ.—VI, 9, 2-3.

"I know neither the warp nor the woof."

(*iii*) *Tanning.*

The early Indo-Aryans also made use of various articles of leather. In the Rig-veda we meet with references, as has already been stated, to bow-strings, chariot-covers, made of cow's leather, as well as leathern vessels for wine. In the preparation of Soma-drink, a kind of leathern vessel was also used. Besides these, the Aryans also used, it appears, for deer-skin fabrics. It, therefore, follows necessarily that the Aryans knew the art of tanning. The following references will clearly prove that leather-made articles were of constant use :—

(*a*) "गोभिः आवृतं रथं"

Gobhiḥ āvṛtaṃ rathaṃ.—VI, 47, 27.

"A chariot covered with cow-leather."

(*b*) "गोभिः सन्नद्धा पतति,"

Gobhiḥ sannaddhā patati.—VI, 75, 11.

"The arrow, well placed on the bow-string, made of cow-leather, shoots (falls)."

(*c*) "दृतिं सुरावतो गृहे,"

Dṛtiṃ surāvato gṛhe.—I, 191, 10.

" A leather-vessel in the wine-maker's house."

(*iv*) *Embroidery.*

The Rig-veda further tells us that the early Indo-Aryans also knew the Art of Embroidery. In R. V. I, 126, 4, we meet with a reference for instance to horses adorned with coverings embroidered with gold, " क्रशाणवतः अत्यान् " (Kṛśāṇavataḥ atyān).

(*v*) *Smith-craft.*

The early Indo-Aryans had also acquired considerable skill in the smith-craft, and manufactured various kinds of weapons of war as well as agricultural implements from iron, and domestic articles from copper and other metals. They also manufactured and wore various kinds of ornaments generally made of gold. It also appears that they also made use of some kinds of gold coins. Here are some Riks which will speak for themselves :—

(*a*) " द्रविः न द्रावयति दारु "

Draviḥ na drāvayati dāru.—VI, 3. 4.

" Like a goldsmith, Agni melts (consumes) the forests."

(*b*) "वक्षःसु रुक्मः शिप्राः शीर्षसु विततः हिरण्ययीः।"

Vakṣaḥsu rukmaḥ siprāḥ śīrṣasu vitatā hiraṇmayīḥ.—V, 54, 1.

" Golden necklaces on the breast, *and golden turbans spread on the head.*"

(*c*) " हिरण्ययं प्रेंखं।"

Hiraṇmayaṃ preṃkhaṃ.—VII, 87, 5.

" A golden pendulum."

(*d*) " खृगला इव ।"

Khṛgalā iva.—II, 39.

" Like two coats of mail."

(*e*) " पुरः आयसीः । "

Puraḥ āyasīḥ.—II, 20, 8.

" Forts made of iron."

(*f*) " द्रापिमिव । "

Drāpimiva.—I, 116, 10.

" Like a golden amulet."

(3) *Foreign Trade and Sea-Voyage.*

It is also evident from the Rig-veda that the unhealthy restrictions of the modern Hindu society, forbidding sea-voyage were also totally unknown among the progressing and progress-loving early Indo-Aryans. Here are some Riks which clearly prove the existence of extensive foreign trade and sea-voyage among them in the Rigvedic age :—

(*i*) " विश्वानि नो दुर्गहा जातवेदः सिन्धुं न नावा दुरिता अतिपर्षि ।"

Viśvāni no durgahā Jātavedaḥ sindhuṃ na nāva duritā atiparṣi.—V, 4, 9.

" O Agni, lead us across all terrific days, as men go across the river on a boat."

(*ii*) " रोदसी स्तुवीत समुद्रं " न सञ्चरणे सनिष्यवः ।"

Rodasī stuvīta samudraṃ na sancaraṇe saniṣyavaḥ.—IV, 56, 6.

" As men worship the sea, *while embarking on a sea-voyage for wealth*, so do I, O Heaven and Earth, worship you two."

(*iii*) "समुद्रे न अवस्यवः।"

Samudre na avasyavaḥ.—I, 48, 3.

"*As men eager for wealth, send vessels to the sea.*"

(*iv* "समुद्रं न सञ्चरणे सनिष्यवः।"

Samudraṃ na sancaraṇe saniṣyavaḥ.—I, 56, 2.

"As men, *desirous of wealth, go into the sea.*"

The Rig-veda also contains frequent references to the shipwreck of Bhujyu, and his deliverance by the twin gods Aśvins by means of "floating boats" "अपोदकाभिः नौभिः" (Apodakābhiḥ naubhiḥ), I, 116, 3, and as 'propelled by sails,' "प्लवं पक्षिणम्" (Plavaṃ pakṣiṇam), I, 82, 5, and as 'propelled by hundred oars' "शतारित्रां नाव'" (Śatāritrām nāvam), I, 116, 5. It is, therefore, quite evident from above that many among the early Indo-Aryans were engaged in foreign trade, and that their country-made goods always found ready market abroad. It is also evident that boats were then propelled by oars as well as by sails. It is difficult to say what was meant by 'floating boats attributed to Aśvins.' The expression may have a general reference as well to a class of boats made of floating timber, used for the construction of the boats, which made them unsinkable, the like of which are seen even now in India.

The Early Indo-Aryan Civilisation.

From what we have seen, it is quite clear that the early Indo-Aryans made considerable progress in civilisation. They were, as already noticed, divided into clans. Each clan consisted of several tribes. And each tribe consisted of a number of households of freemen. On the lowest grade of men were slaves, mostly taken, it appears, from the conquered non-Aryans. Each clan had its king, and each tribe its chief. The poor people lived in villages in mud and wooden houses. But the kings and nobles lived in palaces and

mansions and in fortified towns. The expression, "वेश्म इव दृश्यते" (Veśma iva dṛśyate), X, 146, 3, 'looks like a mansion,' is quite significant. It also appears that the forts were made of stone and that fortified cities had protections of concentric walls made of stone. In the Rig-veda we meet with frequent references to villages as well as fortified cities and also to towns without fortifications. Here and there we also come across references to cities with iron fortifications. Some of these cities were, it appears, guarded by several concentric walls. Some of the non-Aryans also, it appears, lived in such fortified cities (*vide* R. V. I, 114, 1; II, 20, 8; IV, 27, 1; VII, 3, 7; VII, 15, 14; I, 166, 8). In some passages in the R. V. the protection afforded by the gods is represented to be as safe as that afforded by a city having a hundred iron fortifications. And from this it is quite clear that the expression, "a city with iron fortifications," "पुरः आयसीः" (Puraḥ āyasīḥ), has been used in such connections, only figuratively. But the idea must have been suggested, as Prof. Muir aptly observes, by "forts, consisting apparently of a series of concentric walls, as actually existing in the country at the time." Again, even if the expressions, "पुरः आयसीः" (Puraḥ āyasīḥ), and "पूः शतभूजिः" (Pūḥ śatabhūjiḥ), are treated as mere mythological references to the aerial cities of the Asuras, yet the ideas connoted by them must have been suggested by their "prototypes" as Prof. Muir puts it, actually existing in the country. Hence it is evident that cities, actually protected by a series of concentric walls, really existed at the time.

The early Aryans had also made, as already noticed, a considerable progress in the science of government. The government then did not, as a rule, exist for the few. It, on the contrary, existed for the good and advancement of the people at large. The love and veneration of the subject was always a high ambition of the ruler. The kings appointed governors for the good government of the people, and had ministers to advise them on all weighty concerns of the state,

and the town had also their magistrates. The kings had also their ambassadors. The kings also often rode out, on elephants, surrounded by their ministers, to see the state of things with their own eyes, both in peace-time and during the war. The warriors fought, as already noticed, on chariots and horses. The army consisted of archers, infantry (who fought with light as well as heavy swords and axes), and cavalry, equipped with coats of mail and spears. Elephants were also occasionally used in war. In the Rig-veda I, 138, 2, we also meet with a reference to the use of camels in war. The Rik runs thus:—"उष्ट्रो न पीपरो मृधः" (Uṣtro na pīparo mṛdhaḥ), '(O Puṣan), carry us through the war like a camel.' Although the non-Aryans vanquished in war were generally made slaves, some of the powerful non-Aryan kings, Turvaśa, Yadu, and Anu, for instance, were all Aryanised, as already noticed elsewhere, and were made allies.

In domestic and social circles, personal decorations were in vogue. In the Rig-veda, we meet with frequent references to elegantly adorned and well-dressed ladies. The dawn has often been represented as displaying her beauties like a smiling well-dressed and loving wife (*vide* I, 124, 7). Horse-race and hunting were, it appears, amongst the most favourite pastimes of the period. We also meet with references to professional hunters; and in I, 92, 10, we meet with a reference to 'the wife of a hunter, given to slaughtering' "श्वघ्नी इव कृत्नुः" (Śvaghnī iva kṛtnuḥ). The services of professional jesters were also, it seems, in great demand; and in I, 141, 7, we meet with a reference to men of this class, which runs as follows:—

"ह्वारः न वक्ता अनाकृतः"

Hvāraḥ na vaktā anākṛtaḥ.

'Like a (professional) jester of endless resources.'

Dancing was another favourite pastime of the age. It was, however, often far from innocent. In I, 92, 4, the dawn has been represented as 'uncovering her breast like a dancing

girl' "नृतुः इव अप ऊर्णते वक्षः उषाः" (Nṛtuḥ iva apa urṇute vakṣaḥ Uṣāḥ). Musical instruments were also in use; and in R. V. X, 146, 2, we meet with a reference to 'Indian Bīnā.' In the Rik the natural music of birds and animals in a forest has been likened to the music of Bīnā, "वाघाभिरिव वावयन्" as the Ṛṣi puts it. And there was amongst others, a class of musicians, employed in the service of kings and nobles, whose business it was to rouse them by their songs, sung in chorus, in the early morning. In R. V. X, 40, 3, the Aśvins, for instance, are represented as roused from their sleep, "with hymns, like two old kings," "जरणा इव कापया" (Jaraṇā iva kāpayā), as the expression runs. In R. V. VII, 80, 1 the dawn is also represented as roused, at the horizon, from her sleep by the Vaśiṣṭas, with their hymns. These last-mentioned Riks, it is interesting to note here incidentally, also show that the theory of the divine origin of the hymns was altogether unknown to their authors. Oil and scents (*vide* X, 18, 7) were also in use; and in the 6th Rik of the 146th Sūkta of the same Maṇḍala, we meet with a reference to 'scents made of musk and other ingredients,' "आञ्जनगन्धिं सुरभिं" (Āñjana-gandhiṃ surabhiṃ). Women dressed their hair in knots, plaits and in various other ways. The priest, it appears, shaved their heads, and only wore a tuft of hair. The Vaśiṣṭas wore it on the right side, and have accordingly been described as "दक्षिणतः कपर्दाः" (Dakṣiṇataḥ kapardāḥ), VII, 33, 1. In the Rigveda, there are also references to the shaving of the beard by the barber (*vide* X, 142, 4). But gods are often represented as keeping their beard intact (*vide* X, 23, 4; X, 26, 7). Hundred years was the average longevity of the Aryans in the Rig-vedic age. In R. V. II, 27, 10, Ṛṣi Kurma or Gṛtsamada, as the case may be, prays for "a life of hundred years." The expression, "Grant us hundred autumns," "शतं नो राश्व शरदः" (Śataṃ no rāsva saradaḥ), is quite significant. The Ṛṣi further tells us here that that was also the longevity of the ancient Ṛṣis. In R. V. V, 54, 15 Śyāvāśva prays for "a life

of hundred winters," Śataṃ Himāḥ. In R. V. X, 161, 4, we meet with the expression, "शतं जीव शरदः शतं हेमन्तान् शतं वसन्तान्" (Live for hundred autumns, hundred hemantas and hundred springs). Such expressions are quite significant.

The early Indo-Aryans had also made a considerable progress in Astronomy. The Vedic calendar consists of five seasons and twelve months. The Ṛṣis knew both the Solar Year and the Lunar Year; and the question of the equation between the two had also been solved with considerable precision and exactness. Here is a Rik which will be read with interest:— "वेद मासः द्वादश वेद यः उपजायते" (Veda māsaḥ dvādaśa veda yaḥ upajāyate), I, 25, 8, 'Varuṇa knows the twelve months, and also the additional thirteenth month.' They also knew that the movements of winds and rains were due to the influence of the sun, as is evident from the following:—

1. "वि रश्मिभिः ससृजे सूर्यः गाः"

Vi raśmibhiḥ sasṛje Surjaḥ gāḥ.—VII, 36, 1.

"*The Sun creates the rains by his rays.*"

2. "आपश्चित् अस्य व्रते आ निमृग्नाः अयम् चित् वातः रमते परिज्मन्"

Āpaścit asya vrate ā nimṛgnāḥ ayam cit vātaḥ ramate parijman.—II, 38, 2.

"*On account of the sun's work the pure water (rains) as well as the winds move about in the sky.*"

These passages are quite significant.

In philosophical speculations also the early Indo-Aryans had made a considerable progress. Their speculations about the creation of the universe, recorded in the Rig-veda, are, indeed, very sublime. From Nature-worship they gradually rose to the lofty conception of Philosophical Theism. And when this stage was reached, the early Indo-Aryans came to look upon the multiplicity of forces at work in the universe,

and the world of plurality, as manifestations of one ultimate spiritual principle, immanent both in the world of matter and in the world of mind, and to discover a unity behind all multiplicity and differences in the universe. A full consideration of this topic, we must, however, reserve for the next section. The poetic imageries, found in the Rig-veda, are also very lofty and sublime; and they also afford another clear proof of the progress and refinement of the age.

But it is a mistake to think that in the Vedic age everything went on well and smoothly. In the Rig-veda, side by side with the pictures already considered, we meet with frequent references to the evils of polygamy, and to the rivalries among co-wives. The evil, it appears, was generally confined among the wealthier classes. The Rig-veda also contains references to the evils of gambling, which, it appears, was rampant then; and the gambler's wife has, as already noticed, been represented as the object of other people's lust and intrigues. We also come across references to faithless wives, and to women who went away, conceived, and secretly threw away the contents of their wombs in distant lands, as well as to public women, "साधारणी" (Sādhāraṇī), I, 167, 4. Here are two extracts in point :—

1. "अभ्रातरः न योषणः व्यन्तः पतिरिपः न जनयः",

Abhrātaraḥ na yoṣaṇaḥ vyantaḥ patiripaḥ na janayaḥ.—IV, 5, 5.

"Like brotherless women, and faithless wives who go astray."

2. "आरे मत् कर्तं रहसूरिव आगः"

Āre mat karta rahasuriva āgaḥ.—II, 29,1.

"(O Āditya) remove my sins from me, just as an unchaste woman quietly forsakes the contents of her womb."

In R. V. VIII, 29, 8, we come across a reference to another social evil, namely the custom of "two sojourners living with one woman."

But these were evidently exceptions, and form no index of the general state of morality of the age. In the Rig-veda, we, on the contrary, find that personal and social purity was always held in very high esteem. There is, indeed, a high moral fervour discernible everywhere in the Rig-veda, running through the hymns. Here are some extracts which will speak for themselves ;—

1. "अव द्रुग्धानि सृज नः"

Ava drugdhāṇi sṛja naḥ.—VII, 86, 5.

"(O Varuṇa) absolve us from our bonds of sins."

2. "प्रणेतः यूयम् नः अवद्धाः"

Praṇetaḥ yūyam naḥ avaddhāḥ.—II, 28, 3.

"None can go against the wisdom of (wise) Varuṇa, and he is the guide of the universe."

3. "हृत्सु क्रतुम् वरुणः अदधात्"

Hṛtsu kratuṁ Varuṇaḥ adadhāt.—V, 85,2.
"Varuṇa has given resolution in the hearts of men."

4. "यौ सेक्तृभिः अरज्जुभिः सिनीथः"

Yau sektṛbhiḥ arajjubhiḥ sinīthaḥ.—VII, 84, 2.

"(O Indra and Varuṇa) you two bind the sinners with your invisible (ropeless) fetters."

5. "यः मृलयति चक्रषे चित् आगः वयं स्याम वरुणे अनागाः"

Yaḥ mṛlayati cakraṣe cit āgaḥ vayaṁ syāma Varuṇe anāgāḥ.—VII, 87, 7.

"May we remain guiltless to Varuṇa, who shows mercy even to the sinners."

Conceptions like these are, no doubt, a clear index of the lofty morality and deep spirituality of the age. The early Indo-Aryans had also a clear knowledge of the causes of sins. And they clearly laid them down for the guidance of men, and warned all to beware of them, and to avoid them by all means. The following Ṛks will be read with interest :—

"धृतिः सा सुरा मन्युः विभीदकः अचित्तिः अस्ति ज्यायान् कनीयसः।
स्वप्नश्चन् इत् अनृतस्य प्रयोता॥"

Dhrutiḥ sā surā manyuḥ vibhidakaḥ acittiḥ asti jyāyān kaṇīyasaḥ :
Svapnascan it anṛtasya prayotā.—VII, 86, 6.

"It (sin) proceeds from self-forgetfulness, wine, wrath, gambling, and want of moral insight or reflection. Young men are also led astray by those more advanced in years. And dreams, also, beget sins."

The last-mentioned Ṛk is highly significant. In fact, conceptions like the above are an unmistakable proof of the great moral progress achieved by our ancestors in the Vedic age; and they, at the same time, afford a clear and most conclusive testimony to the high civilisation, attained by the people. In R. V. X, 71, 2, we, moreover, come across a reference to another proof of the great civilisation of the time. In it we are told that learned men and scholars often met together and held discourses on various weighty and grave topics. The Ṛk in question runs as follows :—

"यत्र धीराः मनसा वाचमक्रत अत्र सखायः सख्यानि जानते।"

Yatra dhīrāḥ manasā vācamakṛta atra sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate.

"Where wise men hold discourses, there they enjoy one another's friendship."

A class of critics have however held that the "notion of sin is wanting altogether, and submissive gratitude to the gods is as yet quite foreign to the Indian in the Vedic age" (Weber, History of Indian Lit., p. 38). But their contention is quite wrong. From what we have seen, it is quite clear that "the consciousness of sin," to use Max Müller's words, "is a prominent feature in the religion of the Veda: so is, likewise, the belief that the gods are able to take away from men the heavy burden of his sin." (*Vide* Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. I, p. 41.) Here are some more extracts, in point, which are equally conclusive:—

Weber's contention, namely notion of sin is altogether absent among early Indo-Aryans, is untenable.

1. "O Agni, far remove from us all iniquities, far remove from us sin, far remove from us all evil thoughts."—IV, 11, 6.

2. "If we have sinned against the men who love us, have ever wronged a brother, friend or comrade, the neighbour ever with us, or (even) a stranger, O Varuṇa, remove from us the trespass. *If we, as gamesters, cheat at play, have cheated, done wrong unwillingly, or sinned of purpose, cast all these sins away like loosened fetters, and O Varuṇa, may we be thine own beloved.*"—R. V., V, 85, 7 and 8.

The Rig-veda is full of such lofty utterances. Words are but "fossilised thoughts," and their testimony, respecting the state of things among the people using them, is, "as valuable," to use Rev. Phillip's words (Maurice Phillips, Teachings of the Vedas, p. 113), "as the testimony of the rocks respecting the structure of animals which have long become extinct." The lofty conceptions like the above are, indeed, the clearest proof of the high culture of the age.

The Rig-Vedic conceptions of heaven and hell also afford another clear indication of the presence of a deep and profound moral fervour among the people. These conceptions have already been noticed before. The following Ṛks addressed to

The Rig-Vedic conceptions of heaven and hell.

Soma will also be read with great interest in this connection:—

1. "यत्र ज्योतिः अजस्रं यस्मिन् लोके स्वः हितम्।
तस्मिन् मां धेहि अमृते लोके॥"

Yatra jyotiḥ ajasraṃ yasmin loke svaḥ hitam:
Tasmin māṃ dhehi amṛte loke.—IX, 113, 7.

"Where there is endless light, where the (bright) Sun dwells, carry me, (O Soma), to that region of the immortals."

2. "यत्र अनुकामं चरणं दिवः लोकाः यत्र ज्योतिष्मन्तः।
तत्र मां अमृतं कृधिः॥"

Yatra anukāmaṃ caraṇaṃ divaḥ lokāḥ yatra joytiṣmantaḥ:

Tatra māṃ amṛtaṃ kṛdhi.—IX, 113, 9.

"Where the Sun moves freely, where the regions are ever bright, carry me there (O Soma), and make me immortal."

The concluding injunction of the Rigveda: and its importance.

Now, expressions like these are also quite significant, and can be taken as a clear index of the deep moral fervour of the age. Here is another Ṛk which is equally significant. It runs thus:—

"समानी वः आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः।
समानमस्तु वो मनः यथा वः सुसहासति॥"

Samānī vaḥ ākūtiḥ samānā hṛdayāni vaḥ:

Samānamastu vaḥ manaḥ yathā vaḥ susahāsati.—
X, 191, 4.

"May you be united in your efforts, united in your hearts, united in your minds, and united in your learnings."

What a priceless treasure of wisdom is contained in the aforesaid Ṛk! In the present caste-ridden India, with its thousand warring sects and sub-sects, chaos, riots, and

confusion, it is, indeed, simply invaluable. The said Ṛk constitutes the concluding utterance of the Rig-Veda. And the more we can be true and loyal to it the better for us and the country.

The Evolution of God-consciousness among the Early Indo-Aryans.

"The position of a primitive man in the world," says Dr. Venn, "may be compared to that of some stranger who has wandered into a gigantic foundry or workshop. He can touch nothing without a risk of being burnt; he does not know where he can stand without being knocked down; at every moment he may be crushed by a steam-hammer, blinded by a spark, or swept away by a revolving band." It was exactly so with the ancestors of the early Hindus, as with all primitive men. When they looked around, they saw movement and activity everywhere in the universe. The storms and hurricanes blew with terrific violence, and mercilessly pulled down trees and houses. The forked lightning flashed forth from behind the dark and thundering clouds overhead, and threatened the mortals below with destruction and ruin. The sun, the moon, and other luminaries majestically rode across the arena of heaven, bathing the world below alternately with light and darkness. There were activities and movements in the seas and in the rivers; and they at times grew wild and ferocious. These movements and activities naturally inspired the early Aryans with awe and wonder, and filled their minds with a profound sense of their own insignificance and helplessness. With child-like simplicity they looked upon every movement as an expression of Life and Will, in the moving object, or otherwise working in and through it. Naturally, therefore, the powers and objects of Nature slowly came to be metamorphosed into subtle and mysterious Beings or Powers, who, they thought, shaped and influenced the things

and events of the world and the destinies of men. And they naturally sought to propitiate them with their hymns and sacrificial offerings. Thus, the whole universe gradually came to be peopled with gods and goddesses, whom they worshipped with awe and veneration. But the Ṛṣis did not stop here. Their God-consciousness was, no doubt, entirely anthropomorphic in its character, in the beginning : and it was so, in the beginning, all the world over. But the early Aryans gradually advanced, by slow steps, and ultimately rose to the sublime conception of One God, without a second, conceived as the Author, Ruler and Sustainer of the universe. The early Aryans thus began with the worship of the Powers of Nature, and from Nature they gradually passed on to Nature's God. And when this stage was reached, they exclaimed :—

"यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा ।
यो देवानां नामधा एकः एव तं संप्रश्नं भुवना यन्ति अन्या ॥"

Yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā dhāmāni veda bhuvanāni viśvā :
Yo devānāṃ nāmadhāḥ ekaḥ eva taṃ saṃpraśnaṃ bhuvanā yanti anyā.—X, 82, 3.

"He who is our father and creator, who knows all the places and things of the universe,—He is One, though bearing the names of many deities. All men ask about him."

With the dawn of this new conception, the gates of a new world, as it were, were flung open to the minds of the Ṛṣis. And this gradually paved the way for a still deeper and higher conception of the Ultimate Reality, conceived as the Universal Spirit, immanent both in the world of matter and in the world of mind, and pulsating in the remotest of the stars above, and in the tiniest of the atoms below, and welling up from within as the ground and foundation of man's moral consciousness, and as the soul of his soul. But this profound conception took several centuries fully to unfold itself.

"The very idea of divine powers sprang," says Prof. Max Müller, "from the wonderment with which the forefathers of the Aryan family stared at the bright powers that came and went, no one knew whence or whither, that never failed, never faded, never died, and were called immortal." In the infancy of humanity, the imaginations of the early Aryans were, indeed, peculiarly open to impressions from without. And "in the starry sky, in the dawn, in the morning sun, scaling the heavens, in the bright clouds, floating across the air and assuming all manner of magnificent or fantastic shape, in the waters, in the rain, in the storm, in the thunder and lightning, they beheld," to use Muir's words, "the presence and agency of different divine powers propitious or angry, whose character corresponded with those of the physical operation or appearances in which they were manifested." Naturally, therefore, religion, in India, as everywhere else, arose originally from fear and a sense of helplessness, and was polytheistic in character. Max Müller held that the earliest expression of religion need not necessarily be polytheistic, and that Fetishism may, after all, be only a corruption of Theism. But this contention is psychologically wrong and untenable. In fact, religious consciousness is bound to be polytheistic in the beginning, and India was no exception to this general rule. Fear, awe, wonderment, and a sense of man's helplessness and dependence have, indeed, always been a powerful incentive to the origin of religion. And the Rig-veda abounds in passages which fully substantiate the truth of this statement. Here are some Riks which will speak for themselves :—

"श्रुधि हवम् इन्द्र मारिषान्यः स्याम ते दावने वसूनाम्।"

Śrūdhi havam Indra māriṣānyaḥ syāma te dāvane vasūnām.

"O Indra, hear my invocation. Do not destroy us. We are worthy of thy gifts."

2. "मा नः अग्ने अमतये मा अवीरतायै रीरधः"

Mā naḥ Agne amataye mā avīratāyai rīradaḥ.—III, 16, 5.

"(O Agni) do not make us over to our enemies, nor leave us without sons."

3. "मा नः वधीः रुद्र मा परादाः"

Mā naḥ vadhīḥ Rudra mā parādāḥ.—VII, 46, 4.

"O Rudra, do not destroy us, do not forsake us."

4. "मा नः दमे वा वने जुहुथाः"

Mā naḥ dame vā vane juhuthāḥ.—VII, 1, 19.

"O Agni, do not envy us while at home or in the forest."

5. "मा नः तोके तनये मा नः आयौ मा नो गोषु मा नः अश्वेषु रीरिषः।
वीरान् मा नो रुद्र भामितो वधीः हविष्मन्तः सदमित् त्वा हवामहे॥"

Mā naḥ toke tanaye mā naḥ ayau mā no goṣu mā naḥ aśveṣu rīriṣaḥ :

Vīrān mā no Rudra bhāmitoḥ vadhīḥ haviṣmantaḥ sadamit tvā havāmahe.—I, 114, 8.

"O Rudra, do not envy our sons, our grandsons, our relations, our cows and our horses. Do not kill our heroes, when enraged. We shall always invoke thee equipped with sacrificial offerings."

But as the early Indo-Aryans advanced in knowledge and spiritual vision, they gradually learned to transcend their old beliefs, and to look upon the objects of Nature and the elemental powers as mere expressions of One Ultimate Reality. But there was an intermediate stage between

Polytheism and Theism. And Prof. Max Müller has named this particular phase of thought as Henotheism. In this stage the various deities came, by turn, to be conceived and worshipped as the Highest. But this stage only formed a passing phenomenon in the evolution of God-consciousness, and was soon followed by a higher phase of thought. In what follows, we shall briefly consider these various phases of God-consciousness one after another.

Polytheistic Stage.

In the Polytheistic stage of God-consciousness, bright and conspicuous objects of nature and elemental powers were, as already noticed, represented as gods and goddesses, and worshipped as such. The following Riks will clearly show that the gods and goddesses whom the early Aryans invoked for protection and blessings, in the early stage of their God-consciousness were really none but powers and objects of Nature personified and worshipped as deities.

1. Here are some Riks referring to Uṣā :—

(*i*) "रुशद्वत्सा रुशती श्वेत्या आ अगात्."

Ruśadvatsā ruśatī śvetyā ā agāt.—I, 113, 2.

"The bright and white-complexioned Usā, the mother of the Sun, is come."

(*ii*) "एषा दिवो दुहिता प्रत्यदर्शि व्युच्छन्ती युवतिः शुक्रवासाः."

Eṣā Divo duhitā pratyadarśi vyucchantī yuvatiḥ śukra-vāsāḥ.—I, 113, 7.

"The ever-youthful white-clothed Uṣā, the daughter of the Sky, is becoming visible, scattering all darkness."

(*iii*) "एषा दिवो दुहिता प्रत्यदर्शि ज्योतिर्वसाना पुरस्तात्."

Eṣā Divo duhitā pratyadarśi jyotirvasānā purastāt.—I, 124, 3.

"Uṣā the daugher of the Sky, is becoming visible in the east, covered with light."

(*iv*) "उपो अदर्शि अश्मसत् न ससतो वोधयन्ती."

Upo adarśi admasat na sasato vodhayantī.—I, 124, 4.

"Uṣā, rousing all inmates like a mother, becomes visible very near."

(*v*) "दूरे अमित्रम् उच्छ उर्वीं गव्युतिं अभयं कृधि नः।
यावय द्वेषः आभर वसूनि॥"

Dūre amitram uccha urvīṃ gavyutiṃ abhayaṃ kṛdhi naḥ:
Yāvaya dveṣaḥ ābhara vasūni.—VII, 77, 4.

"O Uṣā, shine forth, removing all enemies at a distance, and make our wide pasture-land free from fear, remove our enemies from us, and send us wealth."

It is evident from the foregoing Riks that Usā is nothing but the Dawn personified. The Dawn, it is interesting to note here, has sometimes been described, in the Rig-veda, as the daughter of the Sky, sometimes as the mother of the Sun, and sometimes, again, as noticed elsewhere, as the faithful and devoted wife of the Sun. Under the cover of the darkness of the night, the non-Aryans, as noticed before, often attacked and harassed the Aryan invaders. But on the approach of the Dawn, they fled away, pursued by the Aryans. The Aryans, therefore, naturally eagerly longed for the appearance of the Dawn, and welcomed her as a friend and protector of the Aryans. In the last of the foregoing Riks, the Dawn has actually been invoked as a protector of the Aryans.

2. Here are some Riks referring to Savitā :—

(*i*) "उत्स्यः देवः सविता सवाय शश्वत्तमम् अस्थात्."

Utsyaḥ devaḥ Savitā savāya śaśātvamaṃ asthāt.—II, 38, 1.

"He, the bright Savitā, rises every day for the regeneration of the world."

(*ii*) "विश्वदर्शतो ज्योतिष्कृत् असि सूर्य."

Viśvadarśato jyotiṣkṛt asi Sūrja.—I, 80, 4.

"O Savitā, thou art the revealer of the world, and the maker of the light."

(*iii*) "अनुव्रतं सवितुः मोकी आ अगात्."

Anuvratam Savituḥ mokī ā agāt.—II, 38, 3.

"The night comes when the work of Savitā is over."

(*iv*) "जगतः स्थातुः उभयस्य यो वशी। सः नो देवः सविता शर्म यच्छतु ॥"

Jagataḥ sthātuḥ ubhayasya yo vaśī : Saḥ no devaḥ Savitā śarmma yacchatu.—IV, 53, 6.

"May the bright Sun, the regulator of both the animate and the inanimate, grant us hapiness."

It is evident from above that Savitā is none but the Sun personified. In the infancy of humanity the daily appearance of the Sun out of the darkness of the night was a mystery of mysteries. Besides, the Sun not only gave the Aryans light and heat and the rains, but also by its appearance in the Dawn saved them from the nightly depredations of the enemies, and enabled the Aryans to fight their enemies with advantage. Naturally, therefore, the eafly Indo-Aryans looked upon the Sun as one of their most benevolent friends and worshipped him as a god.

Savitā was the greatest of the celestial gods; and it is not difficult to see what had made him so.

3. Here are some Riks referring to Agni, which will also speak for themselves:—

(*i*) "त्वेषः ते धूमः क्रन्वन्ति दिवि सन् शुक्रः आततः।"

Tveṣaḥ te dhūmaḥ kṛnvanti divi san śukraḥ ātataḥ.—VI, 2, 6.

"O Agni, when lighted, thy white smoke spreads in the sky, and it transforms into clouds."

(*ii*) "वि द्वेषांसि इनुहि वर्धय इलां मदेम शतहिमाः सुवीराः।"

Vi dveṣāṃsi inuhi vardhaya ilāṃ madema śatahimāḥ suvīrāḥ.—VI, 10, 7.

"O Agni, scatter the enemies, and increase our food. May we enjoy hundred Hemantas with excellent sons and grandsons."

(*iii*) "कृणुष्व पाजः प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीं याहि राजेव अमवान् इभेन।
अस्ता असि विध्य रक्षसः तपिष्टैः॥"

Kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ prasitiṃ na pṛthvīṃ yāhi rājeva amavān ibhena:
Astā asi vidhya Rakṣasaḥ tapiṣṭaih.—IV, 4, 1.

"Thou art, O Agni, the destroyer of the enemies. Spread the rays, like a net, on the earth, and attack the Rākṣasaḥ, with thy fiercest heat, as a king, surrounded by his ministers, seated on elephant, attacks his foes."

(*iv*) "त्वम् उ त्वा बृहद्गतमं यो दस्यून् अवधूनुषे।
द्युम्नैः अभि प्र नोनुमः॥"

Tam u tvā Bṛtrahantamaṃ yo dasyun avadhūnuṣe:
Dyumnaiḥ abhi pra nonumaḥ.—I, 78, 4.

" O Agni, thou, the greatest killer of the enemies, removest the Dasyus from their places. We adore thee repeatedly with bright hymns."

It is evident from above that Agni was none but Fire personified. In those early times, fire was kindled, as already noticed, by rubbing two pieces of twigs against each other. And that is why Agni has been represented in the R. V. as " living in the wood " (VI, 2, 8). For the same reason Agni has also been described in the Rig-veda as " born of two sacrificial twigs," "जज्ञानः " (Jajñānaḥ), I, 12, 3, and as " born of two mothers, " "द्विजन्मा" (Dvijanmā), I, 140, 2, and also I, 31, 2. Agni was, as we have seen, of the greatest use to the early Indo-Aryans in subduing their enemies. When other resources failed, they set fire to the forests that gave shelter to their enemies, and killed them by thousands. And that is why Agni has frequently been described as the greatest killer of the enemies. It was accordingly, quite natural for the early Indo-Aryans to look upon Agni with superstitious awe and reverence, and to worship him as a god. Agni was one of the foremost gods of the early Aryans, and the greatest of the mundane gods. And it was quite in the fitness of things that fire came to occupy such an eminence among the deities of the Vedic age. In R. V. I, 66, 1-4, Agni has been described as " the revealer of all things like the sun, the saviour of life like the life-sustaining winds, and a benefactor like the son," and as strong as an army despatched in war, "सूरो न सन्दृक् आयुर्ण प्राणो नित्यो न सूनुः सेना इव सृष्टाः।" (Suro na sandṛk āyurṇa prāṇo nityo na sūnuḥ senaḥ iva sṛṣṭāḥ. It appears from the Rig-veda that Atharva, Dadhīci, Angirā, Uṣij, Manu and Vena originally introduced and popularised the cult of Fire-worship among the early Aryans.

4. Again here are some Riks referring to Indra :—

(*i*) "यः अजानः अजः अग्निं जजान सः जनासः इन्द्रः।"

Yaḥ asmanaḥ antaḥ Agniṃ jajāna saḥ janāsaḥ Indraḥ.—II, 12, 3.

" O men, he, who kindles fire behind the clouds, is Indra."

(*ii*) "अद्रिवः" (Adrivaḥ).—I, 133, 6.

" (Indra), the possessor of the clouds. "

(*iii*) "तस्य वज्रः क्रन्दति स्मत् स्वर्ष ।"

Tasya vajraḥkrandati smat svarṣa.—I, 100, 13.

" He (Indra) is the giver of good rains. His thunder always roars. "

(*iv*) "यः अपां नेता सः जनासः इन्द्रः"

Yaḥ apāṃ netā saḥ janāsaḥ Indraḥ.—II, 12, 7.

" O men, he, who sends down the rains, is Indra."

(*v*) "उत् त्वा मंदन्तु स्तोमः कृणुष्व राधः अद्रिवः ।
अव ब्रह्मद्विषो जहि ॥"

Ut tvā maṃdantu stomaḥ kṛnuṣva rādhaḥ adrivaḥ :
Ava Brahmadviṣo jahi.—VIII, 64, 1.

" O Indra, may these hymns excite thee well O Wielder of the Thunder, give us riches, and kill the enemies of the hymns. "

It is evident from above that Indra was the Rain-god of the early Aryans. In the Rig-veda Indra has been described as the sender of the rains, the wielder of the thunder, and as ruling over the clouds. Regarded as the sender of the rains, Indra naturally came to occupy a very high position among the Vedic gods. Indra has also been represented in the Rig-veda as the " killer of Vṛtra," and as ' the greatest killer of the enemies.' The Vṛtras (often used in the singular number) were the supposed aerial demons who

obstructed fertilising rain-waters and brought about droughts. The rain-bearing clouds are, at times, found to move about in the sky, reluctant to send down the fertilising rains, as it were. Now, it was Indra, who, on such occasions, waged war against the rain-obstructing demons, the Vṛtras, smote them with his thunder into pieces, like the limbs of a cow and let loose the heavenly waters to flow downwards, "गौर्णपर्व विरद अपां चरध्यै" (Gaurṇaparva virada apāṃ caradhyai) as the Rig-veda tells us. Indra, in his wars against the Vṛtras, had often the Maruts, the Storm-gods, as his associates. It is not difficult to see what led the early Aryans to look upon the dark and floating rain-bearing clouds as demons. These are, as has already been said, often found floating in the sky, reluctant to send down the rains, which the Aryans very badly needed for cultivation. They were besides dark and, from their movements, looked like living beings. Thus from the similarity of complexion and functions, they were naturally represented as the enemies of the Aryans, and therefore, as demons. The rain-obstructing aerial demons have been described, in the Rig-veda, by various other names as well, such as Ahi, Suṣma, Parvata and Sambara. Indra, as the deliverer of the rains, occupied a very high position among the Vedic gods, and was regarded as the patron god of the Indian Aryans, and had the largest number of hymns dedicated to him. In the earlier books of the Rig-veda Varuṇa has been more frequently mentioned than in the later books. This has led Dr. Roth to maintain that Varuṇa, the supposed common Aryan god, was subsequently superseded by Indra in India. Prof. Roth's statement does not, however, appear reasonable. Prof. Benfey, in opposition to Roth, has maintained that Indra was "the successor of Dyaus." There is, it appears, much truth in this statement. It is also interesting to note in this connection that in many of the hymns composed in honour of Indra, the authors of the hymns are often seen engaged in explaining to the people as to who

Indra was and what his functions and feats were. This is something rather very strange and lends a support to Benfey's view that Indra was the embodiment of a new conception, hitherto more or less unknown to the people. The expression, "स: जनास: इन्द्र:" (O men, he is Indra), occurs repeatedly in a large number of hymns composed in honour of Indra, and this is quite significant. Roth's view, referred to above, rests on the supposition that the hymns composed in honour of Varuṇa were amongst the oldest of the Rig-vedic hymns. But this hypothesis is, as we shall see hereafter, entirely untenable.

Here are some Riks referring to Vāyu :—

1. "वातस्यनु महिमानं रथस्य रुजन् एति स्तनयन् अस्य घोष:।
दिविस्पृक् याति अरुणानि कृण्वन् उतो एति पृथिव्या रेणुम् अस्यन्॥"

" I shall describe the glory of the wind which moves with the speed of a chariot. Its roar comes making various kinds of noise. It breaks the trees, and goes touching the sky, and reddening all directions, and scattering the dusts of the earth."—X, 168, 1.

2. "प्रवेपयन्ति पर्व्वतान् विविञ्चन्ति वनस्पतीन् मरुत:।"

Pravepayanti parvatān vivincanti vanaspatīn Marutaḥ.—I, 39, 5.

" The Maruts are shaking the mountains tremendously, and are scattering the trees."

3. "आत्मा देवानां भुवनस्य गर्भो यथावशं चरति देव: एष:।
घोषा इदस्य शृण्विरे न रूपं तस्मै वाताय हविषा विधेम॥"

Atmā devānāṃ bhuvanasya garvo yathāvaśaṃ carati devaḥ eṣaḥ :

Ghoṣā idasya śṛṇvire na rupaṃ tasmai vātāya haviṣā vidhema.—X, 168, 4.

"This Vāyu is the soul of the gods and is the soul of the world, and moves at pleasure. When it comes, its sound alone is heard, but its figure is not seen. We shall worship him with sacrificial offerings."

It is quite clear from above that Vāyu was none but the wind personified. When it comes, its roar alone is heard, but its figure is not seen ; and it scatters the trees and shakes the mountains. It is, moreover, the soul of the world. Naturally, therefore, the early Indo-Aryans looked upon it with superstitious awe and veneration, and worshipped it as a god. Among the Vedic gods, however, Vāyu does not occupy an important position. In the Rig-veda, a distinction has been made between winds and storm-gods; and storm-gods have been worshipped under the name of Maruts. But they have often been similarly described. In the concluding part of the last-mentioned Rik, there are, it is interesting to note incidentally, unmistakable traces of its human origin, as also in all the preceding Rik.

6. The following Riks refer to Varuṇa :—

1. "राजा वरुणः चक्रे एतं दिवि प्रेंखं हिरण्मयम् ।"

Rājā Varuṇaḥ cakre etaṃ divi preṃkhaṃ hiraṇmayam.—VII, 87, 5.

"The adorable Varuṇa has created the Sun and placed it on the sky (to swing) like a golden pendulum."

2. In R. V., VIII, 31, 3, we are told—

"Varuṇa supports the entire Universe."

3. "रजसो विमानः सतोऽस्य राजा ।"

Rajaso vimānaḥ sato asya rājā.—VII, 87, 6.

"Varuṇa is the maker of water and is the king of all existence."

4. In R. V., VIII, 41, 7 and 3 we are told—

"Varuṇa pervades all the directions and supports the entire Universe."

5. In R. V., V, 85, 2, we are further told—

"Varuṇa has given strength in the horses, milk in the cows and resolutions in the hearts of men, fire in the water and placed the Sun in the sky."

6. "दामेव वत्सात् विमुमुग्धि अंहः।"

Dameva vatsat vimumugdhi aṃhaḥ.—II, 28, 6.

"(O Varuṇa), remove from me the fetters of sins as the milkman removes the rope from the calf."

In the Rig-veda, the all-embracing sky was originally conceived and worshipped under the name of Varuṇa. The blue vault of heaven overhead, covered, as it were, all things of the earth, and gave them protection. The Sun, the Moon and all other celestial bodies are placed in the sky; and all things and beings existed under the very gaze, and within the all-encompassing embrace, of the sky, as it were. It was, therefore, quite natural for the early Aryans to conceive and represent Varuṇa, the all-encompassing Sky (from *vṛ*, to cover), as the Lord and Creator of the Universe, and as the protector of all things. But subsequently a change came over the minds of the Aryans, and Varuṇa came to be worshipped as the god of water. The sky closely resembles the sea in colour; and the sea also appears to be without limits like the sky. These affinities between the sky and the sea probably slowly brought about the aforesaid change in the significance of the term Varuṇa.

It is needless to multiply instances. It is quite clear, from what has already been said, that the early Aryans conceived and represented bright and conspicuous objects of Nature and elemental Powers as gods and goddesses, and

worshipped them as such; gradually, however, as they advanced in knowledge, a great change came over their minds, and they learned to look upon every deity as an expression or embodiment of one universal principle, seeking to manifest itself in a world of plurality.

The number of Rig-vedic gods.

In several Riks the gods have been represented as thirty-three in number. In R. V., 34, 11, for instance, we are told :—

"आ नासत्या त्रिभिः एकादशैः इह देवेभिः यातम् ।"

"Ā Nāsatyā tribhiḥ ekādaśaiḥ iha devebhiḥ yātam.

"O Aśvins, come hither together with the thrice eleven gods."

In R. V., VIII, 28, 1, Agni has likewise been invoked to come with the "three and thirty gods," "त्रयः त्रिंशमावह," (Trayaḥ triṃsaṃāvaha). In R. V., I, 45, 2, we also meet with a similar reference. There are several other passages as well in the Rig-veda where the gods have been represented as thirty-three in number. But it is very difficult to take these statements seriously. The number of the deities mentioned in the Rig-veda, all told, far exceed this number. Again, in R.V., III, 9, 9, the Rig-veda itself describes the deities to be 3,339 in number, "त्रीनि शता त्री सहस्रानि त्रिंशत् च देवाः नव च" (Trīni śatā trī sahasrāni triṃśat ca devāḥ nava ca). Yāska has, however, represented the Vedic deities to be three in number, or better as belonging to three distinct types. "There are three deities," says Yāska, "according to the expounders of the Veda (Nāiruktāḥ), *viz.*, Agni, whose place is on the earth, Vāyu or Indra whose place is in the air, and Sūrjya (the Sun) whose place is in the sky. These deities receive severally many appellations, in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions.....or these gods may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations are distinct." (Nir. VII. 5.) Yāska

has, in the latter part of his work classified the deities into three classes or orders, terrestrial, intermediate or aerial, and celestial, each group having one as the foremost in the group. In Taittirīya Saṃhitā, we meet with a similar classification of the deities into the aforesaid three groups, each group consisting of eleven members. But though the total number of the Vedic deities are generally believed to be thirty-three in number, opinions differ as to the exact number of the deities in each group as well as their identity. According to Tait. Sam. (I, 4, 10, 1), as noticed above, each group consists of 11 deities. The Satap. Brah., however, holds thus: 8 Basus, 11 Rudras, 12 Ādityas, with the Sky and the Earth, make up 33 deities. We have already considered the general characteristics of some of the most prominent of the Vedic deities. And we shall now pass on to the consideration of some of the most prominent among the rest.

Some Other Vedic Gods.

Among the Vedic gods, Dyaus and Pṛthivi (Heaven and Earth) occupy a conspicuous position, and have been represented as "the parents of the gods," "पितरा" (Pitarā, I, 159, 2), or as "पिता च माता च" (Pitā ca mātā ca, I, 160, 2). And why in the Rig-veda Dyaus and Pṛthivī have been so represented it is not very difficult to see.

Aditi also occupies a conspicuous position among the Vedic gods, and has been represented as "the mother of the gods." Though not the subject of any separate hymn, she has been frequently referred to in the Rig-veda, and invoked for blessings as well as for protection and forgiveness. Yāska has represented her as "the mighty mother of the gods," "अदितिः अदीना देवमाता" (Aditiḥ adīnā devamātā). Thinkers are, however, divided in their opinions as to the object of which it is a symbolical representation. Prof. Max Müller

maintains that the word is derived from *dita*, to limit, and that it means the limitless. Aditi is, according to Max Müller, the earliest name for the Infinite, invented by the Aryans, and connotes "the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky," "the visible Infinite," as he calls it. Prof. Roth, however, regards Aditi to denote the eternal element, or the "principle of the celestial light." In R. V., I, 29, 10, Aditi has been represented as "the source and substance of all things celestial and intermediate, divine and human, present and future." Prof. Muir is, however, of opinion that Aditi is, in all probability, a personification of universal, all-embracing Nature or Being. Sāyaṇa also thinks similarly and identifies Aditi with "universal Nature." But Aditi has not retained the same lofty character throughout the Rig-veda. In some of the Riks she has been described as a subordinate goddess and as the daughter of Dakṣa and the mother of the Ādityas. Dakṣa is, however, according to the Śatapatha Brāh. (II, 4, 4, 2,) identical with Prajāpati or the Creator.

The Aśvins have also got a very large number of hymns offered to them. But the Vedic scholars, even from the time of Yāska, are divided in their opinions as to the identity of the objects signified by them. Some, as we know on the authority of Yāska himself, "identified them with Heaven and Earth, some with Day and Night, and some again with the Sun and the Moon." The legendary writers, Yāska tells us, "identified them with two virtuous kings." But, according to Yāska himself, they are "the symbolical representation of the twilight of the early dawn," the transition from darkness to light, "when," as we learn, on the authority of Dūrgā, the commentator on Yāska, "the intermingling of both produces that inseparable duality expressed by the twin nature of these deities," and "the becoming light is resisted by darkness." The Aśvins are thus the personification of "the mysterious phenomenon of the intermingling of darkness, which is

no longer the complete night, and of light, which is not yet dawn"—as Prof. Muir puts it. In the Rig-veda the Aśvins are represented as the parents of Pūṣā, the rising Sun, and as the husbands or the friends of Sūryā, whom Sāyaṇa has identified with the Dawn. They are also represented as the twin sons of Vivasvat and Saraṇyu, which, according to Prof. Muir, imply "the firmament expanding to the sight through the approaching light," and "the moving air, or the dark and cool air, heated, and therefore set in motion, by the approach of the rising Sun," respectively. And these characteristics fully correspond to the phenomenon just mentioned. The Aśvins are represented in the Rig-veda, as the divine physicians and as the friends of the blind, the lame, the emaciated, and the sick. The early dawn has a bracing effect on the health. And this may explain why the Aśvins have been so represented in the Rig-veda.

Pūṣā is another mysterious Vedic god. Everything considered, Pūṣā appears to be a symbolical representation of the rising Sun. We have fully discussed the nature of Pūṣā before. And we must refer our readers to what has been stated there about the nature of Pūṣā.

Rudra is another important Vedic god. But who is Rudra? The word Rudra is, according to Sāyaṇa, applied to Fire. Yāska also had identified Rudra with Agni. But though the word has often been used in the Rig-veda in the sense of fire, yet in several Riks the Maruts have been described as the sons of Rudra. In R. V., I, 114, 9, Rudra has been characterised as "the father of the Maruts." "पिता मरुताम्" (Pitā Marutām). Again, in R. V., I, 39, 4, the word "रुद्रासः," Rudrāsaḥ, has been used; and Sāyaṇa has taken it to mean the Maruts, "the sons of Rudra," "रुद्रपुत्राः," Rudra-putrāḥ. Now, if both these notions are combined together, Rudra may be taken to mean the Fire that gives rise to the storms, *i.e.*, the thunder which is a necessary accompaniment of the storms. And this meaning of the word is further

supported by the meaning of the root *rud*, to roar, from which the word Rudra appears to have been derived. Very likely, therefore, the early Aryans identified Rudra with the Thunder, *i.e.*, the roaring Fire, and worshipped him as such. In the Rig-veda the conception of Rudra has always been associated with terror. And the following Riks will speak for themselves :

1. "मा नः गोषु मा नः अश्वेषु रीरिषः ।
वीरान् मा नो रुद्र भामितः वधीः हविष्मन्तः सदम् इत् त्वा हवामहे ॥"

Mā naḥ goṣu mā naḥ aśveṣu rīriṣaḥ :

Vīrān mā no Rudra, bhāmitaḥ vadhīḥ haviṣmantaḥ sadam it tvā havāmahe.—I, 114, 8.

" O Rudra, do not envy our cows and horses, do not kill our heroes, enraged ; we always adore thee equipped with offerings."

2. "मा नः वधीः पितरं मा उत मातरं मा नः प्रियाः तन्वः रुद्र रीरिषः ।"
1. 114.7

Mā naḥ vadhīḥ pitaraṃ mā uta mātaraṃ mā naḥ priyāḥ tanvaḥ Rudra rīriṣaḥ.

" O Rudra, do not kill our father, and do not kill our mother, do not strike on our dear selves."

Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati is another important Vedic god. But he is " one of the divine beings," as observes Prof. Muir after Roth and others, " who does not stand immediately within the circle of physical life, but from the transition from it to the moral life of the human spirit." He is " an impersonification of the power of devotion,—of " the victorious power of prayer." Naturally, therefore, Bṛhaspati has, in the Rig-veda, often been represented as an ally of Indra in his struggles against the Demon Bṛtra, or Cloud, for the deliverance of the fertilising waters of the sky for the nourishment of the world. In some passages,

Bṛhaspati has alone been represented as having broken through the caverns of Vala, in order to deliver and bring to light the hidden treasures of the fertilising waters, often figuratively described as "cows with abundant milk." In the Rig-veda, Bṛhaspati has often been represented as the monarch and patron of prayers, and as the most renowned of the sages, and, therefore, as interceding with the gods on behalf of men and protecting them against the wicked, and as "the author of the hymns, "साम्नः साम्नः कविः" (Sāmnaḥ sāmnaḥ kaviḥ, 11, 23, 17), "as the creator of the hymns," "जनिता ब्रह्मणाम्" (Janitā brahmaṇām, II, 23, 2), and also as "the Oppressor of the enemies of the hymns," "ब्रह्मद्विषः तपनः," Brahmadviṣaḥ tapanaḥ, 11, 23, 4.

Yama is another important Vedic god. In the Rig-veda Yama has been represented as the ruler of the world to come and as its benign master, and as the Lord and Custodian of the disembodied spirits. In the Rig-veda we meet with very few references to the world to come. And the paucity of such references clearly proves that the conception of the world to come and of heaven and hell, where the souls depart after death had dawned late on the minds of the early Indo-Aryans. There is, however, it is interesting to note, no element of terror associated with the Vedic conception of Yama. He is, on the contrary, represented as the guide and protector of men in the world to come, and as the dispenser of the heavenly blessings. He is, however, represented to have two terrible dogs, each with four eyes and wide nostrils, which guard the road leading to his abode. The early Aryans represented the heaven, as mentioned before, as a place of eternal sunshine and unending bliss "लोका यत्र ज्योतिष्मन्तः," lokāḥ yatra jyotiṣmantaḥ, "यत्र कामाः निकामाः यत्र तृप्तिः," yatra kāmāḥ nikāmāḥ yatra tṛiptiḥ (IX, 112, 9-10), and as a place where fear and death cannot enter. The world to come is also represented to have a place where the souls of the wicked depart after death and is full of darkness. "पदम्

गम्भीरम्," padam gambhīram (IV, 5, 5). Yama is represented as the son of Vivasvān; and it appears that Yama originally meant the sun.

It is evident from above that the Vedic conception of the world to come consisted of a domain having regions bright as well as dark, set apart for men differing in their merits and demerits, and that the bright regions were intended for the residence of the good after their death, and that the dark ones for the wicked.

Some of the Vedic deities are, as we have already seen, personifications of tangible ob jects. Among these gods Soma occupies a conspicuous place, and the hymns of the entire 9th Mandal have been offered to Soma. Soma is the Indian Bacchus or Dionysius, as R. C. Dutt puts it. It is difficult to say under what circumstances the intoxicating drink Soma came to acquire such eminence among the Vedic gods. Prof. Whitney (*vide* Journal of the American Oriental Society, III, 299), thinks that as soon as the simple-minded early Aryans perceived that " this liquid had power to elevate the the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers,...they found in it something divine ; it was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it enters with god-like powers." This explanation and analysis of the process of the deification of Soma appears to be quite reasonable.

The Rig-veda, as already noticed, is not exclusively scriptural in character. Many of the hymns are entirely secular in their nature, and have absolutely no religious significance. The hymns on Maṇḍūkāḥ, " the Frogs," Akṣaḥ " the Dice," Araṇyānī, " the Forests," and the like belong to this class. There are also hymns in the Rig-veda which deal with such topics as Unity, "संज्ञानम्" Saṃjñānam, "the Coronation Ceremony," "राज्ञः स्तुतिः," Rajñaḥ stutiḥ, " the suppression of Co-wives," सपत्नीवाधनम्, "Sapatnīvādhanaṁ," " the Preservation of

the Fœtus," Garbharakṣaṇam, and the like, technically called deities. These hymns also are without any religious significance. It is, therefore, a mistake to regard the Rig-veda as a scripture in the strict and proper sense of the term. It is, rightly understood, the repository of all poems composed by early Indo-Aryans in the Rig-vedic age, and found in the field at the time of their constitution.

Before we pass on to the consideration of Henotheism, we must briefly discuss one point more. According to Prof. Hopkins the hymns offered to Varuṇa and Uṣā are older than the rest of the Vedic hymns. Prof. Roth, Max-Müller and several other European Vedic scholars as well, regard Varuṇa as one of the oldest gods of the Aryan world. But be it what it may, the position that the hymns addressed to Varuṇa are among the oldest of the Rigvedic hymns, is open to a very serious objection. The words Varuṇa and Uranus are no doubt of kindred origin, and have similar characteristics assigned to them. There may also exist some affinities between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda of the Persian, though Prof. Spiegal, an eminent Zend scholar, has denied it. But still it does not necessarily follow that the same deity, signified by these various names, was worshipped by the ancestors of the Indians, the Greeks and the Persians, before their separation, in their undivided home. In the Rig-veda, Varuṇa is represented as "the great upholder of the physical and moral order." Varuṇa, we are told, supports the entire universe (VIII, 41, 3), pervades all the directions (VIII, 41, 7), and is the king and ruler of all the worlds (VIII, 42, 1). He has assigned to the wide heaven and earth their appointed places (VII, 86, 1), and has created the sun and placed it on the sky (VII, 87, 5). He is the maker of water and is the king of all existents (VII, 87, 6). He has given strength in the horses, milk in the cows, and resolution in the hearts of men (V, 85, 2). He absolves men from their sins (VII, 86, 5), and is the preserver

of all sacred resolutions. None can go against the wisdom of the wise Varuṇa, and he is the guide of the universe (II, 28, 3). Varuṇa shows mercy even to the wrong-doer (VII, 87, 7). Now sublime and abstract conceptions like these could have evidently been at all possible only at a comparatively later stage in the gradual evolution of God-consciousness among the early Aryans. In fact, the conception of the universe as a system, with a moral order underlying it, could not have dawned upon the minds of men so early as the Vedic scholars named above imagine. And this great psychological difficulty makes the position of the aforesaid scholars entirely untenable. The theory that Varuṇa is one of the oldest gods of the Aryan world had its origin from the recognition of linguistic similarity, as we have seen, between the Sanskrit Varuṇa, the Greek Uranus and the Iranian Ahura Mazda. But these philological affinities do not prove much. They simply prove that in remote past the ancestors of these peoples spoke a common tongue, or kindred tongues, and that they must have lived in close contact, as Dr. Barnett aptly observes. The words referred to above are all derived from kindred roots, meaning to cover ; and they were, therefore, naturally applied to denote one identical phenomenon in Nature, *viz.*, the all-embracing Sky above, conceived as the Coverer and Protector of all things and beings ; and that is all. But the very fact that the conception, like that of Varuṇa, regarded as the Great Upholder of the physical and moral order, must have taken a very long time fully to unfold itself, makes it extremely difficult to believe that such a lofty conception dawned on the minds of the remote ancestors of the Aryans in their united home. And this consideration also makes it equally difficult to treat the hymns addressed to Varuṇa as among the oldest of the Vedic hymns. Here philological affinities seem to be altogether helpless before the psychological difficulty referred to above. Again, as noticed before, some of the hymns containing references to Varuṇa were

composed by Vasiṣṭa on the banks of the Sarasvatī. These were evidently some of the latest hymns of the Rigvedic age.

Henotheism.

In the earliest stage of God-consciousness, the early Aryans, as we have seen, personified bright and conspicuous objects of nature and elemental powers, and worshipped them as gods and goddesses. But gradually a change came over their minds, and they learnt to look upon each of the important deities, as an expression or embodiment, as it were, of the Highest. In this stage different deities came, by turns, to be conceived and worshipped as the Highest. In R. V., VII, 7, 3, Uṣā, for instance, is described as Indratamā, " the chief of the gods." In R. V., VII, 77, 3, she is again described as " the eye of the Devas," Devānām cakṣuḥ. In R. V., II, 1, 1-11, Agni has again been described as Indra, again as Viṣṇu, again as Brahma, again as Varuṇa, again as Rudra and again as Savitā. In R. V., II, 23, 1, Bṛhaspati has similarly been described as " the Greatest of the gods," Gaṇānāṃ ganapatiḥ, and in R. V., II, 24, 16, as Yantā, " the author and regulator of the universe." Similarly, in R. V., VII, 34, 11, Varuṇa has been described as " the Lord of the Lords," Rājā rāṣṭrāṇām, and again in R. V., II, 27, 10, as " the Lord of all," Viśveṣāṃ rājā. In R. V., II, 33, 3, Rudra has similarly been described as the Tavastamaḥ tavasām, the " strongest of the strong," and as " the highest of all created beings," Śreṣṭhaḥ jātasya. In R. V., IV, 53, 6, Savitā has, likewise, been described as " the Lord and Regulator of all things and beings, animate and inanimate," Jagataḥ sathātuḥ ubhayasya vaśī. Again in R. V., IX, 86, 11, Soma, as already noticed, has been characterised as " the Lord of the Heaven," Patirdivaḥ, and in Rik 10 of the same Sūkta as " the Creator and the Father of the gods," Pitā venānāṃ janitā, and in Rik 5 of the same Sūkta as " the Lord of the universe," Patiḥ viśvasya

bhuvanasya. Again in R. V., II, 12, 7, Indra has been characterised as "the Creator of the Sun and the Dawn," Yaḥ sūrjaṃ yaḥ uṣasaṃ jajāna.

It is evident from above that when the early Aryans made some progress in knowledge they learned to look upon their gods and goddesses as each a manifestation of the Highest Being. But even in this stage it was an object of nature or an elemental power which came to be identified with the Highest.

Scepticism.

But very soon another great change came upon the early Aryans, and doubts arose in their minds as to the reality and genuineness of the gods themselves. In this stage, they began seriously to question even the very existence of the gods and goddesses whom they had so long worshipped with awe and veneration, nay, even denied them. In R. V., VIII, 100, 3, Ṛṣi Nema is, for instance, found to deny the very existence of Indra. "There is no Indra; who ever saw him and whom shall we adore?" "No Indra astīti, kaḥ iṃ dadarsa kamabhiṣtavāma?" exclaims he in despair. Again in R. V., X, 88, 18, another Ṛṣi expresses his doubts about the number and indirectly also about the existence of Agni, the Sun and the Dawn as well as the water-goddesses. In R. V., VI, 18, 3, we are told, "O Indra, thou hast subdued the Dasyus. Thou alone hast given the Aryans sons and the slaves. *But O Indra, dost thou really possess that prowess?* The expression, "अस्ति स्मित् नु वीर्य्यं तत् ते इन्द्र?" (Asti smit nu vīrjyaṃ tat te Indra), "Dost thou really possess that prowess, O Indra?" is highly significant. In R. V., VIII, 21, 17, another Ṛṣi similarly asks, "Has Indra given me this wealth? Has the wealthy Sarasvatī given it? Or O Citra, thou hast given me (this wealth)?" But these doubts and uncertainties gradually paved the way for the dawn of a deeper and higher conception of God-consciousness.

Monotheism.

The doubts and the uncertainties referred to above, completely unsettled the minds of the Ṛṣis for the time being; and they found themselves plunged headlong into an abyss of darkness, as it were. But the clouds passed away, and gradually the sun shone forth brightly over their heads, and a deeper conception dawned upon the minds of the Ṛṣis. They now came to see clearly that there was only One Ultimate Reality, one Author and Ruler of the universe. But it took some time for this new vision fully to unfold itself. The old doubts reappeared from time to time, in new forms, and robbed the Ṛṣis of all peace of mind. They, however, now, for the first time, began seriously to investigate into the nature and character of the First and the Ultimate Cause of the universe. The following Riks, as an expression of this phase of God-consciousness, will be found highly interesting :—

1. "किं स्वित् वनं कः उ सः वृक्षः आस यतो द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः ।"

Kiṃ svit vanaṃ kaḥ u saḥ vṛkṣaḥ āsa yato dyāvāpṛthivī niṣṭatakṣuḥ.—X, 81,4.

"What is that Forest, what is that Tree, from which the heaven and the earth have been made?"

2. "को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानं अस्थन्वन्तं यत् अनस्था बिभर्ति ।
भूम्याः असुं असृक् आत्मा क्वस्वित् कः विद्वांसम् उपगात् प्रष्टुमेतत् ॥"

Ko dadarśa prathamaṃ jāyamānaṃ asthanvantaṃ yat anasthā bibharti :

Bhūmyāḥ asuṃ asṛk ātmā kvasvit kaḥ vidvāṃsam upagāt praṣṭumetat).—I, 164,8.

"Who saw the First-born, when the boneless (first) gave rise to those having bones? The life is from the earth;

but whence is the soul? Who goes to the learned to ask this?"

3. "न तं विदाथ यः इमा जजान अन्यत् युष्माकम् अन्तरं बभूव।
नीहारेण प्रावृता जल्प्या च असुतृपः उक्थशासश्चरन्ति॥"

Na taṃ vidātha yaḥ imā jajāna anyat yuṣmākam antaraṃ vabhūva:

Nihāreṇa prāvṛtā jalpyā ca asutṛpaḥ ukthaśāsaścaranti).—X, 82, 7.

"You cannot comprehend Him, who has created all these. Your mind is incompetent to know him. Being shrouded in ignorance and being fond of worldly pleasures, you only make fanciful guesses, content with uttering hymns in sacrifices."

4. "इयं विसृष्टिः यतः आबभूव यदि वा दधे यदि वा न।
यः अस्य अध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन् सः अंग वेद यदि वा न वेद॥"

Iyaṃ visṛṣṭiḥ yataḥ āvabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na: Yaḥ asya adhyakṣaḥ parame byoman saḥ aṁga veda jadi vā na veda.—X, 129, 7.

"Whence is this creation? Has any one created it or not? This is known to Him alone who exists in the high place as its Lord. He perhaps knows it or even he may not know it."

Such queries and searchings gradually threw open the gates of a new world to the minds of the Ṛṣis, and they now exclaimed from the very bottom of their hearts:—

"यः नः पिता जनिता यः विधाता धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा।
यः देवानां नामधा एकः एव तं संप्रश्नं भुवना यन्ति अन्या॥"

Yaḥ naḥ pitā janitā yaḥ vidhātā dhāmāni veda bhuvanāni viśvā:

Ṛaḥ devānāṃ nāmadhāḥ ekaḥ eva taṃ saṁpraśnaṃ bhuvanā yanti anyā).—X, 82, 3.

"He who is our father and Creator, who knows all the places (and things) of the universe. He is One, though bearing the names of many gods. All men ask about Him."

They slowly dived still deeper into the mysteries of the universe, and soon arrived at the conception of one God, without a second, of one ultimate Reality immanent both in the world of matter and the world of mind, and pulsating in the remotest of the stars above, and the tiniest of the atoms below, and welling up, from within, as the very source and foundation of our consciousness, and as the Soul of our souls.

But though the thoughts of the earnest minds continued to flow among this new and deep channel, yet many of the Ṛṣis passed their days as before. These men, as time went on, came to be more and more engrossed in external rites and ceremonials. Great sacrifices, lasting for months, came to be performed by the kings, from time to time, and the Ṛṣis, engaged to officiate as priests in these sacrifices, were lavished with presents and rewards. And the Rig-veda frequently refers to the rewards with which the kings and rich men often vied with one another in honouring the Ṛṣis, presiding over their sacrifices. Hymns were also composed in honour of "Sacrificial Fees," and in R. V., X, 107, 8, we are told that "the offers of sacrificial fees do not die, they do not undergo any humiliation, they do not suffer any pain and sorrows. *The fees procure for them whatever exists on earth and in heaven,*" इदं यद्विश्वं भुवनं खोश्चैतत् सर्वं दक्षिणा एभ्यः ददाति" (Idaṃ yadviśvaṃ bhuvanaṃ khoścaitat sarvaṃ dakṣiṇā ebhyaḥ dadāti). Here also the impress of human authorship of the Riks is quite clear and unmistakable. See also the dialogue between Agastya and Lopāmudrā, R. V., I, 179, 2-4. The expression, धीरमधीरा धयति (Dhiramadhirā dhayati), "let the impatient woman enjoy the patient man" is out and out human in its origin. Thus, there

arose two parallel currents of thoughts. The phase of thought just mentioned gradually paved the way for the more complex rites and sacrifices included in the Brāhmaṇas; and the phase of thought mentioned before became deeper and deeper until it ultimately matured into the highly complex and philosophical Theism (Brahma-jñānam) of the Upaniṣads, which represents the very zenith and apex of the metaphysical speculation of the Hindus.

The Tenth Mandala of the Rig-veda abounds in hymns which clearly mark the dawn of a deep speculative movement among the early Indo-Aryans. And in what follows we propose briefly to examine the nature of some of these hymns.

The celebrated Nāsadīya hymn (R. V., X, 129) represents one of the earliest instances of such attempts at solving the supreme mystery of the universe. The poem tells us of the one which, before the origin of the world, breathed alone without air, with the 'non-being,' the unevolved manifold of experience, latent in it, and of the 'being,' the evolved manifold, as having sprung from it. In the third stanza of the poem, we are told, "the sages searching in the heart by wisdom discovered the root of 'being' in 'non-being.'" The last stanza of the poem runs thus:—

"He from whom this creation arose, whether he made it or did not make it; the highest seer in the highest heaven, he forsooth knows it; or even he does not know."

"The poet himself is not quite clear," says Prof. Max Müller (Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, p. 65), "in his own mind, and he is constantly oscillating between a personal and impersonal or rather super-personal cause from whom the universe emanated. But this step from a sexual to a sexless god, from a mythological *Protos* to a metaphysical *Proton* had evidently been made at that early time, and with it a decisive step from mythology to philosophy had been taken." Prof. Deussen also regards the poem as "the most remarkable

monument of the oldest philosophy" (Outlines of Indian Philosophy, p. 13). The poem is, indeed, the expression of a deep and profound yearning, clothed though it is in somewhat obscure language, as such thoughts are bound to be one first conceived. It is a bold attempt on the part of the poet for comprehending the ultimate source of the cosmic order, the ground "from which, as an eternal, unfathomable and unspeakable unity, all gods, worlds, and creatures" have evolved. But, Prof. Garbe has found in it nothing but "unclear, self-contradictory trains of thought" (Philosophy of Ancient India, p. 1). The indecision expressed in the last stanza of the poem is highly significant. And it is absurd to take the poet to task for it. Is the ultimate ground of the world of plurality an unconscious or sub-conscious principle, or is it a spiritual principle which has consciously evolved the world of plurality from within as materials of its own life?—This is in fact, the question at issue here. And the very fact that such an interrogation could have been so clearly formulated in so remote an age, is itself a great thing, and a clear proof of a distinct advance towards speculative philosophy.

The significance of the hymn, R. V., X, 121.

In R. V., X, 121, we meet with, what may probably be regarded as a still more remarkable expression of the conception of the cosmic unity. The poem speaks of an all-pervading Reality, revealing itself in and through the cosmic forces, and tells us that the snow-capped Himalayas and the seas, with the rivers flowing into them, are but the expressions of his glory, and that all quarters are his arms, and that the sun rises and shines in him, "यत्र सूरः उदितः विभाति" (Yatra sūraḥ uditaḥ vivhāti). The poem ends with the following exclamation :—

"Than thou, O Lord of the Universe, there is none else, who holds in his embrace the whole Universe."

The conception embodied in this poem is indeed very deep and lofty. The sense of the cosmic unity as the expression

of an ultimate spiritual principle has indeed, found here a distinct expression. This poem has, however, been greatly misunderstood. From the expression, "कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम" (Kaśmai devāya havisā vidhema). "To which god shall we offer our sacrificial offerings?" which is the burden of the poem and has been repeated at the end of each stanza. Professors Weber and Max Müller, as well as several other scholars, have treated the poem as an invocation to the 'Great Unknown,' and have accordingly, regarded the concluding couplet, wherein Prajāpati, the Lord of Creation, has been mentioned, as an interpolation (Müller, Six Systems, p. 62). The great commentator Sāyaṇa, following a confused tradition, has, on the other hand, regarded the poem as an invocation to "कः," 'Kaḥ,' used as a synonym for Prajāpati, the Lord of the Creation. Thus the real implication of the poem, and of the query in particular, has, it seems, been completely misunderstood. The poem is not at all an invocation to the Great Unknown, nor is the last couplet an interpolation. The poem is consistent from beginning to end. It is the outcome of a living consciousness, on the part of the poet, of the cosmic unity and of the ultimate Reality, manifested in the world of plurality as Viśvarūpa. In the ecstasy of such realisation, the poet naturally felt the absurdity and vanity of the old forms of worship. There is an ellipsis to be supplied in each stanza, immediately preceding the query. After "In whom the sun rises and shines," etc., for instance, comes the ellipsis in that particular stanza. And the lines, together with the ellipsis supplied, will stand thus:

"In whom the sun rises and shines, etc.
He alone is to be worshipped."

सः एव सर्व्वैः उपासितव्यः नान्यः कोऽपि

Saḥ eva sarvvaiḥ upāsitavyaḥ nānyaḥ kaḥ api.
To which god shall we offer sacrificial offerings?

The answer evidently is—"There is no god to be so worshipped." And the term, Prajāpati,—not in its deistic sense, but in the sense of the Evolver and internal Ruler of the cosmic order—naturally presented itself as the right appellation for the all-sustaining and all-pervading Deity, conceived as the Universal Spirit. That this is the real implication of the query, can also be easily gathered from the expression, "Than thou there is none else," occurring in the last line of the poem but one. And thus understood, we also find a perfect unity and continuity of thought running through the poem. The poem, in fact, represents the dawn of a new vision of the Reality, which is distinctly Vedantic in character. And Prof. Max Müller also seems to be, to some extent, aware of it. The sentiment embodied in the poem is, says he, much deeper than "the Semitic demand for a god above all gods, or for a father of gods and men, as in Greece.... ..The ground for this lies deeper" (*ibid*, p. 56).

Puruṣa-Sūkta and its implications.

The speculative genius of the hymnal period has, however, reached its acme, perhaps, in the celebrated Puruṣa Hymn (R. V., X, 90). It represents the entire cosmic-order, with the multiplicity of things and beings, as the outcome of a process of self-differentiation on the part of the Ultimate Reality. Here are some lines of the poem which will speak for themselves:

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्।
सः भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वा अत्यतिष्ठत् दशाङ्गुलम्॥
पुरुष एव इदं सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यम्।
उत अमृतत्व ईशानः॥

"The embodied Spirit has thousand heads, thousand eyes, thousand feet. He pervades the whole world and *transcends it by a (clear) space of ten fingers.* All that exists, all that has been, and all that shall be, is this Self (Puruṣa). He is the Lord of immortality."

How significant are the words, "All this is the Self: all that is, has been, and is yet to be is He." (Puruṣa eva idam sarvam, yat bhūtam yacca bhavyam.) This hymn also contains a reference to the four-fold division of the Vedas, as well as to the four-fold division of labour. The latter division was originally based on the principle of the division of work according to individual aptitude, capacity and fitness, and it was only later that it has degenerated into the morbid and unhealthy institution of caste. And it is evident, from these references as noticed before, that this hymn is comparatively later in origin. Originally, the Vedas were three in number, and the Atharva-Veda came into existence some centuries later. The presence of a reference to the fourth Veda in the Puruṣa-Sūkta has, therefore, naturally led some scholars to regard it as an interpolation. It is really difficult to avoid the conclusion that, if not the whole of the Puruṣa-Sūkta, at least the portion containing the above references, must be regarded as composition of a much later age. But, apart from these references, the poem may be regarded as really representing the high-water mark of the philosophical speculation of the hymnal age. We shall in this connection refer to one other Rigvedic passage, which has, it seems, escaped the attention of Vedic scholars; and this shall be our last. In R.V., I, 164, 20, we meet with a highly significant, though clumsily expressed, representation of the intimate and organic relation between the individual soul and the universal spirit. They are metaphorically represented as two beautiful birds, devoted to each other, and dwelling together on the same tree, one of them (the individual soul) receiving his nourishment from the other, and the other offering the same with utmost delight, and requiring nothing whatever for his own nourishment. These and similar other reflective and quasi-philosophical poems, scattered here and there in the Rig-veda, formed the quarries wherein we discover the earliest rudiments of the Vedantic speculation in their slow process of crystallisation.