THE BOOK WAS DRENCHED

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_160962

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

JOURNAL

OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS

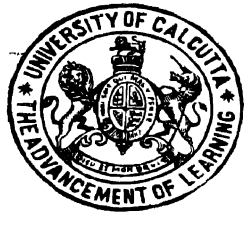
University of Calcutta

Journal

of the

Department of Letters

Vol. VIII



CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1922

PRINTED BY ATULCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA,
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
1.	B. C. 2782 in Ancient Romic Chronology, and the Spheroidal Point of the Sothic Risings by H. Bruce Hannah	1-15
2.	Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age, VI. by H. Bruce Hannah	16-53
3	Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age, VII. by H. Bruce Hannah . . .	54-66
4.	High Caste Hindu Marriage of Bengal with special reference to its Folk Elements by Tarakchandra Das, M.A.	67-84
5.	The Problem of the Sothic-Rising dates as reported by the Priests by H. Bruce Hannah	85-116
6.	The Mahāsanghika School of Buddhism by Nalinaksha Datta, M.A. .	117-129
7.	The Theravāda School of Buddhism by Nalinaksha Datta, M.A. ...	130-140
8.	On the Cult of Sonārāya in Northern Bengal by Saratchandra Mitra, M.A.	141-172
9.	On the Cult of Sonārāya in Eastern Bengal by Saratchandra Mitra, M.A.	173-206
10.	A few Aspects of the Social History of Bengal by Tamonash Das Gupta, M.A.	207-220

		PAGE
11.	Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age, VIII, by H. Bruce Hannah	221-276
12.	The Antiquity of the Rig-Vedic Age by Abinaschandra Das, M.A., Ph.D. ...	277-294
13.	Races of India by Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A. ...	295-312
14.	The Problem of the Sothic-Rising dates as reported by the Egyptian Priests by H. Bruce Hannah	313-326
15.	Manava Sulba Sutram by Narendra-kumar Mazumdar, M.A. ...	327-342
16.	Advaitabad (in Bengali) by Kokileswar Sastri, Vidyaratna, M.A. ...	167-217

B.C. 2782 in Ancient Romic Chronology, and the Spheroidal Point of the Sōthic Risings

BY

H. Bruce Hannah.

How did the Berlin school of Egyptology—*e.g.*, H. Sethe and Eduard Meyer—arrive at this date, regarded as one of the assumed epochs when Calendar Time coincided with Natural Time, *i.e.*, when that rare event took place which I have been calling the Extraordinary Hēliacal Rising of Sirius or Sōthis? It seems that the termination of a Canicular or Sōthic period is mentioned by Censorinus as having occurred in A.D. 139, when the first day of the Egyptian month Thoth coincided with the 20th July, Old Style. Further, this statement has been tested and found correct by Ideler, and also by Oppolzer (*Creation Records*, by George St. Clair, p. 16, and p. 452). Elsewhere St. Clair says: "If then we may trust the statement of Censorinus, ... we are conducted back . . . . to 1322 B.C., which may be the date of the Exodus, or near it; and to 4242 B.C., which was, in the belief of the Samaritans, the date of the creation, and the birthday of the world. 'Creation,' in that case, would not signify the beginning of things, but the beginning of the order of things inaugurated by the adoption

of the year of 365 days. . . . . Creation was the beginning of time, and time began when fixed years began to be recorded. In this sense there may have been more than one creation" (*ibid*, p. 20). Thus it was not on any principle of reasoning that Egyptologists arrived at B.C. 2782 (which comes between B.C. 1322 and B.C. 4242 just mentioned), but merely by relying on the statement of Censorinus, astronomically confirmed as aforesaid—calculating back from his A.D. 139 by stages of 1460 years, the so-called Canicular or Sōthic Cycle. As a matter of fact, too, there is no reason whatever why, in so calculating back, we need stop at B.C. 4242, or indeed anywhere, as long as the 365-degree Year was in vogue.

Now let us look into the nature of this particular line of dates, one of which is B.C. 2782. Has it any legitimate *raison-d'être*?

First, however, let us note that Flinders Petrie's information about Censorinus and his testimony differs slightly from that cited above from *Creation Records*. In his *History of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 250, Petrie says—"Censorinus, writing in 239 A.D., states that the Egyptian New Year's day, 1st of Thoth, fell on the 25th of June; and a hundred years before, in 139 A.D., it fell on the 21st July, 'on which day Sirius regularly rises in Egypt.' Hence the beginning of a Sōthic period of 1460 years, or the New Year's day falling on the 21st of July at the heliacal rising of Sirius, took place in 139 A.D.; likewise in 1322 B.C., in 2784 B.C., and in 4242 B.C., or thereabouts."

Here, B.C. 2784 would appear to be a printer's error. Doubtless B.C. 2782 was intended.

On p. 31 of *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, Breasted explains how he arrives at B.C. 1880 as the date in our reckoning of the Sōthic Rising which is reported to have occurred on the "15th day of the 8th month,"

in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III of the 12th dynasty, and the 120th year of the dynasty. Calculating from the point of the Rising, he gets a shift of 225 days. This, multiplied by 4 (which belongs to the 360-degree Cycle of 1440 years), gives 900 years. 900 from B.C. 2782=B.C. 1882. But inadvertently B.C. 2782 is put at B.C. 2780, and so B.C. 1880 is arrived at.

It is not quite clear where Breasted places the Rising-Point spheroidally—whether at 30 Gemini (30 Mesorē on Fixed Clock), or at 30 Ariēs (30 Paōni on Fixed Clock): but it must be at one or the other. By the former Pharmūthi is the "8th month," which *seems* right. By the latter it is Mekhir, which *seems* wrong. The former represents Solar Time: the latter Calendar Time. Both give a shift of 225 days. My impression is that Breasted has adopted the latter—starting his 225 days with Fixed 1 Epiphi, which point indicates 1201 spheroidal years in connection with the original basic 360-degree Cycle of 1440 years. It is only on that Cycle that 15 Pharmūthi (if we count from the Celestial Summer Solstice), or 15 Mekhir—if we count from 30 Ariēs (30 Paōni)—results spheroidally in 900 years. F. 1 Thoth gives only 896 years.

But Breasted's B.C. 1880 (1882)—or more correctly B.C. 1863$\frac{1}{2}$—is presumably a product of the full 365$\frac{1}{4}$-degree Cycle of 1461 years which, as a year-form, is in actual vogue with us to-day. And yet Egyptologists present it as their result, though they arrive at it on calculations connected with a wholly different kind of Cycle—the 360-degree Cycle!

Pass now to the Rising and Propitious Coincidence reported as having occurred on 9 Epiphi, in the 9th regnal year of Amenhotep I of the 18th dynasty. In this case Egyptologists compute the shift at 308 days, which, multiplied by 4, gives 1232 spheroidal years, and this, deducted

from B.C. 2782, produces B.C. 1550—the conventionally accepted date of the occurrence in terms of modern reckoning. But is this right? If the Rising-Point be taken, as before, at Calendrical Time 30 Paōni (30 Ariēs), or at 30 Mesorē (30 Gemini), Solar Time, we do *not* get 308 days. We get 309 days, which, multiplied by 4, yields 1236 spheroidal years, and this, subtracted from B.C. 2782, leaves B.C. 1546. We can only arrive at 308 days (and hence 1232 years) by assuming that the Rising-Point was at F. 1 Epiphi (1 Taurus), or F. 1 Thoth (1 Cancer), Solar Time—starting our days in the former case with F. 2 Epiphi, and in the latter with F. 2 Thoth. Thus Egyptologists seem inconsistent. They do not work their computations on a constant basis, as regards the Rising-Point. This appears to be the case even if we assume that, like the Romiū, they associate the Rising with 1 Thoth. They put that Rising-Point at *a* for one case, and at *b* for another. Again, here also the multiplier 4 belongs to the 360-degree Cycle of 1440 years. For the 365-degree Cycle it should be $4\frac{1}{18}$, and for the $365\frac{1}{4}$-degree Cycle (in vogue with us) it should be $4\frac{28}{480}$. And yet their result (B.C. 1550) is supposed to be a product of the current $365\frac{1}{4}$-degree Cycle of 1461 years! So, too it is only on the 360-degree Cycle of 1440 years that we can get the spheroidal year 1232, as equating with 9 Epiphi.

There *seems*, therefore, some reason to suspect that B.C. 1550, the generally accepted date for this reported occurrence, has not been legitimately arrived at. It *may*, however, for all that, be quite correct.

The only thing to do is to discover, if possible, some principle of reasoning on which—instead of taking our data on trust from Censorinus or anybody else—to decide for ourselves the line of dates (separated by regular intervals

of 1460 years) on which took place those rare and still mysterious events which I have been calling Extraordinary Hēliacal Risings of Sirius or Sōthis.

What I suggest is that we should base our calculations on Cyclical Time, as revealed in the Sōthic Cycle, not standing by itself, but as organically related to another Cycle which, though it had nothing to do with the Sōthic Cycle, save that it seems to have *contained it*, also consisted of 1460 years—based, not on any position or movement of Sirius, but simply on the fact that it was the Cycle for the Year of 365 days, being the product of 365 multiplied by 4. I propose to call it the Great Phoenix Cycle.

The Sōthic Cycle was the period of 1460 years that stretched between any two Extraordinary Hēliacal Risings of Sirius. What that phenomenon precisely was, nobody yet seems to know. Some people think that Sirius is the primary for our Solar System. Possibly, therefore, the phenomenon under discussion may have marked some very special relations between our Sun and Sirius at some particular stage of our Sun's orbit in its revolution round its primary. Perhaps, in this connection, the Solar Year is one of 1460 of our years in duration. It was a mere happy coincidence, observed by the Romic priests, that this Sirian period and the Cyclic period natural to the adopted 365-degree Year-form both consisted of 1460 terrestrial years.

An Extraordinary Hēliacal Rising of Sirius of this nature thus happened only once in a Cycle of 1460 years. But the cyclic period in the course of which it occurred, was not the Sōthĭc Cycle itself. It was the Cycle which I have just referred to as the Great Phoenix Cycle, and the Rising happened at some point along it which the Romiū were evidently familiar with. All *we* know about it is that that point could only have been the Annual

Rising-Point of Sirius, as shown on the Fixed Spheroid. One aspect of our problem is to ascertain exactly where that point was, spheroidally and zōdiacally. The Romic priests seem to have located it definitely at 1 Cancer, not 30 Gemini; for they clearly associated it with F. 1 Thoth. Are we to do the same? Or must we look somewhere else? Calendrically, *Progressive* 1 Thoth travelled all round the circle, in shifts of 1 day after every 4 years. In other words, a Rising or any Festival occurred calendrically on the same date 4 successive times, and after the 4th time it passed on to the next succeeding date. Here, of course, I am speaking of the original basic 360-degree Year which cyclically produced 1440 years. Needless to say, these Extraordinary Hēliacal Risings had been occurring, cycle after cycle, throughout beginningless Time: but the first of them with which we need concern ourselves was that which took place first after the accession of Mēnēs—though in what year A.M. this last-mentioned event took place it is unnecessary to trouble about for the moment.

Now let us examine the more important Cycles with which the ancient Romiū worked.

Besides the different forms of their Year—360-degrees, 364+1=365-degrees, and $365\frac{1}{4}$-degrees—they had at least 2 distinct kinds of Periodal Cycle, each of 1460 years. One was the Sōthic Cycle, already noticed. The other was the Cycle recorded on the *verso* of the Ebers Medical Papyrus, with which the Sōthic Cycle is said to have coincided in B.C. 1550-1547. George St. Clair calls it the Solar Year (*Creation Records*, p. 15). It seems to be identical with the Cycle that I have already alluded to under the proposed name of the Great Phoenix Cycle. These two Cycles may be tabulated as below. Alongside them I also place in cyclical form a

hypothetical epoch for which R. S. Poole is responsible.

Papyrus or Great Phoenix Cycle	Sōthic Cycle.	Poole's Epoch
B.C. 4470-4467 .		
	B.C. 4242-4239	
3010-3007 ..		B.C. 4177-4174
	2782-2779	
		2717-2714
1550-1547 ...	(1550-1547)	
	1322-1319	
		1257-1254
90-87		
	A.D. 139-142	
		A D 204-207
A.D. 1371-1374		

Poole says that the ancient Egyptians (my Romiū) possessed a series of chronological periods commencing from B.C. 2717, above-noted, and that these were independent of any Sōthic Cycle, although one of them was a cycle similar in character and length to the Sōthic—probably the same as my Great Phoenix Cycle. He adds that they had no historical chronology before B.C. 2717, which, he says, was the date of the beginning of their existence as a nation (*Horae Aegyptiacae*, p. 36). He also states that they associated the Annual Rising of Sirius with the first day of the first month, *i.e.*, 1 Thoth (p. 29). As already stated, this means 1 Cancer on the Zōdiac. On that basis we get Breasted's 308 days' shift for 9 Epiphi; but we cannot get his 225 days for 15 Pharmūthi (8th month). We only get 224.

Now, if we compare the Papyrus Cycle (my Great Phoenix Cycle) with the Sōthic Cycle, as above tabulated, we learn—

1. That, though consisting of 1460 years, the Papyrus Cycle is independent of the Sōthic Cycle.

2. That the Sōthic Cycle ends 228 ordinary years later than the Papyrus Cycle, and may be said to revolve *within* it.

3. That the beginning of a Phoenix period of 1460 years is the beginning of an A.M. period, but does not represent the occurrence of an Extraordinary Hēliacal Rising of Sirius, whatever that phenomenon was.

4. That the beginning of a similar Sōthic period is not the beginning of any A.M. period, but does represent the occurrence of an Extraordinary Hēliacal Rising.

5. That the beginning of a Sōthic period does not (as I have hitherto been assuming) represent a coincidence happening only once in a cycle of 1460 years, in the sense of Calendar Time re-harmonizing with Natural Time, *i.e.*, when Progressive 1 Thoth equates again with Fixed 1 Thoth: for, with the 365-degree year, that really occurs once every 73 years. $365 \div 5 = 73$; 5 being the difference between the basic (actually-used) 360-degree year and the theoretical 365-degree year.

6. That B.C. 1550-1547, on the Sōthic cycle, does not represent an Extraordinary Hēliacal Rising, but only an Ordinary Annual Rising, plus an alleged coincidence of some sort between the Papyrus Cycle and the Sōthic Cycle.

7. That the epochs representing the real coincidences between Calendar Time and Nature are to be found along the line of the Papyrus Cycle, rather than along the line of the Sōthic Cycle.

In connection, therefore, with dates reported by the priests, and the reduction thereof to terms of modern reckoning, would it not seem that, after having ascertained the shift in days and years, we should subtract the latter rather from say B.C. 3010 on the Papyrus Cycle, than from say B.C. 2782 on the Sōthic Cycle, as is done by our authorities?

In his calculations, Breasted works with B.C. 2782, Sōthic, as the epoch, preceding B.C. 1550, when Romic Calendar Time last coincided with Nature. But *was* that such an epoch? On the Papyrus Cycle we get B.C. 3010 as the epoch preceding B.C. 1550 when such a coincidence took place—a stretch of 1460 years, which seems very natural. But between B.C. 1550 and Breasted's B.C. 2782, there is only a stretch of 1232 years—which does *not* seem natural. Why, then, does he say it is an epoch when Nature and the Calendar coincided? Simply, apparently, because it is on the Sōthic Cycle; because there is a stretch of 1460 years between B.C. 2782 and (not B.C. 1550, but) B.C. 1322; and because B.C. 2782 lies invitingly on the zero side of B.C. 1550.

Now let us see how these new ideas of ours work. Referring to the Papyrus or Great Phoenix Cycle, if, as we have heretofore been assuming, Sirius always rose annually at 30 Gemini, the Rising would have occurred at F. 30 Mesorē, True Time in A.M. 1460 of each cyclic round of the 360° spheroid. But apparently it in fact occurred (or at least was regarded by the Romic priests as occurring) at F. 1 Thoth (zōdiacally 1 Cancer, and spheroidally 0-1). This, I take it, was because, in practice, the Romiū never dated any event or festival on one of the 5 Additional Days. Egyptologists seem to have followed the Romiū in adopting this Rising-Point, F. 1 Thoth: but evidently without realizing *why, and in what connection*, the Romiū adopted it. Naturally, therefore, in relation to Sōthic Time, Egyptologists are somewhat at sea. We have seen that the difference between the Papyrus Cycle and the Sōthic Cycle was 228 ordinary years. On the 365-degree Year-form with which we are just now concerned, which had a Cycle of 1460 years, a Rising at Aroēris, completed, or say nominally at 0-1 Thoth, meant, in Sōthic Time, a difference of 60

spheroidal days of $1\frac{1}{72}$ ordinary days each $=243\frac{6}{18}$ spheroidal years; on the $365\frac{1}{4}$-degree Year-form it was $243\frac{240}{480}$ spheroidal years; and on the 360-degree Year-form it was exactly 240 spheroidal years. Accordingly, in order to square Sōthic Time with Great Phoenix Time, the former had to be advanced 228 ordinary years. This seems to have been done, on the Theban 365-degree Year-form, by deducting $243\frac{6}{18}$ from 1440, the full tale of the years of the 360° Year-form cyclically. Thereby one Sōthic Cycle was shown as ending, and another as beginning, at A.M. $1216\frac{12}{18}$ = A.M. $1217\frac{240}{480}$ on the $365\frac{1}{4}$-degree Year-form = exactly A.M. 1200 on the 360-degree Year-form, all completed. Great Phoenix, or Kosmical, Time, though running alongside this, was, of course, essentially different, *i.e.*, in itself, though formally the two lines of Time had been squared. It is with the Sōthic Year that our modern system of reckoning has been equated.

Thus, if my reasoning is sound, we fix for ourselves, on a rational basis, the place on the Sōthic Cycle where the Rising was always regarded as having occurred spheroidally and zōdiacally. We find that, on the Spheroid for the Theban Year-form (365 days worked into the old 360-degree spheroid, and starting from the Celestial Summer Solstice with F. 1 Thoth), it is a point which indicated 30 Ariēs, and therefore F. 30 Paōni, and panned out to 1200 spheroidal years for the 360-degree Year-form; $1216\frac{12}{18}$ spheroidal years for the Theban Year-form; and $1217\frac{240}{480}$ spheroidal years for the full natural year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days or degrees on which modern reckoning is based. Not only do we now know that this is the correct place on the Spheroid for the Sōthic Risings, but we also learn for the first time *the intelligible reason why* it is so, and why we do not, like the old Romiū and modern Egyptologists, locate the Rising at 1 Cancer, *i.e.*,

associate it with F.0-1 Thoth. In short, we see now that, in so doing the Romiū were thinking, not of the Sōthic Period, but of the similar non-Sothic Period recorded in the Ebers Medical Papyrus, and called by me the Great Phoenix Cycle. They confined its application to that.

As worked, therefore, on the basis of a 360° spheroid, Breasted's results (B.C. 1880 for the Senwosri III Rising, and B.C. 1550 for the 9 Epiphi Rising), happen to be right: except that, as, by an oversight, Breasted used B.C. 2780 for B.C. 2782, Sōthic, B.C. 1880 ought to be B.C. 1882; and, in the other case, as the shift was 309, not 308, days, the years, after multiplication by 4, come to 1236, not 1232; and 1236 from B.C. 2782 Sōthic = B.C. 1546, not 1550.

One question still remains. Do these results represent only Sōthic Time, and have they therefore to be increased by 228 to give us Solar A.M. or Great Phoenix Cyclical Time? I think not: we have *already* made the 228 years' increase—and therefore made the results Solar Time—by advancing Sōthic Time 228 years to square it with Great Phoenix Time. Nevertheless that need not necessarily mean that the above results are final and correct. Why? Because it may be said that "15 of 8th month" and 9 Epiphi (the dates reported by the priests in each of the two cases) were only Calendar Time, not Solar Time. Quite possibly, however, *they also* were transmuted into Solar Time, when the Spheroidal years were so transmuted by the 228 years' advance above referred to. Let us momentarily, however, for the sake of argument, suppose that they still remained only Calendar Time. How do we find True Time for them? True Time is obtained by seeing where Progressive 1 Thoth (the Indicator) points to when the reported date is equated with the Rising-Point on the spheroid. Here, as we have seen, that point is not 30 Gemini, nor

even 1 Cancer (they belong to Phoenix or Kosmical Time), but 30 Ariēs, corresponding to 30 Paōni on the Fixed Clock, *i.e.*, for the Theban Year of 365 days worked on the old 360-degree spheroid, and starting from the Celestial Summer Solstice. Otherwise stated, the "8th month" is now Mekhir: and if P. 15 Mekhir be placed at F. 30 Paōni, P. 1 Thoth again indicates 16 Tybi, but this time on the Fixed Clock. This last—F. 16 Tybi—is therefore True Time for Calendar Time '15th day of the 8th month,' counted from F. 30 Paōni.

The shift now amounts to 196 days, or 784 spheroidal years, for the 360-degree Year-form = $794\frac{64}{72}$ spheroidal years, for the 365-degree Year-form = $795\frac{208}{180}$ spheroidal years for the full $365\frac{1}{4}$-degree Year-form. The last, deducted from B.C. 2782, Sōthic, yield B.C. $1986\frac{272}{480}$, or A.M. $2017\frac{208}{180}$, instead of B.C. $1868\frac{420}{480}$ for the full $365\frac{1}{4}$-degree Year-form of modern reckoning.

Similarly, in the case of the 9 Epiphi Rising, True Time for 9 Epiphi would be 22 Mesorē = a shift of 52 days, or 208 spheroidal years, for the 360° Year-form, and $211\frac{16}{180}$ for the full $365\frac{1}{4}$-degree Year-form. These, subtracted from B.C. 2782, Sōthic, yield B.C. 2574, or A.M. 1430, instead of the conventional B.C. 1550, and B.C. $2570\frac{464}{480}$, or A.M. $1433\frac{16}{180}$, for modern reckoning. In view of the known approximate date in this case, these figures are obviously fantastic, and show that we are off the track.

The fact is, no correct result can ever possibly be arrived at, *working thus with B.C. 2782, Sōthic*: the reason being that, starting with the idea of a Rising at F. 0-1 Thoth, we are not based on Sōthic Time at all, but on Great Phoenix Time. It follows that 9 Epiphi must be taken as True Time, and that B.C. 1550, or rather B.C. 1546, is also True Time, and a correct final result for the 360° spheroid.

The like reasoning necessarily applies to the other case—the Senwosri III Rising. There, "15th day of the 8th month" must now also be accepted as True Time, and a correct final result—provided, of course, that our arithmetic is sound.

The facts, reasonings, and conclusions above set forth would appear to indicate that something wrong lurks in the method on which I have heretofore relied for ascertaining the age of the 12th Romic (Theban) dynasty.

I imagine, however, that any wrongness, in either the method then adopted or the result obtained, is formal rather than substantial, seeming rather than real. In short, allowing for the now established fact that we have to take into consideration two quite distinct lines of Time —one Sōthic and the other non-Sōthic—my calculations then were just as soundly based as are my present calculations. They are only *relatively* wrong. I had not then realized the distinction between—or even, indeed, the concurrent existence of—the two lines of Time: that is all.

On the occasion alluded to (see this *Journal*, Vol. III, for 1920, p. 33) I assumed that spheroidally the Rising-Point for Sirius was F. 30 Mesorē=zōdiacally 30 Gemini: or, let us say with the old Romiū and modern Egyptologists, nominally F. 0-1 Thoth. Counting from the Celestial Summer Solstice, that made the "8th month" Pharmūthi. Hence "the 15th day of the 8th month" was presumably 15 Pharmūthi. I assumed it to be so. True Time for that I took to have been 16 Athyr =spheroidally A.M. $308\frac{208}{480}$. 1461 years added, for the Cycle succeeding the one in which Mēnēs ascended the throne, gave A.M. $1769\frac{208}{480}$=B.C. $2231\frac{272}{480}$, as the date of the Rising in Senwosri III's 7th regnal year.

Sōthically, however, as we *now* know, the Rising occurred, not at F. 30 Mesorē nor at F. 0-1 Thoth, but at F. 30 Paōni=zōdiacally 30 Ariēs. From there, the "8th month" was Mekhir, not Pharmūthi: and True Time for 15 Mekhir was not 16 Athyr, but 16 Tybi. This meant A.M. $551\frac{448}{480}$ spheroidal years—but counted from the now rejected non-Sōthic point, F. 0-1 Thoth. From the correct scientific Sōthic point (F. 30 Paōni), as we have seen, the shift is $795\frac{208}{480}$ spheroidal years. Now, what is the difference between these two? It is $243\frac{1}{2}$—our old friend $243\frac{6}{1\,8}$ on the Theban Year-form—the difference of 228 ordinary years found a little way back between Great Phoenix Time and Sōthic Time, *i.e.*, the number of years by which Sōthic Time had to be advanced to square the one line of Time with the other. It all falls in to a hair.

Thus, in their own way, my original method for ascertaining the date of the Senwosri III Rising and its result, A.M. $1769\frac{208}{480}$, turn out to have been really quite right—*i.e.*, absolutely, though not relatively.

Nevertheless, as our modern Ussherian system of reckoning has been equated with the Sōthic Year, all dates must now be reduced to terms of that reckoning. I therefore assume that (as a consequence of the foregoing considerations) my former re-construction of the 12th dynasty—in fact, of all the dynasties hitherto dealt with —will have to be revised.

I am still, however, of opinion that, in order to arrive at absolutely correct results, we shall have to convert our calculations into terms of the full $365\frac{1}{4}$-day Year now currently in vogue. That done, and with the help of my List of *Sōthic Risings*, my *List of Extraordinary Hēliacal Risings*, and my *List of all Sed and Hunti Hebs*, we ought to be able to arrive at quite satisfactory results.

By recognizing the $365\frac{1}{4}$-degree spheroid, and constructing our *Extraordinary*, and *Sed and Hunti, Lists* on that basis, as well as on the basis of the 360-degree and 365-degree spheroids, we do away with all difficulties arising from the fact that the reported dates are separated by intervals of 7 days, or 28 years—apparently Osirian—instead of by 30, $30\ \frac{5}{12}$, and $30\ \frac{7}{16}$ years. Our task then becomes merely a question of adjustment. I do not, however, anticipate that—except in the case of the Senwosri III Rising—the final results will differ very much from my original results.

Lastly, R. S. Poole's epoch—B.C. 2717, as the date of the commencement of Romic national existence in ancient Khem, and practically the beginning of recorded Time—seems to bear no intelligible relation to the essential figures above reviewed.

All that now remains to be done is to re-construct the dynasties for which we possess data, or may hereafter obtain further data, in accordance with the principles above explained.

Perhaps also, with reference to the Osirian Year-form, we shall have to revert once more to the problem of the age of Mēnēs. Possibly his date may have to be put back to some epoch in the period during which the Osirian *régime* was in vogue.

Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age
VI

BY

H. BRUCE HANNAH

In Paper No. V of this series I dealt with the nature, origin, and developments of a divine-name in B.C. 15th century Mitanni—the bi-sexual Moon-god Nannar, known to the '*Ibr*-Aamū or Abramites as El-Shaddai—which, because it originally came from Ur in Sūmer, was called by the Hittites *Urū-ie-na*, meaning in the Hittite language "Belonging to Ur," or "Lord of Ur," or "He (phallic) of Ur," or something to that effect. I showed how the name, in some such form, went East, and eventually found itself in India—probably taken there by the Pūra-Satiū and Yādai-Amorites who fled from Nāharīn *circa* B.C. 1151, and ultimately appeared in Sapta-Sindhavaḥ as the Pūrūs and Yādūs named in the *Ṛig-Veda Saṁhitā*. And finally I submitted that there, in the hands of the Kūśika Brāhmans, it became transmuted into the form *Vāruṇa*, which scholars, both European and Indian, have ever since united in representing as an original Indo-Āryan name which must have found its way somehow from India into Mitanni, and the supposed presence of which in B.C. 15th century Mitanni (supported by arguments connected with other divine names, also supposed to have been in vogue there at the same time, and certain other names of kings and chiefs, some of which began with *Ārta*) is cited as proof that, some time before that 15th century B.C., there must have

been a migration of Āryan, or Āryan-speaking, peoples westward from the East, *e.g.*, from Āryan India. All which, alas, vanishes into thin air, by reason of the simple fact that the divine-name under notice, *in the form Vāruña*, and the other names, as represented, were never in vogue at all in Mitanni! What *were* in vogue were the subjects of certain descriptive expressions preserved for us in the Khatti (Hittite) language as once spoken at the place now called Boghaz-Keui; and out of these Hittite word-paintings, when afterwards taken to India, the Brāhmanistic (Dasyuan) priesthood successfully evolved the *Rig-Vedic* divine-names known as *Vāruña, Indra, Mitra*, and the *Nāsatyaus*.

Nāsatyau—one of these—is usually equated with the Greek *Dioskouroi* (Castor and Pollux), and with the Vedic *Āsvins*. And if nine out of every ten scholars (or perchance even all the ten) *will* unfailingly assign it an Indo-Āryan origin, and *will* cite it as proof of the hoary old delusion of a westward Āryan migration from India, is it surprising—is it, indeed, not inevitable—that, after a confident reference to Winckler's discovery at Boghaz-Keui in 1909, Mr. (now Dr.) Abinas Chandra Das, should be found writing joyously and proudly thus—

"Indra, as our readers know, was the principal Vedic deity who, however, was discarded by the Iranians. The word Nasatyas used to be pronounced by the Iranians as Nahatyas. It would, therefore, appear that the Mitannians were a branch of the Vedic Aryans, and not of the Iranians, and they must have emigrated to Western Asia directly from Sapta-Sindhu, where alone, as is admitted by all scholars, the Vedic religion had its birth" (*Rig Vedic India*, pp. 289, 290).

Here, however, I am afraid, as severe a shock awaits Dr. Das as that which he has already got in connection with his dream of an ancient Rājputānā Sea. As a matter of fact, the divine-name in B.C. 15th century Mitanni was not *Nāsatyau* at all, nor of course was it *Nāhatya*. *Nāsatyau* is only the form into which the ancient Brāhmanistic

priesthood transmuted the original expression of a descriptive nature wherewith the Hittites of those days referred to a certain divine-idea that was then in vogue in Mitanni. Hence it is only the form in which perfervid patriots like Dr. Das, and conventional Vedic scholars generally, naturally render the actual original preserved in the Hittite language as spoken once at Boghaz-Keui. What Winckler discovered there were Hittite expressions applicable to the deities, or divine-conceptions, whose subsequently artificial names Vedic scholars usually write down in the forms *Nāsatyau*, *Vāruña*, *Mitra*, and *Indra*. The Hittite expression for the artificially *banāo'd* name *Nāsatyau* is *Na-sa-at-ti-ia*. This, however, is not a sort of Western caricature of an original Vedic or Sanskrit negative, followed by *Āsat*, meaning "Not-Untruth," "Not-Unreality," whence "Truth," "Reality." It is itself the original of which the supposed Indo-Āryan, Vedic, or Sanskrit divine-name *Nāsatyau* was really a derivative construction, and into which the idea of an original divine-name is now piously read by Indians and Vedic scholars. Each division of the Hittite expression has a meaning of its own, to be sought for in the Hittite Syllabary so far as we have recovered it. Hence, *Na-sa-at-ti-ia*, not *Nāsatyau*, nor *Nāhatya*, is the original source of the divine-name under notice. I am not myself competent to say what the precise interpretation of Hittite *Na-sa-at-ti-ia* is: but, as far as I can discover and judge, it seems to convey some such idea as "He in whom is the life of the Father," which is probably what underlay the Greek *Dioskouroi*, and what underlies our own "God the Son." Whatever it was, it is certainly not the supposed Vedic or Sanskrit *Na Āsat = Nāsatyau*. That is only what has been extracted from it, or read into it, by people coming to it under the fixed delusion that it must be an original Āryan word,

and hitherto wholly unconscious of the fact that originally it was a Hittite expression, imported into ancient India, and appropriated, manipulated, and made use of, for their own profound and subtle ends, by the worldly-minded sacerdotes who were then in full control of the materials out of which the *Rig-Veda Samhitā* was ultimately evolved.

In *Indra* we see an eventual outcome, in "Āryan" and *Rig-Vedic* India, of a similarly original Hittite expression for another conception in vogue in B.C. 15th century Mitanni—the same conception as that which, under various names, seems to have been familiar to, and even dominant amongst, all the prominent races and nations of antiquity. This was the Thunder-god, the Rain-god, the Storm-god, the Irrigating and Fertilizing Deity—armed, sometimes with the thunder-bolt or lightning symbol, sometimes with a bow, sometimes with a trident, sometimes with a long two-edged sword, sometimes with a hammer, a maul, or a club, sometimes with a double axe, but sometimes also bearing in his hands clusters of grapes and sheaves of barley—at one time, in the incalculably remote past, identified with that mighty but nebulous deity En-lilla, or Illila, "Lord of Heaven and Earth," "Lord of Demons," "Lord of Forces," "Lord of Mist"—but later on known to the Kāssi as the Wild Huntsman, to the Romiū as Set, to the Hittites as Sūtekh, to the peoples of Upper Mesopotamia, and north even of that, as Teshup or Teshub, to the Phrygians as Tarkū, to the Kilikians as Sandan, to the Amorites and Syrians as Adad or Hadad, to the Assyrians as Rāmmān, to the ethnoi of Crete and the Aegean as Zeus, and in India not only as Indra but also as Parjanyā. In comparatively modern times this last went from Central Asia to Europe, and there, by the Esthonians (a Kimbric people dwelling

in Kūrland, and speaking a language that resembled the *lingua Britannicae proprior*), was called Picker or Picken—in old Slavonic Perūn, in Polish Piorūn, in Czech Peraun, in Old Lithuanian Perkūnas, in modern Lettish Perkons, in Old Prussian (*i.e.*, the ancient and only Teutonic) Percūnos, and to the Scottish Phichts or Pik-Thiod, or Picts (not the *Picti*), as Pik. Now, what was the name by which this celebrated and ubiquitously recognized deity was known in B.C. 15th century Mitanni? It may have been Sūtekh, or Teshub, or both. It certainly was not Indra. But, as seen in the discoveries made at Boghaz-Keui, the Hittite way of referring to the divine-conception, as recognized in Mitanni, is preserved in the Hittite expression *In-da-ra*. In Hittite, *In* is represented by a vase with plants in it: but it seems also to be akin to *En*, *An*, *Un*, and even *On*, all of which imply the idea of "divine lord", while *da* (compare the Cypriote *ta*) has for emblem a hand raised in the act of taking an oath, and carries the sense of "compulsion" Thus, according to Hittite testimony, the Mitannian conception of this deity seems to have been somewhat complex. Plainly, for them, he was a sort of Thor, or Hammer-god, or Thunder-god, but with solar attributes, judging by the final *Rā*. The vase with plants in it suggests, of course, the idea of an Irrigating and Fertilizing deity too.

When, in or soon after B. C. 1151, the Pūra-Satiū and the Yādai-Amorites, after the defeat inflicted on them by Rāmēsēs III, plunged off eastwards from Nāharīn, they were accompanied, there is reason to believe, by a considerable body of local Hittites, who eventually appeared in Sapta-Sindhavaḥ as the Tūrvaśas—"Clothed like the Tūrs or Dahyūs." Now, amongst the many cultural treasures taken away with them by these three fugitive ethnoi from Western Asia when they went

east, was this *In-Da-Rā*, the Hittite expression just referred to for the above complex idea of the Thunder-and-Rain-god, as understood in B.C. 15th century Mitanni. Much has been made of the fact that, though Indra was the chief Vedic god, his cult was never adopted by the Airyānians. But there is nothing strange in this at all. The Pūrā-Satiū, Yādai-Amorites and Hittites who, I suggest, eventually became known as the Pūrūs, Yādūs, and Tūrvaśas—however long they may have sojourned in Zarah-Lake land certainly did not settle there. They pressed on, in the wake of the fleeing *śākla* Āryas, obviously giving Airyavō-Vaēja and its inhabitants (Dr. Das's "Iranians") a "miss," till at last we find them encamped in Sapta-Sindhavah, in the midst of its various Niṣādas, its local Dasyūs (Dahyūs, Tokhs, or Kūrūs), and the Āryas—assuming that these last ever got east of the Indus of which there is really hardly any evidence. Therefore, though it is easy to see how, through them, the conception underlying the Hittite expression *In-Da-Rā* was introduced into ancient India, was appropriated and manipulated for their own ulterior ends by the Brāhmanistic (Kūsika) priesthood, and was built up into the familiar *Rig-Vedic* divine-name *Indra*—even ousting the older deity *Āgni*, which had theretofore been the god of the sacrificing Āryas proper—it is just as easy to see why the name *Indra* never found any place in the Airyānian pantheon. True, the name *Nāsatyau* does seem to have been at least known to them, and in their dialect it appears as *Nāhatya* (as Dr. Das correctly enough remarks); but quite consistently with my hypothesis, and not quite so consistently with the conventional view, the fact may be accounted for by assuming that, after the artificial name *Nāsatyau* had established itself in *Rig-Vedic* India, it simply found its way westwards somehow into Airyavō-Vaēja (no doubt

with other words as well), and there naturally took on the form *Nāhaiya*, in accordance with the genius of the Airyānian dialect. In these matters everything depends upon one's point of view. My point of view happens to be the direct opposite of that taken up by conventional scholarship and by Dr. Das, and doubtless by all enthusiasts for Indo-Āryan origins. And all things—all other data—work together in support of it. In this connection it were well, perhaps, to put on record the fact that (though I cannot for the moment recall the reference), I came across an article the other day on (I think) *Rig-Vedic* prosody, wherein the writer, dealing with a verse in which the name *Indra* occurred, maintained that, in order that a particular line should properly scan, it was necessary to pronounce "Indra" as though it were really "Indara." The significance of this comment did not strike me at the time: but now it recurs to my memory with the force and effect of a most interesting and important remark. For does it not show that in the so-called *Rig-Vedic* age there was a time when the original Hittite expression *In-Da-Rā*, brought into Sapta-Sindhavaḥ by the fugitive *janāhs* from Nāharīn, as just referred to, was still recognized for what it was, and had not yet been altered and moulded by the Brāhmanistic priesthood with a view to producing the name that did eventually evolve—*Indra*?

In connection with the above-referred-to Airyānian form *Nāhaiya*, as representing the "Indo-Āryan" form *Nāsatyau*, it may further be noted that the change of *s* to *h*, so prominently characteristic of Airyānian, is possibly not so old as some of the other characteristics of that dialect. At least Sten Konow thinks that it only began "after the Iranian branch had separated itself from the common Aryan stock, and did not at once spread over the whole Iranian area" (*Journal of the Royal*

Asiatic Society, 1911, pp. 44-47). Obviously, on this subject of the Iranians and the Āryas, Sten Konow looks out upon the world through the windows of Conventional Scholarship. The words just quoted are an interesting example of how characteristically Conventional Scholarship so often manages to get hold of the wrong end of the stick, and so perpetuates an entirely perverted conception of the facts of ancient times. The real truth, of course, is that it was the Airyānians of Airyavō-Vaēja, not the Āryas, who were the main Rosy-Blond stock, and that it was the Āryas not the Airyānians, who separated themselves from that main stock.

Now let us consider the names *Mitra* and *Mitanni*—which latter the old Romiū of the 18th dynasty age rendered by *Māthen*, or something similar. The difference between the *Mit* of *Mitanni*, and the *Māth* of *Māthen*, is much on a par with that between English *Medes* and Assyrian *Mādā*, or Latin *Medi* and Greek *Matai*. Without saying where he gets his facts from, Mr. Donald A. Mackenzie informs us that the name *Mitanni* signifies "River land" (*Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 269). Possibly he is right. Even so, however, his view is in no way inconsistent with mine. *Anni*, we know, stands for "Country." This, on Mr. Mackenzie's hypothesis, leaves *Mit* (or, as the Hittites rendered it, *Mi-it*) for "River." But *does* Hittite *Mi-it* mean "River"? I doubt it. I incline to think that *Mi* in the Hittite means "Hilly-Country"; while *it*, or *id*, is a rare sign in Hittite, and—if akin to Cypriote *da*, or *ta*.—signifies "Power," or "Strength." The sign is an arm or fist. But let us take it that the name does mean "River land," as Mr. Mackenzie states. *Nāharīn*, *Nāharīna*, and *Nāiri*, were other local names, in other languages (Romic and Assyrian), carrying the same significance. Thus, even were we to say that *Mitanni* may be shortly rendered "Country of the Mits,"

that would only be a way of saying that it was the "Country of the people inhabiting the River land." However, having regard to the probable meaning in Hittite (which was possibly very similar to Mitannian) of all the analyzed component syllables of the name *Mi-it-anni*, that name appears to connote a good deal more than this. I suggest that its true and full connotation was, "The All-dominant or Imperially-Suzerain Country of the people inhabiting the Hilly-Region or River-Land." Thus the distinguishing character of the country—its age-long and world-wide suprem cy—was enshrined in its very name; and goes far to support all that I have been advancing on the subject of Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānia and the Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians, their origin, their culture, their power, and their status amongst the nations and races of Antiquity. This, of course, if a sound view, opens out an entirely new and splendid chapter in ancient history.

On these lines, therefore, and in view of much that I have set forth in previous papers, I suggest that (whatever may have been the literal meaning of the word *Mit*, in its Hittite form *Mi-it*) the divine-name *Mitra*, as revealed in the Hittite expression *Mi-It-Rā* discovered at Boghaz-Keui, enshrined nothing but the idea of *El*, *Lā*, or *Rā* (the remotely ancient Melano-Leukochroic Sun-god), as recognized and worshipped in B.C. 15th century Mitanni by the Mits, or Imperial Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians, who inhabited the Hilly or River Country just east of the Great Bend of the Euphrates at Niy. In view of these facts and considerations, is it unreasonable to conclude that here, in the cult of Mitannian *Mitra* (so-called), we have nothing less than the beginnings of historical *Mithrāism*—ever conventionally supposed to have originated amongst the ancient Persians, who, moreover (though unquestionably

Kephēnians, *i.e.*, of the same race as the barbarous Kāssi), are to this day, in authoritative circles, and in those wider *milieus* which take their cue therefrom, persistently confused with the Airyānians (Iranians), and also with the Medes? The Assyrians, we are told, were acquainted with the cult: for the divine-name *Mitra* is said to have been found (I think by Sayce) in their pantheon (*Rel. of Bab. and Ass.*, by Pinches, p. 68) No doubt it was part of their heritage from Mitanni. Donald A. Mackenzie imagines that *Mitra*, as known to the Assyrians, was a Rain-god, because, he says, the Assyrian word *metrū* means "rain" (*Myths of Bab. and Ass.*, p. 55). But even if it does, we are carried no further, because Assyrian *metrū* has nothing to do with Hittite *Mi-It-Ra*. They are different words. He might just as reasonably have urged that *Mitra*, as known to the Assyrians, was a Recording Angel, or a God of Music, since Greek *metron* means "measure." But consider the matter in yet another connection. Whether Amenhotep III's queen, Tiy, was of Romic descent, or came from abroad, is uncertain. But there is reason to believe that the cult of the Solar Disc, Āten, then emerging into notice in Khem, was perhaps an importation from Mitanni, and that it was the influence of Tiy, who possibly hailed from there, which was responsible for its vogue. In the next reign —that of Ākh-en-Āten, or Nāpkhūria, the Dreamer, it was actually established for a time in Khem. Is it, therefore, not possible to see in this famous and mysterious cult an early stage of historical *Mithrāism* just mentioned? In *Genesis* Mitanni is called *Haran*. A word in this connection. Mr. Donald A. Mackenzie says that the Mitannians were called the *Khārri*—though he makes a rather ridiculous comment upon it in connection with the origin of the word "Āryan." Now, the *an* of *Haran* is very probably of the same character

as the *anni* of *Mitanni*, or the *en* of Romic *Māthen*, and therefore means "Country." If this be so, *Haran* simply means the Country of *Hār* or *Khār*, and consequently equates with *Khārū*, the Romic name for that part of Western Asia which lay just between Khem and Syria proper, and is now known as Palestine. Does not this suggest the conclusion that in the remote past—say somewhere about the beginning of the 20th century B. C. (the days of that supposedly historical biblical character, Abram), *all* that part of the world—from Mitanni down to Palestine, both inclusive—was known as *Khār-ān*, or *Khārū*, though, by the 15th century B. C., the applicability of the name had changed, and its territorial limits had shrunk to comparatively tiny *Khārū*, the name under which Thothmēs III knew Palestine?

Now with regard to the names of kings and chieftains in Western Asia in or about the 15th century B. C. In *The Indo-Āryan Races*, pp. 28-30, in connection with his theory that the Yādavas who originally settled in Saurāṣtra or Kāthiawār and then spread to Mathurā had come to India, together with the Tūrvaśas, "from beyond the sea," meaning the Arabian Sea, Mr. Ramāprasād Chanda, B.A., of the Varendra Research Society, Rājshāhi, after referring to two conflicting legends regarding the origin of these Yādavās, or descendants of the Yādūs, remarks that these legends lend indirect support to the *Rig-Vedic* tradition. Then he proceeds—

"There are strong evidences to show that in the sixteenth and the fifteenth centuries B. C., in Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, there were several colonies of men of Aryan speech, some of whom at least worshipped Vedic gods." (Here he refers to the divine names, supposedly *Vārvṇa*, *Indra*, *Mitra*, and the *Nāsatyaus*, with which I have just been dealing). "In the cuneiform tablets discovered at Tell-el-Amarna in Upper Egypt, containing letters from the tributary Kings of Western Asia to Egyptian Pharaohs, we find such Aryan names of chieftains: 'Artamanya, chief of Ziribaśani, probably about Basan; Bawarzana

or Mawarzana (or perhaps Mayarzana), chief of Hazi, probably to the north of Palestine; Śubandu or Subandi, from Philistaea (*cf.* S. *Subandhu*); Śuwardata, the adversary of Abdihiba of Jerusalem (*cf.* S. *Svardatta*); Śutarna or Śuttarna, chief of Muśihuma, probably in Northern Palestine; Yaśdata or Waśdata, probably from the neighbourhood of Megidda; Zirdamiaśda, probably from Northern Palestine, and so forth. The name of the Kassite sun-god Śuriaś (*cf.* S. *sūrya*) points to a similar Aryan element to the east of Babylonia .... The names of the Mitani Kings are of the same kind. They are Sa-uś-śa-tar, Artatama, Suttarna, Duśratta (or Tuśratta); Artaśśumara (or Artaśśuwara), and Mattiuaza'."

That these Kings and Chieftains could not possibly have been Āryas, and that the names cited could not possibly have been "Āryan," or at least not "Indo-Aryan," is as clear as noon-day in the East. The simple but adequate reason is that the Āryas, as distinguished from the an-Āryan Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs of *Rig-Vedic* fame, had not yet made their historical *début*, if we can call it that, in India. Nay, so far as we know, they had not as yet even come into existence. Even if, as is usually done, we identify the Āryas with the *Rig-Vedic janāhs* above-named—another venerable superstition haunting the brain-cells of all orthodoxly orientated minds—they were not destined to make their entry upon the arena for another two centuries, or thereabouts: for we now have a very shrewd inkling as to who the leading members of that confederation were, where they came from, and when they arrived in the East.

But, apart from these disconcerting facts and considerations, *why* do our archaeological *Gūrūs*, and those writers who so dutifully follow in their footsteps, all unite in pointing to these names and chiefs and kings as Āryan and Indo-Āryan? Merely, apparently, because names very like them are also to be found in the distant East, *i. e.*, in India, amongst the peoples who are conventionally and

popularly known as the "Indo-Aryans," and in their literature. But how come they *to be found* in that distant and once mysterious *galère*? Were they indigenous, or imported? And if not indigenous, how did they get there? By one or both of two clearly separable routes. Either (1) with the original migrant flood of Rhodo-Leukochroi, or pure Rosy-Blonds, from old Mediterranean Rhodo-Leukochroia, who eventually settled down permanently in Airyavō-Vaēja (modern Bokhārā) as the Airyānians—and from whom they could have passed to the Āryas of Zarah-Lake land when these first came into existence; or (2) with the Pūra-Satiū, Ṣādai-Amorite, and Hittite fugitives from Nāharīn in or about B. C. 1151, whom we find eventually transmuted into the *Ṛig-Vedic* Pūrūs, Yādūs, and Tūrvaśas.

As regards the divine-names eventually transmuted from the Hittite into the artificial forms *Vāruña*, *Indra*, *Mitra*, and *Nāsatyaus*, it was probably only *viâ* the last-mentioned route that they spread eastward. Naturally, therefore, if this were so, it follows that these so-called "Āryan" and "Indo-Āryan" names in Mitanni and northern Syria could not possibly have been in the farther East, and were certainly not in India, in the days of the above-mentioned Mitannian and other kings and chiefs of the 15th and 16th centuries B.C., *i.e.*, some 4 or 5 centuries previously. And even if they—the names of rulers, not the divine-names—had travelled east by the other and older route, and had been finally (as the conventional theory is) introduced into India by the Āryas, they would by then (*i.e.*, in the 16th or 15th centuries B. C.) have reached only as far as Airyavō-Vaēja, or perchance Zarah-Lake land. Assuredly they could not have reached India—for the *śūkla* Āryas had not yet begun even to dream of migrating there, if indeed they ever did migrate there.

Of course, as flourishing in Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānia generally, and more particularly in Mitanni, and in all countries round about that were subject to her sway, these culture forms had originally found their way thither from the Mediterranean West, along the same channels which ultimately took them to Airyavō-Vaēja—*i. e.*, the flood of original Rosy-Blond migration into the East—though at an earlier stage of that movement.

Thus, as an "Āryan" or "Indo-Āryan" wave of diffusion, racial or linguistic, these names and the men who bore them never came, and never could have come, westward from the East, and especially from "Indo-Āryan" regions, into Mitanni, in the way that we have always been so persistently taught to believe.

As regards *Sūrya* and *Sūryā* in so-called "Vedic-India," and *Hēlios* (masc.) and *Hēra* (fem.), or their common etymon, of Rhodo-Leukochroic and Melano-Leukochroic times in the archaic Mediterranean World, we now find that, mid-way between these two, both geographically and in regard to time, the name given to their sun-god by the barbarous inhabitants of Kāshshū, or Elām, was *Śūriaś*. It seems that, like their modern European representatives, the Germans proper, these Kāssi deemed the sun feminine, and the moon masculine. This appears to be a peculiarity characteristic of many primitive, if not always barbarous, races. With the genuine culture-races, in this connection, it is always just the other way about—sun masculine, and moon feminine However, there undoubtedly was also a stage of human development in volution when, even as regards the sun alone, the cults both of a god and of a goddess were in vogue. Example: *Hēlios* and *Hēra* in the West. Also, in the East, in India, *Sūrya* masculine, and *Sūryā* feminine. In the West *Jupiter and Juno.* In the East again, *Dyaush-pita* and *Yōni.* But now, where could the Kāssi

of Elām have got their divine-name *Śūriaś* from? Plainly from the culture-races immediately adjoining them to the west in Akkad and Sūmer. *Cf. Sūri*, the Assyrian etymon of the country more familiar to us moderns under the name *Syria*. And that means that originally it had come from the Mediterranean West, from *Hēlios*, or *Hēra* or both, travelling with the great Rosy-Blond flood of migrants, and eventually being introduced into say originally Semitic, but finally blended Semito-Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian, *i.e.*, Babylonian Agadē or Akkad—whence, of course, it passed directly into adjacent Kāshshū. And where did the Indians get their *Sūrya* and *Sūryā* from? Perhaps through the *śūkla* Aryas or Nāharin fugitives after B. C. 1151. Perhaps through the channels of Assyrian influences, in the days when these forced their way into the East. But in any case it was from Rhodo-Leukochroic sources—and hence again originally from the Mediterranean West, from *Hēlios* and *Hēra*. Is it not, therefore, fairly clear that *Śūrya* and *Śūryā* in "Vedic-India," and *Śūriaś* in Kāshshū, were intimately related? And this not in the sense put forward by Dr. Das, that *Śūriaś* of course derives from Vedic *Śūrya*, and shows that "Āryans" must once have migrated to Elām direct from Sapta-Sindhavaḥ, but in the sense above-described—that both Kāssite *Śūriaś* and "Indo-Āryan" *Sūrya* and *Sūryā* have a common descent? In other words, that both hail originally from the old Mediterranean West—from *Hēlios* and *Hēra*, or their still more archaic etymon (if any), whatever that may have been?

Before leaving the subject of these names, divine and otherwise, I have a few remarks to make concerning that famous word which, in the early Vedic language, appears in the form *rita*, or *ṛta*, meaning originally the established course or order in the Kosmos; then the established or

regular order of Sacerdotal Rites and Ceremonies, an idea arising after the Dasyuan clique had inaugurated their Brāhmanistic State Hierarchy; and finally, no doubt sometime in Brāhmaṇa days, the Moral Order. Indeed, considerations connected with this word constitute one of the most interesting evidences of my theory that the Culture of all culture-races in the ancient East was rooted in an original Rhodo-Leukochroic, or Rosy-Blond (*i.e.*, Old Mediterranean), source. Of all the mystic potencies of *Ṛta*, in so-called Vedic times, Adityan Vāruña was supposed to be the great upholder. Now *Ṛta* is held forth as perhaps the supreme illustration of the conventional creed that the origin and significance of all things cultural is to be sought for in "Āryan" India. But what happens to this entrenched position of Orthodoxy if, as now turns out to have been the fact, Vāruña was an artificial and imported name; that it arose out of a Hittite expression (*Urū-u-na*) descriptive of the Moon-god of Ur, as worshipped in B.C. 16th or 15th century Mitanni under the name of Nannar; that this Hittite expression only came East with the fugitives from Nāharīn *circ*ª B.C. 1151; that its introduction into "Āryan" India, and its appropriation by the scheming Brāhmanistic Kūrū priesthood, occurred even later than that; and that it must have taken a considerable time longer for the Hittite expression, so imported, to have developed into the form of, and to have acquired the vogue eventually enjoyed by, Vāruña, as "the up-holder of *Ṛta*?"

If Vāruña, as a prominent feature of "Āryan" culture in Madhyā-deśa, must be assigned so comparatively late a date, it is not very likely that the immeasurably ancient conception of *Ṛta*, as also dominantly in vogue there, was any earlier.

What I suggest as a possible view of the origins and developments in this connection may be briefly sketched

thus. First we have mankind, say in the Moon-worship stage of Melano-Leukochroic times throughout the Old Mediterranean World, realizing that the Kosmos had developed in volution out of a precedent state of Chaos; the immutable order associated with the former being represented by some archaean word which we may take to have been the etymon in that Old Mediterranean World for the eventual expression *rta* and kindred formations. This change from Chaos to Kosmos had of course its own particular legend in Mythology. Probably its earliest form is to be found in the nebulous traditions, with which all Antiquity was obsessed, of a mighty struggle between those forces which in "Babylonia" became personified as Tiawath, or Tiamat, and the earlier of the great benelicent Gods. Then we come to the secondary applications of this original conception—applications based on once concrete and historical, but eventually only dimly remembered, events. The first of these was doubtless what is traditionally known as the Titanomachia. That, I suggest (somewhat like our own recent Great War or Armageddon), was really a far-flung and long-enduring struggle to the death between the forces of Culture, Liberty, Lofty Ideals, and Good generally (represented by what we may shortly style the Zeús *régime* of the Rosy-Blond race in Rhodo-Leukochroia), and the forces of Kultur, Oppression, Base Ideals, and Evil generally, based on Involutionary Developments, represented by the then representatives of the Kāssite race, say in Asia Minor on the eastern borders of Rhodo-Leukochroia. This we may call the first-known upheaval of Barbarism against Culture, or what is popularly called Civilization. I prefer "Culture" as the antithesis to "Barbarism," because Barbarism was often civilized. It may, of course, be said that Barbarism is also often cultured. That is true, in a sense —as witness modern Prusso-Germany. But the Culture

of Barbarism is usually mimetic—usually a veneer—not original or organically innate like that of the higher races. In other words—and this is the real difference between the two—the Culture of the Culture-races is always *e*volutional, while that of Barbarism is always *in*volutional. To distinguish the one from the other, I call the Culture of the Culture-races, "Culture," and that of Barbarism "Kultur." To this tremendous conflict all the associations connected with the original still mightier struggle between Kosmos and Chaos, between Order and Disorder, gradually attached: and the legend of the Titanomachia, so metamorphosed, also found its way into Mythology. The next great assault upon civilization by Barbarism was that which Agadē seems to have been threatened with, when she invoked the assistance of Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānia, or let us say Early Mitanni, and when Shārrū-Gī and Shār-Gani-Shārri were sent to her aid. That also found its way into Mythology, and got mixed up with the older and mightier Titanomachia, and the still earlier and still more stupendous struggle between the Great Gods and Tiawath, between Kosmos and Chaos.

When, for instance, after the establishment of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Babylon the city was founded (possibly not till the reign of Khāmmūr-ābi), Babylon's local god, Amarūdūk, Mardūk, or Merodach, became head of the Tigro-Euphratean pantheon—the gods of all the other incorporated city-states acknowledging his supremacy. Then, what Homer later on did for Zeús and all the divine and other personifications of Greek, or rather Mediterranean, Mythology, was done in those early days by some Babylonian genius (no doubt under royal auspices) for Merodach and all the divine and other personifications of Tigro-Euphratean Mythology—Merodach, like Zeús, being confusedly identified with all the divine and other super-beings of the then past, and of course, with them,

getting the credit for everything big and grand and impressive.

But the super-people from whom the Babylonians had received their distinctive Culture were the Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians, or more probably that concentrated essence of them which is known as the Mitannians, and who were really the Imperial Mitannians. And *their* Culture—so far as it was not Tūrānian—had originated out of Rhodo-Leukochroia in the old Mediterranean West With it had come, not indeed this Indo-"Āryan" word *Ṛta*, but the Rhodo-Leukochroic etymon out of which *Ṛta* originated. That is why, in the Mitanni of the 16th or 15th century B.C., and throughout Syria (Nāharīn, Zāhi, and Kharū) where she then held sway previous to the conquests of the 18th Dynasty Pharaohs, we find so many names beginning with what is represented by the syllable *Ārta—e.g.*, *Ārtamanya* and *Ārtaś-śumara*, or *Ārtaś-śuvara*. Moreover, as the Assyrians received their Culture from the same Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian source, and as the Medes, though identical in a later age with the Mitannians, also owed part of their Culture to the Assyrians, and as the ancient Persians owed their Culture (such as it was) to the Assyrians and the Medes, that is why we find names of this kind amongst the Medes and the Persians. That is why we find the Indians possessed of their *Ṛta*, and the Sākhs or Sāghs of later Airyō-Tūrān, or Central Asia, possessed of their *Āshā*. Hence also the latters' *Religion of Āshā*, and the reason why some of them called themselves the *Āshāvō-Dunghavō*, or "People of Āshā. This also was really the meaning of *Ārtaioi*, the name which scholarship mistakenly thinks was borne by the old Persian ethnos.

For *Ṛta*, *Ārta* and *Ashā*, are all variants—amongst different communities, in different countries, and in different ages—of one and the same original word.

Next let us consider the Babylonian name *Thauatth*, or *Tauthé* = *Tiamat*, or *Tiawath*, sometimes called *Mūmmū Tiawath*, Goddess of the Sea, apparently as the source of life in the primitive days when Chaos ruled. In the early stages of the history of the Earth, the seas were in fact shallow; and also in fact it was there, not on the land areas, that organic forms of life had their humble beginnings. Speaking of quotations by Eusebius and others from Berōsus on the subject of the *Babylonian Story of Creation*, or the *Fight between Bel and the Dragon*, Dr. Theophilus G. Pinches says—

"According to this Chaldaean writer, there was a woman named Omoroca, or in Chaldaean, Thalatth (apparently a mistake for Thauatth, *i.e.*, Tiawath), whose name was equivalent to the Greek Thalassa, the sea. It was she who had in her charge all the strange creatures then existing" (*The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1906, p. 41).

Evidently—though they seem to have had a curious way of enshrining their knowledge—the Babylonians were not wholly ignorant of Geology, with its eras and sub-periods, their flora and faunas—and in particular, no doubt, of those mighty monsters of the prime, the Theropoda and the Sauropoda, and the even earlier Amphibians. This "Chaldaean" word *Thalatth* has much too great a resemblance to classical *Thalassa* to please Dr. Pinches' sense of the eternal and untouchable fitness of things. Indeed, that sense seems to be nothing less than shocked, if not outraged. But, just because of Dr. Pinches's prejudices in favour of a scholar's ideal of Greece with her word *Thalassa*, why should we accept the suggestion that the Chaldaeans (not being Hellenes) could have had no such word as *Thalatth*, meaning the same thing as Babylonian *Thauatth*, or *Tauthé*, and Greek *Thalassa*, and that when Berōsus wrote *Thalatth*, he must have been thinking of *Thauatth*, for which

Thalatth was therefore obviously a mistake? In view of all that I have advanced about ancient etymons in old-world Melano-Leukochroia and Rhodo-Leukochroia, out of which some words developed and remained in Europe, while others, developing from the same source, went east with the Rhodo-Leukochroic migrants, or even with the Amorites who settled in Yādai in Nāharīn, are we not equally entitled—and is it not quite as reasonable—to assume that once upon a time, in the remote past, there flourished in Rhodo-Leukochroia, or perhaps even in earlier Melano-Leukochroia, some hoary old etymon out of which both Greek *Thalussa* and Babylonian and Chaldaean *Thauatth* and *Thalatth* developed independently—the former remaining in Europe, *e.g.*, in Greece and the Aegean, and the latter turning up in Akkad and Chaldaea? This, at any rate, is what I now suggest was not only possibly but even quite probably the case in this connection. In any event, we may take it that in this way, if not Chaldaean *Thalatth*, at least Akkadian *Thauatth*, developed out of the same archaean etymon in the old Mediterranean West that Greek *Thalassa* had developed out of, but had gone east, instead of remaining in the west, like *Thalassa*.

Two other subjects about which all of us—not even excepting our authorities—seem still to have something to learn, are the origins of Assyria and the Assyrians, and the biblical name "Nimrod." What we now know regarding the origins and early history of the Kāshshi, or Kāssi, enables us to revise our own oldfashioned ideas in these connections, and even perhaps to tell our more or less pontifical professors something of which possibly even they have heretofore been solemnly ignorant.

In *Gen.* x. 8-11 we read—

"And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the LORD" (by which

expression Ezra, or whatever that name stands for, essays to beguile us into the belief that the original text had the name YAHVEH, but that it was too holy to be allowed to stand in that form): "wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the LORD. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh," etc.

As Babel heads the list of these remotely old cities, this verse was plainly written by somebody who was under the impression which did gradually grow up, that Babylon was perhaps the first city that civilized man had ever built. We know now, however, that its origin was not really as remote as has hitherto been believed. It seems to have been founded not earlier than *circa* B. C. 2050—and thus was much younger than say Accad, or Agadē, which is put third in the list.

In his *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*, at pp. 126 *et seq.*, Professor Pinches, we are told, has shown that—

"his" (*i.e.* Nimrod's) "name is a rendering of that of Merodach. In Sumerian Merodach was called Amaruduk or Amarudu, and in the Assyro-Babylonian language, Marduk. By a process familiar to philologists the suffix 'uk' was dropped and the rendering became Marad. The Hebrews added 'ni'—'ni-marad,' assimilating the name to a certain extent to the 'niphal forms' of the Hebrew verbs and making a change in conformity with the genius of the Hebrew language" (*Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, by Donald A. Mackenzie, p. 277).

This sounds very learned, and has doubtless much impressed some. To me, however, it seems rather painfully forced. Had the facts been as here stated, the responsible party would no doubt have been Ezra (or whoever that name connotes) in the 5th century B. C., when much of past history was deliberately re-written, and brazenly misrepresented, with a view to glorifying

the name Yāhveh, and to advancing the status of the Jews. But even that is not particularly likely. For the problem would still confront us—Why was not Ezra consistent, or at least more circumspect? Why are the names "Berodach-Baladan" in 2 *Kings*, xx. 12 (see also 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 31), and "Merodach-Baladan" in *Isaiah*, xxxix. 1, and "Merodach" in *Jeremiah*, L. 2, suffered to remain untampered with? Had the genius of the Hebrew language tended in the direction stated in the one case (the *Genesis* case), it would probably, if not surely, have also tended in the same direction in these other cases. But it does not. Besides, why should a *noun* be assimilated to *verbal* forms, 'niphal' or otherwise?

Why, then, cannot we simply go back to bed-rock facts and probabilities, and explain the name "Nimrod" thus? In "Akkadian" (*i.e.*, in late Kāssite times probably "Babylonian"), *Nim*, or *Nūm*="Wolf"; whence the well-known territorial name *Nūm-Mā*, which thus really means "Wolf-Land"—in Hittite found as *Si-Nim*, or *Si-Nūm*—the old-time name of the far-stretching country, often hilly and at places wildernessy, which lay indefinitely to the east of Agadē and Sūmer, and included Kāsshū, or Elām. Further, *Rod*, we know, means "Race." See the ancient name *Alarodians*, or "Mountain-Race," from Sarmatian *Ālā*, "Mountain," and *Rod*, "Race." This is also the meaning of the last-mentioned word in present Russian and the Slāvic languages generally, and was probably its meaning in ancient Medic—for the Northern- Medes were in fact the ancestors of the *Sauro-Matai*, or *Sar-Matai—Sauro*, here, being akin to Slāvic *Severo*, "Northern," and *Matai* of course equating with Medes.

Then why not regard "Nimrod" as an ancient literary personification of the original Kāssite "Wolf-Race" (in Airyānian *Vehrkavō-Dangharō*) of old-time

Num-Mā, or *Si-Nim*, manipulated, of course, and made use of by "Ezra" for his own patriotic and kabbalistic ends?

Lastly, why accept unexamined the statement that it was out of Shinar (Sūmer) that Asshur went when he "builded Nineveh"? We may, I submit, take it as a fact that the original ethnic elements which went to the composition of the Assyrians (who are meant by "Asshur") were, at least to a considerable extent, the aboriginal denizens of wild old Kāssitic *Nūm-Mā*, or *Si-Nim*, i.e., *Vehrk-ani*, or "Wolf-Lands." That would suffice to explain the description of Nimrod as a "mighty hunter." It would also explain the extraordinarily savage and cruel character of the Assyrians —veritable protagonists of "Schrecklichkeit." Of course, however, this in no way excludes the possibility —in my belief the fact—that at one time Assyria received vast ethnical accessions from the *quasi* rosy-blond Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians of Mitanni and its geographical environs, and also, no doubt, from the multitudinous Aamū, settled or roving about everywhere. Nothing is more probable than that, on the break-up of Mitanni, *all* the Mitannians and Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian Ummān-Mandā did not migrate, or were not deported, east of Zāgros, there to develop later on into the historical Northern-Medes. We can be very sure that *some* of them —and many Aamū too—found their way into, and were enthusiastically welcomed by, the various ethnic elements of the community which was destined to develop into the State historically known as "Assyria.") Moreover, the "building" of Nineveh—at least its greatness, after it had been made the capital,—was a comparatively recent event; and, as the Aamū of Arām and elsewhere were originally the worshippers of *Aa*, the Moon, subsequently called *Ākhū*, *Āghū*, or *Āhū* (=Sin), and eventually, with

the rise of Sun-Worship, transmuted into *Ākhū-Rā*, *Āghū-Rā*, or *Āhū-Ra*, whence was evolved the familiar *Asshur* (conventionally associated with the Assyrians as believed in Orthodox circles to have been "Semites"); it was really the "Asshurites," not the "Nimrodites," who "builded Nineveh"—for, by that expression, is certainly not to be understood the mere founding of the obscure little city that Nineveh was at first. Thus we see how, in "Ezra's" hands, this little verse represents the distortion (the deliberate jumbling up) of more racial traditions and more ages than one.

And what, in this connection, are we to gather from the passage—

"the land of Assyria ..and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof (*Micah*, v. 6)?

Does "in the entrances thereof" refer to Assyria, or to the land of Nimrod? And does Micah mean two distinct countries, or only one? In terms, two separate lands are spoken of; and though, by "land of Nimrod," the prophet may here have been alluding to Shinar (whether Akkad or Sūmer), or even to Assyria itself, yet it is quite likely that the real facts were well known to the people whom Micah was addressing, and also there is nothing to prevent us from concluding that Micah himself was perfectly well acquainted with old *Nūm-Mā*, and was really thinking of and alluding to that country.

We have to thank "Ezra" for not a few of the puzzles to be found in many of the statements of the Old Testament.

In a former paper I spoke of the Hittites having had something to do in a mysterious way with the downfall of the first Babylonian Monarchy in the 18th century B.C. So far as is yet known, the earliest mention of this strange but once influential race is said to be contained in

the records of Amenemhat I, founder of the celebrated 12th Romic (Theban) dynasty, whose regnal period (as I now have reason to believe) was B. C. $1989\frac{293}{480}$-$1972\frac{174}{480}$. He is also known as Sehetep-Ab-Rā. It was just about then that those great and at first peaceful (and apparently guileless) inroads into Khem from the North-East were in progress, which ultimately resulted in what, as well popularly as in professedly learned circles, has hitherto usually been referred to as the "Hyksōs Domination." Not that the Hittites (called by the Romiū the *Kheta*) were the *Hyksōs*: but they were certainly very much involved in the movement generally associated with that name, as also were the Amorites, the Aamū, and the *'Ibr*-Aamū, *'Abr*-Aamū, or Abramites (the real and only Hebrews), and doubtless many other lesser ethnoi besides.

In those distant days the Mitannians—the matured flower and concentrated essence of the Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian race—were, and seemingly for centuries had been, the Over-Lords of everybody within a very wide geographical radius. We have already seen how, both *de jure* and *de facto*, they had become the rulers of Akkad and Sūmer. In addition, they were the acknowledged Suzerains of the Amorites of Jā-ū-di, or Yādai, of the Aamū tribes settled or roving everywhere, and of the Hittites—at least the Hittites of Nāharin and southern Syria. At one time an outstanding personality named Rhiāu, who seems to have been one of their monarchs, was possessed of such world-wide sway that memorials of his greatness have been discovered at places so far apart as Gebelēn and elsewhere in Khem, Bāghdād on the Euphrates, and even under a Mykenaean wall in the palace of Knōssos in Krete. One of his official names, says Professor Breasted (*Hist. of Eg.*, p. 218), was "Embracer of

Lands" and his constant title upon his scarabs and cylinders is "Ruler of Countries."

In brief, politically, culturally, militarily, and in every other respect, the Mitannians were just then Chief of the Nations, at least throughout Western Asia. This tremendous fact was expressed in the style and title which they adopted, and by which all races and nations knew them, *i. e.*, *Hek-Khās-Khetū*, signifying "Rulers of Foreign Countries," identical, no doubt, with Khiān's official designation just noticed. This, however, means that we shall now have to revise our former ideas regarding Tidal King of Nations. Had he been king of Mitanni, and therefore Suzerain of Western Asia, he would hardly have been in Kūdūr-Lagamār's train. But he *was* in this subordinate position. Therefore it is probable that he was only the ruler of some comparatively petty region in Nāharīn or thereabouts which it is difficult at present to identify. It is to Manētho (as preserved by Josēphus) that we are indebted for the longstanding but erroneous name *Hyksōs*, said to mean "Shepherd Kings." But from Manētho we also get the information that it was only in the vulgar Egyptian, or Coptic, tongue that *sōs* signified "shepherds." In the language of the old Romiū there was no such word. They had, however, the word *Shāsū*, and *Sōs* may have been a corrupted derivative from that. Also Manētho supplies yet another etymology. It seems that, in hieroglyphics, *Huk* signified "Captives," and we are also told that, in conventional parlance, the Romiū called all their foreign enemies "Captives"—not necessarily implying that they were actually prisoners. It was a phrase—that was all. Now, it appears that in the first regnal year of Seti I, of the 19th Romic Dynasty, there was another invasion of Khem from the same north-eastern direction—this time by people correctly describable as *Shāsūs*. Seti I expelled

them, but not before they had wrought a lot of damage and so behaved as to earn the bitter and undying hatred of the Romiū. Probably, therefore, it was in memory of these last events that popular consciousness in "Egypt" (not "Khem") coined the expression *Hyksōs*, meaning thereby "Captives" in the sense above mentioned. Meanwhile, the whole world—learned and unlearned alike—has unthinkingly applied this term to those other mightier and more illustrious folk who (whether personally or by their agents, the subject ethnoi above referred to) made the much earlier and much more serious inroads in the early days of the 12th Dynasty.

As already stated, it was really the Mitannian *Hek-Khās-Khetū* who were the supreme originators and directors of that great movement. If, however, as seems undoubted, peoples of Hittite nationality or affinities actually took part in it, the explanation is to be found in the fact that, like the Amorites, the Aamū, and other ethnoi and communities throughout Western Asia, the Hittites were still, as they seem to have been for centuries then past, subjects (and willing and even proud subjects at that) of the Imperial State in the North. Indeed we know that Senwosri II's queen, Nefert (B. C. $1893\frac{108}{480}$-$1874\frac{462}{480}$), was a Hittite. It is said, too, that a portrait of Senwosri III (B. C. $1871\frac{462}{480}$-$1837\frac{403}{480}$), doubtless Nefert's son, reveals him as of the same racial type.

Eventually, as we know, the *Hek-Khās-Khetū* threw off the mask that they had been wearing, and seized the entire realm. When this was, exactly, we have no means of ascertaining. We know, however, that the 12th Dynasty came to an end in B. C. $1778\frac{277}{480}$, or say B. C. 1779. If, therefore, the *Hek-Khās-Khetū* Domination began before that epoch, it must have endured at least throughout the two centuries which stretched between

the close of the 12th dynasty and the accession of Aahmēs I, the liberator of his country, *circa* B.C. 1580. Ordinarily, the 12th-17th dynasties in the Thebaid had not been very much affected by the Domination. Yet, strange to say, it was an act of specially calculated tyranny and insult, exercised by Apepi, the *Hek-Khās-Khetū* Sovereign in lower Khem, *circa* the end of the 17th century B.C., at the expense of his Theban vassal, Seken-en-Rā I of the 17th dynasty, which induced that patriot and his spirited successors (Seken-en-Rā II, Seken-en-Rā III, and Kemēs, the father of Aahmēs I), to resist the oppressors, and even to attempt their expulsion—a course which, as we now know, eventually (probably to their own intense and joyous surprise) turned out to be gloriously successful. The prestige, however, of the *Hek-Khās-Khetū*, and even their actual suzerainty in the North (Nāharīn, Zāhi, Kināḥḥi, and Khārū), lasted up till very nearly the middle of the 15th century B. C. To be precise, it was in Thothmēs III's 42nd regnal year—B. C. 1460—that that mighty genius utterly broke their military power at Kadesh-on-Orontēs. Till then they had been accorded, as of yore, all the honours of their age-long Overlordship by the Hittites, the Amorites, and the Aamū of the North: but after that disastrous day—when, as a dominant power, their name vanished for ever from the pages of history—the international politics of these subject races and States assumed, if not a more simplified, at least a perfectly new, aspect. No longer were they pulled in directly opposite ways by the conflicting diplomacy of two Imperial Super-States—two rival candidates for their allegiance—Khem and Mitanni. Henceforth they only had to estimate the necessity or otherwise of paying at least formal homage to the Pharaohs, and the best way of promoting their own interests amidst the entirely

metamorphosed, though still by no means easily interpreted, conditions of the times. With the crash of Imperial Mitanni—the irreparable smashing of the military might of the *Hek-Khās-Khetū* at Kadesh-on-Orontes—the very heavens seemed to have fallen. Not the stellar splendours of the midnight sky had been more impressive than the glory of that illustrious race. Not the great mountains in the north, not Earth itself, had appeared more stable than their power and prestige. For a time they had even held aspiring young Assyria on leash. And now, like the morning mist, they had disappeared! They were nothing but a sacred memory —a dazzling dream! But never, throughout recorded time, was sacred memory, or dazzling dream, turned so brilliantly to practical account, as was this memory, this dream, of Imperial Mitanni—of the illustrious *Hek-Khās-Khetū*—of the *Hyksōs*, as Jews and Gentiles, learned and unlearned, have ever heretofore styled them—by their *quondam* subjects, the ancient Amorites of Jā-ū-di or Yādai in Nāharīn, now better known to the still very much blinded world as the *Beth Yāhūdeh*, House of Judah, or Jews, supposed by everyone to be Semitic, and Hebraïc, and Israelitish—but in reality no more Semitic, nor Hebraïc, nor Israelitish, than the Laplanders can claim to be.

Not very long, however, after Thothmēs III's decisive triumph at Kadesh-on-Orontēs—certainly before the collapse of Khem's own empire in the North—Mitanni, as such, passes for ever out of the picture of the past; the Hittites, operating from the obscurely situated centre of their national power in the depths of Asia Minor, assume a prominent position in our field of vision; only, however, to be very effectually ousted by Assyria, who suddenly, in the character of a military and aggressive Power, attains a stage of development which thoroughly

alarms even the greatest and most solidly established of her neighbours, and eventually secures for her a position of world-supremacy; and in course of time—after the lapse of several centuries, full of portentous and soul-stirring events—we begin to hear of *Media* and the *Northern Medes*, merely our old friends Mitanni and the Mitannians resurrected under another name, in another country, and amidst world-conditions of a nature wholly different from those which have hitherto been engaging our attention.

The fact above revealed, that at least for an indefinite number of centuries Mitanni had been the most powerful and the most cultured State in the Civilized World, at any rate within the limits of Western Asia, and that, during all those centuries, not only the Hittites of Nāharīn, but the Amorites of Yādai, the multitudinous Aamū, and many other less important communities as well, had willingly and proudly acknowledged the *Hek-Khās-Khetū* as their Overlords, sheds a new and informing light on the intensely bitter, but otherwise somewhat mysterious, if not unaccountable, feelings cherished by the Amorites for the Pharaohs, as preserved in Romic records (see the *Tel-el-Amarna Tablets*), and on the unexampled tenacity and ceaselessness of their intrigues against Khem throughout Nāharīn, Zāhi, and Khārū. Hitherto, reading the correspondence in those Tablets; feeling that the Pharaohs were perfectly justified in their policy as regards the North, in view of what they had once experienced at the hands of the *Hek-Khās-Khetū*, and that, apart from that justification, Khem's dealings with the Amorites and others in the conquered territories were on the whole strikingly magnanimous; loathing the repeated treacheries and deceits of the Amorites; and out of all sympathy with their venomous hatred of the Romiū, and what seemed to

be their utterly unreasonable ill-conditionedness and restlessness ; we have ever had an insuperable difficulty in understanding the Amorite attitude, and in finding any solid and lasting excuse for it. But now, realizing how long-established, perfectly genuine, and boundless was the respect in which they held their Suzerains, the *Hek-Khās-Khetū*, it is comparatively easy to comprehend how, in their eyes, the glory and rights and prestige of these their natural Overlords were everything, and those of the Pharaohs were absolutely nothing ; and how, in a sense, they were perfectly *bona-fide* in their belief that they were justified in doing *anything* to maintain the position of the *Hek-Khās-Khetū*, and to foil the ambitions and upset the arrangements of the rival, and, as they deemed, unrighteously aggressive Pharaohs. And, in the same way, these revelations also explain the feelings of intense, even religious, veneration on the part of the later people of Judah, and the still later Jews for the *Hyksōs*—under which name they are still remembered—whom they ever afterwards looked back upon, not only as a *pre-eminently Royal stock*, but even as a *Holy race*, from whom, indeed, they claim to be in part descended—not only their royal status as an alleged tribe, but also their arrogated holiness as a people, being traceable to this ancient and renowned source. From the foregoing facts and considerations one thing, great and new, emerges and is abundantly clear. The political and military Power heretofore commonly called "the Hyksōs" was in reality the Mitannians. Indeed, from now onwards, we shall have to pension off this old name "Hyksōs."

I concluded my last paper with a reference to "Babylonian Culture," though I did not pursue the subject, but said I would revert to it. I do so now. What really was "Babylonian Culture"? The phrase, or

something implying the ideas connoted by it, has long had a prominent position in text-books, whether regarded as authoritative for the time being, or merely in the nature of gramophonic reproductions of current conventional dogmas. In endless varieties of style and treatment we have been told, over and over again, that for many succeeding centuries the Civilization in vogue throughout at least Western Asia, and, to a certain extent, even far beyond those limits, was essentially and basically "Babylonian," *i.e.*, Babylonian in the peculiar sense already noted. It has been rubbed into us that—especially from say the 20th century B.C. right up to the close of the period of Kāssite ascendancy in Kardūniash—"Babylonian Culture" was dominant all over the regions mentioned. Even during the period when Khem maintained her empire in the North (in Khārū, Zāhi, Kināḫḫi, and Nāharīn) right up to the Euphrates, the Culture locally in vogue amongst the Amorites, Nāharīn-Hittites, and other communities biblically referred to loosely as the Canaanites, was "Babylonian Culture." Contemporary Eastern Mediterranean Culture was confined for the most to its own limits; while, though, to some extent, Romic Culture was indeed to be met with, principally amongst the Romic garrisons, and in that half-Romic colonial community which is better known to us as the Hebro-Israelites of Northern Palestine, the influences originating from Khem were political and commercial rather than cultural in the usual sense. And in all these references to "Babylonian Culture," so found in current text-books as aforesaid, the writers have never been otherwise than perfectly and complacently convinced that what they called "Babylonian Culture" was in veritable fact Babylonian in their own peculiar sense—save of course, that at the back of their minds lay the prevalent belief that Babylonian Culture had once upon a time, in the remote

past, and in some obscure and complex way, developed out of an older Culture usually called Sūmerian.

If we are to accept the teaching of Prof. A. H. Sayce, the original inhabitants of "Babylonia" were—

"a race which we will term Sumerian. Its members spoke agglutinative dialects, and the primitive civilization of Babylonia was their creation."

In those remote days, he says, the three chief cities were Eridu, Ur, and Nippur: but there seems some reason to think that Ur was a colony of Nippur. The culture which emanated from Eridu was wholly different from that radiating from Nippur. The former was practical and cosmopolitan: the latter occult and magical.

"But a time came when the Semite had absorbed the culture of his Sumerian teachers and had established kingdoms of his own in the future Babylonia. For untold centuries he lived in intermixture with the older population of the country, and the two races re-acted on each other. A mixed people was the result, with a mixed language and a mixed form of religion."

* * * *

"Sargon was the founder of the first Semitic empire in Asia" (*Babylonians and Assyrians* The Semitic Series, 1914, pp. 3, 5, 8).

Sūmerian and Semite—my Xantho-Tūrānian and Near-Eastern Melano-Leukochroian—to which, of course, must be added the Kāssite strain. No mention whatever of that immigrant quasi rosy-blond stock to whom I generally refer under the name of the Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians. Hence, according to Sayce, Babylonian Civilization was dual (p. 8)—though modified, of course, by eventual Kāssite influences. Shortly, it may be said that Sayce is as fervent a devotee as any of our other specialists of the cult which looks upon the "Babylonian" as a Sūmero-Semite in the old orthodox sense, with a tinge of Kāssite blood in his veins; upon

the "Assyrian" as even more of a Semite than the Babylonian; and upon the Chaldaean as probably a Semite too!

Nevertheless, there are many prominent Assyriologists besides Sayce. And, as it was impossible for these learned gentlemen entirely to overlook that *fair*, or *blond*, element which, at one time, was undoubtedly present in the Tigro-Euphratean community, we are solemnly presented with the dogma that, so far as the Babylonians were neither Sūmerian nor Kāssite, they were *Amorites*, that is to say *Western Semites*. The idea is both baseless and ridiculous. Of course there *were* Amorites in Babylonia—even Amorite settlers. With them had come their patron deity *Hadad*, or *Rimmon*—to the Babylonians known as *Amūrrū*, "the Amorite." There were even "districts of the Amorites," *e.g.*, one beyond the "Syrian settlements," outside the walls of Sippara. It was under the special protection of Amūrrū's consort, *Asratū*, or *Asherah*, called by the Sūmerians *Nin-Marki*, "Mistress of the Amorite land." But very obviously all this only goes to show that the Babylonians themselves were not either Amorites, or Western Semites. Probably Sayce may be acquitted of this particular heresy and absurdity—if we may call a dogma of the Ultra-Orthodox a heresy. But even his views and statements are not always sound. Witness what he says about Sārgon of Agadē—who certainly represented neither a Semitic ethnos nor a Semitic culture, but an ethnos and a culture that were superposed upon Semitic Agadē. Witness also what he says about the divine-name *Yahveh* having been known at an early date in Babylonia in the form *Yahu-m* (pp. 190, 227). Here, *Yahu* (with or without the final *m*) is not *Yahveh*, which probably did not even arise in Israel till a comparatively late date. It is the Amorite divine-name—*Yāhū*, or *Yāū*, of Jā-ū-di, or Yādāi.

So again I ask: What really was this "Babylonian Culture"? In the first place, we must distinguish between Agadē and Sūmer. In Sūmer, of course, there was a very noticeable foundation of old Sūmerian culture. But, as regards originally Melano-Leukodermic Agadē, I doubt whether, there, Sūmerian culture was in vogue at all, except perhaps as an interesting tinge, due to its territorial proximity to, and its political and other connection with, Sūmer.

To any one who is in sympathy with my general views on the subject of Race- and Culture-Origins and Developments, as set forth from time to time in papers previously contributed to this *Journal*, there can be only one, and that a very ready, answer to the question just put. Just as the Babylonians, say after B. C. 2050, were racially a blend of the original Eastern Melano-Leukochroic, or Dark-White, or "Semitic," inhabitants of Agadē and the *quasi* Rosy-Blond followers of Shārrū-Gī and Shār-Gani-Shārri who poured into the country when, at the invitation of the Agadēans themselves, those two Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian, or let us say Mitannian, celebrities arrived and took over the administration of the country, so Babylonian Culture was a complex result of the fusion of the Culture of the autochthonous Agadēans with the Culture of the fair-complexioned, in-coming supermen from the North. Thus it was largely, if not dominantly, Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian, or Mitannian: and therefore, as such, it was, in its origins, largely, if not dominantly Rhodo-Leukochroic, or Mediterranean.

But when we recognize—as now we can and must recognize—that, say from the beginning of the Tauric Era about B.C. 4000, right up to Thothmēs III's military triumph in B.C. 1460, so far, at least as Western Asia was concerned, inclusive for a time even of Khem, the *Hek-Khās-Khetā* of Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānia,

or say shortly of Mitanni, were an Imperial Race, acknowledged by nearly all peoples and nations as their Overlords; and that, throughout the earlier centuries of that long period, Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānia, *i.e.*, Mitanni, was nothing less than the "Hub of the Universe," the great "Distributing Centre" for all that Culture which has since, in so many divers forms and degrees, diffused itself throughout the Eastern Hemisphere: when we recognize these tremendous facts, do we realize what are the necessary implications of such a recognition?

It means that most of our ideas regarding the Past are utterly wrong: that the picture of Antiquity hitherto presented to us by our conventional authorities wholly misrepresents the concrete facts of history, and ought to be consigned to the lumber-room, if not destroyed. It means the resurrection of a buried Empire; an Empire probably greater and more glorious than that of the Hittites, or even Khem, or Babylonia, or Assyria, —nay, which for a time was actually the Suzerain of all these renowned States; yet whose extent, power, and glory—even the memory of its existence—have been, if not completely obliterated, at least mutilated, distorted, and well-nigh killed. It means that our ideas regarding the "Hyksōs," and regarding Khem as a State that was the incarnation of oppression and every form of evil, must be cast for ever away. It means that, during say the first half of the 15th century B.C., and especially perhaps in the reign of Amenhotep IV, the persistent attitude towards Khem of the seemingly unreasonable and ill-conditioned Amorites of Syria, was not altogether without justification, or at least excuse. It means that racially, and in connection with the alleged historical setting of their past, the Jews are an astounding fraud. It means that the extraordinary *idées fixes*,

wherewith our mentality has hitherto been obsessed, in connection with Race- and Culture-Origins, and the direction (hitherto supposed to have been from East to West) of the stream of Cultural and Racial Developments in the past, will have to be once and for ever discarded, and our views in these connections *completely reversed*. And lastly, with regard to that enchanting dream, the constant contemplation whereof never fails to stir to their profoundest depths the rapturous emotions of enthusiastically patriotic Indians like Dr. Das, and even of Vedic scholars who perchance are not Indians—the dream of a Vedic Age in Sapta-Sindhavah, an "Aryan" India, as the radiating centre whence originally issued everything that the world has ever known or imagined of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful—a last, though doubtless a long and lingering, farewell must really now be waved to it.

Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age—VII.

BY

H. Bruce Hannah.

In the course of their development in volution, races and nations pass through successive stages, corresponding to what, in the case of the individual, are known as birth, infancy, childhood, youth, manhood, senility, and death: though of course, throughout these stages, and apart from their usual incidents, again like the individual, they are subject to the innumerable vicissitudes, ordinary and extraordinary, of life.

After the once powerful and illustrious Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian race had passed their zenith of maturity, and Mitanni, their principal political embodiment, had collapsed (perhaps owing to a weakening of her vital forces, due to old age, but seemingly rather as the result of one of life's vicissitudes—defeat and overthrow), the next great organized people to carry on the torch of Culture were the Assyrians. We have seen how complex were their ethnic origins—partly Kāssitic, partly Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian, and partly Near-Eastern Melano-Leukochroic, or what we may now call "Semitic." Their Culture—the essential characteristics and external forms of their Civilization—must, to a certain extent, have displayed the same diversity: but there can be little doubt that dominantly it was Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian, *i.e.*, Mitannian. In other words, it was the principal surviving expression and representative, in Western Asia, of remoter Rhodo-Leukochroic, or Old Mediterranean, Civilization.

In the Preface to his interesting, and still useful *Manual of Oriental Antiquities* 1906, M. Ernest Babelon

explains that his work deals with "all the civilisations of the ancient East except that of Egypt." It includes the Chaldæans, the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Hittites of Syria, Cappadocia, and Asia Minor—besides the Jews, Phœnicians, Cypriotes, and Carthaginians. Of course this omits several great and famous Eastern civilizations—such as those of India and the vast Mongolian or Tūrānian world—though possibly, when M. Babelon speaks of the "ancient East," he does so in the sense used by Hogarth, *i.e.*, meaning practically Western Asia alone. But what I wish to invite attention to just now is M. Babelon's statement that—

"in these old Eastern civilisations which held sway over the world before Greece and Rome, only two streams of artistic influence are really to be traced—that which rises in Egypt and that which issues from Assyria" "sometimes they opposed or obstinately excluded one another; or else they joined forces, mingled closely with one another, and united their original capacities in a common fund. But if these varying conditions produced in certain countries a local and indigenous art which is neither purely Egyptian nor purely Assyrian, we can always decompose its elements and make a chemical analysis of it, so to speak; and, when we have restored to Egypt that which properly belongs to her, and to Assyria all that has been borrowed from her, we perceive that nothing remains at the bottom of the crucible. Thus it may be said that, properly speaking, there is no Persian art, or Hittite art, or Jewish art, or Phœnician or Carthaginian art; everywhere we find the forms of Egypt or those of Assyria grouped, mixed, perhaps altered, *in proportions* which vary according to time, environment, and political conditions" (pp. v-vii).

If the reader has followed my previous writings, he will remember how I pointed out that, in the remote archæan days when the Western World was wholly ignorant of the East—in the ages preceding the portentous epoch when Rosy-Blond man first migrated into the Orient—Civilization in the Mediterranean World passed through two principal stages, each of incalculably long

duration. The earlier of these two I called the Melano-Leukochroic Age: its successor I called the Rhodo-Leukochroic Age. I further pointed out how the Civilization of ancient Khem (usually *mis*-called Egypt) was a special and local development of the general Civilization prevalent in the Melano-Leukochroic Age throughout Mediterranean countries. In fact, it was a kind of Cultural side-show, remotely situated, and to some extent isolated, on the banks of the Nile. I also invited attention to the fact that, though this special, local, and isolated expression of old Melano-Leukochroic Civilization was subjected to, and indeed considerably modified by, influences at times creeping, at times pouring, into Khem from outside Rhodo-Leukochroic sources, and although, with these modifications, it actually survived its great successor, the Civilization of the Rhodo-Leukochroic Age, and, as a matter of fact, was flourishing right up to the day of its destruction by the Ethiopian Kāssites, the Assyrians, and the Chaldæans, during say B.C. 800-600, yet, as compared with the Civilization ultimately prevalent throughout the ancient Mediterranean World, and the varieties of that Civilization which were taken into the East and became rooted in Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānia and Western Asia generally, it was *sui generis*—in short, it was still dominantly a surviving, though somewhat arrested, expression of Old-World Melano-Leukochroic Civilization.

All this, I submit, is unconsciously confirmed by M. Babelon in his remarks above quoted.

Is it not now clear why, if we put aside what M. Babelon calls "Egyptian" Civilization, the Civilization prevalent throughout ancient Western Asia was what he calls "Assyrian" Civilization?

Is it not clear that, wherever his "mingling of civilizations in a common fund" occurred, such "mingling"

was really a blending of the two main Civilizations which I call Rhodo-Leukochroic and Melano-Leukochroic?

When certain Kāssites from Nūm-Mā, or Kāshshū, or Elām, first began to polarize ethnically into the beginnings of the State which eventually became Assyria, who now can say? This, at least, we know: that some time in the 19th century B.C. they had developed into some sort of individuated body-politic, and we even know the names of their shadowy early rulers, beginning say with Ismi-dagan. But, for a long time—certainly up to the days of Khāmmūr-ābi, these "Nimrodites" (we cannot yet style them followers of *Asshur*)—were subject politically, and probably in every other way, to the Babylonian Monarchy. In short, they were not independent rulers, but *patēsis*, or priest-viceroys, of the Babylonian King—who again, as we now have reason to believe, was himself probably but a vassal of the supreme Over-Lord enthroned in imperial Mitanni.

One thing is beyond doubt. These "Nimrodites" were *not*, as our text-books say, "a Babylonian colony." They were *not* "not only a Semitic people, but, apparently, also of Semitic-Babylonian stock" (*History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, by George Stephen Goodspeed, Ph.D., p. 127). I am referring, of course, to the early days of their beginnings. Again, "They seem, however, to be of even purer Semitic blood than their Babylonian ancestors, and some scholars have preferred to see in them an independent offshoot from the original Semitic migration into the Mesopotamian valley" (*Ibid*). All this is wide of the mark. They did, true enough, receive into their body-politic a strong accession of "Semitic" (or what I call Eastern Melano-Leukochroic), *i.e.*, really Aamū, blood. But this did not take place till some centuries later, as I shall explain in due course.

Whoever they were, they gradually but surely increased in strength, both economically, as a consequence of their commercial activities, and militarily, as an outcome of the policy which they seem deliberately to have adopted. Practically they were the "Prussians" of their day—a people whose rulers made War and Efficiency their gods, and deliberately prostituted all the resources of Culture to *involutional uses* in glorification of these deified personifications, and in advancement of the interests of their cold-blooded cults—thus transmuting the reality "Culture" into the *ersatz* "Kultur," just as in Central Europe their modern representatives, following faithfully in their footsteps, have recently been doing—to their own thoroughly deserved ruin. At last they threw off their allegiance to Babylon, and became independent. This appears to have come about during an obscure stage of their national existence, after the downfall of the Babylonian Monarchy towards the end of the 18th century B.C., and during the earlier stages of Kāssite rule in Babylonia under the Gandash dynasty.

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the course of their subsequent history, which is now fairly well known. Suffice it to remark that they (and doubtless the Kāssites in Kardūniash as well) continued to owe allegiance to their age-long and renowned Suzerain, Imperial Mitanni. These relations, moreover, lasted till the collapse of Mitanni, *circa* some time in the 14th century B.C.—perhaps in the days of Sūbbilūliūma, the Hittite King. Nevertheless, hardly had fortune freed them from that yoke, when they entered upon a violent struggle with Kāssite Babylon for supremacy—in the course of which victory declared now for one side and now for the other.

This, however, was only one aspect of a situation that then prevailed throughout the length and breadth of Western Asia. With the sagging and disintegration of

the State to which all races and nations in that part of the world had been wont to pay homage and tribute for centuries, the keystone had dropped out of the political arch. All the more prominent States which had theretofore been vassals of Mitanni—Babylonians, Nimrodites, and Hittites—plunged into a scramble for the inheritance (political supremacy): the whole world became disturbed: the subtle-minded Amorites were sadly puzzled as to the line of policy they should thenceforth adopt: even the multitudinous Aamū, previously content to laze dreamily through existence, suddenly awoke to racial and national self-consciousness, revealed themselves to an alarmed environment as "politically minded," and developed a spirit of unrest that manifested itself everywhere, but especially in the territories round about Moon-worshipping Haran.

Then arose a genius, in the person of Shalmaneser I. Directing his energies first against the Hittites, and being successful, he considerably extended the power of the "Nimrodites" to the north-westward: he also reduced into possession the whole of Mitanni: and finally, perhaps repeating what some of his predecessors had done before, he either conquered, or effected a brilliant "deal" with, the Aamū world. It is from this time onwards, I submit, that the "Nimrodites" become noticeably "Semitic", that the name "Assyrians" becomes properly applicable to them, and that "Asshur" becomes their tutelar deity, and the symbol of their power, ambitions, and ideals.

It may be remembered that, as explained in a previous paper, the Aamū had long—in fact, as far back as human memory reached—been the principal representatives of that cult of Moon-Worship which had dominated say the middle stages of the remote old Melano-Leukochroian Age. The Moon had originally been known as *Aa*—whence, I suggested, the name of these wonderful people,

the *Aamū*. Afterwards, to that original *Aa*, the suffix *khū*, *ghū*, or *hū*, meaning "illustrious prince" had been added, producing the name *Ākhū*, *Āghū*, or *Ahū*, otherwise called *Sin*. Incidentally it was also associated with *Ākū*, or *Āgū*, carrying the idea of "High." In that connection —*i.e.*, as associated with Moon-Worship—the chief seat of the cult had for centuries been at Ur in Sūmer (also in Haran), where, under the special name of Nannar, Ākhū seems to have been regarded as bi-sexual. Eventually, however, it gathered round it a vast accretion of solar associations. The further suffix *Rā* was added; and the name finally appeared as *Akhū-Rā*, *Āghū-Rā*, or *Āhū-Rā*. Of this, of course, *Asshur* was merely a specially and locally evolved form, a subsequent adaptation. Does not all this suggest to us what was probably the origin of the name that is sometimes written *Achlame*? *Rā*, we know, was just a variant of original *El*. Hence, *Ākhū-El-Aamū*, or *Ākhū-El-Ammi*, ? The Aamū, or the Ammi (*i.e.*, People) of Asshur ? In other words, Assyrianized Aamū.

Now, I have already fully explained how many of the cultural treasures brought out of the Old Rhodo-Leukochroic Mediterranean World by the Rosy-Blonds when they left their ancient Home-land in the West, were taken into the distant East by the main flood of migrants who eventually settled permanently in Airyavō-Vaēja (modern Bokhārā). But another aspect of the general theory which I am advocating, consists in the submission that, at some still rather obscure stage of their national career, *the Assyrians pushed their power well into the East*—how far cannot at present be stated with any confidence. But one thing is certain. In view of the fact that ancient Indian and Central Asian traditions are full of the name *Asuras*—in later Avestan, *Ahuras*, eventually fused into the Mazdeyasnian divine-name *Ahura*—these events could never have taken place until the "Nimrodites"

themselves had become the "Asshurites." This epoch, as just explained, I equate roughly with the reign of Shalmaneser I—say, in round numbers, B.C. 1310-1280. With the expansion of Assyrian power eastwards at this period, went also, of course, the diffusion of "Assyrian Culture" and the prestige of the divine-name *Ākhū-Rā*, or *Āsshur*.

What really was this "Assyrian Culture"? It was the Culture of the Rhodo-Leukochroic Turānian race, *i.e.*, of Mitanni—in other words, a West-Asian modification of the Culture of the Old Rhodo-Leukochroic Mediterranean World. As I showed in a previous paper, this is clear from considerations connected with the design of the royal standard of Sārgon II (B.C. 722-705). That design obviously refers to kosmical conditions in the Tauric Era—a stretch of $2155\frac{15}{167}$ years, ending with $4311\frac{65}{167}$ years from the Initial Point or Spheroidal Zero, conventionally placed at 0-1 Ariēs. In other words, the Tauric Era, in terms of modern reckoning, was the period (to be exact) B.C. $4004\text{-}1848\frac{52}{167}$. That certainly was not the age of Sārgon II, whose standard we are commenting upon. Therefore, the only conclusion we can reasonably come to is that the design of that standard (though used in B.C. 722-705) really perpetuated, for Sārgon's subjects, the memory of the mighty age to which they were thus officially told to look back as the epoch of the origin of all that they were, ethnically and culturally.

So much for Assyria, and the spread of her power and culture into Central Asia, and even indefinitely farther, into the more distant East.

Pass now to Media and the Northern Medes, or *Sār-Mādā*—conventionally, in the text-books, represented as ethnically identical with, or akin to, the Airyānians, or, as these are usually called, the Iranians. They were nothing of the kind. They were the direct descendants of the migrated, perhaps deported, remnants of the

disintegrated Mitannians, after the collapse of Mitanni some time in the 14th century B.C. Thus, racially, they were Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians.

But what about Medic Culture? There can be little doubt that, after Mitanni's great *débacle*, and the uprooting *en masse* of her people, the latter must have forgotten and lost much, if not the whole, of their Culture. No doubt, also—being, as Medes, resettled in Media, more in touch with the neighbouring Airyānians to the east of them than with any other ethnos—they must, to some extent, have been subjected to Airyānian influences. But again, there can be just as little doubt that it was during the period which immediately succeeded B.C. 1300—when Asshur was diffusing her power and culture eastwards—that the foundations were really laid of whatever the essential Culture was that eventually became known as Medic Culture. This, as we saw in a previous paper, is supported by considerations connected with a study of what is known as the Medic Calendar—Calendars being always a good index of racial, or at least of cultural, origins.

Afterwards—say from the 7th century B.C. and onwards till the migration westwards of the Northern-Medes not long after the death of Kyrus in B.C. 529—Medic Culture, customs, manners, and so forth, were considerably modified by the relations subsisting between the Medes and a unique and wonderful group of communities in Central Asia, once, under the name of the Sākhi, captives of the Assyrians, but now known as the free Sākhs, or Sāghs, also as the "Descendants of the Sākhs," and some of them as the *Āshāvō-Danghavō*, or "People of *Āshā*"—a fair-complexioned folk, somewhat like the Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians in personal appearance, and, as a matter of fact, to some extent descended from that stock—who, issuing from Sākhēs-ani, or Sākhland, just north of Arārdhū and the Araxēs river, had established

themselves in Airyān ever since say B.C. 700, or B.C. 600 at latest, and though for some time, at least nominally, subjects of the *Ākhaimenidai*, had become (by virtue of their character) practically dominant throughout the country, economically, militarily, socially, culturally, and indeed in every conceivable respect. Some day I hope to deal with the origins, the ethos, and the fortunes of this remarkable race, as a subject by itself.

Now, as regards the Ancient Persians. Here again our conventional text-books are shockingly misleading. Every writer who takes up the subject meekly follows, mincingly and primly, in the foot-steps of approved traditional "Scholarship." Everywhere we are told that racially the Persians (ancient Persians, *bien entendu*) were akin to the Medes: in fact, that they were only another branch of the Airyānians. Again I protest: they were nothing of the sort. The ancient Persians were Kephēnians, *i.e.*, they were descendants of the barbarous Kāssi. And the Culture that is commonly called "Persian Culture" was a *bizarre mélange*, acquired by an innately mimetic race partly from the Airyānians, partly from the Assyrians when these were pushing into the East, partly from their neighbours, the Medes, or resurrected Mitannians, and partly from the Sākhs above-mentioned. Never was truer observation made than that of M. Babelon, above noticed, when he stated that there was really no such thing as "Persian Culture." The materialized expressions of Art, and the other forms of Culture, that they possessed, were borrowed plumage—plumage, moreover, that was spoiled in the borrowing, by a bird obviously unable to understand the essential meaning of the ornaments with which it vaingloriously decked itself.

Yet another direction in which, in this connection, the general public—lamentably nebulous-minded in matters of this kind—has for long been, and is still being, woefully

misled, has reference to what are commonly called the traditions of Irān—ever popularly associated with Persia, and actually believed by the present inhabitants of Persia to be a national and racial possession, exclusively, or at least peculiarly, their own. In the first place, the ideas connoted by the names "Persia" and "Irān" (*i.e.*, "Airyān") respectively, are as distinct and far apart from one another as are the Arctic and the Antarctic Seas. Secondly, the present inhabitants of Persia are *not* descended from the ancient Persians —all text-books and orthodox writers to the contrary notwithstanding. They are of quite a different racial stock or stocks. The ancient Persians, accompanied by their racial congeners, the *baroque* and untamed Dahae who had been inhabiting the wildernesses of Airyo-Tūrān for centuries, abandoned Airyo-Tūrān *en masse*, shortly before the opening of the Christian Era, and stampeded westwards, where they ultimately settled in Europe, and are now known as *the Germans proper*. In what is called "Iranian Folklore" we meet with marvellous and sometimes beautiful legends of the exploits or experiences of supermen supposed to have been the ancestors of the Persians. Doubtless some of the legends do go back to old Airyavō-Vaēja and its times. And doubtless, also, there were in fact supermen, both there and in later Airyō-Tūran. But the traditions of Airyavō-Vaēja were quite distinct from those of the original Kephēnian (*i.e.*, Kāssi-descended) Persians. And most of the tales relating to old Airyo-Tūrān—so far as any glory, honour, or glamour attaches to them—are really tales of the noble-minded and physically splendid Sākhs, or Sāghs, or *Ashāvō-Danghavō*, who, in fact, gave *Asia* its name. It is amongst *them* that the supermen of so-called "Persian" tradition, legend, and song are to be found. The villains of the play—sometimes

of " royal " rank—are always dwellers in the surrounding wildernesses, the age-long home of the unkempt Dahae (Dahyus), the blood-brothers of the ancient Persians. In any case, the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Persia never had any part or lot in any of these marvellous stories of the past. They were multitudinous but inferior race-stocks—more or less coloured—who, emerging from the regions round about, boldly crowded into, or furtively settled in, Persia, after that country had been evacuated by its original possessors as above stated. First the Sākhs, or Sāghs, abandoned their settlements in Central Asia (Sogdiana, Bactriana, etc.), and plunged westward, turning up in N. W. Europe, about B. C. 58, as the Angles, Saxons, Jutes (Yöta), and so forth. When the Persians and their companions, the related Dahae of the wilds, did likewise, it was in the wake of these departing *Sāhibs* that they went. All these peoples took with them a particular kind of *fūthork*, or script. The original belonged to the Sākhs, and was very similar to the *Kharoshṭri* subsequently introduced into India by other branches of the same people who, under the name of the *Sākās*, or *Sāghās*, migrated east instead of west. The *fūthorks* of the Persians and the Dahae, needless to say, were imitations of the original. The particular group of Sāghs who were known as the *Āshāvō-Danghavō*, or " People of Āshā " (the same word as *Ārta*, or *Ṛta*) eventually found their way into European Sküthia, and there amalgamated with the Skolotoi, who were racially akin to them—all being *Sküthai* (a form of *Sogdioi*), *i.e.*, " Descendants of the Sākhs." It was from them that the capital of the united community, which was at Kieff in southern Russia, acquired its name of *Āsgard* (" Founded by the Āshā-ites "), the country received its name of *Āsāland*, or *Āsāheim*, and the entire united

people became known as the *Āsen*, afterwards in Scandinavia rendered *Ásir*.

Besides the so-called modern Persians, another people who purloined the glorious traditions and folksongs of the original Sāghs and Āsen, were the ancient Persians and Dahae just mentioned, and their European representatives, the Germans. That is why, in popular thought, English and "Teutonic" myths and folktales are so hopelessly mixed up—most people, to this day, even in England, imagining that these legends and songs are really German as well as English. The Germans have the audacity to go even further, and to claim that they are originally German myths, and only derivatively English—the English being racially only a branch or twig of the great original German tree! As a matter of fact, the two peoples are *absolutely different*, *ethnically*. And, as for the legends and songs just mentioned, the Germans are *not entitled to them at all*. In particular—to take one example out of many—Odin was not a German hero: he was a Skŭthic, *i.e.*, a Sākhian, leader, who in fact conquered, and imposed his yoke upon, the Germans, when he led his people into the North-West from Āsāland in southern Russia, *circa* A. D. 250, and appointed his sons princes to be rulers over them.

Lastly: we are familiar now with the saying, "Fast is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." For the sake of a phrase, we have to suffer a statement like this, more or less gladly. When shall we see people—even poets—realizing the fact that, ethnically, the East has for ages been very largely West; and that the dominant races of modern Europe are really of Eastern origin? In other words, already East has long been West, and West is even now essentially East. Away, therefore, with the above, and all other forms of, claptrap!

High-Caste Hindu Marriage of Bengal with special reference to its folk elements[1]

BY

TARAKCHANDRA DAS, M.A.

From very early times, of which we have literary records only, the Hindus consider marriage as a sacred bond. To them it is sacramental in character. The idea that marriage is a social contract can nowhere be found in the whole field of Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist or Jaina literature. Only in the mind of the author of the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra we can see some glimmerings of such an idea of social contract though he has not made any direct assertion to this effect. To this day even the whole Hindu society of India deems it sacrilegious to call marriage a social contract. In this custom, at least, no amount of foreign or local influences have been able to make any appreciable change on the general mentality of the people. So we find an admirable unity in this point among the Hindus of the different provinces of India.

According to the Gṛihya and Dharma Sūtras Hindu marriage is of eight kinds. It is divided in accordance with the principle by which the bridegroom wins the girl. The first of these eight kinds is known as Brāhma Vibāha. The father of the bride makes a gift of her to a Brahmachārin of known family who has got the proper

[1] The substance of this paper was read in the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress at its eighth annual session in February, 1921.

knowledge of the Vedas. In the second kind, known as Prājāpatya, the girl is made over to the bridegroom, clothed and decorated, with the request that he should perform religious acts in accompaniment of her. The third variety known as Ârsha asks the bridegroom to give to his father-in-law, just after the first oblation of fried paddy, a pair or two of cattle. It is not to be regarded as purchase-money of the girl but is taken for the performance of some sacrifice or for giving back to the bride as dowry. In the fourth class known as Daiva the girl is given to a Ṛitvij after the performance of a sacrifice along with the usual fees. In the fifth class marriage takes place among two persons according to their own choice and as a result of prenuptial love. This form is known as Gāndharva. In Āsura Vibāha which forms the sixth variety, the bridegroom has to purchase the girl from her parents and also is required to pay a dowry to her. Marriage by capture is known as Rākshasa and forms the seventh variety of our list. Last of all comes the Paiśācha Vibāha, in which the girl is outraged while asleep, or under intoxicant or overcome by fear.

According to the authors of our sacred laws the first four kinds of marriage are known to be Dharma Vibāha or religious marriage and are indissoluble. It is believed that the issues of these marriages can work salvation up to the 12th degree or 7th degree both above and below himself. The remaining four kinds of marriage are not given such a high position. In these cases the regular marriage ceremonials are no doubt performed to make the tie valid yet the defect of their origin does not leave them. Divorce is allowed in these cases, of course under certain circumstances, and the husband of such a marriage does not possess such a complete control over the person and property of his wife as in the four former kinds.

Two other forms of marriage were also prevalent in ancient times chiefly among the royal families, *viz.*, Svayambara and marriage by some test. In the first case the bride herself selected one from amongst a number of candidates for her hand. In the second case the candidates for a girl had to submit themselves to a fixed test of efficiency, the successful one got the possession of the bride. Both these forms were followed by the usual ceremonies, Parinaya, Saptapadī, etc., as in the first four kinds of marriage.

We are not sure whether all these ten forms of marriage were current in the ancient Hindu society. But if we are to believe the evidences of the sacred literature, the epics, the Purāṇas, and the semi-historical Kāvyas, we have ample examples of marriages contracted according to every one of the above described forms.

In Bengal at present, some of these forms are not to be found. With the decline of sacrificial religion the Daiva form has disappeared as expected. Such is also the fate of the Ārsha form which reminds us of a time when coins were not so amply circulated. The Brāhma form of marriage has to some extent kept its place in our society though in an altered form. With the change of time graduates have taken the place of Brahmachāris who were expected to be the students of the Vedas. But in modern Bengal the Prājāpatya form of marriage is generally prevalent. As regards the last four forms, the 7th and 8th are still to be met with among the hill tribes of Bengal and Assam who have not yet come under the influence of the Hindu Society. The Gāndharva form prevails mostly among the Anglicised sections of the Hindu society. There also it is not to be found as a rule but as exceptions.

The sixth form namely Āsura, sometimes known as Mānusha, is to be found in its complete shape among the

largest portion of the Bengali Hindu society. The lower castes as a rule had to purchase their wives, sometimes even at great costs. Some sections of the Brahmins, I mean the Śrotriyas (of East Bengal) had to buy their wives even before a quarter of a century. But now they get bride free of any cost, sometimes even get money, owing to educational qualifications. Where this important factor of education or some such qualification is absent they have to pay for their wives even now. The priests of some of the lower castes, *e.g.*, Chaṇḍāla, Kaibarta, etc., who are known as Varṇa Brāhmaṇa and also the Āchārya Brahmins and the Mahāsrāddhiya Brahmins are required to pay for their wives, as a rule even now. So we find that this Āsura form of marriage is to be found in all the stages of our society.

Now I shall try to give a rough idea of the rites described in our sacred books in connection with marriage.

At the very beginning the bride is to be examined, failing in which she cannot be married. Eight lumps of earth from eight specified places were collected and a ninth was formed by taking a little from each lump. The bride was then asked to take any one of them. If the lump of earth taken by the girl be of a place which is regarded auspicious, she can be taken as a wife, otherwise not. This method of examination was adopted when a competent expert in physical signs was not available (kuśalena). Some day after the choice of the bride, the Jñātikarma takes place. In this the girl was first anointed with barley or muga paste ; after which some of her female friends poured water over her head thrice with the recitation of mantras.

According to the Āśvalāyanakārikā the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride on the day of marriage, bathed and decorated, and surrounded by his relatives

and menials. There he is received by the bride's party with Madhuparka.

Next follows, according to Gobhila, the Kuśakaṇḍikā-kṛityam. The bride is bathed and supplied with new clothes by the husband and is made to recite the mantras Pra me patiyānah panthá, etc. After this the girl is seated to the righthand side of the husband who offers some oblations of clarified butter in the nuptial fire. This ends the Kuśakaṇḍikākṛityam.

Next we are to deal with Aśmārohana. The mother or brother of the bride with some fried paddy in hands should make her stand on the stone-slab. When the bridegroom repeats the following mantra Imamśmānam-āroha Aśmameba tvam Sthirābhava,[1] etc. After this the bride makes in the fire three oblations of fried paddy at intervals during which the husband goes through a set of ceremonials known as Pariṇayana.

This is followed by the ceremony known as Saptapadī-gamana. The bride, after offering the remaining fried paddy with a winnowing fan, is made to move seven steps with special mantras for each step, by her relatives, *e.g.*, mother, and others. It is also laid down that she should first lay her right foot and then the left one which will only cover the place already passed by the right one. In some parts of India this forms the most essential element of marriage rites.

This is followed by a ceremony in which the bride-groom repeats a mantra and asks the benediction of the people present on the occasion. After this the bride and the bridegroom are bathed with water brought there by some friend. Then comes the Pāṇigrahaṇa ceremony. The bridegroom takes hold of the joined hands of the bride with both his hands in a peculiar way and recites six Ṛik verses, *e.g.*, Gṛihṇāmi te iti.

[1] *Eng. Trans.*—Ascend this stone. Be firm like a stone, etc.

At the end of the Pāṇigrahaṇa ceremony the bride is led to her husband's house where is performed the Uttara-bibāha on the second day. If the husband's house is situated at a distant place, the bride is led to the house of a good Brahmin of the village where the nuptial fire is placed. There the bride remains sitting on an oxhide till the stars appear in the sky. When the stars become visible the husband offers six Ājya oblations in the afore-said fire. After this the couple leave their seats simultaneously and come out. The husband then points out the stars known as Dhruva and Arundhatī to the wife, who repeats some mantras at the time. From this time they both live together for three days. From this time they both are required to live as Brahmachāri for three days during which they are to lie down on ground. On the second day after showing the Arundhatī or on the morning of the third day the husband cooks a dish, portions of it he offers to some of the deities. From the rest he himself eats something and gives the remaining to his wife to eat.

The fee for the marriage ceremony is a cow.

Now if the Uttaravivāha takes place in the house of a Brahmin of the village as stated above, the bride and the bridegroom starts for home after it. At her arrival some ladies who have their husband and sons living, receive her and make her sit on an oxhide. A boy is placed on her lap and she gives toys or fruits to him. Then the boy is taken away from her lap and her husband offers oblations in the fire. At the end of this the superiors present are to be saluted in order of their seniority.

On the fourth day after marriage is performed the Chaturthīkarma.

Now the description of the marriage ceremony as given above was observed by the Gobhila Śākhā of the Sāmavedins. No doubt, there are differences in details

not only between the followers of the different Vedas but also among the members of the different Śākhās of the same Veda. But as they are concerned with minute points I may say that the above description gives us a general idea of what marriage was in ancient India.

Now let us pass on to the present marriage ceremonials of Bengal. In this part I shall only give the folk parts of Bengali marriage leaving aside the shāstric ones.

It is a well known fact that the Bengali bride or bridegroom has no hand in the selection of their consort. The function is almost everywhere left to the guardians, who first make their choice of the bride or bridegroom and then settle the terms of payment. When the terms are settled a ceremony takes place in the house of the party where the agreement is drawn up and signed. In the courtyard some paintings are made with rice-paste mixed with water. A small earthen or copper pot filled with water and with a twig of the mango tree at the top is placed in the middle of the painted area. Two seats are kept on two sides of this pot and the representatives of the two parties sit on them with their faces to the north and east. Then each decorates the other with sandal-wood paste and curd. After this they stamp the two copies of the agreement with a coin dipped in vermilion. Now they exchange these documents formally and carry it to their respective home where their wives receive it from their husband's hand amidst assembled relatives and neighbours, and keep it with great care. With the document some Durvā grass, paddy and a coin are also kept. In some places the family priest presides over the whole function described above though he has no special duty. In some parts of Bengal and among some castes the above ceremony is sometimes accompanied or replaced by one known as Pākā Dekhā or "final selection" of the bride. The speciality of this ceremony is that the bride-

groom's party makes a present of some ornament to the bride and thereby seals the match. This system of presentation to the bride is referred to in the Vedic hymns even and can be found in many tribes of India, *e.g.*, Toda.

The Hindu marriage always takes place on an auspicious night which is fixed by both the parties in consultation with the astrologer. At the dawning of this auspicious day the first ceremony which takes place is known as Adhibāsa. Before the sunrise the bride and the bridegroom in their respective homes are decorated with the following essential articles, *viz.*, a garland of wooden globelets; a girdle, sandalwood paste, collyrium and a piece of new cloth. This is the popular Adhibāsa where the priest has no place—the whole function is performed by the female folk. But the bride and the bridegroom have to undergo a Shāstric counterpart of this ceremony at the time of Vṛddhi Śrāddha, when the priest touches their forehead with the following articles—a lump of earth, scent, stone-slab, paddy, Durvā grass, flower, fruit, curd, clarified butter, Svastika, conch shell, turmeric, silver, gold, copper, lamp and looking-glass. Thus it appears that the two ceremonies are completely different though bearing the same name and no possible connection can be established between the two by any flight of imagination.

After the popular Adhibāsa comes the Jalabharana or bringing of water. This also takes place in the house of both the parties. The parents of the bride or bridegroom start from their house forming a procession. In front of all goes a married lady with the ceremonial winnowing fan in her hands. After her comes the father with a sword in hand and he is followed by his wife carrying an empty pitcher on her waist. They are followed by the friends and relatives together with the musical band. The whole procession proceeds to the nearest river or a

consecrated tank, in which, at first, oil, betel leaf, nut and vermilion are floated away. After this the husband crosses the water with his sword and his wife fills her pitcher from this crossed place. Next the procession returns home in the same order and places the jar and the sword near a pillar of the house. Then the jar, the sword and the pillar are bound together with a new napkin and a string of beads and a betel leaf are placed in the jar. This pitcher is known as Nidrākalas or sleeping jar. The water of this jar is used in bathing the bride and the bridegroom on the tenth or eighth day after marriage.

The next ceremony, which takes place in the house of the bride's parents only, is the husking of the paddy for the purpose of *Kshīrabhojanī*. Some amount of paddy is besmeared with cocoanut-water and boiled on the fire of sugarcane leaves of a limited quantity. Then it is sunned on the way where the passers-by may trample over it. In the afternoon the parents of the bride, with their clothes knotted together, husk it with the pestle and mortar. The use of this rice will be described in its proper place.

Another rite performed in the bride's house only, is known as "the collection of bride's love." Her father with a hoe in his hand and the mother with the bride in her lap—their clothes knotted together—come to the courtyard from the house. The father takes a little earth from each of the four corners of the courtyard and also from its middle point with strokes of his hoe and gives it to the wife who keeps it in her skirt. At this time some one asks the father, "What are you doing?" He replies "I am collecting the love of so and so." Then the pair enter the house with the collected earth.

Next we are to deal with the bathing ceremony of the bride. In the afternoon of the marriage-day the

bride is brought out to the inner courtyard wearing a piece of new cloth. She stands on an wooden seat by the side of which, on a plantain leaf, is placed the paste of turmeric, Durvāgrass and Mug pulse, ground together. Upon this is kept five cowry shells, 5 Durvā shoots and a little oil. The washerman besmears the body (especially the forehead) of the bride with the above paste and shows her the oil kept there. After this he takes her up and carries her five times round the wooden seat and then again places her on the seat. Near it, some straws from the four corners of a house, are placed in the form of a cross, with five cowry shells on them and upon all a small earthen plate (known as *Muchhi*). Next the married female relatives of the bride, 5 or more in number, jointly pour water on her head, after which she breaks the small earthen plate, placed on the cowry shells just referred to above, with one stroke of her foot and proceeds to the house for decoration. This bathing ceremony of the bride can be traced to the Jñātikarma of the Gṛhya Sutras, with some reason at least. In the Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra we find the following description of this rite :—

क्लीतकैर्यवैश्चाषैर्वा प्लुतां सुरुक्षत् सुरोक्षमेन सशरोरं त्रिमूर्द्धंष्वभिषिञ्चेत् कामवेद् ते नाम मदोनामासीति समानयामूमिति पतिनाम गृह्णीयात् स्वाहाकारान्ताभिरुपस्थमुत्तराभ्यां प्लावयेत् ज्ञातिकर्मैतत्।[1] (1,10,11).

It is evident from the above Sutra that the Jñātikarma was once accompanied by the recitation of the

[1] Eng. Trans.—"After she has been washed with Klītaka barley and beans, a friend should besprinkle her three times at her head, so that her whole body becomes wet, with Surā of first quality, with (the formula), 'Kāma' I know thy name. Intoxication thou art by name,' etc (In the passage of the formula), 'Bring hither N.N.,' he should pronounce the husband's name (The Mantras should have) the word Svāhā at their end. With the two following verses he should wash her private parts.

That has to be done by (female) relatives (of the bride)," S B. E., Vol. XXX, Part II. p. 43.

holy mantras which is lacking in our present bathing ceremony. It has also lost some of its details in course of its travel through these long centuries. Yet it is not difficult for us to recognise it in its new garb. The same ceremony of bathing is also performed in case of the bridegroom exactly in the similar way in his own house.

After this ceremony the bridegroom enters the house where the barber shaves him. At this time five married ladies hold a piece of cloth over his head to serve the purpose of a canopy and a thread is drawn around this canopy for 5 times. After finishing the shaving the barber colours this thread with turmeric and binds it round the wrist of the bridegroom together with 5 Durvā shoots. The same is also done of the bride in her father's house. After this follows the important business of decoration in which over and above the usual clothes and ornaments some peculiar articles are used which have got some amount of anthropological interest. I shall try to describe them one after another beginning first with those attached to the bridegroom.

First of all let us take the crown. Both the bride and bridegroom wear this during the marriage days and also at the time of puberty rites. The custom is not peculiar to India alone. In Russia, and formerly in England, crowns were worn at wedding (Golden Manual, p. 690). It is made of sholā pith, coloured and oftentime richly decorated. The significance of wearing this headdress at the time of marriage becomes apparent when we remember that in India, it is the Bengalis only, together with some aboriginal tribes, who do not use any sort of headdress. Naturally the question arises in our mind that what is the reason of this deviation from their ordinary mode of life. The reason is not far to seek. The use of the headdress is common amongst all the other

races of India and is strictly enjoined by the Shāstras in case of sacred ceremonials. Now in order to obey the injunctions of the Shāstras and also for the purpose of keeping themselves in touch with the inhabitants of the places described to be sacred in the religious literature of the Hindus, the Bengalis have complied partially with the compulsory parts of the Shastric injunctions. Is it possible that this partial adoption is due to the influence of the un-Aryan element of the Bengali race ?

Three other articles are given at this time to the bridegroom. They are a Darpaṇa, a knife, and a shoot of an unblown plantain leaf—all of which he keeps for 10 days of marriage in his right hand. The Darpaṇa is not made of glass as you may have supposed but is a round bronze plate, fitted with a handle, and polished to the extent of giving obscure reflection. It does not belong to the householder but is lent by the barber for the period in return of which he gets a fee. It can be asserted with a great amount of certainty that this custom refers to a stage when glass was not invented and the people had to be contented with this crude instrument which has been retained up to this day. Out of respect for ancient manners and customs, inborn in all societies, such survivals of culture are not strange to anthropologists. This is one explanation of the Darpana but another also is possible which can be found in the shape of the article. We have already said that it is a round bronze plate fitted with a handle which looks almost like a shield. Now if we connect it with the knife—which represents the sword—we find the defensive and offensive weapons of an warrior in the dress of our bridegroom. Another survival of culture is perhaps the knife which had once been the sword as referred to above. Even to this day among the Marwaris and the Rājputs the sword forms a part of the bridegroom's dress. In primitive days marriage was

often contracted by force. The capture of marriageable girls is not rare even now among the peoples of lower culture in different parts of the world, *e.g.*, the Nagas, the Kukis Even the authors of our Shāstras have recognised the existence of such forcible marriage among themselves in the Rākshasa and Paishācha forms.

Now let us look at the bride's dress. She bears in her hand a small wooden vermilion case containing red lead. The shape of the case is special to the occasion and the worse quality of the vermilion is peculiar to the ceremony—though our ladies do not generally use this quality. In her skirt is bound five Harītakīs.

Just before starting for the bride's house the bridegroom comes to the courtyard fully prepared for the journey and takes his seat on a place already painted with rice-paste mixed with water. His mother now comes forward and touches his eight limbs with her lips. The eight limbs are the nose, ears, shoulders, fingers of the hand, and knee-joints. It is regarded to have the power of ensuring safety on the way. After this she pours milk on the palm of her son's hand who keeps it in such a position that the milk can trickle down his elbow from which place the mother holds a little and drinks. This is repeated for five times. After this the bridegroom starts for his would-be father-in-law's house. Some sort of conveyance is necessary for the hero of the occasion as custom does not allow him to go on foot.

After reaching the bride's house he enters the marriage pavilion where others have already assembled and sits on the painted wooden seat placed for him. After the recitation of some mantras two pieces of cloth are given to him which he has to put on at that time. This forms his marriage apparel. It is the custom—though now changing through the influence of education—that the bride and the bridegroom should invariably use red

coloured clothes known as Pattabastra during the ten days of marriage. No doubt, at times when they are not required to perform any ceremonial function they may wear other clothes. This wedding dress is considered to be sacred and is kept with great care after the marriage ceremony and is thrown into current water when found to be worn out. Let me here note an exception to this general use of red dress. The Kaibartas (fishing caste) of East Bengal as a rule do not use anything red in their wedding ceremony—of course excepting vermilion. They avoid it with precision and care. Both the bride and the bridegroom wear white clothes without even the coloured skirts. Not to speak of the clothes even the crown of the head is of a pure white colour. The importance of this deviation from the general rule comes out more clearly when we remember that the white dress of a woman in the Hindu society is indicative of her widowhood.

After the above described shāstric rite the bride is brought from the house before the bridegroom. Both are then raised high on their respective seats and held face to face for some time when each places round the neck of the other a garland of sholā pith. After this the bride circumambulates the bridegroom for five or seven times, being borne on her seat by her relatives or in some cases by hired men. After the completion of the seventh round she is again held up before the face of the bridegroom and at this time her veil is drawn up and both of them look at each other for the first time. Then each tears the sholā garland of the others neck. After this the bride goes to the marriage pavilion and the bridegroom is taken inside the house where he touches the Nidrākalas (sleeping jar)—already described—and returns to his former place. Thus finishes the ceremony known as Mukhachandrikā. The rice prepared for the ceremony of kshīrabhojanī as

already related—wrapped in a new cloth is placed on the wooden seat of the bride upon which she sits during the above ceremony. When she goes to the marriage pavillion this rice is taken away and cooked with the milk of a cow that has not lost any of her calves and is eaten by the maidens after a portion of it has been smelt by the bridegroom when the night's ceremony is finished. This custom of sitting on rice is not peculiar to Bengal alone. The Chitpavan bride and bridegroom stand on rice heaps at their marriage and the Poona Uchlā bride and bridegroom sit on a blanket in a square of rice.

When the Sampradān or the giving away of the bride is over the pair goes to the house and takes its seat on a bed side by side. Now begins a series of performances popularly known as *jokhelā* or magical playing. The purpose of these, as it seems to me, is to impress on the minds of the bridegroom the superiority of the female folk. These indirectly advise him to fulfil every one of the bride's wishes and never to take her to task for any amount of wrong she might do in course of their life. The method by which is expressed this superiority of the female folk in domestic life is so clever and impressive that we cannot but admire it. Let us give some examples of these magical playings. In the first instance the bride scatters over the bed a quantity of rice which the bridegroom has to collect together. This is repeated for 5 or 7 times. Next the attending ladies take a Sarā (earthen covering of pot) from the ceremonial winnowing fan and cover it with a part of the bridegroom's cloth and places upon this another Sarā. Then the bride displaces the second Sarā from its proper place and the bridegroom has to put it in the right position. This also is repeated for 5 times. Next the future attitude of the couple towards each other is examined in the following manner. In a stone-plate filled with water two

pieces of sholā from the two tiaras of the bride and the bridegroom are placed. One of the ladies turns the water in such a way that a whirling motion is produced in it and the sholā pieces begin to move. The particular positions of these pieces of sholā, show according to popular belief, whether the bride will rule over her husband or *vice versā*. This is followed by merriments with the bridegroom which lasts a great portion of the night.

In the morning, following the marriage night, three ceremonies take place before leaving the bed. The bridegroom colours a piece of thread with turmeric and binds it round the conch-shell bangle of the bride. Then each washes the face of the other. This is followed by the important ceremony of giving vermilion paint. The bridegroom takes from the wooden case of the bride a little vermilion and keeps it on his Darpana with which he then paints the bride's parting of the hair (Sīmanta). The ceremony is important as vermilion paint at the parting of the hair of a girl implies her married state and also that her husband is living. Neither the widows nor the unmarried girls are allowed to have this privilege though the latter sometimes wear it on the forehead. The use of vermilion though of great antiquity and though distributed all over India, yet, as far as I know, we have not any reference to the usage in our sacred literature. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea mentions realgar in its catalogue of imports to the ports of Barygaja, Muziris, Nelcynda and Bacare. From the distribution of these ports it becomes evident that the article was used both in Northern and Southern India in that remote age.

In the noon of the second day of marriage comes the Vāsi Vibāha. In the inner courtyard four pairs of plantain trees are placed in a square form—each pair containing one big and one small. At the root of each

pair two earthen pots filled with water and decorated with twigs of mango tree are kept. To the east side of this square a miniature tank is dug and filled with water and on its west bank, just within the square, a *Sil* and a *Norā* (grinding stone and roller) are placed. The whole square is surrounded at the neck of the trees with a garland of 21 Mucchis (small earthen plates), interspersed with twigs of mango tree. The bride and the bridegroom are bathed together in the same way, with the same articles, as on the previous day and also both are decorated with sandal wood paste, collyrum, etc. Then they come to the square and taking their stand on the slab of stone—the bride in front of the bridegroom—they join their hands and offer an offering to the sun with mantras uttered by the priest. Next they sit on the stone and begin to play with the marriage ring of the bridegroom. The bride hides the ring in some place of the tank and her husband has to find it out. This goes on for five times after which the bridegroom takes his wife to the other side of the tank by lifting her with his hands and then himself crosses it. Next a procession in the following manner is formed for circumambulating the square five times. First goes a married lady with the ceremonial winnowing fan followed, in order, by the bridegroom and bride. Another married lady follows them pouring water over their way while a third goes on scattering rice coloured with turmeric. After this the whole procession enters the house, their path having been covered with clothes. Entering the house the same playings with sarā, rice and sholā pieces are repeated. This ends the Vāsi Vibāha.

Now let us pause a little and consider where we possibly might have got the introduction of the above mentioned *Sil* and *Norā*. The upper mill-stone is mentioned in the Gobhila. Gṛhya Sūtra as kept on one side of the marriage fire. The Sūtra runs as follows

Dṛiśat Putrancha (2. 1. 16). We are also to remember the fact that the ceremony of Aśmārohana formed an important factor in the marriage rites of ancient India. The bride had to offer an oblation of fried paddy in the nuptial fire standing on a stone slab. The place of the husband in this rite has been described in the following sloka :—
अनुपृष्ठं पतिः परिक्रम्य दक्षिणत उदङ्मुखोऽवतिष्ठते वध्वञ्जलिं गृहीत्वा[1] ॥
(Gobhila 2. 2. 2).

Here we see that in some respects a remote connection can be established between these ceremonies of the Gṛhya Sūtra and our popular Vāsi Vibāha.

The third night from the marriage day is known as the Śubharātra or auspicious night. At this night when the bride and the bridegroom are about to retire for rest the bride washes the feet of her husband with cocoanut water. After this again the playings with sarā, rice, and sholā pieces are performed.

The last rite in connection with marriage is known as Granthimochana which takes place on the fourth, eighth or tenth day after marriage as the custom may be in the family. The bride and the bridegroom are bathed together, with the water of the Nidrākalas in the same manner as on the day of Vāsi Vibāha and the same sort of decoration follows. After this the couple goes to the nearest tank. There the bridegroom unties the threads bound in the hand and conch-shell bangle of the bride and also the Haritakis of her skirt. In the same way the bride also unties the thread of her husband's hand. Then all these are thrown away into the water. Returning to the house they again repeat the playings with sarā, rice and sholā pieces. After this the attending ladies untie the knot of their clothes. This ends the marriage ceremony in Bengal.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] The husband passes behind her back, stations himself to the south, with his face turned to the north; and seizes the woman's joined hands.

*

The Problem of the Sothic-Rising dates as reported by the Priests.

BY

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

In Time, as conceived by the ancient Romiū, there is discernible a kind of *Relativity* which somewhat reminds us of that in connection wherewith so much rather Rip Van Winklian fuss has recently been made at Home in regard to Einstein's views concerning those ceaseless changes that apparently take place all around us in position, shape, measurement, and so forth, throughout the world of Nature.

Of course, for such as are sufficiently intuitional to appreciate the truths that REALITY and the ETERNAL are merely different names for that unmanifest, definitely unknowable ENS who alone is absolute and self-subsistent; that this *Ens* has nothing whatever to do with the durational entity called Time, wherewith we *Jīv-ātmans* imagine we are so familiar under the nominal guises (mutable and elusive) of Past, Present, and Future; and that what this *Ens* must be described as really inhabiting is the "Eternal Now"; Time like Space, is naught but a word connoting one of certain necessary modes of human and other creaturely thought—abstract relations inevitably inhering in our mental constitution, and accompanying its functional activities—mere illusory actualities in the realm of Existence—a kind of psychical framework

within which our mental operations are inexorably caged, and outside of which they are ordinarily incapable of straying. However, as it is in that restricted realm that, for the most part, we, as conscious integers, live and move and have our complex being (whatever the plane in which we function), these actualities have for us an import as serious as that attaching to realities. Indeed, they represent a happy conditioning and limiting of the realities around us, nay, even constituting us, without which definite knowledge on our part would be utterly impossible. We are therefore constrained to deal with actualities as if they were realities. Nevertheless, most people are unable to grasp the concept of the merely actual, from the standpoint just alluded to. They simply do not see any difference between the two ideas. For them actualities *are* realities.

Though, therefore, in a sense, it may be said that there is no such thing as Time, yet, in another sense, we are compelled to recognize that there *is* such a thing —a merely relative and illusory entity, 'tis true, nevertheless practically, for us, just as important as if it had been absolute, real, and immutable, like the "Eternal Now."

In ancient Khem, however, the relativity of Time went even beyond this purely metaphysical aspect of the subject. In actual practice, for the purposes of their daily affairs, the Romiū regarded Time as based on several distinct scales, the equation of which, however, they eventually discovered was not only possible but convenient and even necessary.

In my recent paper on "B.C. 2782 and Ancient Romic Chronology," I drew attention to the fact that, at least during the period of the Theban dynasty (the so-called 12th) and within the limits of its *régime*, the ancient Romiū based their chronological system, or at any rate one such system, on two distinct main Cycles of Time—

one, commonly called the Sōthic Cycle, consisting of 1460 spheroidal years; the other, apparently styled by George St. Clair (author of *Creation Records*) the Solar Cycle, being non-Sōthic, but regarded as similar. I propose to distinguish it as the Great Phœnix Cycle. A Calendar, based on both Cycles is recorded on the *verso* of the Ebers Medical Papyrus.

It will be remembered that, according to this Calendar, the Sōthic Cycle ended 228 ordinary years after the close of the Great Phœnix Cycle.

As representing Phœnix Time, the Calendar began with B.C. 4470, and then continued, through B.C. 3010, B C. 1550, and so forth, in obvious stages of 1460 years. Similarly, as representing Sōthic Time, it began with B.C. 4242 (228 years later), and continued, through B.C. 2782, B.C. 1322, A.D. 139, and so forth, in like stages of 1460 years—the Sōthic period.

Carrying the matter a step further, I now desire to point out that the duration of the great Phœnix Cycle is not necessarily 1460 years. It is only in relation to the Sōthic Cycle—*i.e.* to the periodicity of Sirius—that the Great Phœnix Cycle takes that form. Apart from the Sōthic Cycle, it may be considered as a Cycle of 1440 years, 1456 years, 1460 years, or 1461 years. In this respect all depends on whether we are adopting a Spheroid of 360 degrees, 364 degrees, 365 degrees, or $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees.

As these Great Phœnix Cycle-periods are not constant, but vary according to the form of Spheroid adopted, it follows that the figures representing the stages at which "Propitious Coincidences" are said to have taken place, are not constant either. And as the nature of the Great Phœnix Cycle, or the form of the Great Phœnix Calendar, varies, so does the form of the Sōthic Calendar. In other words, B.C. 2782 is not a fixed figure. It is only good

for the Sōthic or Theban Cycle of 1460 years based on a Spheroid of 365 degrees.

For instance, with a Cycle of 1440 spheroidal years, based on a Spheroid of 360 degrees, B.C. 2782 would automatically metamorphose into B.C. 2802—*i.e.*, B.C. 4242 minus 1440. With a Cycle of 1456 years, based on a Lunar Spheroid (Osirian) of 364 degrees, it would transmute itself into B.C. 2786—*i.e.*, B.C. 4242 minus 1456. With a Cycle of 1460 years, based on a Spheroid (Sōthic or Theban) of 365 degrees, it of course stands: because B.C. 4242 minus 1460 = B.C. 2782. But, again, with a Cycle of 1461 years, based on a Spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees (Horus), B.C. 2782 changes into B.C. 2781—*i.e.*, B.C. 4242 minus 1461.

However, as the periodicity of Sirius was 1460 years—and that was obviously the number of spheroidal years in a Cycle based on a Spheroid deemed to consist of 365 degrees—perhaps it would be better to say that, as soon as the fact of this periodicity of Sirius had been noted, it was the Sōthic Cycle of 1460 spheroidal years which, for the ancient Romiū, fixed the form of the Great Phœnix Cycle as preferably consisting of 1460 years also.

Further: in the paper on "B.C. 2782," we saw that the difference of 228 ordinary years between Sōthic Time and so-called Great Phœnix Time was represented on the 360-degree Spheroid by 60 spheroidal days = 240 spheroidal years, at 4 spheroidal years to a spheroidal day. Subtracting 240 from 1440 (360 multiplied by 4), we found that the Rising-Point on such a Spheroid equated with A.M. 1200—zōdiacally 30 Ariēs, and calendrically 30 Paōni.

Accordingly, with a Lunar Osirian Spheroid of 364 degrees (which, by the way, has 13 instead of 12 months), 240 years changes into $242\frac{3}{4}$ years; and, as $1\frac{1}{10}$ days on the

360° Spheroid are required to make up 1 day Lunar Osirian, 4 years changes into 4$\frac{1}{60}$ years. Thus, on this Spheroid, the Sōthic Rising-Point equates with A.M. 1213$\frac{1}{3}$ instead of A.M. 1200, where it dwells on the 360-degree Spheroid.

With a Spheroid of 365 degrees (Sōthic or Theban, and regarded as Luni-solar because an extra day is added to the old 360° spheroid, in honour of Osiris, and is called New Year's Day), 240 changes into 243$\frac{1}{3}$, 4 into 4$\frac{1}{15}$, and 1 into 1$\frac{1}{60}$. Here the Rising-Point equates with A.M. 1216$\frac{1}{3}$ instead of A.M. 1200.

With a Spheroid of 365$\frac{1}{4}$ degrees (Horus), 240 changes into 243$\frac{3}{4}$, 4 into 4$\frac{1}{15}$, and 1 into 1$\frac{1}{60}$. Here the Rising-Point equates with A.M. 1217$\frac{1}{2}$. Modern reckoning proceeds on this last basis. In what may conveniently be called Professor Flinders Petrie's list of reported Sōthic-Risings, there is one such said to have occurred on 9 Epiphi, in the 9th regnal year of Amenhotep I of the 18th dynasty. According to the Ebers Papyrus, this was the date of a Propitious Coincidence between the Sōthic year and the Solar year; and we are further told by George St. Clair that, in terms of modern reckoning, it took place in B.C. 1550-1547. Apparently our authorities, starting with 1 Thoth at the Celestial Summer Solstice, and counting the days onwards, have arrived at 308, which they have multiplied by 4, giving them 1232; and this they have deducted from B.C. 2782, thus giving them B.C. 1550. But 308 days, starting with 1 Thoth, brings them, not to 9 Epiphi, but only to 8 Epiphi. To be correct, they should have counted up to 9 Epiphi inclusive. That would have given them 309 spheroidal days. Multiplying by 4, they would have got 1236 spheroidal years; and this, deducted from B.C. 2782, would have given them B.C. 1546. Even this is probably inaccurate, as I shall now attempt to explain.

In the above calculations we have been dealing with a Cycle of 1460 years, based on a year of 365 days, worked into a Spheroid of 360 degrees, divided into 12 months of 30 days each. But if we examine the above-mentioned list of the reported Sōthic-Rising dates, we shall find that it is constructed on a very peculiar basis. To assist the reader, I re-produce it here—

1. "15th day of the 8th month," in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III of the 12th dynasty, and in the 120th year of the dynasty. See the *Kahūn Papyrus*. Also *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed.

2. 9 Epiphi, in the 9th regnal year of Amenhotep I.

3. 14 Epiphi, in the reign of Thothmēs I of the 18th dynasty—regnal year not given.

4. 21 Epiphi, in the 16th regnal year of Queen Hatshepsūt of the 18th dynasty=the 3rd regnal year of Thothmēs III. A *Sed*.

5. 28 Epiphi, in the 33rd regnal year of Thothmēs III. A *Hunti*.

6. 7 Mesorē, *temp*. Amenhotep II—regnal year not stated.

7. 14 „ „ „ „

8. 21 „ no more data.

9. 28 „ *temp*. Tūt-Ankh-Amen of the 18th dynasty—regnal year not stated.

10. 7 Thoth—no more data.

11. 14 „ „

12. (?), in 5th regnal year of Rāmēsēs II. A *Sed*.

13. (?), 33rd „ „ „

14. 22 Thoth, 41st „ „

15. (?), 64th „ A *Hunti*.

16. 29 Thoth, 2nd regnal year of Meren-Ptāh.

17. 1 „ *temp*. Rāmēsēs III of 20th dynasty. (See Poole's *Horae Aegyptiacae*, p. 31).

18. 1 Tybi, 11th regnal year of Thakelath II of the 22nd dynasty. (See Conder's *Hittites*, p. 179.)

The first point that strikes us is that the Senwosri III Rising appears to be in a class by itself. Probably, therefore, we are not wrong in working out its problems with a Spheroid of 365 days or degrees, divided into 12 months of 30 days each—*i.e.*, the Theban Cycle, which is also used for purposes of Sōthic Time. But (though there are several glaring irregularities, and even what seem to be defects) all the remaining dates appear to be intended to fit into a very different but common scheme. What is that scheme?

Roughly, the dates seem to be arranged in batches, each batch intended to represent a sequence—7, 14, 21, 28. From 6 to 9, one of these sequences is actually perfect From 2 to 5, there appears to be another—except for 2, the Rising on 9 Epiphi. One naturally asks oneself, Should this have been 7 Epiphi? With 10 and 11, a third such sequence appears to be started; but from then onwards every datum except the very last (1 Tybi) either fails or is irregular. Indeed, if we grant the theory that the reporting priests had in mind some particular Calendar, on the basis of which these apparently co-ordinated data have been deliberately arranged, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that that particular Calendar had nothing whatever to do with the above-mentioned Theban Spheroid of 365 degrees or days divided into 12 months of 30 days each and producing a cyclical total of 1460 spheroidal years, *but was based on the earlier Luni-Osirian Spheroid of 364 degrees or days divided into 13 months of 28 days each and producing a cyclical total of 1456 spheroidal years.* With such a Spheroid, $1\frac{1}{4}$ days of the 360-degree Spheroid would be required to make up one day. Also, its 4-year period would be represented on the 360-degree Spheroid by $4\frac{1}{4}$ years. And again, on the

Great Phœnix Calendar, B.C. 3010 would be represented by B.C. 3014; while, on the Sōthic Calendar, B.C. 2782 would be represented by B.C. 2786.

Observe that, if we accept the idea of the above-mentioned sequence—7, 14, 21, 28—there is a constant difference of 7 days between any two successive data, which moreover run through the months. Multiply by 4, and we get 28 spheroidal years, Luni-Osirian. As a Luni-Osirian *Heb*-period, these 28 years take the place, and fulfil the functions, of those other *Heb*-periods of 30, $30\frac{5}{12}$, and $30\frac{7}{13}$ spheroidal years which belong to the Spheroids of 360°, 365°, and $365\frac{1}{4}$°, and there respectively, for these several Spheroids, represent their special and exclusive *Sed-Heb* periods.

To get the equivalent number of Spheroidal years (representing Luni-Osirian *Heb*-periods) as they would be on the 364°, 365°, and $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroids, we shall have to multiply the 7, no longer by $4\frac{1}{30}$, but by $4\frac{1}{13}$ or $4\frac{8}{120}$, according to the particular one of these several Spheroids that we have in hand.

Now let us apply these principles to all the above data *seriatim*, and see how they work out—beginning with 2, the Rising said to have occurred in the 9th regnal year of Amenhotep I.

I pass by the first-mentioned Rising for the present—the one reported as having taken place in Senwosri III's 7th regnal year—because the Theban Calendar of those days (starting from the Celestial Summer Solstice) seems to have been based on the 365° Spheroid; hence that Rising was probably not reported in connection with the same scheme as that into which all the other data in the list appear to be intended to fit. First, then, let us assume that "9 Epiphi" really was 9 Epiphi.

On the four Spheroids with which we are concerned, 9 Epiphi, Sōthic, then produces the following different results—

360°

1200+36 (9×4)=1236. This, deducted from B.C. 2802 (B.C. 4242−1440)=B.C. 1566.

364°

$1213\frac{1}{3}+36\frac{1}{90}$ $(9\times 4\frac{1}{90})=1236\frac{11}{90}$. This, deducted from B.C. 2786 (B.C. 4242−1456)=B.C. $1549\frac{84}{90}$.

365°

$1216\frac{1}{3}+36\frac{1}{2}$ $(9\times 4\frac{1}{72})=1252\frac{5}{8}$. This, deducted from B.C. 2782 (B.C. 4242−1460)=B.C. $1529\frac{3}{8}$.

365¼°

$1217\frac{1}{2}+36\frac{133}{180}$ $(9\times 4\frac{133}{720})=1254\frac{13}{80}$. This, deducted from B.C. 2781 (B.C. 4242−1461)=B.C. $1526\frac{155}{180}$.

Now let us assume that the datum "9 Epiphi" ought to have been "7 Epiphi." Calculating as before, we get the following results for the four several Spheroids—

360°

B.C. 1574.

364°

B.C. $1544\frac{12}{90}$.

365°

B.C. $1537\frac{5}{72}$.

365¼°

B.C. $1535\frac{44}{720}$.

The next datum is 14 Epiphi, in the reign of Thothmēs I—7 Luni-Osirian days, or 28 Luni-Osirian spheroidal years, further on; and if my theory of a Luni-Osirian Calendrical sequence for these data is correct, 28 from B.C. 1574 *supra* should give us the data for 14 Epiphi on the basis of the 360° Spheroid. And it does: for that date, otherwise worked out, is B.C. 1546. So $28\frac{12}{90}$, deducted from B.C. $1544\frac{12}{90}$, *supra*, should give us the date for 14 Epiphi on the basis of the Luni-Osirian

Spheroid of 364 degrees. And it does—B.C. $1516\frac{4}{5}$. So $28\frac{7}{15}$, deducted from B.C. $1537\frac{7}{15}$ *supra*, should give us the date for 14 Epiphi on the basis of the 365° Spheroid. And it does—B.C. $1508\frac{14}{15}$. And so $28\frac{14}{15}$, deducted from B.C. $1535\frac{14}{15}$ *supra*, should give us the date for 14 Epiphi on the basis of the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid. And it does—B.C. $1506\frac{13}{180}$.

The next datum is 21 Epiphi, in the 16th regnal year of Queen Hatshepsūt, and the 3rd regnal year of Thothmēs III. It represented a *Sed Heb* which, we are told, was jointly celebrated by Hatshepsūt and Thothmēs III. Thus we have several welcome control-conditions enabling us to check our calculations for this particular item, and so constituting it both a *test-date* and (if it works out properly) a *clinch-date*.

Let us adopt the shorter of the methods just used. 28 deducted from B.C. 1546 *supra*, gives us B.C. 1518 =A.M. 2486, for the 360-degree Spheroid. So $28\frac{28}{90}$, deducted from B.C. $1516\frac{1}{90}$ *supra*, gives us B.C. $1487\frac{4}{90}$ =A.M. $2516\frac{86}{90}$, for the Luni-Osirian Spheroid of 364 degrees. So $28\frac{7}{15}$, deducted from B.C. $1508\frac{14}{15}$ *supra*, gives us B.C. $1480\frac{1}{2}$=A.M. $2523\frac{1}{2}$, for the 365-degree Spheroid. And so, lastly, $28\frac{105}{180}$, deducted from B.C. $1506\frac{13}{180}$ *supra*, gives us B.C. $1478\frac{13}{180}$=A.M. $2525\frac{103}{180}$.

How do these results stand the test of a comparison with my lists of *Sed Hebs*?

The Luni-Osirian List is naturally very different from the others—the period being one of only 28 years, and the year having 13 instead of 12 months. But in the List for the 360° Spheroid there is a *Heb* for A.M. 2490, which may be regarded as corresponding with A.M. 2486 *supra*. In the List for the 365° Spheroid there is a *Heb* for A.M. $2521\frac{7}{15}$, which may be regarded as corresponding with A.M. $2523\frac{1}{2}$ *supra*. And in the List for the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid there is a *Heb* for A.M. $2526\frac{8}{15}$,

which may be regarded as corresponding with A.M. $2525\frac{105}{180}$ *supra*. These results are not exact, but they are near enough to show that my general principle is probably sound. Provided the discrepancies are not due to some flaw in my arithmetic, they are doubtless accountable fo by some perhaps quite simple explanation such as the following. All along the Cycle of Sōthic-Risings, its dates run in quartettes of years. In this particular case, the quartette is A.M. $2525\frac{105}{180}$, $2526\frac{285}{360}$, $2527\frac{105}{180}$, and $2528\frac{285}{360}$. Here, it will be seen, not only the *Sed Heb* A.M. $2526\frac{285}{360}$, but also the result A.M. $2525\frac{105}{180}$ (in the form of A.M. $2525\frac{285}{360}$), finds a place. Thus, it appears to be permissible to say that this result, *supra*, can claim to be just as correct as the *Sed Heb*.

Here it may be noted that, some two years ago, in my pamphlet on *Ancient Romic Chronology* (see this *Journal*, Vol. I for 1920, end of vol.), wherein my method was quite different from that now employed, I arrived at A.M. $2526\frac{285}{360}$=B.C. $1477\frac{285}{360}$, as the 3rd regnal year of Thothmes III.

As a matter of fact, the entire chronological position is absolutely controlled by these *Heb Lists* and *Sothi-Rising Lists*.

The next entry in the Petrie list of Rising-dates is 28 Epiphi, in the 33rd regnal year of Thothmēs III. A *Hunti Heb* year. Here, again, we are 7 Luni-Osirian-spheroidal days, or 28 Luni-Osirian years, further on. As, on the 360° Spheroid, 21 Epiphi was B. C. 1518, so, on the same Spheroid, this date should be B. C. 1490, *i.e.*, 1518 minus 28. Let us test it. 1200+112 (28×4)=1312. This, deducted from B. C. 2802=1490, the required result.

Now, what is 28 Epiphi on the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid? $1217\frac{1}{2}+113\frac{301}{360}$ $(28\times4\frac{28}{360})=1331\frac{61}{360}$. This, deducted from B. C. 2781=B. C. $1449\frac{105}{180}$. The test again is,

B. C. $1478\frac{13}{180}$ *supra* minus $28\frac{95}{180}$=this very figure B. C. $1449\frac{118}{180}$.

Further, B. C. $1449\frac{118}{180}$ = A. M. $2554\frac{6}{180}$. What is the difference between that and A.M. $2525\frac{108}{180}$, Thothmēs III's 3rd regnal year as found *supra*? It is $28\frac{130}{180}$—apparently the Luni-Osirian *Heb*-equivalent for $30\frac{7}{180}$ on the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, or $30\frac{5}{12}$ on the 365° Spheroid.

Now, how do we stand in connection with the *Hebs*? On the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid there is a *Hunti Heb* (Quadruple Festival, or 4th *Sed*) for A.M. $2556\frac{12}{180}$—exactly $30\frac{7}{180}$ spheroidal years after the above-mentioned *Sed Heb* for A.M. $2526\frac{5}{180}$ celebrated jointly by Hatshepsūt and Thothmēs III in her 16th regnal year and his 3rd regnal year. Referring to the list of reported Risings, we find that this datum is Thothmēs III's 33rd regnal year, *i.e.*, 30 ordinary years from his 3rd regnal year. It would remain 30 years on the 360° spheroid. For the 364°, 365°, and $365\frac{1}{2}°$ Spheroids, the 30 equates with 28, $30\frac{5}{12}$, and $30\frac{7}{180}$ respectively.

Thothmēs III's 33rd regnal year was therefore clearly A.M. $2556\frac{12}{180}$=B. C. $1447\frac{7}{180}$. His first regnal year must have been A.M. $2524\frac{133}{180}$=B.C. $1479\frac{141}{180}$. According to his own reckoning he acceded on 4 Pakhons (Official Time), and he died on 30 Phamenoth (Official Time), after having reigned 53 years, 10 months, 26 days. Thus his reign ended A.M. $2578\frac{97}{180}$=B. C. $1425\frac{143}{180}$. His regnal period was therefore B. C. $1479\frac{141}{180}$-$1425\frac{143}{180}$.

I submit that, for purposes of ancient Romic chronology, we may confidently rely on these figures—regarding them as a *clinch-epoch*, whereto, so to speak, we may anchor ourselves, as to an immovable rock in ocean's bed.

Founded on this Clinch-Epoch, the under-noted particulars relating to Thothmēs III's brilliant campaigns in

the North, which resulted in the permanent subjugation of Western Asia (Syria) as far as the river Euphrates, will probably prove useful—

1st	campaign ..	22nd	regnal year ...	B.C.	$1458\frac{197}{480}$
2nd	,,	24th	,,	,,	$1456\frac{183}{480}$
3rd	,,	25th	,,	,,	$1455\frac{176}{480}$
4th	,,	?			
5th	,,	29th	,,	,,	$1451\frac{148}{480}$
6th	,,	30th	,,	,,	$1450\frac{141}{480}$
7th	,,	31st	,,	,,	$1449\frac{134}{480}$
8th	,,	33rd	,,	,,	$1447\frac{120}{480}$
9th	,,	34th	,,	,,	$1446\frac{113}{480}$
10th	,,	35th	,,	,,	$1445\frac{106}{480}$
11th	,,	36th	,,	,,	$1444\frac{99}{480}$
12th	,,	37th	,,	,,	$1443\frac{92}{480}$
13th	,,	38th	,,	,,	$1442\frac{85}{480}$
14th	,,	39th	,,	,,	$1441\frac{78}{480}$
15th	,,	?			
16th	,,	?			
17th	,,	42nd	,,	,,	$1438\frac{57}{480}$

Note the 6th campaign in Thothmēs III's 30th regnal year, B. C. $1450\frac{141}{480}$. Forty years before, under imperial auspices, the so-called "Children" of Israel"—*i.e.*, the half-Aamū, half-Romic community known variously as the People of I-Sarah-El, the People of Mes-Rā (Young Zōdiacal Bull), the Âbiri, or Âbbiri (same meaning), the People of the Epher (again the same meaning), or Josephites (in the O. T. called "Ephraim" and "Manasseh") —had been conducted out of Khem, with a view to being established in Khārū as a Colony charged with the duty and privilege of introducing into, maintaining in, and spreading throughout, the North Romic culture, Romic law, and Romic prestige generally. Indeed, between these people and the Romic Crown, a compact of a very definite and solemn character had been come to, whereby, in consideration of an undertaking on the part

of the former to be loyal to the Pharaoh (the "Good God who liveth for ever," as he was usually styled), to observe the laws of Khem, and to do all that was expected of them as Romic Colonists, the "Good God" on his part swore, not only to lead them into Khārū and to put them in possession of it, but also to assure Khārū to them and their descendants for ever, and to protect them against all their enemies. Hence the familiar phrase, "The Land of Promise." It was the departure of these Children of Israel, Mesrāyim, Ephrāyim, Âbiri, or Josephites, from Khem, in B. C. 1491, in pursuance of this compact, that "Ezra" (or whoever or whatever that name stands for) eventually metamorphosed into the familiar story of the so-called "Exodus"; and it was out of this Pharaonic "Good God" of the 18th Romic dynasty ("Good God" when alive; "Great God" when dead) that the same literary and political genius so cleverly evolved the undoubtedly majestic conception of "Yāhveh." There had been no Captivity and no Oppression in Khem, as ordinarily understood. Neither the Jews nor the Hebrews were in Khem in B. C. 1491. Indeed, the Jews had never lived in that country at all! They were not even in existence at that epoch! They did not come into being until some time in the 11th century B. C., up to which period they had been quite well known historically as the Amorites, originally (so far as Western Asia was concerned) of Yādai in Nāharīn. After the collapse, first of Mitanni, and then of Khem's empire in the North, those Amorites who dwelt in Khārū united with a group of local Hittites (afterwards known as the Benjamites); and in David's day these two, under the style of *Beth-Yahūdeh*, or the House of Judah, effected a further union with the *Beth-Sākh*, or House of Isaac, farther north, and so inaugurated the United Kingdom of Israel—the House of Judah eventually incorporating

into itself the somewhat dubious folk commonly called the Levites. As for the Hebrews—in B.C. 1491 they were settled in and around Hebron. Originally they had been an offshoot of the great Aamū ethnos, but were distinguished from all others of that stock by the specific name of '*Ibr*-Aamū,' '*Abr*-Aamū,' Abramū, or Abramites. Once, during a time of famine, they trekked south into Khem (see *Genesis* xii. 10). It was in B. C. 1920 that they did this—say in the eighth or ninth regnal year of Amenemhat II of the 12th (Theban) dynasty: but they returned again in B. C. 1918 to Khārū, settling down permanently shortly afterwards in the Hebron district, and becoming confederate with a specific community of Amorites, one branch of whom dwelt at Mamrē, (*Gen.* xiii. 1; xiv. 13).

When the Israelites, Ephrāyim, Josephites, Ābiri, or Mesrāyim (see *Gen.* L. 11), departed from Khem in B. C. 1491, the position in Khārū had been misjudged. The Amorites (the ethnos eventually known as the Jews) were still unsubdued, and were in a very ugly mood. In fact, it was just then impossible for the Romic Crown to carry out its intentions with regard to the contemplated Colony. Hence the well-known "Wanderings in the Wilderness" for 40 years. Also, in B. C. 1491, there were never, in residence in Khem, any such communities as the so-called tribes of Reuben, Simeon, Gad, Dan, Issachar, Zebulon, and Asher. These did not come into existence till considerably later—and then they were accretions to the Israelites, Josephites, or Ābiri, after these people had united with the Abramites, or Hebrews, well outside of Khem, and so developed into the political entity known as the *Beth-Sākh*, or Hebro-Israelitish State, up in the north of Khārū. It is a singularly impressive reflection that, in the "Ezraic" story of the Jewish race, as told in the Old Testament, we read of Yāhveh

(really the imperial " Good God " of Khem) giving the " Josephites " strict injunctions *utterly to destroy the Amorites* (who there are represented as quite distinct ethnically from the later Jews) : and that *it is solely by reason of the Josephites having neglected to do this*, that *the people now called the Jews ever sprang into existence* ! If " Ezra " is to be accepted, there should never have been any Jews at all in the world ! Fortunately, however, (at least from this point of view, and for modern Jewry), some of us, at last, are beginning to understand " Ezra."

In his 6th campaign, above-noticed, Thothmēs III captured Kadesh-on-Orontēs, the stronghold of his principal opponent, the " Hyksō "-Amorite king (probably none other than the sovereign of Mitanni): and, though he did not, on that occasion, succeed in destroying its armed forces, which managed to withdraw, he seems to have felt justified in sending a message to the Israelites, inviting them to abandon their tabernacles in the desert and to march north and take possession of their promised heritage—Khārū. At any rate, we know that, on the 10th day of the first sacred month, Nisān, or Abīb (Hebrew Calendar), in B. C. 1450$\frac{88}{150}$ (Thothmēs III's 30th regnal year), the Israelites, under Joshua, according to the Bible story, did in fact cross Jordan and enter Canaan (*Josh.* iii. 14-17). In his 8th campaign—conducted in his 33rd regnal year, B. C. **1447**$\frac{88}{150}$—we behold Thothmēs III triumphant in Nāharīn, between the Orontēs and the Euphratēs : and the 13th campaign—conducted in his 38th regnal year, B. C. **1442**$\frac{88}{150}$—found him once more well up north, chastising a district in the southern Lebanon called Nūgēs. This, be it observed, was the notable year in which the " Promised Land " is said to have been divided by " lot " amongst the " tribes " of the Children of Israel (*Josh.* xi-xix). At that time, however, these consisted only of the Josephites, plus, no

doubt, a percentage of hangers-on—domestic ministers of Religion, once, in Khem, connected with the cult of Mes-Rā, and dubiously known as "Levites"—a community who were never admitted to any share in the land. This "division" was only a declaratory distribution of *titles* to the land : it did not mean *possession*. That was not obtained till long afterwards—a century or more. Also, it was only won after much heavy fighting, principally against the Amorites, the then ancestors of the later Jews. These struggles for the possession of Khārū are an outstanding feature of the latter years of the reign of Amenhotep III and the whole of the reign of his successor, Amenhotep IV, or Ākh-en-Aten (say B. C. 1350—1325)—the Nimmūriya and Napkhūria of the *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets*. In the Correspondence therein preserved we come across a name very like the Aamū name of the Israelites or Mesrāyim, who, it will be remembered, were also known as the *Ābiri*, or People of the *Ābir*, or *Ābbir* (spelt with initial *āleph*). This new name is *Khabiri* (spelt with initial *kheth*), apparently meaning "Confederates," and it was borne by the *'Ibr*-Aamū, *'Abir*-Aamu, Abramū, or Abramites (the real and only "Hebrews") and their friends the Amorites of Hebron, both of which communities had long been dwelling together in amity in that region. The Ābiri were the folk who are styled in the Old Testament the Ephraimites and Manassites. With them the Khabiri, or Hebrews, in course of time amalgamated ; and it was they two (the Hebro-Israelites) who, together with certain other incorporated communities, largely of European and Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānian stock, eventually made up the *Beth-Sākh*, or House of Isaac (*Amos* vii, 9, 14), as distinguished from the Hitto-Amoritic *cum* Levitical (2 *Chron.*, xi. 13. 14) group biblically known as the *Beth-Yahūdeh*, or House of Judah.

Reading between the lines of the Correspondence in the *Amarna Tablets*, it is easy to see that both Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (so far as the latter interested himself at all in politics) were perfectly well aware of the *asal hāl* in disturbed Khārū ; that they knew very well who the *Ābiri* and their friends the *Khabiri* were ; and that, as a matter of fact, the imperial Romic Crown (the far-famed "Good God" of those days) was surreptitiously hand-in-glove with these ferocious land-grabbers, who were really carrying out "Yāhveh's will" (or, in plain language, imperial Khem's own age-long policy) with regard to Khārū, the "Land of Promise."

The real turning-point in the mighty struggle for the North between Khem and Mitanni ; what indeed made history (not as we have heretofore been taught to read it, but as we are now beginning to recover and re-construct it) ; was Thothmēs III's tremendous final victory at Kadesh-on-Orontēs, in his 17th and last northern campaign, conducted in his 42nd regnal year, B.C. 1438$_{\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}}$. On this occasion he changed his strategy. He operated from the north, thus depriving the defenders of whatever support or succour they might have been relying on from Mitanni or elsewhere in that direction. Then, guarding against all possibility of evacuation and retirement, he assaulted the stronghold, took it, and so dealt with its garrison that the *Hek-Khās-Khetū* ("Hyksōs," as we are more accustomed to call them), as such, *thenceforward and for ever vanished from the stage of history*—their only remaining memorial being in the distorted traditions of those really Hitto-Amoritic folk who, obsessed with the fixed delusion that they are Semites, and in particular Hebrews and Israelites, now busy themselves in their own way all over the world under the name of "the Jews."

The next datum on the list of reported Sōthic Risings is 7 Mesorē, in the reign of Amenhotep II. Here, be it observed, we pass on into another month. Neglecting, now, all the other Spheroids, let us adopt definitely the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid. On this basis we have 1217 + 142 (28 for Epiphi and 7 for Mesorē = 35 × 4) = 1359. This, deducted from B.C. 2781 = B.C. 1421. If this is correct, it should tally with B. C. 1449 *supra* (our date for 28 Epiphi) minus 28. This is B.C. 1421—an exact result, save for a fraction of . We have just seen, however, that the true cyclical year for 28 Epiphi is probably B.C. 1447. 28 from that = B.C. 1418. As Thothmēs III died in B.C. 1425—which was therefore Amenhotep II's first regnal year—B.C. 1418 must have been his 8th regnal year. Or, if we take B.C. 1421 instead of B.C. 1418, this 7 Mesorē must have been Amenhotep II's 5th regnal year. Probably B.C. 1418—his 8th regnal year—is the preferable date.

It is possible to be even more precise than we have hitherto been in these calculations. It will be remembered that Thothmēs III's 33rd regnal year (reported as 28 Epiphi, Luni-Osirian) was B.C. 1447. 7 Mesorē, Luni-Osirian (*temp.* Amenhotep II), however, as we shall find out represently, is really only 6 Mesorē on the original 360° Spheroid. This, multiplied by 4, gives 28. So that 7 Mesorē, Luni-Osirian, means modern B.C. 1447 minus 28 spheroidal years, *i.e.*, it means B.C. 1418—practically a negligible difference

Note that it was in the reign of this Pharaoh (Amenhotep II) that, while he was up in the far North, chastising certain regions after a big revolt which took place on the death of his renowned father, Thothmēs III, the Mitannians (probably the age-long source and mainstay of "Hyksōs" power) had the effrontery to speak of Khem as a country whereof they had

been entirely ignorant! (Breasted's *History of Egypt*, p. 324).

The next reported Rising-date—14 Mesorē in the same reign—carries us forward $28\frac{126}{365}$ years. It therefore brings us to B. C. $1389\frac{126}{365}$—Amenhotep II's 37th regnal year. That left him 7 more years on the throne, as we know he reigned 46 years, *i.e.*, up to $1380\frac{115}{365}$.

With the next reported Rising-date—21 Mesorē—we are advanced another $28\frac{126}{365}$ years, *i.e.*, to B.C. $1361\frac{115}{365}$. As Thothmēs IV reigned 10 years after Amenhotep II, *i.e.*, from B.C. $1380\frac{115}{365}$ to $1371\frac{52}{365}$, which latter was also the first regnal year of Amenhotep III, this 21 Mesorē must have been the 11th regnal year of the last-named Pharaoh.

The next reported Rising date—28 Mesorē—brings us in the same way to B C. $1332\frac{239}{365}$. Worked out, however, by the longer method, there is a considerable difference. Thus, as 28 Mesorē and 28 Epiphi total 56 days, which, multiplied by $4\frac{275}{1461}=227\frac{128}{365}$ years, $1217\frac{1}{2}+227\frac{128}{365}=1444\frac{238}{365}$. This, deducted from B. C. 2781 = B. C. $1336\frac{127}{365}$. These discrepancies are somewhat tantalizing. It is difficult to decide which method to retain. For present purposes, I elect the shorter method, as, at some point, it always starts from a *Heb* basis. Amenhotep III (Nimmūrīya) reigned 31 years, *i.e.*, from B.C. $1371\frac{52}{365}$ to B.C. $1340\frac{153}{365}$. His successor—Amenhotep IV (Napkhūria, or Akh-en-Āten)—reigned 17 years, from B.C. $1340\frac{153}{365}$ to B.C. $1324\frac{150}{365}$. Hence, whether this 28 Mesorē be regarded as equating with B.C. $1332\frac{239}{365}$, or with B.C. $1336\frac{127}{365}$, in either case it must have fallen within Ākh-en-Āten's reign, not within that of Tūt-Ankh-Amen, as stated in the list. Possibly these somewhat similar names have been confused. Again, of course, the explanation is simple. The quartette of years for this Rising was as follows—

A.M.	B.C.
$2667\frac{53}{1461}$	$=1336\frac{127}{365}$

A.M.	B.C.
$2668\frac{70}{180}$	$= 1335\frac{110}{180}$
$2669\frac{77}{180}$	$= 1334\frac{103}{180}$
$2670\frac{84}{180}$	$= 1333\frac{96}{180}$

Each of these was as well entitled as any of its companions to claim to be the date. In the quartette (under the guise $1336\frac{117}{180}$), appears one of our results, *supra*, B.C. $1336\frac{117}{180}$, but not the other, B.C. $1332\frac{135}{180}$, which just misses inclusion. There is, however, a date very near it, namely, B.C $1333\frac{135}{180}$. If the Rising was in B.C. $1336\frac{117}{180}$, it occurred in or about it Ākh-en-Āten's 5th regnal year. If was in B.C. $1333\frac{135}{180}$, it occurred in his 8th year.

Even where our different methods do not produce exactly the same results—in which case one of them is probably defective—I consider we are perfectly justified in correcting the error (wherever it may chance to lie) by resorting to my *Sōthic-Rising* and *Heb Lists*. In their very nature, being cyclical, and all starting from 0, these cannot but be correct. In sooth, however, the difficulties from time to time arising are mostly due to the fact that our other data for the dynasties—nay, for Romic history generally—are still lamentably inadequate. Indeed, for some we possess no data at all. Yet perhaps we should deem ourselves fortunate in having any at all. Even with those that we do possess, it is by no means easy to make a satisfactory adjustment and re-construction. In a very few cases we can be precise. In most, we have to be content with securing only approximate results.

The next reported Sōthic-Risings are 7 and 14 Thoth, *simpliciter*—no more data. Here we have slightly to modify our procedure; for, with 1 Thoth, we have obviously entered upon a fresh Cycle. Henceforth, therefore, we discard our familiar old B.C. 2781, as the last epoch when

Solar and Natural Time coincided, and we adopt instead B.C. 1362 (B.C. 2802 minus 1440) for the 360° Spheroid, B.C. 1330 (B.C. 2786 minus 1456) for the 364° Spheroid, B.C. 1322 (B.C. 2782 minus 1460) for the 365° Spheroid, and B.C. 1320 (B.C. 2781 minus 1461) for the 365¼° Spheroid.

$7 \times 4\frac{295}{1508} = 28\frac{1060}{1508}$. This, deducted, from B.C. 1320 = B.C. $1291\frac{448}{1508}$. Or we can go back to the Rising-Point at 30 Paōni (30 Ariēs), and reckon thus. $1227\frac{1}{2} + 243\frac{1}{4}$ (*i.e.* up to 30 Mesorē, or 30 Gemini) = 1461, which, deducted from B.C. 2781 = B.C. 1320. And, beyond 30 Mesorē, $28\frac{1060}{1508}$ from B.C. 1320 = B.C. $1291\frac{448}{1508}$.

But, by the short method, $28\frac{1060}{1508}$ from our last result, *supra*, which was B.C. $1333\frac{1060}{1508}$ = B.C. $1305\frac{800}{1508}$. The difference is striking—no less than $13\frac{260}{1508}$ years! However, let us accept B.C. $1305\frac{800}{1508}$ provisionally, and see where it leads us to.

Ākh-en-Āten's successor was Rā-Smenkh-Kā, who reigned 2 years, from B.C. $1321\frac{1330}{1508}$ to B.C. $1323\frac{444}{1508}$. His successor was Tūt-Ankh-Amen above-named, who reigned 11 years, from B.C. $1323\frac{444}{1508}$ to B.C. $1313\frac{1273}{1508}$. His successor was Āy, who reigned 13 years, from B.C. $1313\frac{1273}{1508}$ to B.C. $1301\frac{1508}{1508}$. On this basis B.C. $1305\frac{800}{1508}$ (here appearing as B.C. $1305\frac{1157}{1508}$) would have been Āy's 9th regnal year.

14 Thoth, of course, takes us $28\frac{1060}{1508}$ spheroidal years further on, *i.e.*, it brings us to B.C. $1277\frac{891}{1508}$. Our difficulties now begin to be serious, because, first, the data we possess for the period represented by Āy's successor, Hor-Em-Heb, are thoroughly unreliable, and secondly, from this point onward, there seems to be something very radically wrong with the list of Sōthic-Rising dates, as reported. Whether Hor-Em-Heb should be regarded as the last king of the 18th dynasty, or the first of the 19th dynasty, is doubtful. Breasted gives him the latter position. The point, however, does not very much matter.

More important is the question, how long the kings of this period reigned. Breasted assigns Hor-Em-Heb 34 + x years, Rā-mēs-ēs I 2 years, and Seti I 21 + x years. I propose to allow Hor-Em-Heb only 11 years, and I put him last in the line of the 18th dynasty. It will all come fairly right when we arrive at the period of the reign of Rā-mēs-ēs II, for then *Sed* and *Hunti Hebs* again begin to be mentioned.

We now get the sequence—

Hor-Em-Heb	... 11 years	. . B.C.	$1301\frac{138}{180}$—$1291\frac{138}{180}$
Rā-mēs-ēs I	... 2 „	. . „	$1291\frac{138}{180}$—$12\ 0\frac{138}{180}$
Seti I	... 21 „	... „	$1290\frac{138}{180}$—$1279\frac{138}{180}$

These, of course, are minimum dates. On this basis, B.C $1277\frac{138}{180}$ should bring us to the 3rd regnal year of Seti I's successor, who was Rā-mēs-ēs II. But, chronologically as regards reported Sōthic-Rising dates, there is nothing tangible until we come to a *Sed Heb* said to have been celebrated in his 5th regnal year, and which coincided with a Sōthic-Rising reported as blank, but following immediately after 14 Thoth. I suggest that it *was* itself 14 Thoth. "3rd," of course, is not far off "5th," and possibly they here belong to a common quartette. But what says our *Heb List*? B.C $1277\frac{138}{180}$ = A. M. $2726\frac{138}{180}$. On the *Heb List* we get a *Sed* for A.M. $2739\frac{138}{180}$; and on the *Sōthic-Rising Cycle* we get the following quartette of years—

A.M.	$2736\frac{138}{180}$	= B.C.	$1267\frac{138}{180}$
„	$2737\frac{138}{180}$	= „	$1266\frac{138}{180}$
„	$2738\frac{138}{180}$	= „	$1265\frac{138}{180}$
„	$2739\frac{138}{180}$	= „	$1264\frac{138}{180}$

Considered as Rising-dates, any of these may have represented Rā-mēs-ēs II's 5th year. We can doubtless get

very near one of them if we remember that 7 and 14 Thoth, mentioned *supra*, are 7 and 14 as days on the Luni-Osirian Spheroid of 364 degrees, divided into 13 months of 28 days each—hence very different from 7 and 14 as days on the modern Spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, divided into 12 months of 30 days each. Thus when we carry matters forward by periods of $28\frac{196}{980}$ ($7 \times 4\frac{28}{980}$), as above, what we arrive at is only Luni-Osirian Time. To get a result in terms of modern reckoning, we must remember that a Luni-Osirian day is $\frac{28}{30}$ of the modern day: so that, here, 7 Thoth (Luni-Osirian) really means $6\frac{8}{15}$ (modern). Now $6\frac{8}{15} \times 4\frac{28}{980} = 26\frac{168}{600}$. Deduct that (instead of $28\frac{196}{980}$) from B.C. 1320, and we get B.C. $1293\frac{432}{600}$ (instead of B.C. $1291\frac{784}{980}$); and again deducting it from B.C. $1293\frac{432}{600}$, we get B.C. $1266\frac{784}{600}$, instead of B.C. $1277\frac{392}{980}$.

Note that, in the form B.C. $1266\frac{344}{980}$, this B.C. $1266\frac{784}{600}$ is the second member of the above quartette of years, considered as Rising-dates.

The Luni-Osirian Spheroid of 364° has 13 months of 28 days each; the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid has 12 months of $30\frac{7}{15}$ days each. Both, however, are based on the original 360° Spheroid, which has 12 months of 30 days each. Let us assume that, like the Luni-Osirian Spheroid, the 360° Spheroid is divided into 13 instead of 12 months. Then—

$$364° \div 13 = 28$$
$$360° \div 13 = 27\frac{9}{13}.$$

To obtain the equivalent of the first reported Luni-Osirian date (*i.e.*, the 7th of the month) on both Spheroids, divide 28 and $27\frac{9}{13}$ by 4. The results are 7 and $6\frac{11}{13}$ respectively. Therefore the entire sequence of reported

Luni-Osirian dates, as given in the List, and their equivalents on the 360° Spheroid, run thus—

Luni-Osirian or 364° Spheroid.		360° Spheroid.
7	=	$6\frac{11}{12}$
14	=	$13\frac{11}{12}$
21	=	$20\frac{10}{12}$
28	=	$27\frac{9}{12}$.

To get the Spheroidal years on the 365¼° Spheroid, we have to multiply each of these 360° dates by $1\frac{4}{1460}$, *i.e.*, 4 times $1\frac{1}{1460}$, which equals 1 day on the 365¼° Spheroid.

Now take the 14th, Luni-Osirian. Its 360° equivalent is $13\frac{11}{12}$. That, multiplied by $4\frac{365}{1460}$ is $56\frac{25}{26}$, which, deducted from the last Coincidence epoch (B.C. 1320), leaves B.C. $1263\frac{21}{26}$. True, this result does not tally exactly with the *Sed Heb* A.M. $2739\frac{9}{10}$ (or B.C. $1264\frac{10}{12}$) but it is the nearest approximation that can seemingly be made to it, *i.e.*, working as above, in connection with these curious Luni-Osirian reported data. And, after all, the *Sed Heb* year is perhaps not necessarily the correct Rising-Date. Possibly—as in the complete cyclical *List of Rising-Dates*—it is only the last of 4 connected years, each of which has as good a claim to the honour as any of its companion years. This is certainly the case in those instances in which the Rising-date and the *Heb*-date coincide, *i.e.*, when it is definitely stated in our data that the year in which a Rising had taken place was a *Heb* year—*Sed* or *Hunti*. For every *Heb* year there is a Rising-date; but naturally there is not a *Heb* year for every Rising-date—because these Risings were annual occurrences.

We could hardly, therefore, be far wrong, were we to adopt either B.C. $1266\frac{114}{1460}$ or B.C. $1263\frac{21}{26}$ in this connection. But let us experimentally adopt B.C. $1264\frac{100}{1460}$ *supra*

—the last year in the quartette of Rising-dates—as it tallies with the year given in the *Sed-Heb List*.

Rā-mēs-ēs II's 5th regnal year was thus B.C. $1264\frac{100}{180}$. Hence, his first regnal year must have been B.C. $1268\frac{100}{180}$ = A.M. $2735\frac{100}{180}$. The *Sed Heb* immediately following the one associated with this 5th year must, of course, have been $30\frac{110}{180}$ spheroidal years later, *i.e.*, it was in A.M. $2769\frac{210}{180}$, or B.C. $1234\frac{70}{180}$. In Petrie's list it is associated with Rā-mēs-ēs II's 33rd regnal year, which seems more naturally to have been B.C. $1236\frac{104}{180}$; and the Rising-date is left blank. It must really, however, have been 21 Thoth. Taking it as that, do we get to the above result (B.C. $1234\frac{70}{180}$), or anywhere near it, by the method of reckoning that we have hitherto been following?

$21 \times 4\frac{98}{180} = 85\frac{108}{180}$. This, deducted from B.C. 1320 = B.C. $1234\frac{172}{180}$—quite a satisfactory approximation.

The next succeeding *Heb* (in the report-list described as a *Hunti*) must similarly have been exactly $30\frac{110}{180}$ spheroidal years later, *i.e.*, it was A.M. $2800\frac{120}{180}$, or B.C. $1203\frac{160}{180}$. In my *Heb List* there *is* a *Heb* for that very year, and moreover it *is* a *Hunti Heb*, or Quadruple *Sed* Festival. In Petrie's list it is associated with Rā-mēs-ēs II's 64th year, and the Rising-date is blank. But obviously it must have been 28 Thoth.

$28 \times 4\frac{98}{180}$ = B.C. $113\frac{106}{180}$, and this, deducted from B.C. 1320 = B.C. $1206\frac{174}{180}$—not quite tallying, but a difference of only $3\frac{68}{180}$ spheroidal years.

But, in Petrie's list, just before we come to this *Hunti Heb*, there is an intervening entry for 22 Thoth, associated with Rā-mēs-ēs II's 41st regnal year.

With regard to these regnal years of Rā-mēs-ēs II, described as 5th, 33rd, 41st, and 64th, notice the confusion that covers them; and yet, faintly revealing itself through this confusion, notice also the attempt at a scheme, obviously Luni-Osirian, which seems to have been in the mind of

the priest who originally set down the sequence, but which later copyists have undoubtedly misunderstood and turned into chaotic nonsense. Just as the sequence 7, 14, 21, 28, reveals a difference of 7 Luni-Osirian days, and 28 Luni-Osirian years, between any two succeeding dates, so, in connection with Rā-mēs-ēs II's regnal years, as given, there is a difference of 28 years between the 5th and the 33rd. The interval represented a *Sed*-period of 28, 30, $30\frac{5}{12}$, or $30\frac{7}{10}$ spheroidal years, according to the particular Spheroid adopted. The interval between the second *Sed-Heb* and the *Hun'i-Heb* was of exactly the same duration; yet, if we add 28 to 33, we get, not 61, but only 61. Hence it would seem that we should alter the 61 into 61. In that case, what are we to do with the 41? Ought not that to be something else—say 38? If the 33rd regnal year (B.C. $1234\frac{9}{10}$) was 21 Thoth, and each day represented $4\frac{7}{10}$ years, then this 38th year (B.C. $1230\frac{6}{10}$ or perhaps $1231\frac{6}{10}$) may have been the interpolated 22 Thoth.

Accordingly I suggest that, at this stage, the above list of Sōthic-Rising-dates should be amended thus—

6.	7	Mesorē,	B.C. $1418\frac{1}{10}$,	Amenhotep II's	8th reg. yr.
7.	14	,,	,, $1389\frac{3}{10}$,	,,	37th ,,
8.	21	,,	,, $1361\frac{2}{10}$,	Amenhotep III's	11th ,,
9.	28	,,	,, $1333\frac{4}{10}$,	Ākh-en-Āten's	8th ,,
10.	7	Thoth	,, $1305\frac{0}{10}$,	Āy's	9th ,,
11.	14	,,	,, $1264\frac{3}{10}$,	Rā-mēs-ēs II's	5th ,,
12.	21	,,	,, $1236\frac{1}{10}$,	,,	33rd ,,
13.	22	,,	,, $1231\frac{6}{10}$,	,,	38th ,,
14.	28	,,	,, $1207\frac{1}{10}$,	,,	61st ,,

To proceed: Rā-mēs-ēs was on the throne 67 years. Therefore his reign ended and that of his successor Meren-Ptāh began, in A.M. $2803\frac{4}{10}$, or B.C. $1201\frac{4}{10}$.

The next entry on Petrie's list is 29 Thoth, 2nd year of Meren-Ptāh. What a date like *29* can possibly be doing in a *galère* such as this, with its Luni-Osirian sequences always stopping at 28, is rather puzzling. But take it that the Rising was $4\frac{9\cdot5}{1\cdot8\cdot6}$ spheroidal years later than our last entry, as amended, *i.e.*, 28 Thoth, B.C. $1207\frac{3\cdot8\cdot8}{4\cdot8\cdot6}$. That gives B.C. $1203\frac{1\cdot0\cdot0}{1\cdot8\cdot6}$. Now, Meren-Ptāh's 2nd regnal year was A. M. $2804\frac{1\cdot1\cdot0}{1\cdot8\cdot6}$, or B.C. $1199\frac{1\cdot8\cdot6}{1\cdot8\cdot6}$, so that the entry really seems fairly all right, judging by results.

The next entry in the list is 1 Thoth, *temp* Rā-mēs-ēs III. This cannot possibly be right. It is a going-back in the Calendar: and, for that to be correct, we have to assume the lapse of an entire Sōthic Cycle of 1461 years. Here, however, no such interval had passed. Meren-Ptāh reigned 20 years; his successor, Seti II, reigned 13; his successor, Amen-mēs-ēs, reigned 1; the next sovereign, Tewosret, reigned 4; her successor, Sa-Ptāh, reigned 6 years; then there was anarchy for about 5 years; then Set-Nekht, the restorer of order, reigned about 1 year, which may be assigned either to the 19th dynasty or to its successor the 20th dynasty; and then came Rā-mēs-ēs. At a rough estimate, half a century, but no more, went by. We can see from Petrie's list that one month of sequences, 7, 14, 21, 28,—*e.g.*, 7 Mesorē (B. C. $1418\frac{1\cdot0\cdot4}{1\cdot8\cdot6}$) to 7 Thoth (B.C. $1305\frac{1\cdot0\cdot8}{1\cdot8\cdot6}$)—meant the lapse of 112 spheroidal years, of course Luni-Osirian. On the 360° Spheroid it would have been 120 spheroidal years; on the 365° Spheroid, $121\frac{2}{3}$; and on the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, $121\frac{3}{4}$. Thus, when the Rā-mēs-ēs III age dawned, the Rising-dates had probably moved on to somewhere along the Paōphi sequence. We shall soon see. In the meantime, a few remarks about the Meren-Ptāh age.

From an inscription we learn that in Meren-Ptāh's 3rd regnal year (A. M. $2805\frac{1\cdot1\cdot5}{1\cdot8\cdot6}$=B. C. $1198\frac{1\cdot1\cdot5}{1\cdot8\cdot6}$) Khem's forces "desolated" a place called *Asr-a-al*. This our authorities

have rendered "Israel"; but more probably it was *Jezreel*, near Etam, in the Hebro-Amorite country in Southern Khārū. These authorities also represent Meren-Ptāh as the "Pharaoh of the Exodus." If so, how could *Asr-a-al* have been the Israelites in Canaan? Here we are concerned with Meren-Ptāh's 3rd regnal year. Then what about the alleged 40 years' wandering in the wilderness, which is supposed to have preceded the entry into Canaan? Besides, the Exodus (of the Josephites only) had really occurred in B.C. 1491, in the reign of Thothmēs II—290$\frac{135}{480}$ years before the accession of Meren-Ptāh!

The monuments also tell us that, in Meren-Ptāh's 5th regnal year (A.M. 2807$\frac{168}{480}$=B. C. 1196$\frac{312}{480}$), the Romic forces triumphantly repelled a powerful Libyan attack upon the western *rūd* of the Delta. This achievement marked the beginning of that heroic age—known as the Great Sea-Raids Period—whose mighty and memorable events were the basis of historical fact out of which, in a much later age, the Greek poet or poets known under the name of "Homer" evolved the magnificent epic of *The Iliad*. Its close was marked by the even more brilliant exploits performed by the armies and fleets of Khem in the reign of Rā-mēs-ēs III.

We now get the following regnal periods—

Meren-Ptāh	20 years	...	B.C.	$1201\frac{346}{480}$—$1182\frac{213}{480}$
Seti II	13 „	...	„	$1182\frac{213}{480}$—$1170\frac{129}{480}$
Amen-mēs-ēs	1 „	...	„	$1170\frac{129}{480}$
Tewosret	4 „	...	„	$1170\frac{129}{480}$—$1167\frac{108}{480}$
Sa-Ptāh	6 „	...	„	$1167\frac{108}{480}$—$1162\frac{73}{480}$
Anarchy	5 „	...	„	$1162\frac{73}{480}$—$1158\frac{46}{480}$

It is not really known how long this period of anarchy lasted. Breasted allows it 5 years, with an acknowledg-

ment that it may have been more. Also, it is not known how long Set-Nekht was in power. Breasted remarks: "His reign must have been brief, for his highest date is his first year, scratched on the back of a leaf of papyrus by a scribe in trying his pen" (*History of Egypt*, p. 475). Breasted assigns him to B.C. 1200-1198: but this cannot possibly be right—having regard to my control-lists. It follows that Breasted's date for the accession of his successor Rā-mēs-ēs III—this B.C. 1198—is also impossible of acceptance.

Subject, therefore, to the undoubted uncertainties which unfortunately surround this extraordinarily momentous epoch, which, for dramatic interest and historical importance, is probably unequalled, I propose—after allowing for Set-Nekht's interregnum—to assign Rā-mēs-ēs III's long reign of 32 years to the same period at which I arrived for it in my pamphlet on *Ancient Romic Chronology* (worked out on a different basis), namely, A.M. 2846-2877=B.C. 1158-1127. In these figures there may be a margin of error, either way: and this for the reason given—the cloud of uncertainty which envelops the close of the 19th, and the opening of the 20th, dynasty. But, for all practical purposes—*e.g.* research into the origins of those so-called Vedic *janāḥs* of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ (Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, Drūhyūs) who are popularly regarded as the "Āryas"—I submit that my approximation to what may some day hereafter be found to be the truth is, in the circumstances, as soundly based as can be desired, and as near as can be expected. The occasional discrepancies are really due to the fact that I have not in every case transposed the sequence 7, 14, 21, 28 Luni-(Osirian) into its modern equivalent $6\frac{12}{15}$, $13\frac{14}{15}$, $20\frac{10}{15}$, $27\frac{8}{15}$. Were that done, probably all my different results would tally to a hair. But as shown, in any case we can always resort to my Sōthic-Rising and *Heb* Lists.

In this wonderful reign—Rā-mēs-ēs III's—the following notable events occurred—

5th year. B.C. 1154. Big invasion of the Western *rūd* of the Delta by the Libyans under Didi and other chiefs.

8th year. B.C. 1151. Biggest and most alarming of all the attempted invasions. Led by the People of Pūla or Pūra (Pūla-Satiū, or Pūra-Satiū), afterwards known as the Philistines. Issued originally out of Kilikia, or old Keft, or Kaft . hence their quondam name of the Keftiū. The invasion of Khem may have been a bluff, to hide the real object—settlement on the coast of Khārū, which was in fact effected. Hittite power in Nāharīn destroyed Amorites of Yādai ejected from their homeland. Vast numbers of Amorites and many broken Hittites driven into extreme south of Khārū. Land and Sea Victory by Rā-mēs-ēs III. Pūrasatiū, Yādai Amorites, and others (probably Hittites) plunge off in an eastwardly direction. Eventually, with further ethnoi who join them, these all develop into the 5 *janāhs*—Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs named in the Ṛig-Veda Samhitā.

11th year. B.C. 1148. Another Libyan attack on the Western Delta. On this occasion they had no northern allies, and the peril to Khem was not so great.*

In conclusion I append my most recent re-construction of the 12th (Theban) Dynasty.

Amenemhat	I	18 years ...	B.C. $1989\frac{203}{480}$—$1972\frac{174}{480}$
Senwosri	I	45 „ ... „	$1972\frac{174}{480}$—$1927\frac{346}{480}$
		(Temple foundations at On finished 5 $\frac{346}{480}$ years after his 3rd year B.C. 1970 $\frac{160}{480}$ *i.e.*, in A.M. 2039 $\frac{160}{480}$).	

* *N B*—In connection with Sōthic-Rising dates, this period coincided with about the middle of Paōphi, Luni-Osirian Indeed, 14 Paōphi (Luni-Osirian) = modern B.C. $1207\frac{288}{120}$ minus $56\frac{5}{20} = 28$ Thoth minus $13\frac{11}{13} \times 4\frac{28}{480}$, *i.e.*, it equated with B.C. $1151\frac{281}{1560}$

Amenemhat II	35 years ..	B.C. $1927\frac{346}{480}$—$1893\frac{108}{480}$
Senwosri II	19 „ ...	„ $1893\frac{108}{480}$—$1874\frac{462}{480}$
Senwosri III	38 „ ..	„ $1874\frac{462}{480}$—$1837\frac{203}{480}$
	(Sōthic-Rising on 15th day of 8th month, in 7th regnal year, B.C. 1868 $\frac{420}{480}$= 120th year of dynasty).	
Amenemhat III	48 years ...	B.C. $1837\frac{203}{480}$—$1789\frac{364}{480}$
Amenemhat IV	9 „ ...	„ $1789\frac{364}{480}$—$1781\frac{298}{480}$
Sebek-nefrū-rē	4 „ ...	„ $1781\frac{298}{480}$—$1778\frac{277}{480}$

These figures are, of course, based—not on the Lunar Spheroid of 364°, but on the Theban Solar Spheroid of 365°, and on a Calendar in which 1 Thoth (taken by the Thebans to be the Sōthic-Rising Point) corresponded with the Celestial Summer Solstice, conventionally now placed between 30 Gemini and 1 Cancer. But, in the earlier Osirian days when the Lunar Spheroid of 364° was in vogue, the Calendar used to begin at the Celestial Autumnal Equinox—where Memphis always recognised it as starting from. On this basis the Sōthic-Rising Point (usually put between 30 Aris and 1 Taurus, and therefore between 30 Paōni and 1 Epiphi), had to be recognised as standing between 30 Thoth and 1 Paōphi, because in early Theban days, when the 365° Solar Spheroid was adopted, the Celestial Summer Solstice, where the Calendar began, lay between 30 Cancer and 1 Leo.

Thus, whether the Romiū worked by the Lunar Spheroid of 364°, or by the Theban Solar Spheroid of 365°, the Sōthic-Rising Point on the Spheroid was really the same —this being brought about by the fact that the Calendar for the 364° Spheroid was started with 1 Thoth placed at the Celestial Autumnal Equinox.

The Mahāsaṅghika School of Buddhism

BY

NALINAKSHA DATTA, M.A.

It was about a century after Buddha's death that we meet with the great division in the Buddhist church, a division between the conservative and the liberal, the hierarchic and the democratic. It is in this division that germs are traceable of the Mahāyānic doctrines which in the later history of Buddhism gained ground and eclipsed the Hinayānic schools. Details about this schism are found in the Ceylon chronicles[1] as well as in Pāli[2] and Buddhist Sanskrit works[3] (extant in Tibetan and Chinese translations) which unanimously record that a schism occurred in the Church through the Vajjian monks who deviated from the orthodox rules of discipline in regard to ten points and instituted a new school under the name of Mahāsaṅghikas. We learn further from the *Kathā-vatthu*[4] of Moggaliputta Tissa and the *Samayabhoparacha chakra*[5] of Vasumitra that the school had also a number

---

[1] *Mahāvamsa*, Ch IV, *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. IV, pp 33 ff

[2] *Vinaya Texts* (S. B E), Vol. III, pp 386-414

[3] Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, pp 173 ff for the version of the school of Sarvāstivādins (translated from Tibetan), Beal's *Four Lectures on the Buddhist Literature in China*, pp 83 ff. for the version of the school of Dharmaguptas (translated from Chinese).

[4] See Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Points of the Controversy*, p. xix.

[5] Translated from Tibetan by Prof. Wassilief in his *Der Buddhismus*.

of tenets which were peculiar to itself. The ten points, which the Theravādins considered as breaches of the rules of discipline which caused the conflict between them and the Mahāsaṅghikas are[1]:—

Schism of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

(1) *Siṅgiloṇa Kappo*—or the practice of carrying salt in a horn for use when needed, which contravened according to one view the rule against the storing of articles of food (*Pācittiya*, 38).

(2) *Dvangula Kappo*—or the practice of taking food after midday, lit. when the shadow (of the dial) is two digits wide (*Pāc.* 37).

(3) *Gāmantara Kappo*—or the practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there the same day, committing thereby the offence of over-eating (*Pāc.* 35).

(4) *Āvāsa Kappo*—or the observance of the same *Uposathas* on different days or in different places within the same parish (sīmā) (*MV.* II, 8, 3).

(5) *Anumati Kappo*—or doing an act and obtaining sanction for it afterwards (*MV.* IX, 3. 5).

(6) *Āciṇṇa Kappo*—or the use of precedents as authority.

(7) *Amathita Kappo*—or the drinking of milk-whey after meal (*Pāc.* 35).

(8) *Jalogimpātum*—or the drinking of fermenting palm-juice which is not yet toddy (*Pāc.* 51).

(9) *Adasakam nisīdanam*—or the use of a borderless sheet to sit on (*Pāc.*, 89).

(10) *Jātaruparajatam*—or the acceptance of gold and silver.[2]

---

[1] *Vinaya*, CV. XII, 1, 10; 2. 9 *Cf* Rockhill, *op. cit*, pp 171, 172 and Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-94

[2] The elliptical terms have been translated above in the light of the explanations given in the Pāli text. Some of these terms have been differently interpreted in the Vinayas of other two schools

For a discussion on the interpretations of the terms, see Minayeff, *Recherches* I, pp. 44-50.

The above ten points as given in the Pāli and other texts are also stated by Yuan Chang in his account of the Council at Vaisali.[1] A remarkable difference between Yuan Chang's account and the traditions in the Pāli and other texts is noticeable in connection with the Mahāsaṅghikas at the meeting of the Council at Vaisali. According to the former, the Mahāsaṅghikas renounced all their deviations from the orthodox rules and took to those that were approved by the Theravādins, while according to the latter, the seceders did not in practice adopt the rules which they should have done according to the decisions of the Council, in which they were outvoted. Inspite of their defeat, they remained as stubborn as before and asserted their separateness from the Theravādins by convening a council of their own. Watters disbelieves the tradition of the texts and relies on Yuan Chang's account as true, and Kern also arrives at the same conclusion after comparing the various traditions.[2]

The *Kathāvatthu*, which received its final shape in Asoka's council, had been growing by accretions since the holding of the council at Vaisali.[3] This work attributes a few differences in tenets to the Mahāsaṅghika school. Bhavya, Vasumitra, Vinītadeva and Tārānāth trace the origin of this school in Mahādeva's five articles of faith which were,[4]—

"(1) An arhat may commit a sin under unconscious temptation.

(2) One may be an arhat and not know it.

(3) An arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine.

(4) One cannot attain arhatship without the aid of a teacher.

---

[1] Watters' *Yuan Chang*, II, pp. 75-77

[2] Kern's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 109.

[3] See *Points of the Controversy* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, Intro., pp. xxxi ff.

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 416

(5) 'The noble ways' may begin with a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such exclamation as "How sad" and by so doing attain progress towards perfection."

The first four of the above articles of faith have been found in the Kathāvatthu,[1] the commentary of which states them to have been held by the two branches of the Mahāsaṅghika school known as the Pubbaseliyas and Aparaseliyas.[2] Prof. Poussin after examining the works of Bhavya, Vasumitra and others sums up, regarding the five articles of faith, thus,—"Several traditions indicate that there was a council concerning the five points, and that this controversy was the origin of the Mahāsaṅghika sect."[3] Yuan Chang relates that Mahādeva enunciated five dogmas, as enumerated above which formed the subject of bitter controversy among the bhikkhus. At the instance of the reigning king, an assembly of arhats and non-arhats was summoned, in which the arhats voted against the five dogmas[4] whereas the inferior brethren sided with Mahādeva and started the Mahāsaṅghika school at Pataliputra.[5] This testimony of the Chinese traveller regarding the ten points of the breaches of the rules of discipline and the five dogmas of Mahādeva goes a very great way to prove that a schism did happen in the Buddhist church at or about the time of the second Buddhist Council. The agreement between Vasumitra's work and the Kathāvatthu in regard to the essential tenets of the Mahāsaṅghika school proves beyond doubt that the school existed before the time of composition of the

[1] *Kathāvatthu*, ii, 2; ii, 3. 1 (ii, 1, 5); ii, 4; ii, 6

[2] *Kathāvatthuppakarana Aṭṭhakathā*, see the references noted above.

[3] *J.R.A.S*, 1910, p. 414

[4] They were the adherents of the Sthaviravāda school which a few years after branched off into many schools, of which the Sarvāstivādins were the foremost.

[5] Watters' *Yuan Chang*, 1, pp. 268, 269.

Kathāvatthu, *i.e.*, at or about the time of the Second Council

Two traditions for the origin of the schism accounted for.

The two classes of tradition preserved in the Buddhist literature, one attributing the schism of the Mahāsaṅghikas to the ten points of the breaches of the rules of discipline, and the other to Mahādeva's five articles of faith, may be accounted for in this way: The former appears in the Ceylonese chronicles and various versions of the Vinaya, while the latter in the Tibetan and Chinese versions of later Buddhist Sanskrit books dealing with the history of schools. One feature draws our attention in this matter, namely, that in some works the differences as to the rules of discipline alone are referred to, while in other works, the differences in regard to the doctrines to the exclusion of those regarding the rules of discipline are recorded. This can be accounted for, perhaps either by the particular leanings of the authors of those works, or by the exclusive nature of the subject with which the works were concerned, for instance, the various versions of the Vinaya mention only the differences as to points of discipline, the Ceylonese chronicles composed by the Ceylonese bhikkhus whose principal care was for the Vinaya rules,[1] putting aside matters, which may be otherwise interesting, into the shade, while the later Buddhist Sanskrit writers confine themselves to matters of doctrine alone in regard to the Mahāsaṅghikas. Yuan Chang was for the first time interested in the record of divergences in regard to both discipline and faith; and that was because as an annalist he was more catholic than either of the two classes of authors. It should, however, be borne in mind that very probably the schism with the

[1] Watters' *Yuan Chang*, II, p. 234.

Mahāsaṅghikas had its first beginnings in the breaches of the then current rules of discipline encroaching in course of time on matters of doctrine.

The principal objective of the Mahāsaṅghikas in seceding from the main body of orthodox Buddhists becomes apparent to us by a glance at the subject matter of the rules regarding which they differed and the doctrines which they turned to profess. To put it in a nutshell, they wanted to have an amount of latitude and freedom regarding certain of their actions which the strictness and narrowness of orthodoxy was not ready to allow, and to carry into their organization and general governance a democratic spirit which set at nought what appeared to them an unreasoning servility to the monastic authorities, which could not be supported in a reasonable management of the monasteries. The exclusive power and privileges which by lapse of time the arhats came to claim for themselves at the expense of the bhikkhus of lower order were looked upon by the Mahāsaṅghikas as a re-appearance in a different garb of the selfish exclusiveness of the Brāhmins, against which the rise of Buddhism was, as it were a revolt. To yield to this meant but to yield to the same evil which the Brāhmins wanted to perpetuate and the Buddhists wanted to eradicate. It was in this sort of logic that the Mahāsaṅghikas found a justification for their conduct and it is upon this that they found a force which could unite them into a body. The first to begin the campaign against the above tendencies of the arhats came naturally from the monks belonging to a clan which was noted throughout its existence for its democratic spirit, *viz.*, the Vajjians. An expression of this spirit noticed at the very inception of the schism was found in the strong opposition that was made by them to the procedure by which it was decided by the orthodox

arhats to make their decision at a Council binding upon the opposing party. According to the procedure, only the *arhats* could be present in the Council and not the non-*arhats*. When by the application of this method of decision, the new party was outvoted, the latter rejected the decision of the majority and convened another Council which was called Mahāsaṅgiti [1] because it included both the *arhats* and non-*arhats* of the new party and from which the party itself took the name Mahāsaṅghika.

The seceders, according to the chronicles, revised the Dhamma and Vinaya in their own way and the doctrines which were thus supported in the revised collections were known as the Ācariyavāda [2] as distinguished from the Theravāda of the first council. The *Dīpavaṁsa* says that the monks of the Mahāsaṅghikas did not stop after changing the Vinaya rules; they went further by laying down for themselves new doctrines contrary to the established ones. When according to the usual procedure, at the Mahāsaṅgiti held by them, they recited for settlement of the texts for their purposes of the *Sutras* and the *Vinaya*, they introduced alterations in the texts, their arrangement and their interpretations, substituted portions of them by others according to their liking, and even rejected certain parts of the canon though they had been accepted according to tradition by Mahākassapa's council. They refused to include *Parivāra*, *Abhidhammappakaraṇa*, *Paṭisambhidā*, *Niddesa* and the

Alterations made by the Mahāsaṅghikas in *dhamma* and *vinaya*

[1] Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, Vol. II, p. 164, runs thus "And because in the assembly, both common folk and holy personages were mixed together, it was called the assembly of the great congregation"

I am indebted to Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit., for some suggestions in this connection.

[2] *Dīpavaṁsa*, Ch. iv.

Jātakas within the Piṭaka collection.[1] The importance and accuracy of the decision by which the Mahāsaṅghikas discriminated between the original portions and the later interpolations are found by the full support that it obtains from modern researches which bear out their discrimination *in toto*. The *Parivāra* (pāṭha), which is a sort of index to the Vinaya and meant as a manual for the bhikkhus, has been proved by many Buddhist scholars to be a composition of a later date than that of the canon.[2] The *Abhidhamma* literature also has been proved to have developed after the Council of Vaisali and received its final form in Asoka's Council.[3] Lastly the three works, the *Paṭisambhidā*, the *Niddesa* and the *Jātakas* are found to have been added to the canon without any discrimination long after its closing. It would have been proper if the *Paṭisambhidā* had been put in the Abhidhamma collection, and if the *Niddesa* which is only a commentary on the *Sutta Nipāta* as also the *Jātakas* which form a commentary on the canonical Jātaka book had been excluded from the Piṭaka collection.

Literature of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

Yuan Chang relates that the Mahāsaṅghikas accepted the canon as rehearsed in Kassapa's Council but they included some discourses which had been rejected by it as non-canonical, and that the Mahāsaṅghikas divided their canon into five parts, *viz.*, Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma, miscellaneous and Dhāranis.[4] It is from the Chinese travellers, Fa-Hien and Yuan Chang that we learn that this school had a complete canon of its own.

---

[1] *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. v, vs. 32-38.

[2] Dr. Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 42, Dr. Oldenburg's *Intro. to the Vinaya Pitaka*, Vol. I, p. xxxiv.

[3] Dr. Oldenburg, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv.

[4] Watters' *Yuan Chang*, II, p. 160 ; Kern's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 4.

Fa-Hien took away from Pataliputra to China a complete transcript of the *Mahasaṅghika Vinaya* in 414 A.D., and translated it into Chinese two years later.[1] According to Yuan Chang, the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas was the same as the one rehearsed in the First Council. The Pāli authorities also mention that the difference between the orthodox school and the Mahāsaṅghikas lay only in the ten rules of discipline. From this we see that the differences between the versions of the Vinaya of the two schools were negligible.[2] In Nanjio's *Catalogue*, we find mention of two Vinayas, *viz.*, *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya* and *Mahasaṅghabhikshuni Vinaya* existing in Chinese translations.[3] We have at present practically no information regarding the *Sutra* and *Abhidharma* literature of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Yuan Chang's biography furnishes us with a reference enabling us to be sure as to the existence of treatises forming part of their abhidharma literature. The reference is furnished by the passage in which it is stated that Yuan Chang studied certain Abhidharma treatises of the Mahāsaṅghika school with two monks at Dhanakataka, the centre of the Pūrva and Apara-Śaila schools.[4] Similarly, the Sutras are merely mentioned as *Mahāsaṅghika-nikāya-āgama* in the Chinese work *She-ta-sheng-lun*, ch. 1 (No. 1183).[5] We expect much light on the present point from the information which, we hope, the Chinese scholars would in the near future place at our disposal. Thus far can, however, be said regarding the *sutras* that they were common to

[1] Takakusu, *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. xx.

[2] Watters' *Yuan Chang*, II, p. 160—Watters finds it expressly mentioned in the Chinese translation of the Questions of Sariputra that the Vinaya settled in Mahākassapa's Council was called the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya.

[3] B. Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Cols. 247 and 253.

[4] Watters' *op. cit.*, II, p. 217.

[5] Watters' *op. cit.*, II, p. 161.

all the Buddhist schools in the form appearing in the Pāli Sutra Piṭaka. The only work now available of the Mahāsaṅghika school is the *Mahāvastu* partly in prose and partly in verse. Though it is professedly the Vinaya of the Lokottaravāda school,[1] it should be classified with the Sutra literature in view of its object, *viz.*, to depict the life of Buddha like the *Lalita-vistara* and the *Abhinishkramaṇa Sūtra* of the other schools.

The *Mahāvastu* has been edited by Prof. Senart and about which he and M. Sylvain Levi furnish us with some information. It was properly speaking a book belonging to the Lokottaravādins of Bamian in Kashmir, who were a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The versified portion of the work is in a language approaching Sanskrit while the prose portion is in Sanskrit. At present further information about the linguistic medium which might have been used by the Mahāsaṅghikas in their literature at the different localities where they spread is not forthcoming except this that Csoma Körösi tells us from a Tibetan source that the '*sutra* on emancipation' (*i. e.*, the Prātimoksha) was in a corrupt dialect, and Wassiljew informs us from the same sources that this literature existed in Prākṛit.

The linguistic medium of Mahāsaṅghika literature.

Up till now the manuscripts explored from Central Asia have been shown to be the remnants of the literature of the Sarvāstivādins and the later Mahāyānic schools. Nowhere do we find in the published portions of the manuscripts any mention of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The history of this school shows that it suffered much in its early days at the hands of the orthodox Buddhists because it was the outcome of the earliest

The popularity and centres of influence of the Mahāsaṅghika Schools.

[1] *Mahāvastu*, ed. by Senart, p. 2.

schism in the Buddhist church. It held in high esteem and even claimed Mahākassapa, the president of the first council as its patron-saint and founder [1] and believed that the new doctrines and rules of discipline were deducible from the canon settled by him. One of the main obstacles in the way of its general popularity was its failure to secure the support of any king; for royal patronage usually counted for much in the establishment of a religion on a secure footing. Yuan Chang records a tradition that a hundred years after the death of Buddha, a dispute regarding doctrine took place in the Buddhist church and "King Aśoka" (most probably Kālasoka of the Mahāvaṃsa) sided with the heretical party the Mahāsaṅghikas. The orthodox monks left Pataliputra and went to Kashmir. The king afterwards changed his mind and repented of having supported the heretical party. This is, no doubt, an echo of the legend in the Mahāvaṃsa[2] that King Kālāsoka, being misled by the seceders the Vajjiputtakas, supported them but afterwards, by the warning of his sister Nandatheri, changed his mind and supported the cause of the orthodox party, the Theravādins. The tradition of the Mahāvaṃsa corroborated by Yuan Chang shows that the Mahāsaṇghikas lost the support of the then reigning king of Magadha which they had at first secured. It is evident that their first centre was at Pataliputra[3] where they continued to reside side by side with the Theravādins and the later religious schools. We learn from Yuan Chang that he saw followers of different schools dwelling in the same monastery, from which it is probable that the

[1] *J. A. S B.*, 1838, p. 143; Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, pp. 294, 295; Eitel's *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 88.

[2] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. IV, vs. 37-44.

[3] Watters, *op. cit.* I, p. 269, 'the majority of inferior brethern at Pataliputra began the Mahāsaṅghika School.'

acrimony of their early hostile relations diminished a good deal at the time of Yuan Chang's visit. I-tsing (671-695 A. D.) informs us that the Mahāsaṅghikas were found in his time mostly in Magadha (Central India) and a few in Lāṭa and Sindhu (Western India) and some in a few places in Northern, Southern and Eastern India.[1] Before I-tsing, both Fa Hien and Yuan Chang had come across the adherents of this school though not so frequently as those of the others. The earliest notice of this school is found in the inscription on Mathura Lion Capital (about 120 B. C.)[2] mentioning that it had a very strong opponent in Buddhila, an adherent of the Sarvāstivāda school. The school acquired some followers in Afghanistan as evidenced by the Wardak vase, discovered there, containing relics of Buddha that had been presented to the teachers of the Mahāsaṅghika school during the reign of Huvishka by one Kamagulya of the place, whose father had probably built the vault within which the Wardak vase was deposited.[3] Yuan Chang confirms this evidence by his reference to three monasteries at Andarab where he arrived after three days' journey from the country of Wardaks[4] (near Ghazni). There was another centre of the school at Karle, in the Bombay Presidency, famous in the history of Buddhist architecture for its possession of the largest and finest cave-temples[5] which are still standing as memorials of their past glory. That this cave was in the possession of the Mahāsaṅghikas is shown by two inscriptions at the cave-temples, one recording the gift of the village of

---

[1] Takakusu's *Records of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, Intro., p. xxxiii.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 139, 141, 146.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 211.

[4] Watters' *Yuan Chang*, II, pp. 267, 269.

[5] See for its description Fergusson's *Indian & Eastern Architecture*, pp. 117 ff; Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 232 f.

Karajaka by Gautamiputra Satakarni to the monks of the Vāluraka caves for the support of the school of the Mahāsaṅghikas,[1] and the other of the time of Vasisthiputra Siripulumayi recording the gift of a nine-celled hall to the same school by an inhabitant of Abulama.[2] Though the Mahāsaṅghikas did not receive much attention from the Buddhist writers and donors, the Karle caves show that the school commanded a great popularity in that part of the Bombay Presidency where the caves exist; for, otherwise the cave-temples could not have been so richly decorated with such fine specimens of sculptural and architectural beauty by a series of donors through centuries anxious to express their religious devotion and zeal in the best way that their resources could command. The offshoots of this school, the Lokottaravādins and the Chaityavādins wielded also much influence in Buddhist society for a long time paving the way for the advent of Mahāyānism which later on came to be diffused over the whole of India.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VII, pp. 64 ff.
[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, pp 71 ff

II

The Theravāda School of Buddhism

BY

NALINAKSHA DATTA, M.A.

I do not wish to reiterate the points that have already been found out after laborious researches by Pāli scholars and published in their works. I wish here to confine myself only to certain points about the language or dialect used by the Theravādins in their literature. Before proceeding to the task, I want to point out that the Theravādins are otherwise known as Vibhajjavādins and wherever we see references to the latter, they can be applied to the former without any feeling of doubt. Dr. Oldenburg was uncertain as to the identity of the two names and the classes they denote, but after comparison of the lists of schools supplied by the Northern and Southern Buddhist sources, he found out that Vibhajjavāda was but another name of Theravāda.[1] This conclusion finds corroboration in the Ceylonese chronicles which state the very same thing. There would have been no room for this doubt if he had noticed that in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, Buddha declares himself to be a *Vibhajjavādin* and not an *Ekāṁsavādin*, indicating that his method of teaching was analytic and not synthetic.[2] Again in the same *Nikāya*, Buddha on hearing the doctrines of Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Ramaputta says that he possesses a better knowledge than those teachers because he knows

[1] Dr. Oldenburg's *Intro. to the Vinaya Pitaka*, Vol. I, p. xlii.

[2] *Majjh. Nik.*, II, 99, p. 197.

the Ñānavāda as well as the *Theravāda*.[1] These two references go to prove that the doctrine represented by the Pāli scriptures was Theravāda. It was also called Vibhajjavāda owing to the particular mode of teaching the *dhamma* adopted by the Pālists. Profs. Kern, Rhys Davids and others have endorsed the view that the whole Pāli literature represents the tenets of the Theravāda school. Though much have been said by scholars regarding the doctrine and literature of the Theravādins *alias* Vibhajjavādins, nothing has been definitely stated as to the position of the Pāli language in relation to Buddhist literature. Many a tough problem in the history of Buddhism can be solved by studying the history of Buddhist schools, *viz.*, the original language of the tripiṭaka and the time and place of origin of the Pāli language. The passage occurring in the *Vinaya*,[2] "*Anujānāmi bhikkhave saka niruttiyā Buddhavacanam pariyāpuṇitum*" (I permit, O bhikkhus to learn the words of Buddha in one's own dialect) carries a very great weight in regard to our present subject. It is stated by Wassiljew and Csoma Körösi[3] on the strength of Tibetan sources that the Sarvāstivādins recited their *sutra on emancipation* (prātimoksha) in Sanskrit, the Sammitiyas in Apabhraṃsa, the Mahāsaṅghikas in a corrupt dialect (a prākṛit) and the Sthavira or Theravādins in Paiśāchī. These four dialects are also mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* while enumerating the subjects of a grammar.[4] The Sanskrit manuscript *Vimalaprabhā*[5] of the mediæval period contains a remark that the Piṭakas were written in 96

[1] *Majjh. Nik.*, Vol. I, p 163.

[2] *Vinaya, Cv.* V, 33, 1.

[3] Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, pp. 294, 295; Csoma Koroši in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, p. 142.

[4] *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 64.

[5] MS. No. 4727 mentioned in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government collection, A. S. B., Vol. I, p. 77.

countries in 96 languages.[1] The manuscript gives in detail the names of the countries, and the language current in each of them It also records a tradition that soon after the death of Buddha, the *Sangitikārakas* wrote down the doctrine of the three *yānas* in book form. Under the direction of Tathāgata (*tathāgata-niyamena*), they preserved the *three piṭakas in the Magadha-bhāshā, the Sutrāntas in Sindhubhāshā, the Pāramitas in Sanskrit, the Mantras and Tantras in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa and uncultured Śabarādi mlecchabhāsā and so forth.* The manuscript further mentions that the Buddhists did not pay much attention to Sanskrit regarding metres and grammatical rules, indicating thereby that it had in view the mixed dialect (*gāthā* as it is usually termed) used in some of the Buddhist Sanskrit books like the Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, etc. The above statements of Indian writers of old have an evidentiary value as will be seen presently. Scholars like Stein, Grunwedel, Lecoq, Leumann, Hoernle, Sylvain Levi by their unflinching zeal in the search of manuscripts in Central Asia have brought to light many things confirming the assertions of the mediæval writers. These scholars have saved from eternal oblivion remnants of manuscripts in so many languages as Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kuchean, Khotanese, Proto-Tibetan and Eastern Iranian. Some of the fragments of Sanskrit and Prākrit manuscripts as also a few discovered in Nepal have their counterparts in the Pāli piṭakas.[2] Among them are found almost complete portions of the piṭakas, *e.g.*, the Sanskrit versions of the *Udānavarga* and the *Prātimoksha Sutra*, and the Prākrita version of the *Dharmapada*. Prof. Kern in his introduction to the

[1] The number 96 seems to be a rough way of indicating a large number.

[2] *E.g.*, *Ātanātiya Sutra*, *Sangiti Sutra*; *Pravāranā Sutra*. *Candropama Sutra*; *Sakti Sutra*; *Suka Sutra*; etc., etc.

Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan*, pp. 18, 36, 41, 46.

translation of the Saddharma Puṇḍarika[1] has shown that the various versions of a passage in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit reveal that they are not based upon one another but upon a common original, which is now lost. Dr. Hoernle in editing the fragments of the manuscript *Saddharma Puṇḍarika* remarks that the Sanskrit text found in Nepal bears many similarity to the former but with some variations from which it may safely be concluded that "the text of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarika* to which both the Central Asian and the Nepalese manuscripts go back, was written in a language that had far more Prākritisms than either of the two versions."[2] Hence we see that the two versions are based upon an original work in Prākrit. He has also shown by comparing the fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts with passages in the Pāli Sutra and Vinaya Piṭaka that there was a complete Sanskrit canon which was independent of the Pāli canon but with a commonness from which it could be safely inferred that both the Sanskrit and the Pāli canon were based upon a common original. This original very probably dates back to the lifetime of Buddha and was the one which was recited in the first council.

All the versions of the Piṭaka were based upon one common original in Magadhabhāshā.

The manuscript *Vimala-prabhā* says that just after the demise of the Tathagata, the *Saṅgitikārakas* put down the Tripiṭaka in the *Magadhabhāshā*. That this tradition had a kernel of truth in it appears from these facts:—(1) Buddha preferred preaching in the spoken dialect of the masses in order that his doctrines might be readily intelligible to them; (2) he was born and bred up in a place, the current dialect of which, if not the same as that prevailing among the masses of Magadha

---

[1] *S. B E.*, Vol XXI, pp. xl-xv.

[2] Hoernle 's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan*, p.161.

among whom he preached, must at least have been influenced by the latter in view of the widespread influence that is, as a rule, exercised by the principal dialect of the metropolis; (3) it is not likely that Buddha who used a dialect at Kapilavastu up to about his 29th year should have found the dialect of Magadha unintelligible to him, on the other hand he used the dialect of Magadha easily and fluently, from which it is allowable to infer that the dialect of Kapilavastu was not at least separated from the dialect of Magadha by a gulf which required previous education or preparation to bridge up; and (4) his missionary tours were generally within the limits of the country of Magadha. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to state anything more definite than what has been said above about the dialect in which Buddha preached. Buddha's preachings that were learnt by heart at the time and handed down to posterity no doubt existed in the very dialect used by him which has been termed the *Magadhabhāshā*. It is very likely that this dialect has been dragging out its thin thread of existence under the layers of various other dialects or languages that have accumulated in the Pāli Piṭaka in its present form; and many of the various antiquated words and expressions that meet our eyes in the said Pāli texts and which differ from the genuine Pāli words and expressions in several respects can with probability be credited to the *Magadhabhāshā*.

Dr. Oldenburg agrees with us in holding that the Pāli version of the Tripiṭaka was not the original version but a redaction of same. He then takes up the question as "to what part of India did the Pāli originally belong, and from whence did it spread to Ceylon." The solution he arrives at is that Pāli was the original language of Kalinga, *i.e.*, of countries south of the Vindhya mountains. This solution is based on the resemblance

of the Khaṇḍagiri inscription to the Pāli language. It is asserted by Dr. Oldenburg that the Pāli Tripiṭaka was taken to Ceylon from Southern India probably from Kalinga or Andhra with which countries Ceylon stood in close connection; and he attaches little importance to the Ceylonese tradition that Mahinda took the Pāli canon to Ceylon.[1] These inferences of Dr. Oldenburg are open to doubt for reasons which are given below :—

Time and place of origin of the Pāli language of the Theravādins.

(1) Franke by an exhaustive, comparative study of the inscriptional Prākrits and Pāli has come to the conclusion that the home of literary Pāli was at Ujjayini surrounded by localities where the inscriptional dialects are more akin to Pāli than the dialects of the inscriptions found in the East, South and South-West.[2]

Franke's result of comparative study of inscriptions.

(2) There were two centres of the earliest form of Buddhism, one at the well-known metropolis Pāṭaliputra and the other at Ujjayini. The establishment of the second centre of Buddhism was mainly due to Mahākaccāyana, one of the great disciples of Buddha. He was a native of Ujjayini, being a son of the priest of King Caṇḍa Pajjota of the place. After completing his Brahmanic education, he succeeded to his father's office. It is said that he was sent by King Pajjota to fetch Buddha, but was, on his arrival there ordained, and after which he returned as a bhikkhu to his native land Avanti Buddha could not come with Mahākaccāyana but he said that Mahākaccāyana would be able to satisfy the king with his

Csoma Körösi's statement as to the Paisachi dialect seen in the light of conclusion of Grierson and others as to the development of Pāli from Paisachi.

[1] Dr. Oldenburg's *Introduction to the Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, p. liv.

[2] Otto Franke's *Pali und Sanskrit*, pp. 131, 132, summarised by Sir Grierson in his paper 'Home of Literary Pāli' in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 117.

exposition of the law.[1] Another noted disciple of this part of the country was Puṇṇa Mantāniputta who was an inhabitant of Sunāparanta and a trader. On one ocasion he went with a caravan to Sāvatthi where he heard a discourse from Buddha, resolved to become a Buddhist monk and became a disciple of Mahākaccāyana. From the conversation that Puṇṇa Mantāniputta had with Buddha, it appears that people of Sunāparanta were rough and rustic in their manners and Buddha was afraid lest he (Puṇṇa) should receive rough treatment at their hands.[2] However, it is said that Puṇṇa won many people to his side. Mahākaccāyana once sent information to Buddha through a disciple of his, Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa, that the number of bhikkhus at Avanti-dakkhināpatha was not very large.[3] The activities of these two chief disciples of Buddha for propagation of Buddhism in Western India met with some success even as early as 5th century B. C. Mahākaccāyana, one of these two chief disciples is said to be a founder of the Theravāda School.[4] Hence it may be asserted that the Theravāda School was established there at that early period. I may add that the Chinese traveller, who saw followers of the Theravāda School at several places in eastern India and Ceylon, saw them also at Surat and Bharukaccha,[5] Lāṭa and Sindhu.[6] Csoma Körösi and Wassiljew furnish us with the information that the Theravādins preserved their literature in the Paisāchi dialect.

[1] *Majjh. Nik* III, 267 ff; *Sam. Nik.* IV. 60; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 37-39; *Mahāvastu*, III, v. 382.

[2] *Vinaya, Mahāvagga*, V, 13, 2

[3] Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, pp. 294, 295. Upali's name is also associated with this school in another tradition given by Csoma Körösi.

[4] *Psalms of the Brothers* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, P.238.

[5] Watters' *Yuan Chang*, II, pp. 241, 248. Yuan Chang refers to the Theravāda School as the Mahayānist Sthavira School; for a discussion on the subject see Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 235.

[6] Takakusu's *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 7

Prof. Konow places the home of Paisāchi at Ujjayini or more properly, about the Vindhya mountains.[1] He also points out that the Pāli closely agrees with Paisāchi. Sir G. Grierson holds the view as well that Pāli is a literary form of Paisāchi[2] but does not agree with Prof. Konow regarding the home of the dialect; he is of opinion that its place of origin was in the North-West at and near Takshasila, and he states that the dialect very probably passed from the North-West to Rajputana up to the Konkan coast. The tradition preserved by Somadeva,[3] Dandin[4] and Subandhu that the *Brihat Kathā* was written in Paisachi by Gunāḍhya, an inhabitant of a region about Ujjayini, favours the view that Paisāchi was for sometime the spoken dialect of Ujjayini. But the strongest ground for the view is philological which has been exhaustively dealt with by Prof. Konow and need not be repeated here. The close resemblance that subsists between Paisachi and Pāli may be shown by a glance at the following two passages, one in Paiśāchi and the other being its Pāli rendering :

Paśiāchi :—

Paññāna rāchiyā guna-nilhinā raññā anañña-puñṇena
Cintetabbam matanādi verino kiha vijetabba.

(*Kumārpāla-carita*)

Pāli rendering :—

Paññanam rājinā guna-nidhinā raññā anañña-puñṇena
Cintetabba madanādi verino kehi vijetabba.

(3) The great importance attached by the Pāli writers and Chinese travellers to Mahinda for the propagation

[1] *Z D. M. G.*, lxiv (1910), pp. 114ff. summarised by Sir G. Grierson in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 119, 120. See also *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, pp. 244-45 ; 424-28.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, 1915, p. 227 f.n.

[3] Somadeva's *Kathāsarita-sāgara*, Intro.

[4] Dandin's *Kāvyādarsa*, p. 35, l. 38. See also Bühler's article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 1.

of Buddhism in Ceylon should not be dismissed as baseless. The integrity of the chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* detailing Asoka's missionary activities and supplying us with names of missionaries has been corroborated by the discovery of a casket on which are inscribed names of two missionaries sent to the Himavanta which are identical with those given by the *Mahāvamsa*. In these circumstances, it would be unreasonable to doubt the statement regarding Mahinda's mission to Ceylon unless they are negatived by other stronger evidences. Dr. Oldenburg disbelieves that Mahinda received his Buddhistic education at Ujjayini. He bases his opinion on the *Mahāvamsa* which states that Mahinda studied the tripiṭaka at Pataliputra [1] when Mahinda was twenty years old. But there is nothing in the *Mahāvamsa* to indicate that Mahinda accompanied his father on his way to Pataliputra for assumption of royal power. On the contrary we learn that Mahinda's mother continued to live at Vidisa,[2] owing to her subsidiary position among Asoka's wives. Asoka had two other wives referred to in the Buddhist Sanskrit works as living with him at Pataliputra. It was usual with the Hindu kings and chiefs to be polygamous, but it was the principal wife alone who enjoyed a status in the eye of the laws relating to inheritance.[3] Children born of wives other than the principal either lived on appanages or retired from the house-hold life.[4] It was due to this custom, I believe, that Mahinda joined the Buddhist order and continued living with his mother at Avanti instead of coming to Pataliputra with Asoka. It was not until his twentieth year that he was called by

Mahinda's connection with the place of origin of Paiśāchi and his journey to Ceylon therefrom embarking from an western port.

[1] Dr. Oldenburg's *Intro. to the Vinaya Piṭaka*, p. li.

[2] *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XIII.

[3] V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 191.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 185.

Asoka to the metropolis where he was asked to be ordained and to devote himself to the study of the tripiṭaka. It is this fact which has been mentioned in the passage of the Mahāvaṃsa which has been utilized by Dr. Oldenburg as pointed out already. There is nothing in this passage to show that the tripiṭaka studied by him was in the Pāli language. The passage of the Mahāvaṃsa is silent on this point and Dr. Oldenburg supplies it on the strength of the resemblance that the language of the Khaṇḍagiri inscription bears to the Pāli language. If he did so, it was not as the result of the development of the Pāli piṭaka from the spoken dialect of Kaliṅga as Oldenburg supposes nor as the result of Mahinda being educated at Pataliputra, for in my opinion, Mahinda had his early education at Ujjayini but the Pāli piṭaka was more easily intelligible to Mahinda than any other for the reason that he was educated in a place where Paiśāchi was the current dialect and Pāli was the literary one and used in the piṭaka which in course of time supplanted the Paiśāchi piṭaka. The carrying of the Pāli piṭaka to Ceylon for the first time by Mahinda has been disbelieved by Dr. Oldenburg. But there are reasons for doubting Dr. Oldenburg's conclusion. Mahinda when he was charged by Asoka with the duty of propagating Buddhism in Ceylon came to Avanti where he stayed immediately before his journey to Ceylon. Dr. Oldenburg states that Pāli piṭaka was taken to Ceylon by a certain person from a port in Kaliṅga. But as I have already shown, there is no reason to doubt the tradition of Mahinda's sailing to Ceylon for the purpose and as it is a historical fact that he stayed at Ujjayini before sailing out, it would be natural that he would choose to start from a port on the western coast which was near to Ujjayini than from one on the far off eastern coast overcoming the difficulties of communication that existed in those

days in going to a distant place. It may be said in a general way that in ancient times Ceylon had closer connection with western India than the eastern in almost all matters. Now as to the question of the choice of the piṭaka which Mahinda took to Ceylon from what has been said above as to the early education of Mahinda, his connection with Ujjayini as his birth place and his stay there up to his twentieth year during which time he became familiarised with Paiśāchi as the spoken dialect, it is I think reasonable to infer that his choice would fall upon the Pāli piṭaka, Pāli being the literary form of Paiśāchi and the piṭaka in that language gradually supplanting its progenitor the Paisāchi version.

To sum up : In view of the combined arguments advanced by Sir G. Grierson, Profs. Sten Konow and Franke that Pāli is the literary form of *Paisāchi* which obtained currency in the region about Ujjayini, and, in view of the statement made by Csoma Körösi and Wassiljew on the authority of Tibetan sources that there was a Paiśāchi version of the piṭaka, it is only natural to infer that the piṭaka using Pāli as its medium was based upon the one in Paiśāchi. It has also been shown from Csoma Körösi and Wassilejew's statements that the Theravādins had their literature in Paiśāchi,—a fact which is significant for my purpose, because of the vital connection of the Theravādins with Avanti, and their exodus to Ceylon from there. The early education of Mahinda make it apparent to us that he must have been more inclined to the literary dialect of his birthplace than to any other and it was only natural that he should take the Pāli version with him to Ceylon because it was the version of his country that was growing into popularity and throwing the Paiśāchi version into the shade.

Note.—For III 'The Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism, see Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume. 'Orientalia.'

On the Cult of Sonārāya in Northern Bengal.

BY

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A.

In a previous paper,[1] I have already alluded to the existence, among the people of the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal, of a belief in a tiger-deity (व्याघ्रेर देवता) named Sonārāya Ṭhākura (सोनाराय ठाकुर) who is not only credited with the possession of considerable supernatural powers, but is also actually worshipped in that district (and probably in other parts of Northern Bengal).

The agriculturists in the district of Rangpur worship this deity not only for the purpose of being immune from the depredations of tigers, but also for obtaining other boons. In order to raise the wherewithal for defraying the expenses of this worship, the peasant-boys band themselves together and go about from house to house and begging for money[2] and singing the two following folk-ballads of which the texts, in Devanāgarī script, are being published in Appendixes A and C of this article. As these two very interesting ballads have not yet been translated into English, I am publishing, for the first time, the English translations thereof in Appendixes B and D of this paper.

---

[1] *Vide* my paper "*On the Vestiges of Tiger-Worship in the District of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal*," in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, p. 599.

[2] *Vide* the lines 70, 71 and 72 of the following folk-ballad No. I.

The gentlemen, who have collected these folk-ballads, have not furnished any information about the time of the year when this tiger-deity is worshipped in the district of Rangpur. But, most likely, this worship takes place on the Pausha-saṁkrānti (पौष संक्रान्ति) day which is the last day of the Hindu month of Pausha [(पौष) December-January]. I am making this inference on the faith of the facts that the deity Sonārāya is worshipped in the district of Pābnā in Eastern Bengal on the aforementioned day[1] and that the analogous tiger-deity named Bāghāi (বাঘাই) is also worshipped on the same day in the district of Mymensingh in the same part of this province.

[Compare with the cult of the godlings Kālu Rāya and Dakshiṇa Rāya which is also widespread in some parts of this province.]

It would appear from lines 120 and 121 of version No. I (published in Appendix A) of these folk-ballads about the deity Sonārāya that the offerings presented to this godling on the occasion of worshipping him are (*a*) one winnowing-fanful of paddy, (*b*) golden (? yellow) cowry-shells (*Cypræa moneta*) numbering nine [mark that nine is a sacred number] *buris*, and (*c*) five [mark that five is a sacred number] areca-nuts.

[The winnowing-fan with the paddy, etc., thereupon is very similar to the triangular-shaped winnowing-fan which the peasant-boys in the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal make with straw and on which they place the food-offerings to the tiger-deity Bāghāi.][2]

The objects for which the tiger-deity Sonārāya is worshipped are (*a*) that the family-members, cattle and wealth of the worshipper may increase, and (*b*) that he

[1] *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* (প্রবাসী) for the month of Māgha, 1327 B.S., p. 746.

[2] *Vide The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, p. 601.

may receive honors in the office and at court. (*Vide* lines 116, 117 and 118 of version No. I of these folk-ballads.)

The peasant-boys' practice of going about from house to house, begging for money wherewith to defray the expenses of worshipping the deity Sonārāya, and, as an accompaniment to the same, of singing the following folk-ballads, has a close parallel in the usage, which is in vogue among the agriculturist-boys of the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal, of begging for alms wherewith to worship the tiger-deity Bāghāi and singing the songs known as *Bāghāir bayāta* (বাঘাইর বয়াত).

I have already shown elsewhere[1] that the practice of begging for alms wherewith to procure the offerings to be presented to certain deities appears to be the adjunct of the worship of the lesser gods and goddesses, most of whom are non-Aryan deities.

From a study of the version No. I of the following folk-ballads, we find that it embodies an account of the miraculous birth of the tiger-deity Sonārāya and his brother Rūpārāya. It further records how this deity assumed the garb of a *sannyāsī* and, having failed to give a satisfactory account of himself to some Mogal soldiers—whom he met on the way, was arrested by them and thrown into the prison, and that, under his orders, the whole Mogal army was slaughtered by thirty *krors* of tigers. Thereafter his deityship escaped from the Mogal prison-house and began to be worshipped by the people of this world.

In this version No. I, we come across a curious fact, namely, that it refers to the existence, side by side, of the three cults (1) Dharma-worship, (2) Krishṇaism, and (3) the cult of Sonārāya.

[1] *Vide* my article *On the Vestiges of Buddhism in the District of Murshidabad (Bengal) in The Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) for September, 1920, pp. 199-201.

In this folk-ballad No. I, we find it stated that Nanda, the cowherd of Gokula, and his wife Yaśodā had no child of their own and that, therefore, the latter worshipped the deity Dharma and prayed for the boon of having a son. This deity granted her the prayed-for boon. As the result of this, the deity Krishṇa, *assuming the form of a white fly*, entered her womb. (Lines 41 and 42.) After completing the usual period of pregnancy extending over ten months and ten days, she gave birth to the deity Sonārāya and his brother Rūpārāya.

Although it is impossible to ascertain the exact time when these folk-ballads were composed, we are justified in inferring from the reference therein to the cult of Dharma that they were composed when Dharma-worship was prevalent in full vigour in Northern Bengal.

It is now well known that a corrupt form of Buddhism, leavened with Hindu religious ideas and having a veneer of Hindu rites and ceremonies, is prevalent, even at the present day, in different parts of Bengal. It goes by the name of "The Worship of the Deity Dharma-Ṭhākura" (धर्म्मपूजा).

In the twelfth century A.D., an old Bengali writer named Ramāi Paṇḍita (रमाइ पण्डित) wrote a work which describes the tenets and sets forth the texts of the religious and other formulæ of this curious cult. It also describes the method of worshipping this deity who is, according to some, a corrupt prototype of Lord Buddha. Eminent scholars, who have carried on researches into the subject of this strange cult, have arrived at the conclusion that this corruption of Buddhism into its Tāntrik form, namely, "The Worship of the Deity Dharma-Ṭhākura," most likely, took place during the period when Rājā Śrī Harsha and other rulers flourished.[1]

[1] *Vide* my article on *Some Recent Researches into the Origin of the Siva-Worship Festival* in *The Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) for May-June 1918, pp. 386-390.

The 2nd version of this folk-ballad (published in Appendix C) does not give any account of the birth of the tiger-deity Sonārāya. It simply mentions that, while, on one occasion, this deity was walking about in the street, uttering the name of Hari, he met the whole body of Mogal soldiers who enquired of him as to who he was. But his deityship did not vouchsafe any reply to their queries. Whereupon they arrested him and, placing on his breast a stone weighing 22 maunds, kept him confined in their prison-house. But, casting off this ponderous stone by a miracle, he escaped from the Mogal prison-house. Thereafter, at his bidding, 2,000 tigers slaughtered the whole Mogal army. From that time forth, the people of this world began to worship the tiger-deity Sonārāya.

From a study of the various legends connected with the different cults of the Hindu agrarian world, especially of those dealing with the worship of Manasā, Maṅgalachaṇḍī and other godlings and goddesslings, we have come to know that the usual way adopted by them for manifesting their omnipotence to, and promulgating their own worships among, the people of this world, was to subject particular persons to manifold trials and tribulations, and then to restore the latter to happiness and prosperity on the distinct understanding that the latter should worship them.

One of the interesting features of these two folk-ballads is the fact that the deity Sonārāya manifested his omnipotence to the people of Northern Bengal by ridding them, by means of a miracle, of what was probably a source of great trouble to them, namely, the oppression committed by the Mogal soldiers on the peasantry of the countryside, at the time of the Mahomedan invasion of Northern Bengal.

The other interesting features of these two folk-ballads are the references therein to the superstitions and customs which were prevalent in Mediæval Northern Bengal.

We all know that, at the present day, all Bengali Hindus consider it inauspicious to look upon the face of a childless person, especially as the very first thing in the morning. Now from the study of the following version No. I of these folk-ballads, we find that this superstition was also current, in all its rigour, in Mediæval Northern Bengal. It is stated in lines 3-14 thereof that Nanda, the cowherd of Gokula, and his wife Yaśodā were childless, that no one would purchase, far less partake of, the curdled milk offered by her for sale, and that nobody would drink the water of the river wherein she had bathed. Nay, so terrible was the influence of this superstition that even the birds are represented therein as refusing to build their nests in the tree under which the childless Nanda had sat.

Then there are references in it to various contemporary practices and customs. As for instance, in line 22 of the folk-ballad No. I, it is stated that, when the day dawned, Nanda's wife sprinkled the courtyard of her house with cow's dung diluted in water. Now this practice of purifying the house, in the morning, by sprinkling the doorways and the courtyard thereof with cow's dung diluted in water, prevails in Hindu households throughout Bengal even to the present day.

Then again, in line 23 of the same folk-ballad, we come across the statement that she took with her oil-cake and ashes and went to bathe in the river. Now, in the olden days in Bengal when the use of soap was unknown, women used to clean their persons by first besmearing their bodies with oil-cake and ashes and then washing off the same with water. Now that European ways have come into vogue and cheap soaps are obtainable in the market, the old practice of using oil-cake and ashes has become a thing of the past.

The mode of worshipping the deity Dharma and a description of the various food-offerings and flowers to be presented to this deity, have been set forth in lines 29-36 of the same version No. I.

Then again, in line 49 of the same ballad, the *Sādha* ceremony (साधेर भोज) is referred to. Now this ceremony is the modern Bengali analogue of the ancient *Puṁsavana* (पुंसवन) rite by the performance of which it was believed that the pregnant woman would be qualified to give birth to a son.

In line 42 of the first folk-ballad, the following curious fact is stated, namely, that Krishṇa, assuming the form of a white fly, entered Yaśodā's womb. Now this incident bears a striking similarity to one connected with the birth of Buddha. There is a legend embodied in Buddhistic lore which runs to the effect that, when Māyādevī conceived Buddha in her womb, she saw in a vision that a white elephant was entering that part of her body.

Lastly, these two folk-ballads are of great interest from a philological point of view. They abound with words and phrases appertaining to the Rangpuri dialect of the Bengali language. A glossary of these words has been given in Appendix E of this paper.

Among the other philological peculiarities of these folk-ballads may be mentioned the use of the old accusative suffix क for the modern one के, as for instance, in the words गिरहस्तक (I. 116); मगलक (I. 91); मोगलक (II. 13); वडक (I. 70); and वाघक (I. 108, 110).

Then again, there is the use of the old locative suffixes त् and त for the modern one ते, as in the words घाटात् (II. 5); नदीत (I. 5); पाखित (I. 25); and माटित (II. 44).

APPENDIX A.

Transcript, in Devanāgarī Characters, of Version No. I of the Folk-Ballad relating to the Tiger-Deity, Sonārāya.

१ ठाकूर सोनारायेर रूपारायेर भाइ ।
२ बाघेर पृष्ठे चड़िया मइषेर दुग्ध खाइ ॥
३ ये हाटे गोयालार माइया दधि निया याय ।
४ आटकुड़ा वलिया दधि किनिया ना खाय ॥
५ ये नदीत गोयालार माइया स्नान करिते याय ।
६ आटकुड़ा वलिया जल धेनुते ना खाय ॥
७ ये गाछेर तलेते नन्द वसिया दांड़ाय ।
८ आटकुड़ा वलिया पाखी भासा ना करय ।
९ एक पाखी डाकिया आर पाखीरे वले ।
१० आटकुड़ा नन्द आजि वस्त्र गाछेर तले ॥ 10
११ एक पाखी डाकिया वोले आर पाखी भाइ ।
१२ छाड़रे गाछेर माया अन्य देशे याइ ॥
१३ पाखीर मुखेते नन्द एतेक शुनिल ।
१४ विषाद भाविया नन्द कान्दिते लागिल ॥
१५ नन्द राणी वोले प्रभु कान्द कि कारण ।
१६ धर्म्मेर सेवा करिते लागे कतक्षण ।
१७ सुइ यदि गोयालार मेये एनाम धरांग्रो ।
१८ धरमेर सेवा करि पुत्रवर नेंग्रो ॥
१९ कुवुद्धि गोयालेर मेये सुवुद्धि करिल ।
२० धरमेर सेवा कर्‌ते चित्त स्थिर हइल ॥ 20
२१ रजनी प्रभात हइल प्रत्युष वियान ।
२२ पुरेर आङ्गिनाय कन्या दिल छड़ा स्नान ॥

২৩ खइला खार लइया नारी छान करिते गेल ।
২৪ जाह्नवी यमुनार जले छान आरम्भिल ॥
২৫ हांटु पाणित नामि कन्या हांटु कैल्ले शुध ।
২৬ हिया जले नामिया दिल पञ्च डुब ॥
২৭ कुघाटे नामिया कन्या सुघाटे उठिल ।
২৮ भिजा वस्त्र थुइया वस्त्र ककोन पड़िल ॥
২৯ भिजा वस्त्र फेलिया शुकान परिया ।
৩০ अखण्ड कलार पात आनिल काटिया ॥ 30
৩১ आल चाउल गुड़ चिनि तार उपर दिया ।
৩২ एकत्र माथार केश दुइ अद्ध करिया ॥
৩৩ धरमेर सेवा करे दुइ हांटु पाड़िया ।
৩৪ दे दे धरमठाकुर दे धर्म्मवर ॥
৩৫ यदि तुइ धरमठाकुर ना दिस् पुत्रवर ।
৩৬ स्त्रीवध हइव काटारी करि भर ॥
৩৭ नाना पुष्प दिया पूजे नाहि लेखाजोका ।
৩৮ गोयालिनीर सेवाते धर्म्म दिलेन देखा ॥
৩৯ एगो एगो गोयालिनी तोके देइ वर ।
৪০ तोके वर दिया जांओ मुइ कैलास शिखर ॥ 40
৪১ ऊर्द्धमुख हइया नारी निश्वास छाड़िल ।
৪২ खेत माचि हइया कृष्ण गर्भे प्रवेशिल ॥
৪৩ एक मास हइल गर्भ जानि वा ना जानि ।
৪৪ द्वितीय मासेर समय आनागुणा शुनि ॥
৪৫ तृतीय मासेर समय रक्ते छान्दे गोला ।
৪৬ चतुर्थ मासेर समय हाड़े मांसे जोड़ा ॥
৪৭ पञ्चम मासेर समय पञ्च पुष्प फुटे ।
৪৮ षष्ठ मासेर समय उलटिया वैशे ॥
৪৯ सप्तम मासेर समय साधेर भोज खाय ।
৫০ अष्टम मासेर समय मन पवन जियाय ॥ 50
৫১ नवम मासेर समय नव गुण स्थिति ।
৫২ दश मास दश दिने कातर हइल ।

৫৩ দশ মাস দশ দিন দিন পূর্ণ হইল।
৫৪ সোনারায় রূপরায় উভয় উপজিল ॥
৫৫ সোনারায় রূপারায় আমরা দুইটি ভাই।
৫৬ দুই ভায়ের পরামর্শে আমির পূজা খাই ॥
৫৩ হরি হরি বন্দিয়া গাঞি হরি সে আদ্য মূল।
৫৮ জন্মিয়া নন্দের ঘরে রাখিলা গোকুল ॥
৫৯ গোকুলেতে থাক তুমি গোকুলের কানাই।
৬০ তুমি বিনে রামকৃষ্ণ ত্রিভুবনে নাই। 60
৬১ কেহ বলে চল চল কেহ যায় ভাল।
৬২ সহিতে না পারি আমি বাঘের জঞ্জাল ॥
৬৩ আজিকার রাত্রি শুনিছি ঘুর ঘুর।
৬৪ বেড়া ভাঙ্গি নিয়া গেল গৃহস্থের কুকুর ॥
৬৫ কুকুরের শোকে গিরি জুড়িছেন হাল।
৬৬ যুক্তি ছিঁড়ি গরু পলায় ভাঙ্গিল জোঙ্গাল ॥
৬৩ ভাঙ্গা জোঙ্গাল ধরি গিরি বাড়ী চলি যায়।
৬৮ মধ্য পথে লাগাইল পায়া বাঘে আপচায় ॥
৬৯ বাঘের থাপরে গিরির অঙ্গে বসিল নখ।
৭০ খের কাটিতে নিয়া গেল এক গৃহস্থের বলক ॥ 70
৭১ সাত পাঁচ গৃহস্থের বেটা যুকতি করিয়া।
৭২ সোনারায়ের নিমিত্তে বেড়ায় মাগিয়া ॥
৭৩ জঙ্গলের জীবজন্তু ছড়াল ভিতাভিতি।
৭৪ আপনি ধরিল প্রভু সন্ন্যাস মূরতি ॥
৭৫ সন্ন্যাসীর বেশে ঠাকুর ফিরে ঘরে ঘরে।
৭৬ অষ্ট পথে লাগাইল পাইল দুর্জ্জয় মগলে ॥
৭৩ মোগলের সেনা সে সন্ন্যাসীক পুছে কথা।
৭৮ উত্তর না দিল ঠাকুর নাড়া দিল মাথা ॥
৭৯ ধাকাতে ধাকাতে নিল আগেতে করিয়া।
৮০ সাধু নয় অসাধু চোর দুর্জ্জন ভাবিয়া ॥ 80
৮১ কতক দূর হইতে সাধু কতক দূর যায়।
৮২ কতক দূর যাইতে সে মগলের বাড়ী পায় ॥

८३ दिवा अवसान हइया निशाभाग हइल ।
८४ मध्य राते साधुर पाये जोड़ा कुन्दा दिल ॥
८५ कुन्दाते थाकिया ठाकुर छाड़िल हुङ्कार ।
८६ त्रिश कोटि वाघ आसि हइल आगुसार ॥
८७ उठ उठ ओहे प्रभु स्थिर कर मन ।
८८ वाघजाति आमादिगे डाक्लेन कि कारण ॥
८९ आइस आइस वाघगण आमार हुकुम लभो ।
९० मगलेर सेनापतिक मारिया ये याभो ॥ 90
९१ वड़ मगलक मारेक तुइ धरि हातो हात ।
९२ छोट मगल मारेक तुइ आछाड़ि पर्व्वत ॥
९३ हातिशालेर हाति मारेक घोड़ाशालेर घुड़ि ।
९४ वाछिया वाछिया मारेक पालित प्रहरी ॥
९५ मगल सैन्य मारिते राति प्रभात हइल ।
९६ जोड़ कुन्दा भाङ्गि प्रभु पलाइया गेल ॥
९७ यमुना पार हइया ठाकुर वाघेर निल लेखा ।
९८ सकल वाघ आछे मोर नाइ वेड़ाधिपा ॥
९९ वेड़ाधिपा वाघ आसि जोड़ कर करि ।
१०० ठाकुरक प्रणाम करे जोड़ हांतु पाड़ि ॥ 100
१०१ सन्यासी वोलेन वाघ ऐ खानेते वैस् ।
१०२ माथार छाल केम्ने गेइछे स्वरूप कैरे कइस् ॥
१०३ वाघ वोले सन्ध्याकाले आइसेर श्रोत धरि ।
१०४ ए काल पेटेर ज्वाला सहिते ना पारि ।
१०५ वहु कष्टे वहु श्रमे जीवहत्या करि ॥
१०६ एक जीवके धरिया कैराछि वड़ वल ।
१०७ चालेर रूया लागिया माथार गेइछे छाल ॥
१०८ सन्यासी कय वनेर वाघा ऐ खानेते वैस् ।
१०९ दांत् भाङ्गिछे कि रकमे स्वरूप कैरे कइस् ॥
११० वाघा वले प्रभु आमि पेटेर दाये मरि । 110
१११ काल सम पेटेर ज्वाला सहिते ना पारि ॥

১১২ मानुषेर हाड़ येमन तेमन गरुर हाड़ डाट्।
১১३ गरु खाइते भाङ्गियाछे कामेर क्षय दांत्॥
১১४ एइ मते सोनाराय प्रकाशित हइल।
১১५ बालके जानि सवे पांचाली गाइल॥
১১६ धन्य ठाकुर सोनाराय गिरस्तक दे तुइ वर।
১১७ धने वालिसे वारुक गिरि पुरुक भाण्डार॥
১১८ गोयाइलेते वारुक गरु भाण्डारे वारुक धन।
১১९ देओयाने दरवारे गिरि पाउक फुलपान॥
১২० सोनारायेर दक्षिणा लागे भरणकुला धान। 120
১২१ सोनार नय बुड़ि कड़ि गुया पञ्च खान॥ * 121

* The text, in Bengali script, of this folk-ballad has been published at pp. 174-178 of Vol. IV (for 1316 B.S.) of the *Rangpur-Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā* (The Journal of the Academy of Bengali Literature at Rangpur).

APPENDIX. B.

English translation of Version No. I of the Folk-Ballad relating to the Tiger-Deity Sonārāya.

1 and 2. Riding on the back of (a) tiger (who is the) brother of the deities Sonārāya and Rūpārāya, (I) drink (a) she-buffalo's milk.

3 and 4. To whatever market the milkman's wife takes curdled milk (for sale), (nobody in that market) purchases (and) partakes of the curdled milk because (she is) sonless.

5 and 6. To whatever river the milkman's wife goes to bathe, no cow drinks (the) water (of that river) because (she is) sonless.

7 and 8. Under the shade (*lit.*, at the bottom) of whatever tree, Nanda sits and stands, no bird builds (its) nest (in that tree) because (he is) sonless.

9 and 10. One bird, calling out to another bird, says: "(The) sonless Nanda has to-day sat under the shade (*lit.*, at the bottom) of (this) tree."

11 and 12. One bird, calling out to another bird, says: "(O) brother! give up attachment for (this) tree. (Let us) go to another country."

13 and 14. Hearing these (words) from (the) birds' mouths, Nanda became sorrow-stricken (and) began to weep.

15 and 16. (Thereupon) Nanda's wife (*lit.*, queen) enquired (of him): "(O) lord! for what reason are (you) weeping? Does it take a long time to worship (the deity) Dharma?"

17 and 18. "If I bear the name of (a) milkman's daughter, I shall obtain the boon of being blessed with a son by worshipping (the deity) Dharma."

19 and 20. The foolish milkman's daughter (*i.e.*, Nanda's wife) wisely made up (her) mind to worship (the deity) Dharma.

21 and 22. (When the) night (ended and the) day dawned, (the milkman's) daughter (*i.e.*, Nanda's wife) sprinkled the courtyard of the inner apartment (of her house) with cow's dung diluted in water.

23 and 24. Taking oil-cake (and) ashes (with her), she (*lit.*, the woman) went out for a bath (and) began to bathe in the waters of (the rivers) Ganges (and) Jamunā.

25 and 26. Descending into knee-deep water, she (*lit.*, the daughter) purified (her) knees and, descending into breast-deep water, took five dips therein.

27 and 28. Descending into a bad ghāt (or bathing-place), she (*lit.*, the daughter) came out of the river (*lit.*, ascended) by a good ghāt (or bathing-place) and, putting off (*lit.*, placing) (her) wet sāri (*lit.*, cloth), put on (a) dry sāri (*lit.*, cloth).

29 and 30. Casting off (her) wet sāri (*lit.*, cloth) (and) putting on (a) dry (sāri), (she went and) cut (a) whole leaf of the plantain (tree) (and) brought (it).

31, 32 and 33. Placing (*lit.*, giving) on that (plantain-leaf) unboiled rice, molasses (and) sugar, (and) dividing the hair of (her) head, (which was) in one bunch (*lit.*, together), into two bunches (*lit.*, halves) (and) kneeling down [*lit.*, laying down (her) two knees], (she) worshipped (*lit.*, served) (the deity) Dharama (or Dharma).

34, 35 and 36. (In the course of her worship, she uttered the following prayer) : " (O) deity Dharma ! grant, grant (me the) boon of piety. (O) deity Dharma ! if you do not grant (me the) boon of (a) son, (I), a woman, shall kill (myself) by means of (*lit.*, relying on) (a) bill-hook."

37. (She) worshipped (the deity Dharma) by offering various flowers too numerous to be recorded in writing.

38, 39 and 40. (Being pleased) at the milk-woman's worship, (the deity) Dharma appeared before her (*lit.*, showed himself to her), (and said to her as follows) : " O milk-woman ! (I) am granting you (the prayed-for) boons. After granting you (the) boons, I shall go to the summit of the Kailāsa (Mountain)."

41 and 42. (Hearing these words), (the) woman, raising (her) mouth upwards, heaved (a) sigh (of relief); (and) Krishṇa, assuming the form of (*lit.*, becoming) (a) white fly, entered (her) womb.

43. She completed her first month of pregnancy. (But) nobody knew of it positively.

44. (When she arrived at her) second month (of pregnancy), other people heard of it.

45. In (her) third month (of pregnancy), (an) embryo (*lit.*, ball of blood) was formed (in her womb).

46. In (her) fourth month (of pregnancy), the bones and flesh were formed in (*lit.*, became joined to) (the embryo in her womb).

47. In (her) fifth month (of pregnancy), the embryo became quick with life (*li* ., the five flowers bloomed [1]).

48. In (her) sixth month (of pregnancy), (the child in the womb) began to move about (*lit.*, turned upside down and sat).

49. In (her) seventh month (of pregnancy), (she) partook of the feast (given on the occasion) of the *Sādha* (ceremony).

50. In (her) eighth month (of pregnancy), (the child in the womb) became endowed with mental powers (*lit.*, the mental wind became alive).

51. In (her) ninth month (of pregnancy), (the child in the womb) became endowed with the nine attributes.[2]

---

[1] I think that '*the five flowers*' refer to '*the five senses.*'

[2] I am unable to make out what these *nine attributes* are.

52, 53 and 54. (When she) completed (her period of pregnancy extending over) ten months (and) ten days, she (*lit.*, the parturient woman) was seized with the pangs of child-birth (*lit.*, became afflicted) ; (and then she) gave birth to both Sonārāya (and) Rūpārāya.

55 and 56. Sonārāya (and) Rūpārāya (are) two brothers ; (and), in honor of (*lit.*, at the advice of) (these) two brothers, the villagers offer up worship (*lit.*, the village-worship is eaten).

57 and 58. (As the deity) Hari (is) the creator of all things (*lit.*, primal root), adore (and) sing (the praises of) Hari, who, being born in the family (*lit.*, house) of Nanda, preserved (*lit.*, kept) Gokula (from all possible dangers).

59 and 60. (O Hari !) thou livest in Gokula ; thou art the Kānāi (*i.e.*, Krishṇa) of Gokula ; without thee, there cannot be Rāma (and) Krishṇa in the three worlds.

61 and 62. Some (one) says : " Let (me) go away (from this part of the country, as I cannot stand the tigers' depredations any longer)." Some (one) (thinks it the) safer course (*lit.*, better) to go away (from that part of the country). Some one says : " I cannot endure the depredations (committed) by tigers (any longer)."

63 and 64. (Some one says) : " To-night (I) have heard the heavy thud [(*lit.*, *dhur dhur*) made by leaping tigers alighting upon the ground]. Breaking through the mud-and-wattle wall [(*lit.*, hedge) of a house], (a tiger) has carried off (a) householder's dog. "

65, 66, 67, 68. and 69. Being stricken with sorrow at the loss of the dog, the householder was yoking (his bullocks) to the plough. (But) tearing the rope (by means of which the plough was fastened to the yoke), (the) bullocks fled away, (and) the yoke was broken. Taking (*lit.*, seizing) the broken yoke, (the) householder was going home. (When he was) half-way on the road (homewards), (he) saw (a) tiger (which)

attacked (him). (Having been struck) by the tiger's paws, (the tiger's) nails pierced the householder's body (*lit.*, limbs).

70, 71 and 72. A householder's daughter-in-law was carried off (by a tiger when she) was cutting straw. (Getting frightened at this occurrence), the sons of several (*lit.*, seven and five) householders consulted together (and, as the result of this consultation), went about begging (for alms) for (the deity) Sonārāya.

73 and 74. (The) animals of the forest (also) spread the alarm (created by the tigers' depredations). (Thereupon) the lord (Sonārāya) himself assumed the form of an ascetic (or *Sannyāsī*).

75 and 76. The deity (Sonārāya), in the garb of the *Sannyāsī*, went from house to house (and), in the middle of the way, met the invincible Mogals.

77 and 78. The Mogal soldiers enquired of this *Sannyāsī* : (" Who are you ? ") (But the) deity (Sonārāya) did not give (any) reply. (He simply) shook (his) head.

79 and 80. Thinking (the *Sannyāsī*) to be (a) dishonest (and) wicked thief, they shoved and pushed (him) in advance (of their own selves).

81 and 82. (When) the *Sannyāsī*, (who had been mistaken for a thief), had gone a long way, he arrived at the Mogals' house.

83 and 84. (By this time), the day had closed and it became night. At midnight, double fetters made of wood were put upon (the) *Sannyāsī's* feet.

85 and 86. Having been fettered, (the) deity (Sonārāya) shouted out (at the top of his voice). (Hearing this shout), thirty *krors* of tigers came forward.

87 and 88. (The tigers said) : " O lord ! get up, get up. Set your mind at rest. For what reason are (you) summoning (*lit.*, calling) us tigers ? "

89, 90, 91, 92, 93 and 94. (The deity Sonārāya replied) : " O tigers ! come, come. Take my orders. Go (and) kill (the) commander-in-chief of the Mogals. You should seize the high (*lit.*, big) Mogal (officers) by the hands (and) kill (them). You should kill the subordinate (*lit.*, small) Mogal (officers) by hurling (them against) stones (*lit.*, mountains). (You should) kill the elephants in the elephant-sheds (and) the horses in the stables. (You should) pick out the domestic (servants) (and) the guards (and) kill (them)."

95. (Having received the deity Sonārāya's orders, the tigers) slaughtered the Mogal army till the night closed (and) the day dawned.

96, 97 and 98. Breaking (the) double fetters, (the) lord (Sonārāya) escaped, (and), crossing (the river) Jamunā, counted (*lit.*, took record of) the tigers, (and said) : " All my tigers are present (*lit.*, exist). (But the tiger named) Beḍādhipā is absent (*lit.*, does not exist)."

99 and 100. (Thereupon the) tiger (named) Beḍādhipā came (forward) with folded hands (and), kneeling down, made obeisance to the deity.

101 and 102. (The deity Sonārāya, in the guise of) the *Sannyāsī*, said : "(O) tiger ! sit here, (and) tell (me) truly how (the) skin of (your) head has disappeared."

103, 104, 105, 106 and 107. The tiger replied : "In the evening, being unable to endure the pangs of hunger (*lit.*, of this fatal belly), (I) hid (myself) behind a wall (*lit.*, a ridge) (and, from that cover), killed (several) animals at great pains (and) with great labour. (But), seizing one animal, (I) tortured (it) very much. [But the avenging Nemesis has punished me for this act of cruelty.] (Accidentally) knocking (my) head against the projecting eaves of the thatch (of what wall), (its) skin has disappeared (*lit.*, has gone)."

108 and 109. (The deity Sonārāẏa, in the guise of) the *Sannyasī*, said : "(O) tiger of the forest! sit here, (and) tell (me) truly how (your) teeth have got broken."

110, 111, 112 and 113. (The tiger replied : "I am dying on account of the pangs of hunger (*lit.*, of the belly). (I) am unable to endure the deadly pangs of hunger (*lit.*, of the belly). (The) bones of human beings (are) so very (brittle). (But) the bones of cattle (are) hard. (While) feeding upon (the carcases of) cattle, (my) six useful teeth have got broken."

114 and 115. In this way, (the deity) Sonārāya revealed (himself to the world). All the boys, learning (about this deity's omnipotence), have sung (this ballad).

116, 117, 118 and 119. All glory to the deity Sonārāyā. Thou shouldst grant (the following) boons to the householder :—"May the householder's wealth (and) family-members (*lit.*, men) increase. May (his) store-rooms be filled (with stores). May the cattle in (his) cattle-pen increase. May the wealth in (his) treasure-chest (*lit.*, store-room) increase. May the householder receive honors (*lit.*, flowers and betel-leaves) in the office and at court."

120 and 121. (The) offerings (to be presented)to (the deity) Sonārāya are (one) winnowing-fanful (of) paddy, golden cowry-shells (numbering) nine *buris*, (and) five areca-nuts.

APPENDIX C.

Transcript, in Devanāgarī Characters, of Version No. II of the Folk-Ballad relating to the Tiger-Diety Sonārāya.

व्याघ्रेर देवता ।

सोणाराय ठाकुरेर गान ।

१ वाघे सव नाम लइये डाकरे,
२ ओ ठाकुर सोणाराय वाघ सव डाके ।
३ वाड़ी वाड़ी वेड़ाय ठाकुर हरिनाम दिया ॥
४ हरिर नाम दिया ठाकुर चलिये याय ।
५ यत मोगलेर फौज घांटात् नागाइल पाय ॥
६ यत मोगलेर फौज जिज्ञासिल कता ।
७ मनेर गौरवे ठाकुर दोग् दोगाल माता ॥
८ कमरेर पेटिका खसेया ठाकुरके वांदिया ।
९ धाका'ते धाका'ते नइल आगोत करिया ॥
१० धाका'ते धाका'ते नइल कोटसालेर घरे । 10
११ वाइश् मन पाथर दिल तार बुकेर उपरे ॥
१२ छोट मोगल उठिया वले वड़ मोगल भाइ,
१३ कालिकार वन्धन दादा चल देख्‌ते याइ ।
१४ तोनाजिल मोगल जाति करिल छिनान ॥
१५ मिटा जले मोगल जाति करिल भोजन ।
१६ वन्धन देखिते मोगल करिल गमन ॥
१७ कतेक् दूर छाड़ि मोगल कतेक् दूर याय ।
१८ आर कतेक् दूर गेले कोटसालेर नागाइल पाय ॥
१९ कोटसालेर घरे याया मोगल भूलक्रि मारिया चाय ।
२० वाइश् मन फेलाइवे तोमार नाइ सोणाराय ॥ 20
२१ छोट मोगल उठिया वले वड़ मोगल भाइ,
२२ ए वन्धन भाल नय, दादा चल वाड़िक याइ ॥

२३ वाड़ी याइया बांदि आमरा सात खानि घर।
२४ से घरे थाकिले परे वालोक नाइ डर॥
२५ चिनिते ना पारिल मोगल छार जाति।
२६ तोर नोगल मारिया याय निशा भाल राति।
२७ अरण्येर किनारे याया ठाकुर मारे हांक॥
२८ एक् ठेलाय चलिया आस्लो विशाश एक वाघ।
२९ विशाशय वाघ आसिल विशाशय उंठ॥
३० छाट मुख हयया आस्लो वनेर भाल्लुक्। 30
३१ धर धर वाघगण, वाटार पान खा'ओ।
३२ एइ व्याटा मोगलेर साते वाद सादिया देओ।
३३ एतेक हुड़मुड़ि' वाघ उठिल निल पान॥
३४ गायेर ठेलाय भाङ्गिया फेलाय घर सातखान।
३५ घर भाङ्गिया वाघगुला हइल कातर।
३६ लम्फ दिया सोंदाइल वाघ वाड़ीर भितर॥
३७ मोगलेर माइया गेइचे अन्नशालेर घरे।
३८ नागाइल पाया मोचड़ाय घाड़ हुड़मुड़ करे॥
३९ मोगलेर बेटी गेइचे जल भरिवार।
४० वाघक देकिया नदी सांतरिया याय तार। 40
४१ मत्स्य वलिया तारे घड़ियाले खाय।
४२ आजि केन वा ठाकुर मोक् एतेक ताप् देय।
४३ वाम हस्ते धरिया मोगलक मारे एक पाक्।
४४ माटित पड़िया मोगल करे वाप् वाप्।
४५ आजि क्यानि वा ठाकुर मोक् व्याय एतेक ताप्।
४६ धनेर किङ्कर नोयांओ मुइ मानेर किङ्कर॥
४७ चड़नेर घोड़ा वेचिया सेवा करिम् तोर।
४८ सेइदिन सोणाराय ठाकुर दिया गेल देखा।
४९ नरलोके पूजा ताक् पाइया परिखा॥* 49

* The text, in Bengali script, of this folk-ballad has been published at pages 90-91 of Vol. IV (for 1316 B. S.) of the *Rangpur-Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā* (The Journal of the Academy of Bengali Literature of Rangpur).

APPENDIX D.

English Translation of Version No. II of the Folk-Ballad relating to the Tiger-Deity Sonārāya.

The folk-ballad relating to the tiger-deity Sonārāya Thākura.

1, 2 and 3. O deity Sonārāya ! summon all the tigers, mentioning (*lit.*, taking) (their) names. (So his deityship) summons all the tigers. His deityship walks from house to house, uttering (*lit.*, giving) the name of Hari.

4 and 5. (While the) deity (Sonārāya) was passing along the road, uttering (*lit.*, giving) the name of Hari, (he) met all the Mogal army on the road.

6 and 7. All Mogal soldiers made enquiries [(*lit.*, words) from his deityship as to who he was]. (But the) deity, in the pride of his heart (*lit.*, in the glory of mind), (did not give any reply, but simply) shook (his) head.

8, 9, 10 and 11. Taking off (their) waist-belts, (they) bound (the) deity (therewith), (and), shoving and pushing (him) in front of (their own selves), took (him) to the prison-house (and) placed (*lit.*, gave) (a) stone (weighing) 22 maunds upon his chest.

12 and 13. Getting up (in the morning), (the) subordinate (*lit.*, small) Mogal (officers) said: "(O) high (*lit.*, big) Mogal officers (*lit.*, brothers)! (let us) go (and) see the person whom (we arrested and) bound yesterday."

14, 15 and 16. Responding to this call, all the Mogals (*lit.*, the Mogal tribe) bathed, drank sherbet (*lit.*, sweet water) (and) went to see the person whom (they had arrested and) bound.

17 and 18. After going a long distance, (they) reached (the) prison-house.

19 and 20. Reaching (the) prison-house, (the) Mogals peeped (into it) (and was astonished to find that) Sonārāya had escaped (after) casting off (the stone weighing) 22 maunds.

21, 22, 23 and 24. Rising up, (the) subordinate (*lit.*, small) Mogal (officers) said: "(O) high (*lit.*, big) Mogal officers (*lit.*, brothers)! this person whom (we arrested and) bound is (a) bad (man). (O) brothers! (let us) go home. (After) reaching home, (let) us build seven rooms. (If we live in these rooms, we shall be free from (all) fear."

25, 26 and 27. (The) contemptible Mogals (*lit.*, Mogal tribe) could not recognise (the) deity Sonārāya (whom) they (*lit.*, your Mogals) had arrested and kept bound (*lit.*, had struck) all the night long. (Getting enraged at this maltreatment by the Mogals), (the) deity (Sonārāya) went to the outskirts of the forest (and) shouted out (at the top of his voice).

28, 29 and 30. (Hearing this shout), 20 hundred (and) one tigers rushed in a body. With these 20 hundred tigers, came 20 hundred camels. (The) bears of the forest came lowering down (their) heads.

31 and 32. (The deity said): "(O) tigers! seize, seize (the Mogals), (and) eat (the) prepared betel-leaves which are in the betel-holder. Wreak vengeance on these rascally Mogals."

33 and 34. (Hearing) these (words), (the) tigers got up (and), rushing forward, took (the) prepared betel-leaves, (and), by the pressure of (their) bodies, demolished (the) seven rooms.

35 and 36. Getting exhausted with demolishing the rooms, (the) tigers jumped forward and entered the houses.

37 and 38. Seeing (that the) Mogal women had gone to the kitchen (*lit.*, rooms for cooking rice), (they) rushed (forward and) broke (their, *i.e.*, the women's) necks.

39, 40 and 41. Seeing (the) tigers, (the) daughters of the Mogals, (who) had gone to fill (their vessels) with water (from the river), (jumped into the river and) swam (across it) to (the) other bank. (While swimming across the river), many of them were (seized and) eaten up (by) the fish-eating crocodiles (which) mistook (them) for fish.

42. (The Mogals and their women-folk bitterly cried out): "Why is (the) deity (Sonārāẏa) to-day giving us so much trouble?"

43 and 44. (Notwithstanding this bitter complaint, the deity Sonārāẏa), seizing (a) Mogal with (his) left hand, once turned (him) round his own head and dashed him (to the ground). Falling on the ground, (the) Mogal uttered cries of "O father,! O father."

45, 46 and 47. (The Mogal further said): "Why is (the) deity (Sonārāẏa) giving me so much trouble? (I am) not (the) slave of wealth. I (am the) slave of honour. Selling (my) riding-horse, (I) shall worship (*lit.*, serve) you (*i.e.*, the deity Sonārāẏa)."

48 and 49. That day (the) deity Sonārāẏa appeared before (*lit.*, gave a view of his own self to) (the world). (From that day forth), men (*lit.*, the world of men), having undergone trials and tribulations at the hands of his deityship (*lit.*, having been examined by his deityship), (began to) worship his deityship (*lit.*, him).

---

*

APPENDIX E.

Glossary of Words of the Rangpuri Dialect of the Bengali Language, which have been used in the preceding Folk-Ballads.

[The Roman numeral indicates the number of the folk-ballad, and the Arabic numeral indicates the number of the line in which the word occurs.]

অ

অখণ্ড (I. 30). *Adj.* Whole (*i.e.*, undivided).

অদ্ধ (I. 32). *N. Lit.*, half; (*here*) bunch.

অন্নশালের ঘরে (II. 37). *N. Lit.*, a room for cooking rice; (*here*) a kitchen.

আ

আইলের (I. 103). *N. Lit.*, a ridge; (*here*) a wall.

আইস (I. 89). *V.* Come.

আগুসার (ছইল—) (I. 86). *Adv.* (Came) forward.

আগোত করিয়া (II. 9). *Prep. phr.* In front of.

আঙ্গিনায় (I. 22). *N.* The courtyard.

আটকুড়া (I. 4, 6, 8, 10). *Adj.* Sonless.

আনাগুণা শুনি (I. 44). Other people heard of it.

আপচায় (I. 68). *V.* Attacked.

আরম্ভিল (I. 24). *V.* Began.

আল্ল (চাউল) (I. 31). *Adj.* Unboiled (rice).

আস্‌লো (চলিয়া—) (II. 28). *V.* Rushed.

আস্‌লো (II. 30). *V.* Came.

उ

उपजिल (I. 54). *V. Lit.*, were born ; (*here*) gave birth to.

ए

एगो (I. 39). *Interjection.* O.

एतेक { (I. 13 ; II 33). *Demons. Pron.* These (words). (II. 42, 45). *Demons. Adj.* So much.

ओ

ओत धरि (I. 103). Hid behind.

क

कइस् (I. 102, 109). *V.* Tell.

ककोन (I. 28). *Adj.* The meaning of this word is not known to me. Most likely it means '*dry.*'

कता (II. 6), *N. Lit.*, word ; (*here*) enquiry.

कतेक् दूर (II. 17, 18). *Adv. phr.* A long distance.

कमरेर (II. 8). *N. Poss. Case.* Of the waist.

कथाने वा (II. 45). *Adv.* Why.

करय (I. 8). *V.* Builds.

कराछि वड़ वल (I. 106). Tortured very much.

करिम् (सेवा—) (II. 47). *V.* Shall worship.

कर्‌ते (सेवा—) (I. 20). *Gerund. Lit.*, to offer service ; (*here*) to worship.

कातर (II. 35). *Adj.* Exhausted.

कान्द (I. 15). *V.* Are weeping.

कान्दिते (I. 14). *Gerund.* To weep.

कामेर (I. 113). *Adj.* Useful.

किनारे (II. 27). *N.* (To) the outskirts.

कुन्दा (I. 84. 85, 96). *N.* Fetter made of wood.

केम्‌ने (I. 102). *Adv.* How.

कैल्ले शुध (I. 25). *V.* Made (pure, *i.e.* purified).

कोटसालेर घरे (II. 10, 18, 19). *N.* (To) the prison-house.

ख

खइला खार (I. 23). *N.* Oil-cake and ashes.

खसेया (II. 8). *Gerund.* Taking off.

खेर (I. 70). *N.* Straw.

ग

गिरस्तक (I. 116). *N. Acc. Case.* To the householder.

गिरि (I. 65, 67, 69, 117, 119). *N.* Householder.

गुया (I. 121). *N.* Areca-nut.

गेइचे (II. 37. 39), *V.* Had gone.

गेइछे (I. 102, 107). *V. Lit.*, has gone; (*here*) has disappeared.

गोयाइलेतें (I. 118) *N.* (In) the cattle-pen.

घ

घड़ियाले (II. 41). *N.* The fish-eating crocodile.

घांटात् (II. 5), *Adv. phr.* On the road.

च

चड़णेर घोड़ा (II. 47). *N.* Riding-horse.

छ

छड़ाछान (I. 22) *N.* Cow's dung diluted in water.

छान करिते (I. 5, 23, 24). *Gerund.* To bathe.

छान्दे (I. 45). *V.* Was formed.

छिनान (करिल—) (II. 14). *V.* Bathed.

ज

जञ्जाल (I. 62). *N.* Depredations.

जांग्रो (I. 40). *V.* Shall go.

जियाय (मनपवन—) (I. 50). *V. Lit.*, (the mental wind) became alive ; (*here*) became endowed with mental powers.

जोङ्गाल (I. 66, 67). *N.* The yoke.

ड

डाट् (I. 112). *Adj.* Hard.

त

ताक् (II. 49). *Pers. Pron.* Him.

ताप् (II. 42, 45). *N.* Trouble.

तोनाजिल (II. 14). *V. participle.* The meaning of this word is not known to me. Most likely it means '*responding to the call.*'

थ

थापरे (बाघेर—) (1. 62). *Adj. phr.* Having been struck by the tiger's paws.

थुइया (I. 28) *V. participle. Lit.*, placing ; (*here*) putting off.

द

दाय (II. 45). *V.* Is giving.

देइ (I. 39). *V.* Am granting.

देआयानि (I. 119). *N.* (In) the office.

दोग्दोगाल (II. 7). *V.* Shook.

ध

धरांओ (I. 17). *V.* Bear.

धाकाति धाकाति निल (I. 79). *V.* Shoved and pushed.

धाका'ते धाका'ने (II. 9). *Gerund.* Shoving and pushing.

धुर धुर (I. 63). *N.* Heavy thud.

न

नइल (II. 9, 10). *V.* Took.

नदीत (I. 5). *Adv. phr.* To whatever river.

नागाइल पाय (II. 5, 18). *V.* Met, reached.

नेंओ (I. 18). *V.* Shall obtain.

नोयांओ (II. 46). *Adv.* Not.

प

पटिका (II. 8). *N.* Belt.

पड़िल (I. 28). *V.* Put on.

परामर्शे (I. 56). *Prep. phr. Lit.*, at the advice of; (*here*) in honor of.

परिखा (पाइया—) (II. 49). *Lit.*, having been examined by his deityship ; (*here*) having undergone trials and tribulations.

पन्हे (II. 4). *Adv. phr.* Along the road.

पाउक (I. 119). *V.* May receive.

पाणित (I. 25). *Adv. phr.* Into water.

पुछे कथा (I. 77). *V.* Enquired of.

पुरेर (I. 22). *N. Poss. Case.* (Of the) inner apartment (of a house).

भ

भरण कुला (I. 20). N. A winnowing-fanful.

भरिवार (जल—) (II. 39). *Gerund.* To fill (vessels) with water.

भाङ्गिछे (I. 109). *V.* Have got broken.

भासा (I. 8). *N.* Nest.

भिता भिति (I. 73). *N.* Alarm.

भूलकि मारिया चाय (II. 19). *V.* Peeped.

म

मइसेर (I. 2). *N. Poss. Case.* A she-buffalo's.

मगले (I. 76) *N.* The Mogals.

मगलेर (I. 82, 90) *N. Poss. Case.* The Mogals'; of the Mogals.

मगल (I. 92). *N. Acc. Case.* The Mogal (officers).

मगलक (I. 91). *N. Acc. Case.* The Mogal (officers).

माइया (I. 3, 5; II. 37). *N.* Wife; woman.

मागिया (I. 72). *V. participle.* Begging for alms.

माचि (I. 42). *N.* A fly.

माटित (II. 44). *Adv. phr.* On the ground.

मारेक (I. 91, 92, 93, 94). *V.* Should kill.

मिठा जले (II. 15). *N. Lit.*, sweet water; (*here*) sherbet.

मुइ (I. 17, 40; II. 46). *Pers. pron.* I.

मोक् (II. 42, 45). *Pers. pron.* Us.

मोगलक (II. 43). *N. Acc. Case.* A Mogal.

य

याया { (II. 19). *Gerund.* Reaching.
(II. 27). *V.* Went.

युकति करिया (I. 71). V. Consulted together.

युक्ति (1. 66). *N.* The rope by means of which the plough is fastened to the yoke.

येमन तेमन (I. 112). *Adj.* So very (brittle).

र

राखिला (I. 58). *V. Lit.*, kept; (*here*) preserved.

रूया (I. 107). *N.* The projecting eaves.

ल

लागाइल पाइल (I. 76). *V.* Went.

,, पाया (I. 68; II. 38). *V.* Saw; seeing.

लेखाजोका (नाइ—) (I. 37). *Adj. phr.* (Too numerous to be) recorded in writing.

लेखा (निल—) (I. 97). *V. Lit.*, took record of; (*here*) counted.

व

वउक (I. 70). *N. Acc. Case.* A daughter-in-law.

बस्‌ल (I. 10). *V.* Has sat.

बागेर (I. 2). *N. Pass. Case.* Of (a) tiger.

बाघक (II. 40). *N. Acc. Case.* The tiger.

बाघा (I. 108, 110). *N.* Tiger.

बाड़िक (II. 22), *N. Acc. Case.* House.

बांदि (II. 23). *V.* Build.

बादिंया (II. 8). *V.* Bound.

बारुक (I. 117, 118). *V.* May increase.

बालिसे (I. 117). *N. Lit.*, men; (*here*) family-members.

बालोक नाइ (II. 24). Shall be free from.

बियान (प्रत्युष—) (I. 21). *V.* (The day) dawned.

बिशाश एक (II. 28). *Num. adj.* Twenty hundred and one.

बिशाशय (II. 28). *Num. adj.* Twenty hundred.

बैशे (I. 48). *V.* Sat.

बैस् (I. 108). *V.* Sit.

बैस (I. 101). *V.* Sit.

बोले (I. 15, 103). *V.* Enquired; replied.

बोलेन (I. 101). *V.* Said.

ह

हांक (मारे—) (II. 27). *V.* Shouted out (at the top of one's voice).

हातोहात (I. 91). *Adv. phr.* By the hands.

हाटमुख हयया (II. 30). *Adv. phr.* Lowering down the heads.

हिया (I. 26) *Adj.* Breast-deep.

हुड़मुड़ करे (II. 38). *V.* Rushed forword.

हुड़मुड़ि' (II. 35). *V. participle.* Rushing forward.

श

शुध (कैल्ले —) (I. 25). *Adj.* (Made) pure.

स

खरुप कैरे (I. 102, 109). *Adv.* Truly.

सोंदाइल (II. 36). *V.* Entered.

On the Cult of Sonārāya in Eastern Bengal

BY

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A.

In my previous paper on "*The Cult of Sonārāya in Northern Bengal*," which has been published in this *Journal*, I have shown how the cult-hero Sonārāya is worshipped and prayed-to as a Hindu deity—as a godling of the Hindu Pantheon—in the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal. In this paper, I shall show how the same cult-hero is looked upon and prayed-to as a *Pīr* or a Musalmān saint, in the district of Pābnā and its adjacent parts in Eastern Bengal.

Just as in the case of the tiger-deity Bāghāi (বাঘাই) of the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal, the festival in adoration of the *Pīr* Sonārāya is also held on the Pausha-saṁkrānti (পৌষসংক্রান্তি) day or the last day in the Bengali month of Pausha [(পৌষ) December-January]. The procedure adopted in the district of Pābnā in Eastern Bengal for collecting the money for the expenses of, and the offerings to be presented to, the *Pīr* Sonārāya is exactly the same as that followed in the district of Mymensingh for the worship of the tiger-deity Bāghāi (বাঘাই).

When 10 or 12 days remain to the expiry of the Bengali month of Pausha, the Musalmān and Hindu boys of the peasant class band themselves together, go from village to village, visit every house therein, and beg for

money, or rice and pulses, from the householders by singing the following six folk-ballads[1] of which the texts in Devanāgarī script, together with the English translations thereof, are being published in Appendix A.[2]

The singing of these songs is not accompanied with any instrumental music.

As the result of these begging-tours, a sufficient quantity of alms is collected.

Then when the Pausha-saṁkrānti (पौषसंक्रान्ति) day arrives, the boys go to a meadow or to the outskirts of a jungle and there cook the begged-for rice and pulses (*dāl*), as also fish, milk and the like which have been purchased with the begged-for money, and partake of the same. This feast is called *Banabhojana* (वनभोजन) or, in village-parlance, *Jolāmuni Khāoyā* (जोलामुनि खाओया). [Compare this with the exactly similar feasting and junketing which is held as a part and parcel of the worship-festival in honor of the tiger-deity Bāghāi, by the peasant-boys of Mymensingh, on the outskirts of a jungle.][3]

The gentleman, who has collected these folk-ballads, says that, in some places in the district of Pābnā, this festival was formerly held with great *eclat*. But, at the present day, much of the pride and pomp of circumstance with which it used to be celebrated, has been shorn off.

He further says that many of these songs have no meaning and that only the six folk-ballads, which set

---

[1] The gentleman, who has collected these folk-ballads, says that, in these songs, *ḍa* (ড) takes the place of *ra* (র) and that *ra* (র) should be pronounced in the place of *ḍa* (ড়).

[2] The texts, in Bengali script, of these six folk-ballads have been publishd at pages 346-348 of the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* (published from Calcutta) for the month of *Māgha*, 1327 B.S. (Volume XX).

[3] *Vide* my article "*On the Vestiges of Tiger-Worship in the District of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal*" in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, page 601.

forth the legend of *Pīr* Sonārāya and which are published here, have some meaning.

I shall now examine these six folk-ballads and discuss the interesting features of each of them.

In lines 11 and 12 of the following folk-ballad No. I which sets forth the greatness of Sonārāya, the latter is called a *Pīr* or a Musalmān saint.

In line 9 of this ballad, *Pīr* Sonārāya is stated as asking a milk-maid to supply him with *dahi* or curdled milk. But she refuses to give him the same (*vide* line 10). Similarly in lines 5 and 6 of the folk-song No. V, which is sung at the worship-festival of the tiger-deity Bāghāi in the district of Mymensingh,[1] the hero of the song makes a similar request to a milk-maid to be supplied with curdled milk. But she refuses to supply him with it. This similarity is curious.

The following folk-ballad No. II gives an account of the parentage and birth of Sonārāya. In this song, a Brāhmaṇa and a Brāhmaṇī are stated to be his parents, and that Sonārāya himself is described as a Rājā instead of as a *Pīr*.

In this folk-ballad, we find the mention (line 10) of a curious practice, namely, that of placing a parturient woman in a *dhāmā* or wicker-work basket made of rattan-cane. I have neither come across the mention of this practice anywhere else in the literature of folk-lore, nor do I know whether it is current, at the present day, in any part of Bengal.

The following folk-ballad No. III describes the marriage of Sonārāya who is distinctly mentioned therein as a *Pīr* or a Musalmān saint.

The undermentioned folk-ballad No. IV describes the greatness of *Pīr* (or Saint) Sonārāya. In this folk-song,

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 608-609.

he is described as requesting a merchant named Keśava, who is sailing along a river with boats laden with merchandise, to pick him up in his boat and ferry him across the river so that he might go to Kārtullā's mosque to say his prayers there. But the merchant refuses to comply with his request. Thereupon the former raises a miraculous storm which capsizes the latter's boats which are laden with the Korān and other holy books. Thereafter, by another miracle, the former causes the latter's sunken boats to float up again.

[Note the curious fact mentioned therein of a Hindu merchant's trading in the Korān and other holy books of the Musalmāns. Also compare the incident of *Pīr* Sonārāya's promulgating his greatness to the world by causing the merchant's boats to capsize and, thereafter, to float up again, with a similar incident narrated in the legend of the deity Satyanārāyaṇa which is current in Northern India.[1]]

Then we come to the following curious folk-ballad No. V which purports to set forth the riddles propounded to *Pīr* Sonārāya in his wedding-chamber. Almost the whole of this folk-song is unintelligible to me. If it really embodies the riddles referred to above, I am unable to find out the solutions thereof. The gentleman, who has collected it, has not, however, given the answers to these riddles.

Lastly, the undermentioned folk-ballad No. VI does not appear to have any connection with the legend of *Pīr* Sonārāya. On the contrary, the repeated mention therein of the words श्यामेर चिकण कालार वांटइ रे would seem to show that it is somehow or other connected with the legend of Śrī Krishṇa.

---

[1] *Vide* my paper "*On the Worship of the Deity Satyanārāyaṇa in Northen India*" in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol., XI., pp. 798-800.

I am inclined to think that it is an 'accumulation-droll' or 'cumulative folk-tale' which has been supposed by some folklorists to be a magical formula.[1]

The most interesting feature of this folk-ballad No. VI is the conflict (mentioned in lines 27-35) between Śrī Krishṇa's *Bāṇḍai* and his friend. The former expresses a desire to transform himself into a mustard-seed, whereupon the latter threatens to change himself into a pigeon and to pick it up with the beak. Thereupon the former expresses a wish to metamorphose himself into a rat, whereupon the latter threatens to transform himself into a cat and kill him.

These incidents would seem to indicate that this 'cumulative folk-tale' belongs to what Mr. Baring-Gould calls popular fictions of the "Magical-Conflict Root." In folk-tales of this cycle, two or more persons, who possess nearly equal powers of metamorphosing themselves into whatever shapes they like, engage themselves in a life-and-death struggle.

Folk-tales of this group are current among various races of people inhabiting tracts of countries separated from each other by wide oceans and high mountain-ridges. We can account for the universal prevalence of this cycle of folk-tales by the widely-spread popular belief that men are capable of acquiring powers whereby they can metamorphose themselves into whatever forms they please.

The most famous example of this 'magical conflict' is contained in the story of the Second Calender which is to be found in the *Arabian Nights*. In this story, the calender had been transformed into an ape by an evil jinn. A princess, who is well up in necromancy, recognises that the ape is no other than a human being—a prince

[1] In this connection, *vide* my paper on '*An Accumulation Droll and Rhyme from Bihar, with Remarks on Accumulation Drolls*" in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol, LXX., Part III., No. 2 for 1901, pp. 99-104.

metamorphosed into his present shape by the spells of a wicked demon. She resolves to restore him to his natural form and, with a view to do this, performs some magical rites. While she is doing this, the evil jinn changes himself into a fierce lion and attacks her. Thereupon she transforms herself into a keen-edged sword and cuts her assailant in twain.

Then the jinn transforms himself into a scorpion and attacks the princess who, assuming the form of a serpent, fights with, and ultimately vanquishes, him. Then he flies away as an eagle and is pursued by her in the form of a bigger eagle.

The shapes subsequently assumed by the jinn and the princess in the course of their fight for supremacy may be shortly described as follows :—

The jinn becomes a black cat and is pursued by the princess in the form of a wolf. *The cat transforms himself into a worm which, piercing a pomegranate, causes it to burst and scatter its seeds about. Thereupon the wolf becomes a cock and picks up all the pomegranate-seeds except one which rolls into the canal and is changed into a fish. Thereupon the cock becomes a great pike.* Last scene of all that ends this strange eventful story is the incident that both the princess and the jinn are found enveloped in flames and are finally reduced to ashes.

In an Italian folk-tale which is contained in the *Pleasant Nights of Straparola*,[1] a magician named Lactantius has a boy-pupil who, after learning magic from him, flies away. The boy, by means of the magical art, assumes various forms to escape from his master Lactantius. In one of the intermediate stages of this 'magical conflict,' the boy changes himself into a small fish and dives down into the river. Thereupon Lactantius

[1] *Vide Popular Tales and Fictions*, by W. A. Clouston. 2 volumes Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1887. Vol. I, pp. 414-16.

turns himself into a larger fish and chases the smaller one. Whereupon the latter, turning itself into a ruby set in a golden ring, rolls itself into the basket of the king's daughter who is collecting pebbles, at that time, on the banks of that river. She takes the ring home. Thereafter the youth in the ring assumes his true form and shows himself to her who, therefore, keeps the ring carefully.

Shortly afterwards, the king falls ill of a serious malady. The magician Lactantius, assuming the guise of a physician, comes to treat him and ultimately cures him. He demands, as his fee, the golden ring set with the ruby which is in the possession of the king's daughter. The youth in the ring appears to her and tells her not to give it, on any account, to the physician, but to strike it against the wall. She acts up to his instructions. *The ring having been struck against the wall, the ruby is detached from it, falls down upon the ground and is changed into a pomegranate which bursts and scatters its seeds about. Thereupon the magician turns himself into a cock, and picks up all the pomegranate-seeds except one which is hidden somewhere. This seed is transformed into a fox which catches hold of the cock by the neck and tears its head off.*

There is, however, an Austrian variant of this story in which the master, who is a magician, transforms himself, for the last time, into a grain of oat which is gobbled up by the pupil in the form of a cock. In this way, the death of the magician is brought about.[1]

In a Danish version of this tale,[2] a boy, after having undergone various other transformations, metamorphoses himself into a dove. Thereupon the magician turns himself into a hawk and pursues it. A princess, happening to see the dove chased by the hawk, opens the

[1] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 416.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 426.

window of her apartment and allows the dove to enter it. Having entered the chamber, the dove changes himself into a ring. Thereupon the magician changes himself into a young prince, goes to the princess's apartment, and wants to see all her rings. While she is showing him her rings, one of the same falls into the fire. While drawing it out from the fire, the magician, who is a troll-man, drops it upon the floor. *Thereupon the ring is turned into a grain of corn; and the magician is changed into a hen which goes forward to eat the same. As soon as the hen goes forward to pick up the corn, the latter becomes a hawk and kills the former.*

After a careful examination of the texts of the undermentioned six folk-ballads, I am of opinion that these originated among the Hindu population resident in the district of Pābnā and its adjacent parts, but that, subsequently, words and phrases expressive of Musalmāni ideas and sentiments have been interpolated into the same, most likely, by the Musalmān peasant-boys who participate in the celebration of the festival in honor of Sonārāya and sing these songs in the company of their Hindu mates. I further think that all these interpolations have been retained in the texts of these folk-songs as a graceful token of the amity and friendship which, no doubt, existed formerly and exists, in an abated degree, even at the present day, among the members of the two great communities of Bengal—the Hindus and the Musalmāns.

I have already given elsewhere examples of the expressions—the outward manifestations—of this great friendliness which formerly existed between the members of these two communities in other parts of Eastern Bengal.[1]

[1] *Vide* my article on "*Three Folk-Songs from Eastern Bengal*" in *The Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) for August, 1917, pp. 113-19.

From a philological point of view also, these six folk-ballads are extremely interesting. They abound with numerous dialect-words and expressions which I have collected together in the shape of a glossary and am publishing in Appendix B hereof.

APPENDIX A.

The Texts in Devanāgarī Script and the English Translations of the Six Folk-Songs.

(१)

सोनारायेर कथा-माहात्म्य ।

१ दुत्तर—दुत्तर—
२ सोनारा'र च्याला आ'ल वच्छर आन्तर ;
३ सोनारा'र च्याला देखे ये करिवे ह्याला
४ दुइ चक्षेर दुइ मुणि दिया वाड़ावे दुइ ब्याला ।
५ हेला नय रे ढोला नय रे गाय तो आ'ल ज्वर,
६ एमन तो देखि नाइ जुंलिपुरेर वर ;
७ जुंलिपुरेर वर नय रे मुखे चाप दाड़ि
८ हेलिते दुलिते याय गोयाल्नीर वाड़ी ।
९ 'गोयाल्नि, गोयाल्नि, दधि देओ मोरे' ;
१० 'घोट् गरु वाथाने गेछे, दधि नाइ घरे' ।
११ 'छिकार उपर दधि थुइया पौरेके भांड़ालि ?'
१२ 'आगे यदि जान्ताम रे तुमि आमार पौर,'
१३ 'आगे दितास दुध कला पाछे दितास क्षीर' ।

TRANSLATION.

No. I.

LEGEND SELLING FORTH THE GREATNESS OF SONĀRĀYA.

1. *Duttara—duttara.*[1]

2. Sonārāya's disciple has come after the expiry of a year.

[1] I am unable to make out the meaning of these words.

3 and 4. Whoever, (after) seeing Sonārāya's disciple, will treat (him) with scant courtesy, (he) will increase two clods of earth by means of the two pupils of (his) two eyes.

5 and 6. It is neither a case of treatment with scant courtesy nor (that of increasing) the clods of earth.[1] I have never seen the bridegroom of Junglipur in such a conditions. (Having seen him in this condition), I have been attacked with fever.

7. (He) does not appear to be the bridegroom of Junglipur, (as he has got) a flowing beard on (his) face.

8 and 9. Swaying his body to and fro, (he) went to the milk-maid's house and said : "O milk-maid ! O milk-maid ! give me (some) curdled milk."

10. The milk-maid replied : "The *ghoṭ*[2] cow has gone to the tethering-place I have got no curdled milk in (my) house."

11. Sonārāya rejoined : "Having kept (your) curdled milk on the hanging string-suspender, you have defrauded (your) *Pīr* (or saint)."

12 and 13. The milk-maid further replied: "Had I known, before, that you are my *Pīr* (or saint), I would have given (you), first of all, milk (and) plantains, and, then, thickened milk sweetened with sugar."

(২)

सोनारायेर जन्म ।

১ उत्तर थेके आ'ल एकइ वामन पण्डित,

২ वामनेर नामटि "तरिपत्र", वामनोर नामटि "खाजा" ;

৩ सेइ ना घरे जन्म निल सोनारा' एल राजा ।

---

[1] I think the word ढोला in line 5 is a misprint for ढेला or आला which means a *clod of earth*.

[2] I am unable to make out the meaning of the word *ghoṭ* (घोट्). It may mean '*milch*,'

৪ दशमास दशदिने उत्पन्न हइल,
৫ नगरेते छिल दाइमा डाकिते लागिल :—
৬ 'आय आय दाइमा ओरे, आमार प्राण तो याय'।
৩ एको डाक, दुइओ डाको, तिनो डाको दिल,
৮ नगरेते छिल दाइमा आसिया पौंछिल।
৯ ब्याडार वाड़ुन केटे घरेते सांधाइल,
১০ घरेते सांधाइया दाइमा धामाते वसाइल ;
১১ हेनकाले सोनारा'रे भोमस्ते पड़िल।
১২ छाओयाल धोयाइया दाइमा कोले तुले निल,
১৩ सोनार जिज्ञिरा दिया परिच्छेद करिल।
১৪ 'तोमार छाओयाल तुमि लओ मा, आमाक् दिवा कि ?'
১৫ 'नगदे पांचटि टाका तोमाक् दियाछि'।
১৬ 'तोमार छाओयाल तुमि लओ मा, आमाक् दिवा कि ?'
১৩ 'शुइया थाकार सोनार खाटखाना तोमाक् दियाछि।'
১৮ 'तोमार छाओयाल तुमि लओ मा, आमाक् दिवा कि ?'
১৯ 'खाना खाओयार सोनार थालखाना तोमाक् दियाछि।'
২০ 'तोमार छाओयाल तुमि लओ मा, आमाक् दिवा कि ?'
২১ 'पान खाओयार सोनार वाटा तोमाक् दियाछि।'
২২ बुझे सुझे निये तवे छेले कोले दिल,
২৩ एइ अवधि सोनारायेर जन्म शेष हइल॥

TRANSLATION.

No. II.

The Birth of Sonārāya.

1 and 2. A Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita came from the north. The name of (this) Brāhmaṇa (was) '*Taripatra*,' (and) the name of the Brāhmaṇi (his wife) was '*Khājā*.'

3. A Rājā (named) Sonārāya was born in that family [(*lit.*, house) of the aforementioned Brāhmaṇa].

4, 5 and 6. The Brāhmaṇi gave birth (to him) after (completing the usual period of pregnancy which extended over) ten months and ten days. (When she was seized with the pangs of childbirth, she) began to call the midwife, who lived in that town, with the following words: "O midwife ! come, come. I am dying."

7 and 8. After she had called once, twice, and thrice, the midwife, who lived in that town, came to her assistance (*lit.*, arrived there).

9, 10 and 11. Having cut the fastenings of the clay-and-wattle wall (of the room,) (the midwife) entered therein. Having entered the room, she caused (the parturient Brāhmaṇī) to sit in a *dhāmā* (or wicker-work basket made of rattan-cane). Thereafter Sonārāya was born (*lit.*, was ushered into the world).

12 and 13. Having washed the (new-born) child, the midwife took it upon her lap, (and) put a golden chain round its waist (*lit.*, dressed it with a golden chain).

14. (Then addressing the Brāhmaṇī,) she said: "O mother ! take your child. What will you give me ?"

15. (The Brāhmaṇī replied): "(I) have given you five rupees in cash. (What more do you want ?)"

16. (The midwife replied): "O mother ! take your child. What will you give me ? "

17. (The Brāhmaṇī replied) : " (I) have given you the golden bedstead for lying upon. (What more do you want?)"

18. (The midwife replied) : " O mother ! take your child. What will you give me ? "

19. (The Brāhmaṇī replied) : " (I) have given you the golden dish for eating out of. (What more do you want ?)"

20. (The midwife replied): " O mother ! take your child. What will you give me ? "

21. (The Brāhmaṇī replied) : "(I) have given you the golden receptacle for holding the prepared betel-leaves. (What more do you want?)"

22. Having carefully taken (the articles that had been given to her), (the midwife) placed the child upon (the Brāhmaṇī's) lap.

23. Here ends (the story of) Sonārāya's birth.

(३)

सोनारायेर विवाह ।

१ दुत्तर, दुत्तर—
२ दुत्तर दुरा घरखानि रे घन गांठे रुया,
३ घन गांठेर रुया रे वटावटी पान ;
४ वटावटी पान रे दुइ पीर व'से खाय ;
५ दुइ पीर सुगुति क'रे हस्यानिशि याय ।
६ हस्यानिशिर वाघ भाल्लुक देखिया पलाय,
७ ना पलायो रे वाघ भाल्लुक, ना पलास् रे तोरा,
८ निशान गड़िया दे दर्‌जो खेलाइ मोरा ।
९ निशान खेलाते पीरेर मन ह'ल टिया ।
१० जाग्या जुग्या दिओरे सोनारा'र विया ।
११ आस्मानेते छिल फुल पड़िल झरिया,
१२ सेओ फुले ह'ल नारे सोनारा'र विया ;
१३ 'आन्‌ल क्याचड़ार फुल कींचड़ा भरिया,
१४ सेओ फुले ह'ल नारे सोनारा'र विया ।
१५ ' आवार यात रे मालि फुलेर लागिया',
१६ आन्‌ल मालेर फुल मालति भरिया,
१७ सेओ फुले ह'ल नारे सोनारा'र विया ।
१८ 'आबार यात रे मालि फुलेर लागिया ।'
१९ आन्‌ल वोड़र फुल चोड़र काने दिया ।
२० सेओ फुले ह'ल नारे सोनारा'र विया ।

২১ 'আবার যাত রে মালি ফুলের লাগিয়া।'
২২ আন্‌ল পঞ্চর ফুল পদরি ভরিয়া,
২৩ সেঐ ফুলে হ'ল নারে সোনারা'র বিয়া।
২৪ 'আবার যাত রে মালি ফুলের লাগিয়া'।
২৫ আন্‌ল শোলার ফুল তরালে কাটিয়া।
২৬ সেই ফুলে হ'য়ে গেল সোনারা'র বিয়া।
২৩ পাড়াপর্শীর ঝি বিটি পোচ্ছে ডাক দিয়া
২৮ 'সোনারায় বিয়া ক'রে ব্যাভার পা'লা কি ?'
২৯ 'এক পাচ্ছি গাদ্ বাকুর, আর পাব কি ?'
৩০ 'সোনারায় বিয়া ক'রে ব্যাভার পা'লা কি ?'
৩১ 'এক পাচ্ছি খালি লোটা, আর পাব কি ?'
৩২ 'সোনারায় বিয়া ক'রে ব্যাভার পা'লা কি ?'
৩৩ 'এক পাচ্ছি জুতা ক্ষাতি, আর পাব কি ?'
৩৪ 'সোনারায় বিয়া ক'রে ব্যাভার পা'লা কি ?'
৩৫ 'এক পাচ্ছি পানের বাটা, আর পাব কি ?'
৩৬ 'সোনারায় বিয়া ক'রে ব্যাভার পা'লা কি ?'
৩৩ 'এক পাচ্ছি হস্তী ঘোড়া, আর পাব কি ?'
৩৮ 'সোনারায় বিয়া ক'রে ব্যাভার পা'লা কি ?'
৩৯ "শ্বশুর বাড়ীর একটি 'কন্যা' দানে পায়াচ্ছি ॥"

TRANSLATION.

No. III.

THE MARRIAGE OF SONĀRĀYA.

1. *Duttara, duttara—*
2. *Duttara durā gharakhāni re ghana gāṇṭhe ruā,*
3. *Ghana gāṇṭhera ruā re baṭābaṭī pāna.*[1]

[1] I am unable to make out the meaning of the first three lines of this folk-song. I have, therefore, transliterated them into Roman characters.

4. Sitting together, the two *Pīrs* (or saints) eat the *baṭābaṭī*[1] betel-leaves.

5. Having consulted together, the two *Pīrs* (or saints) went to (a place named) Haryāniśi.

6. Having seen (them), the tigers and bears of (the place named) Haryāniśi began to fly away.

7 and 8. (Seeing the tigers and bears fly away, the two *Pīrs* cried out) : " O tigers and bears ! do not fly away ; do not fly away. Make flags (so that) we may play at the game called *Darji.* "

9. While playing with the flags, the *Pīr's* mind lightly turned to thoughts of love-making [*lit.*, the *Pīr's* mind became a paroquet (*ṭiyā*)].

10. Sonārāya ought to be married to a befitting (bride).

11 and 12. (At this time), the flowers, which were in the sky, began to drop down (upon the earth below). (But) these flowers could not be used for the purpose of Sonārāya's marriage.

13 and 14. (Thereafter), a lapful of the flowers of (the plant named) *kyāchaḍā* were brought. (But) these flowers also could not be used for the purpose of Sonārāya's marriage.

15. " O florist ! go again and bring other flowers (*lit.*, for flowers)",

16 and 17. (Thereupon the florist went and) brought a cocoanut-shellful of the flowers (called) *māla.* (But) these flowers also could not be used for the purpose of Sonārāya's marriage.

18. " O florist ! go again and bring other flowers (*lit.*, for flowers). "

19 and 20. (Thereupon the florist), having put on *choḍaras*[2] in his ears, (went and) brought the flowers

[1] I am unable to make out the meaning of the word *baṭābaṭī*

[2] The *choḍara* (चौड़र) is, most-likely, a kind of ear-ornament.

(called) *boḍara*. (But) these flowers also could not be used for the purpose of Sonārāya's marriage.

21. " O florist ! go again and bring other flowers (*lit.*, for flowers)."

22 and 23. (Thereupon the florist went and) brought a *padarīful*[1] of lotus flowers. (But) these flowers also could not be used for the purpose of Sonārāya's marriage.

24. " O florist ! go again and bring other flowers (*lit.*, for flowers.) "

25 and 26. (Thereupon the florist went), cut the flowers of the *solā* plant (*Æschynomene paludosa*) with a sword, (and) brought (them). These flowers were used for the purpose of Sonārāya's marriage.

27 and 28. The neighbours' daughters enquired at the top of their voices (*lit.*, by bawling out): " O Sonārāya ! what dowry have you got by marrying ?"

29. (Sonārāya replied) : " I have got (for my dowry) one[2] cow and a calf. What more should I get ? "

30. (The neighbours' daughters again enquired) : " O Sonārāya ! what dowry have you got by marrying ?"

31. (Sonārāya replied) : " I have got (for my dowry) one[2] empty *loṭā* (or bell-metal pot). What more should I get ? "

32. (The neighbours' daughters again enquired) : " O Sonārāya ! what dowry have you got by marrying ?"

33. (Sonārāya replied): "I have got (for my dowry) a pair of shoes and an umbrella. What more should I get ?"

34. (The neighbours' daughters again enquired) : "O Sonārāya ! What dowry have you got by marrying ?"

35. (Sonārāya replied): "I have got (for my doway) a bell-metal receptacle for holding prepared betel-leaves. What more should I get?"

---

[1] The *padarī* (पदरी) is, most likely, a kind of flower-basket.

[2] The word *pāchhi* (पाछि), most likely, means *one* or *one item*.

36. (The neighbours' daughters again enqnired): "O Sonārāya ! What dowry have you got by marrying ?"

37. (Sonārāya replied): "I have got (for my dowry) an elephant and a horse. What more should I get ?"

38. (The neighbours' daughters again enquired): "O Sonārāya ! what dowry have you got by marrying ?"

39. (Sonārāya replied): "I have got one girl of my father-in-law's house, who has been given (in marriage) to me."

(৪)

পীর-মাহাত্ম্য।

১ ওপার দিয়া কেশব সাধু ডিঙ্গা বয়ে যায়,
২ এপার থেকে পীর সোনারা' ডাক দিয়ে কয়, —
৩ 'তোমাক বলি কেশব সাধু আমার বাক্য ল্যাঅো'—
৪ 'কার্ত্তুল্লার মর্জিদে যাব, পার ক'রে দাঅো।'
৫ 'ধনমালে ভরেছি ডিঙ্গা গুণো না লয় ভার' ;
৬ 'কেমনে করিব পার ফকির আল্লার ?'
৭ 'যাঅো যাঅো রে কেশব সাধু ডিঙ্গা ত আটাইয়া,'
৮ 'আরঅো গাস্তি দিব কিছু নমাজি বসিয়া'।
৯ নমাজি বসিয়া পীর রে করিল গমন,
১০ একে একে সেজি আ'ল মেঘ বারজন।
১১ 'কি কাজে ডেকেছ পীর রে, সেহ কাজেহ করিব।'
১২ 'তোমাক্ বলিবার মেঘ রে আমার বাক্য ল্যাঅো,'
১৩ 'কেশব সাধুর চৌহ ডিঙ্গা বিনাশ ক'রে দাঅো।'
১৪ কেউ না করে ঝড় অন্ধকার, কেউ না করে ভার ;
১৫ দরিয়ায় টল্‌মল্ করে কেশব সাধুর নাঅো ;
১৬ দাঁড়ুয়া কাঁদে দাঁড় ধরিয়া, গল্যা কাঁদে ছাদে ;
১৭ লস্কের ব্যাপারী কাঁদে উঅোয়ার মাঝারে ;
১৮ আগা ডুবিল, পাছা ডুবিল, ডুবিল নায়ের গুড়া,
১৯ একে একে ডুবে গেল মাসুলেরহ চূড়া।

২০ तार परे उठिल डिङ्गा आल्लार फरमान,
২১ सेइ डिङ्गाय वोझाइ आछे केताव आर कोरान।
২২ तारपरे उठिल डिङ्गा नामे गोलइ चोलइ,
২৩ चौइ राजार देशे थेके देखा याय तार गोलइ।
২৪ तारपरे उठिल डिङ्गा नामे यार काशिया,
২৫ एके एके उठिल तवे चौइ डिङ्गा भासिया॥

TRANSLATION.

No. IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE *Pīr's* OR SAINT'S GREATNESS.

1, 2, 3 and 4, (When) a merchant (named) Keśava was sailing in (*lit.* rowing) a boat along the other bank (of the river), the *Pīr* (or saint) Sonārāya called out (to him) from the opposite bank (and) said: "O merchant Keśava! hear what I am saying to you. I want to go to Kārtullā's mosque. Do be good enough to row me across the river."

5 and 6. (The merchant replied): "O *faqir* of God! I have loaded the boat with wealth and goods The towers are unwilling to take any more load. How can I row you across the river?"

7 and 8. (Sonārāya replied): "O merchant Keśava! go away, go away rowing your boat. (When) I shall sit down to perform *namāj* (*i.e.*, to say my prayers), (I) shall inflict (on you) condign (*lit.*, some more) punishment (for your refusal to row me across the river)."

9, 10 and 11. (When), having performed the *namāj*, the *Pīr* (Sonārāya) was about to go away, twelve clouds, having arrayed themselves in (their proper) attire, came (there and) enquired (of him): "O *Pīr*! for what purpose have (you) summoned (us)? (We) shall perform that very work."

12 and 13. (Sonārāya replied): "O clouds! hear what I say to you. Destroy the fourteen boats of the merchant Keśava."

14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. Some (of the clouds) raised a storm (and enveloped the sky in) darkness. Some (of the clouds) caused a heaviness (to weigh upon the boats). (Having been overtaken by this storm), the merchant Keśava's boats were tossed to and fro in the river. Holding the oars, the rowers wept; the helmsman wept on the roof (of the cabin of the boat). The wealthy merchant (*lit.*, the merchant trading with a capital of one lakh of rupees) wept within (*lit.*, in the middle of) the cabin (of the boat). The fore part (of the boat) (sank beneath the water); (then) the stern (of the boat) sank (beneath the water); (then) the hull (of the boat) sank (beneath the water); (then), one by one, sunk the tops of the masts (of the boat).

20 and 21. Thereafter, (by) the decree of God, the boat, which was laden with the Korān and (other holy) books, rose (above the water).

22 and 23. Thereafter, the boat with (its) deck turned upside down rose (above the water); (and) the deck of that boat could be seen from the kingdoms (*lit.*, countries) of fourteen Rājās.

24. Thereafter, the boat with its *kāśiyā*[1] turned upside down rose (above the water).

25. Then the fourteen boats, one after the other, floated up (above the water).

(५)

वासरघरे "धांधा"।

१ एकखानि घर रे हिचल पिचल,

२ तारि उपर प'ड़े र'ल क्षय जोरा पितल;

[1] I am unable to make out the meaning of the word *kāśiyā* (काशिया).

३ छय जोरा पितल दिया गड़ालाम नाओ,
४ सेइ नाये च'ड़े यावे सोनारायेर माओ ;
५ सोनारायेर माओ रे से वड़ चतुर,
६ चालेते शुकाय रे चाम्पारइ फुल ।
७ होक्का टाने गासुर गुसुर कल्क्या मजुमदार,
८ तारि उपर टिप धरेछे धुमा पलदार ;
९ धुमा पलदारेर वेटा हाजारि वाजारि,
१० एक लच्चि दिव रे गोला हाओयारि नाओयारि,
११ वा'र वाड़ि दिव रे 'सोवनेर' काछारो ;
१२ तारि उपर तुले दिव फुलेर टुङ्गि घर,
१३ तारि उपर तुले दिव अष्ट अलङ्कार ॥

TRANSLATION.

No. V.

THE RIDDLES PROPOUNDED (TO THE PĪR SONĀRĀYA) IN HIS WEDDING-CHAMBER.

1, 2, 3 and 4. (There is) one room, which is *hichala pichala*.[1] Six pairs of brass (ingots) were left on (the roof of) that room. (I) constructed (a) boat with (these) six pairs of brass (ingots). Sonārāya's mother will sail in that boat.

5. Sonārāya's mother is very clever.

6. The flowers of the *champaka* (*Michelia champaca*) are getting dried up on the roof (of the cabin of that boat.)

7. Kalkyā Majumdāra is smoking (a) *huqqā* (or hubble-bubble) which is making a bubbling noise (*lit.*, making noise of *gāmura gumura*.)

8. Dhumā Paladāra is holding a *ṭipa*[2] over that (boat).

[1] I am unable to make out the meaning of the words *hichala pichala*.

[2] I am unable to make out the mening of the word *ṭipa*.

9. (The name of) Dhumā Paladāra's son is Hājāri Bājāri.

10. (I) shall give one *lakh* granaries (which are) *hāoyāri nāoyāri*.[1]

11. (I) shall give (you) twelve houses (at the) *Sobanera Kāchhāri*[2]

12. (I) shall place (within) the cabin of that (boat) (one) *tungi*[3] of flowers.

13. (I) shall place eight ornaments upon that (boat).

(६)

१ आल् लड़ि दिया याय रे वांटइ—गा'ल लड़ि दिया याय.
२ गोड़ा लड़िर वाड़ि खेये वापेर वाड़ो याय ।
३ श्यामेर चिकण कालार वांटइ रे—
४ वापेर वाड़ी याव्या तुमि,
५ चुल धरिया आन्व आमि,
६ श्यामेर चिकण कालार वांटइ रे—
७ 'चुल धरिया आन्व्या तुमि',
८ 'गो'ड़ खाइया पड़्व आमि ।'
९ 'गड़ खाइगा पड़व्या तुमि',
१० 'कोले क'रे आन्व आमि ।'
११ 'कोले क'रे आन्व्या तुमि,'
१२ 'गाङ्गे गिया धुइव आमि,'
१३ 'गाङ्गे निया धुइवा तुमि,'
१४ 'गाङ्ग-मत्स्य हइव आमि' ।
१५ श्यामेर चिकण कालार वांटइ रे—
१६ 'गाङ्ग-मत्स्य हइवा तुमि,'

---

[1] I am unable to make out the meaning of the words *hāoyāri nāoyāri*.

[2] I am unable to make out the meaning of the expression *Sobanera Kāchhāri*. It may be the name of a place.

[3] I am unable to make out the meaning of the word *tungi*. It may mean a certain measure.

१७ 'जाख्या दिया छाक्व्या आमि।'
१८ श्यामेर चिकण कालार वांटइ रे—
१९ 'जाख्या दिया छाक्व्या तुमि,'
२० 'आकाश-तारा हव आमि।'
२१ 'आकाश-तारा हव्या तुमि,'
२२ 'तीर वांटुल दिया मार्व आमि।'
२३ 'तीर वांटुल दिया मार्व्या तुमि,'
२४ 'हुरा'र तले पलाव आमि।'
२५ 'हुरा'र तले पलावे तुमि,'
२६ 'हुराय आगुन दिया मार्व आमि।'
२७ 'हुराय आगुन दिया मार्व्या तुमि,'
२८ 'सर्ष्या ह'ये र'व आमि।'
२९ 'सर्ष्या ह'ये रवे तुमि,'
३० 'कवितर ह'ये खुट्व आमि।'
३१ 'कवितर ह'ये खुट्व्या तुमि,'
३२ 'इन्दुर ह'ये र'व आमि।'
३३ 'इन्दुर ह'ये रवे तुमि,'
३४ 'विलाइ ह'ये मार्व आमि।'
३५ श्यामेर चिकण कालार वांटइ रे—॥

TRANSLATION.

No. VI.

1. Having come with the help of a stick, *Bāṅṭai*[1] is going away. (He) went away with the help of a stick.

2. Having been struck with a stick, Gorā (or Śrī Krishṇa) is going to (his) father's house.

3, 4 and 5. (Śrī Krishṇa's friend says) : "O *Bāṅṭai*[1] of Śyāma (or Śrī Krishṇa) (who is) of a shining black complexion! (if) you go to (your) father's house, I shall

[1] I am unable to make out the meaning of the word *Bāṅṭai* (वांटइ)

catch hold (of you) by the hair (of your head and) bring (you back)."

6, 7 and 8. The *Bāṇṭai* of Śyāma (or Śrī Krishṇa) (who is) of a shining black complexion (says) : "If you catch hold (of me) by the hair (of my head) and try to bring (me) back, I shall fall down upon (my) legs."

9 and 10. (Śrī Krishṇa's friend replies) : "If you fall down upon (your) legs, I shall take (you) up in (my) lap (and) bring (you) back."

11. [The *Bāṇṭai* of Śyāma (or Śrī Krishṇa) (who is) of a shining black complexion asks] : "Will you take (me) up in (your) lap (and) try to bring (me) back ?"

12. (Śrī Krishṇa's friend replies) : "(Yes, I will) ; (and, moreover), I shall wash (you) in the river."

13, 14 and 15. The *Bāṇṭai* of Śyāma (or Śri Krishṇa) (who is) of a shining black complexion says : "If you wash (me) in the river, I shall become a fish of the river."

16 and 17. (Śri Krishṇa's friend replies) : "If you become a fish of the river, I shall catch you (*lit.*, strain) by means of a fishing-net."

18, 19 and 20. The *Bāṇṭai* of Śyāma (or Śrī Krishṇa) (who is) of a shining blaok complexion (says) : "If you catch me (*lit.*, strain) by means of a fishing-net, I shall become a star of the sky."

21 and 22. (Śrī Krishṇa's friend replies) : "If you become a star of the sky, I shall shoot (*lit.*, strike) arrows (and) pellets (at you)."

23 and 24. (The *Bāṇṭai* of Śrī Krishṇa says) : "If you shoot (*lit.*, strike) arrows (and) pellets (at me), I shall take shelter (*lit.*, run) beneath the standing stubble of the reaped paddy."

25 and 26. (Śrī Krishṇa's friend replies) : "If you take shelter (*lit.*, run) beneath the standing stubble of the

reaped paddy, I shall kill (you) by setting fire to the standing stubble of the reaped paddy."

27 and 28. (The *Bāṅṭai* of Śrī Krishṇa says): "If you (want to) kill (me) by setting fire to the standing stubble of the reaped paddy, I shall remain (there) by becoming a mustard-seed."

29 and 30. (Śrī Krishṇa's friend says): "If you remain (there) by becoming a mustard-seed, I shall become a pigeon (and) pick (you) up (by means of my beak)."

31 and 32. (The *Bāṅṭai* of Śrī Krishṇa says): "If you will (want to) pick (me) up (by means of your beak), I shall become a rat (and) remain (there)."

33, 34 and 35. (Śrī Krishṇa's friend replies): "O *Bāṅṭai* of Śyāma (or Śrī Krishṇa) (who is) of a shining black complexion! if you become a rat (and) remain (there), I shall become a cat (and) kill you."

APPENDIX B.

Glossary of Words Appertaining to the Pābnā Dialect of the Bengali Language, which have been used in the Foregoing Six Folk-Songs.

[The Roman numeral represents the number of the folk-song, and the Arabic numeral stands for the number of the line wherein the word has been used.]

আ

আগা (IV. 18). *N.* The fore part of a boat.
আন্তর (I. 2.). *Prep. phr.* After the expiry of.
আন্‌ল (III. 13, 16, 19 *etc.*) *V.* Brought.
আন্‌ব (VI. 5, 10). *V.* Shall bring back.
আন্‌ব্যা (VI. 7, 11). *V.* Bring back.
আমাক্ (II. 14, 16, 18). *Pers. pron.* Me.
আল্ (VI. 1). *V. participle.* Having come.
আ'ল (I. 1, 5; II. 1; IV. 10). *V.* Has come; have been attacked with; came.
আল্লার (IV. 6, 20). *N. poss. ease.* God's, of God.
আস্‌মানেতে (III. 11). *Adv. phr.* In the sky.

উ

উত্‌পত্তি (II. 4). *V.* Was born.

ক

কবিতর (VI. 30, 31). *N.* A pigeon.
কল্‌কা মজুমদার (V.). *N. Kalkyā Majumdāra* appears to be the name of a person.
কাগিয়া (IV. 24). *N.* Meaning unknown.

केताव (IV. 21). *N.* A (holy) book.

कों'चड़ा भरिया (III. 13). *Lit.*, having filled the lap with ; (*here*) a lapful of.

क्याचड़ार फुल (III. 13). *N.* The flower of (the plant named) *Kyāchaḍā*. I am unable to give its botanical name.

ख

खाना खाओयार (II. 19). *Adj. phr.* For eating out of.

खुट्व (VI. 30). *V.* Pick up.

खुट्व्या (VI. 31). *V.* Pick up.

खेलाइ (III. 8). *V.* May play.

ग

गड़ खाइया (VI. 9). *Adv. phr.* Upon the legs.

गड़ालाम (V. 3). *V.* Constructed.

गड़िया दे (III. 8). *V.* Make.

गल्या (IV. 16). *N.* A helmsman.

गाङ्ग-मत्स्य (VI. 14, 16). *N.* A fish of the river.

गाङ्गे (VI. 12, 13). *Adj. phr.* In the river.

गांठे (III. 2). Meaning unknown.

गांठेर (III. 3). Meaning unknown.

गा'ल (VI. 1). *V.* Went away.

गामुर गुमुर (V. I). *Adj. phr.* Which is making a bubbling noise.

गुड़ा (IV. 18). *N.* It, most likely, means '*the hull.*'

गुणो (IV. 5). *N.* A tower.

गो'ड़ खाइया (VI. 8). *Adv. phr.* Upon the legs.

गोड़ा (VI. 2). *N.* It appears to be a corruption of the word गोरा which is another name of Śri Krishṇa.

गोलइ (IV. 23). *N.* The deck.

गोलइ चोलइ (IV. 22). *N.* The deck.

गोला (V. 10). *N*, A granary.

घ

घन (III. 2, 3). Meaning unknown.

घोट् गरु (I. 10). *N.* The meaning of the word *ghoṭ* (घोट) is unknown to me. The whole expression may mea *'a milch cow.'*

च

चाप (I. 7). *Adj.* Flowing.

च्याला (I. 2, 3) *N.* A disciple.

चोड़र (III. 19). *N.* It is, most likely, a kind of ear-ornament.

चौह (IV. 13, 23 and 25). *Num. adj.* Fourteen.

छ

छाभीयाल (II. 12, 14, 16, 18 *etc.*). *N.* The new-born child.

छाक्व्या (VI. 17, 19). *V. Int.*, strain ; (*here*) catch.

छिकार (I. 11). *N.* A suspender made of strings which is hung from the ceiling of a house or from the thatch of a hut and on which articles, particularly articles of food, are placed and kept suspended in order to prevent them from being eaten by mice and ants.

ज

जाग्या जग्या (III. 10). *N.* (To) a befitting (bride.)

जान्लाम (I. 12), *V.* Had known.

जाख्या (VI. 17, 19). *N.* A fishing-net.

जिञ्जिरा (II. 13). *N.* A chain.

जोरा (V. 2, 3). *N.* A pair.

झ

झि विटि (III. 27). *N.* Daughters.

ट

टल्‌मल्‌ करे (IV. 15). *V.* Were tossed to and fro.
टाने (V, 7). *V.* Is smoking.
टिप (V. 8). Meaning unknown.
टिया (III. 9). *N.* A paroquet.
टुङ्गि (V. 12). *N.* Meaning unknown. It may mean a certain kind of measure.

ड

उभोयार माझारे (IV. 17). *Adv. phr.* Within the cabin (of the boat).
डाक दिये (IV. 2). *V.* Called out.
डिङ्गा (IV. 1, 5, 7 *etc.*). *N.* A boat.

ढ

ढोला (I. 5). *N.* This word is, most likely, a misprint for ब्याला which means *a clod of earth.*
ब्याला (I. 4). *N.* A clod of earth.

त

तराले (III. 25). *Adv. phr* With a sword.
तोमाक्‌ (I1. 15, 17, 19, *etc.*; IV. 12). *Pers. pron.* You.
तोमाक (IV. 3). *Pers. pron.* You.

थ

थुइया (I. 11). *V. part.* Having kept.

द

दरजी (III. 8). *N.* It is the name of a game.
दरियाय (IV. 15). *Adv. phr.* In the river.

दाइमा (II. 5, 6, 8, 1o, 12). *N.* A midwife.
दांड़ुआ (IV. 16). *N.* A rower.
दिवा (II. 14, 16, 13 *etc.*) *V.* Gave.
दुत्तर (I. 1 ; III. 1, 2). Meaning unknown.
दुरा (III. 2). Meaning unknown.
देओ (I. 9). *V.* Give.

ध

धांधा (V. Title). *N.* A riddle.
धामातें (II. 1o). *Adv. phr.* In a wicker-work basket made of rattan-cane.
धुइवा (VI. 13). *V.* Wash.
धुमा पलदार (V. 8). *N. nom. case. Dhumā Paladāra* appears to be the name of a person.
धुमा पलदारेर (V. 9). *N. poss. case. Dhumā Paladāra's.*

न

नाओ (IV. 15 ; V. 3). *N.* A boat.
नामे (IV. 22, 24). *Adj.* Turned upside down.
नाये (V. 4). *Adv. phr.* In the boat.
नायेर (IV. 18). *N. poss. case.* Of the boat.

प

पड़्व (VI. 8). *V.* Shall fall down.
पड़्ब्या (VI. 9). *V.* Fall down.
पदरि भरिया (III. 22). A *padari* (पदरि) is, most likely, a kind of flower-basket. *Lit.*, having filled a *padari* with ; (*here*) a *padari*ful of.
परिच्छेद करिल (III. 13). *V. Lit.*, dressed ; (*here*) put round the waist.
पाछा (IV. 18). *N.* The stern of a boat.

पाछि (III. 29, 31, 33, *etc.*) *Num. adj.* One ; one item of.
पाछे (I. 13). *Adv.* Then.
पाड़ापर्शीर (III. 29). *N. poss. case.* Neighbours'
पायाछि (III. 39). *V.* Have got.
पा'ला (III. 28, 30, 32, *etc.*). *V.* Have (you) got.
पोछे (III. 27). *V.* Enquired.

फ

फरमान (IV. 20). *N.* A decree.

भ

भाटाइया (IV. 7). *V. part.* Rowing.
भांड़ालि (I. 11). *V.* Defrauded.
भोमस्ते पड़िल (II. 11). *V. Lit.*, was ushered into the world ; (*here*) was born.

म

मन हं'ल टिया (III. 9). *Lit.*, the mind became a paroquet ; (*here*) the mind lightly turned to thoughts of love-making.
मर्जिदे (IV. 4). *N.* (To) the mosque.
माओ (V. 4, 5). *N.* Mother.
मार्ब्या (VI. 23, 27). *V. Lit.*, strike ; (*here*) shoot ; kill.
मालति भरिया (III. 16). *Lit.*, having filled a cocoanut-shell with ; (*here*) a cocoanut-shellful of.
मालेर फुल (III. 16). *N.* The flowers of the plant called *Māla.* I am unable to give its botanical name.
मुषि (I. 4) *N.* The pupil of the eye.
मोरा (III. 8). *Pers. pron.* We.
मोरे (I. 9). *Pers. pron.* We.

य

यात (III. 15, 18, 21, 24, *etc.*). *V.* Go.
याथ्या (VI. 4). *V.* Go.

र

र'ल (V. 2). *V.* Were left.
र'व (VI. 28). *V.* Shall remain.
रया (III. 2, 3). Meaning unknown.

ल

लड़ि दिया (VI. 1). *Adv. phr.* With the help of a stick.
लड़िर बाड़ि खेये (VI. 2). *Adv. phr.* Having been struck with a stick.
लचि (V. 10). *Num. adj. Lakh* ; one hundred thousand.
लागिया (III. 15, 18, 21, *etc.*) *Prep.* For.
लोटा (III. 31). *N.* A bell-metal pot.
ख्याथो (वाक्य—) (IV. 3, 12). Hear what I am saying.

व

वच्छर (I. 1). *N.* A year.
वटाबटी (III. 3, 4). Meaning unknown.
वलिवार (IV. 12). *V.* Say.
वांटइ (VI. 1, 3, 6, *etc.*). Meaning unknown.
वांटुल (VI. 22, 23). *N.* A pallet.
वाथानि (I. 10). *Adv. phr.* To the tethering-place.
वाधुन (II. 9) *N.* It appears to be a corruption of the word बन्धन and means *a fastening.*
वामन (II. 1). *Adj.* Brāhmaṇa.

वामनीर (II. 2). *N. poss. case.* Of the Brāhmaṇī or the Brāhmaṇa's wife.

वामनेर (II. 2). *N. poss. case.* Of the Brāhmaṇa.

विया (III. 12, 14, 17, 20, *etc.*). *N.* Marriage.

विया (दियोरे—) (III. 10). *V.* Ought to be married.

विलाइ (VI. 34). *N.* A cat.

वुझि सुझि निये (II 22). *V. part.* Having carefully taken.

वेंटा (V. 9). *N.* A son.

वोड़र फुल (III. 19). *N.* The flowers os the plant called *Bodara*. I am unable to give its botanical name.

व्याड़ार (II. 9). *N. poss. case.* Of the clay-and-wattle wall.

व्याभार (III. 28, 30, 32, *etc.*). *N.* Dowry.

ह

हइवा (VI. 16). *V.* Become.

ह'ये (VI. 28, 29, 30, *etc.*). *Gerund.* By becoming.

हर्यानिशि (III. 5). } *Haryāniśi* is, most likely, the name
हर्यानिशिर (III. 6). } of a place.

ह'ल (III. 12, 14, 17, 20, *etc.*). *V.* Could be used.

ह'ल (शेष—) (II. 23). *V.* Ends.

हव्या (VI. 21). *V.* Become.

हाओयारि नाओयारि (V. 10). Meaning unknown.

हाजारि वाजारि (V. 9). *N. Hājāri Bājāri* appears to be the name of a person.

हिचल पिचल (V. 1). Meaning unknown.

हुरा'य (VI. 26, 27). } The word *hurā* (**हुरा**) means '*the stand-*
हुरा'र (VI. 24, 25). } *ing stubble of the reaped paddy.*'

हेला (I. 5). *N.* Treatment with scant courtesy.

हेलिते दुलिते (I. 8). *Adj. phr.* Swajeng the body to and fro.

होक्का (V. 7). *N.* A *huqqa* or hubble-bubble.

ह्याला (करिवे—) (I. 3). *V.* Treat with scant courtesy.

स

सर्षा (VI. 28, 29). *N.* A mustard-seed.
सांधाइया (II. 10). *V. port.* Having entered.
सांधाइल (II. 9). *V.* Entered.
साधु (IV. 1, 3, 7, *etc.*). A merchant.
सुगुति क'रे (III. 5). *V. part.* Having consulted together.
'सोवनेर' काछारो (V. 11). *N.* *'Sobanera' Kāchhārī* may be the name of a place.

A few aspects of the Social History of Bengal

(Mainly of the Pre-Renaissance Period)

BY

Tamonash Das Gupta, M.A.

Manners and Customs.

(*i*) The custom seems to have been of giving the younger sister of a bride to the bridegroom as part of dowry.[1] This practice in an altered form still lingers in Jalpaiguri.[2]

(*ii*) The dog which is now looked upon as untouchable by the Hindus, was a favourite domestic animal in the 11th and 12th centuries.[3]

(*iii*) There is a reference to the custom of preserving the dead.[4] This custom still obtains among the

[1] See Manik Chandra Rājār Gān, Typ. Sel., Vol I, p. 47, 'আদুনাক দিয়া বিবাহ দিল পদুনাক দিল দান'।

[2] Babu Nalinikanta Bhattasali refers to the practice prevalent in the district of Jalpaiguri of giving away the maid-attendants of a girl of respectable family as dowry to her bridegroom at the time of marriage. (See p. 9, Bhattasali's edition of Mainamati Songs.) Prof. Jogeschandra Ray says that the practice current in the Raja's palace in Orissa is to give away the maid-servants of the bride in dowry on marriage occasions (see Prativa, Bhadra 1328 B.S.). The custom referred to here seems to relate to sisters. The similarity in the two names, Aduna and Paduna, and the fact that on Govindachandra's desertion of the Palace, the other wives of the prince went to the harem of Khetu, his half-brother, but Adunā and Padunā remained true to the ascetic prince, seem to indicate that Padunā was a sister of Adunā and did not hold an inferior position.

[3] See Manik Chandra Rājār Gān, Typ. Sel., Vol. I, p. 61, 'নও বুড়ি কুত্তা কান্দে চরণত পড়িয়া।'

[4] See Bangsidas, p. 34[6], 'মাতা পিতা মৈলে তারা রাখে শুখাইয়া'।

Buddhist priests of Burma. (*Cf.* also the ancient Egyptian practice).

(*iv*) Women enjoyed greater freedom before Mahomedan invasion.[1]

(*v*) The penance known as *Shale bhar* (*i.e.*, self-torture by impalement) was current in the pre-Mahomedan period. A devotee practising this penance could, it was believed, win favour from the god worshipped. Ranjāvati got a son by practising this penance.[2]

(*vi*) The holy thread was not an indispensable accompaniment of the Brahmin as it is now. The Brahmin astrologer in Mānik Chandra Rājār Gān puts on the holy thread when going out[3]. There is a saying about the Barendra Brahmins, 'পৈতা ছাড়ি পৈতা লয় বৈদিকে দেয় পাতি.' In the Bijay Gupta's Padmā Purān the Mahomedan Police are found "to seize those Brahmins only who wore sacred threads" ("বাছিয়া ব্রাহ্মণ লয় পৈতা যার কাঁধে") which shews that there were Brahmins who did not use the thread. The word 'যজ্ঞোপবীত' itself indicates that the sacred thread was a thing to be worn at the time of some religious function, 'Jajna.' In Nepal among brothers in a Brahmin family, those alone are entitled to wear the holy thread who follow a priestly life.

(*vii*) A husband on the eve of a long journey, such as sea-voyage, used to leave a sealed document to his wife testifying to the period he had lived with her, so that in case of her becoming *enceinte* in his absence, she might not be subjected to popular scandal. This practice had probably originated from the point of view of safeguarding the

---

[1] See Mainámatir Gán, p. 17, 'মানিক্য দোলায় চারি শোয়ার হইয়া। নিমাই বানিয়ার বাড়ী গিয়া উত্তরিল'।

[2] 'চাপায়ে যখন আমি শালে দিলাঙ ভর। সামুলার উপদেশে ধর্ম্ম দিলা বর'। Dharmarájer Git by Narasingha Basu, Typ. Sel.. Vol. I, p 465.

[3] 'ষোড় ষোড় পৈতা দিলে গলায় তুলিয়া', p. 58, Typ. Sel., Vol. I.

honour and interest of a wife.[1] This document has been termed 'Jayapatra' by Kavikankan (p. 190) which in Sanskrit means the decision of a Law Court.

(*viii*) Passports with royal seal under the name of 'Berajpatra' used to be issued formerly.[2] Another kind of Passport in the shape of 'Duri' or thread has been mentioned in the Life of Maladhar Basu of Kulingram.[3] Chaitanya Deva addressed Ramananda of Kulingram by saying 'কুলীনগ্রামী রামানন্দ সত্যরাজখান। এই পট্টডোরীর তুমি হও যজমান ॥'[4]

(*ix*) The system of trial by ordeal was described by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century. (*Vide* Vincent Smith's Early History of India, p. 342.) It was prevalent in England before the Norman conquest between 449-520 A.D. To walk blindfold over red-hot ploughshares, to plunge one's arm into boiling water, to grasp hot iron and to be thrown into water, were some of the items of English ordeal.[5] Some of these ordeals have been mentioned in our old literature. Rājā Mānikchandra tested the veracity of his mother by putting her into a vat containing burning oil.[6] Cooking of iron grains till they softened like rice was another form of ordeal.[7] But ordinarily there were eight ordeals for judging a person, they were known as '*Astapariksha*.'[8] These ordeals were known as '*Agni-pariksha*' (fire

---

[1] See Bangsi Das, Manasa Mangal, p 317.

[2] 'দিলেক বেরাজপত্র রাজার মোহরে,' Bangsi Das, p. 335.

[3] See Bangabhasa-O-Sahitya, p 152.

[4] See Chaitanya Charitamrita, p 176.

[5] *Vide* Gardiner, p. 32, and Tout, p. 78.

[6] See Typ. Sel, Vol. I, pp. 55-57.

[7] See Bangsidas, p. 519.

[8] The following forms of ordeals were known as the 'Astapariksha' or the eight ordeals.—

1. 'Dharmadharma-pariksha'. Here a person was to thrust his hand into a big jar and pick out instantly a ring from it, without knowing where it was.

2. 'Agni-pariksha' or Fire ordeal. One was to walk seven times over a furnace covering himself with cotton.

ordeal), *Jala-pariksha* (water-ordeal) and *Louha-pariksha* (Iron ordeal), etc. We cannot accept all these forms of ordeal as historical facts. There is no doubt that in the 12th and 13th centuries, some forms of ordeal on these lines existed but there is always the tendency of our poets to exaggerate facts and mix them with legends.

(*x*) 'The practice of winning the heart by magic seems to have been popular.[1] Curiously a similar practice was prevalent in England in the days of Shakespeare who was a contemporary of the Bengali Poet Kavikankan.[2] The magic ingredients were probably imported into European countries by the Indian gypsies.[3]

(*xi*) The old custom was to pay '*pan*' (*lit.* price) to the father of the bride.[4] This has in the course of less than half a century been reversed in Bengal amongst the higher classes. The bride's father now pays 'pan.' Amongst the lower classes the bride's father receives '*pan*' as before.

---

3. 'Jala-pariksha' or Water ordeal One was to be thrown into water bound hand and foot.

4. 'Asan-pariksha' or Seat ordeal One was to remain suspended in the air without any support

5. 'Anguri-pariksha' or the Ring'ordeal: One was to pick a ring from a jar full of boiling ghee.

6. 'Sarpa-pariksha' or Snake ordeal It is traditionally believed that some of the most venomous snakes have gems on their hoods The culprit was to seize one from the hood of a snake without being stung

7. 'Louha pariksha' or Iron ordeal: One was to handle red-hot iron.

8. 'Tula pariksha' or Balance ordeal One was weighed with the help of a balance and required to be as light as a piece of gold.

Behula is said to have passed through all these ordeals (see Bangsidas, p. 651). Two new ordeals are mentioned by Kavikankan (pp. 181-83), *viz.*; Hot iron and wax ordeals A red-hot iron was to be carried as one walked round a place seven times and one was put into a wax house which was set on fire

[1] *Vide* Bangsi Das, p. 503, 'কাকড়ার বাম পাও উন্দুরের পিত, পেচার বাঁও চক্ষে কর কাজল রঞ্জিত and Kavikankan, pp. 136-37, 'কছপের নখ আন কুম্ভীরের দাঁত, কোটরের পেঁচা আন গোধিকার আঁত,' etc

[2] See Macbeth, 'The Witches' bath'

[3] See History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 31).

[4] *Vide* the songs of the Sun god, Typ. Sel., Vol. I, pp. 170-71.

(*xii*) Bestowal of '*Mala-Chandan*'[1] (garland and sandal mark) on occasions of social gathering was a time-honoured custom. This was a mark of honour shown by the host to the person in the gathering who enjoyed the highest status in society. This matter was a point of great dispute as many would claim precedence. The following description is taken from the 'History of Bengali Language and Literature,' pp. 347-49. It is rendered from Kavikankan, pp. 175-76.

"So he (Dhanapati) weighing all points in his mind offered water first to Chand, the merchant. He put the sandal mark on his forehead and hung the garland of honour about his neck. At this stage Çankha Datta said, "In the assembly of merchants, the place of precedence

[1] Kavikankan's Chandikavya, pp. 175-76

মালা চন্দনের বিবাদ।

মনে ভাবে সদাগর কার আগে পূজা।
সভার অধিক বটে চাঁদ মহাতেজা॥
গোত্রে দুর্ব্বাসা বটে কুলের প্রধান।
ইহার আগেতে পূজা কেবা পায় আন॥
এমন বিচার সাধু করি সখাসনে।
আগে জল দিল চান্দবেণের চরণে॥
কপালে চন্দন দিয়া মালা দিল গলে।
এমন সময়ে শঙ্খদত্ত কিছু বলে॥
বণিক সভায় আমি আগে পাই মান।
ধূসদত্ত জানে হরিশ্চন্দ্র বিদ্যমান॥
যেকালে বাপের কর্ম্ম কৈল ধূসদত্ত।
তাহার সভায় বেনে আইল ষোল শত॥
ষোলশত মধ্যে শঙ্খদত্ত পাইল মান।
সম্পদে মাতিয়া নাহি কর অবধান॥
ইহা শুনি ধনপতি দিলেন উত্তর।
সে কালে নাছিল কিবা চান্দ সদাগর॥
ধনে জনে রূপে শীলে চান্দ নহে বাঁকা।
বাহির মহলে যার সাত ঘরাই টাকা॥
ইহা শুনি কিছু বলে নীলাম্বর দাস।
ধন হৈতে হয় কিবা কুলের প্রকাশ॥
ছয় বধু যার ঘরে নিবসয়ে বাড়।
ধন হেতু সভামাঝে চান্দ হৈলা ষাড়॥
চান্দ বলে জানি তোরে নীলাম্বর দাস।
তোমার বাপের কিছু নাহি ইতিহাস॥
হাটে বাটে তোর বাপ বেচিত আঙলা।
যতন করিয়া তাহা কিনিত অবলা॥
অনুক্ষণ হাথে হাথে বারবধূ সনে।
নাহি স্নান করি বেটা বসিত ভোজনে॥
কড়ির পুটুলি সে বান্ধিত তিন ঠাঁই।
সভামধ্যে কহ কথা কিছু মনে নাই॥
নীলাম্বর দাস বলে শুন রাম রায়।
পসরা করিত বাপ নাহি প্রত্যবায়॥
কড়ির পুটুলী বান্ধি জাতি ব্যবহার।
এঁটো চোপা খাইলে নহে কুলের খাঁথার॥
নীলাম্বর দাস রাম রায়ের শ্বশুর।
ধনপতি গঞ্জি কিছু বলয়ে প্রচুর॥
জাতিবাদ নহে ভাই যদি হয় রঙ্ক।
বনে জায়া ছেলী রাঁধে তবে সে কলঙ্ক॥

has always been mine. Your head seems to be turned by your riches, you do not pay me the respect that I deserve. On the Çradh ceremony of the father of Dhusa Datta, sixteen hundred persons belonging to the Bania caste were present and the first seat of honour was given to me. Dhusa Datta knows it well and Chand may have heard of it too.' Hearing this Dhanapati said, 'But in that assembly Chand was not present. In points of social position, in the respect that he commands and for his wealth, who is there that can bear a comparison with him? Even in the outer apartments of his mansion there are seven jars filled with gold.' Nilambar Das smiled at this and said, 'A new discovery indeed! Is precedence in caste obtained by wealth? The widows of his six sons bemoan their lot in his desolate house. With all his riches I count Chand as nothing but a bull in the assembly.' Chand retorted, 'I know you well, Nilambar Das, will you, gentlemen, present here, kindly bear with me for a moment while I relate to you the history of his father? His father used to sell myrabolans. The scum of the city were his purchasers. He would openly mix with harlots, and then without even cleansing himself by a bath he would sit down to eat. He was so great a miser that he stowed his cowrie-bundles here, there and everywhere. Son of such a worthy father, you are not ashamed, O Nilambara, to talk aloud in a meeting like this?' Nilambar Das did not look at Chand, but turned towards Ram Ray who was his son-in-law and said, 'What fault can there be in one's plying his trade? Is not the keeping of cowrie-bundles a legitimate function for all of us who belong to the Bania caste?' He continued 'If the question of caste is to a rise at all why not take into account the case of Dhanapati himself? His wife tended the sheep in the fields. Is this not a great stigma on him?'"

(*xiii*) The position of the merchant community was once very high. The princely merchants wore insignia of royalty.[1]

(*xiv*) The non-Aryan custom of sacrificing tortoise, duck and pigeon at the altar of Manasa Devi is rather peculiar.[2] The Cochas of Cooch-Behar who were originally non-Aryans, still sacrifice them on the occasion of the Durga Puja.

(*xv*) People had a liking for keeping long and flowing hair till the 16th century.[3] In later days it hung down to the neck and was known as '*Babri*.' In Orissa and Madras this practice of keeping long hair is still prevalent.

(*xvi*) Widows of tender age were allowed to use '*Fāg*' (a sort of red powder)and bracelets of gold in places of vermilion and shell bracelets, which only the women with their husbands alive are privileged to wear.[4]

Pastimes.

The old literature of Bengal abounds with interesting descriptions of pastimes proving the masculine vigour and joy of rural life. Among these pastimes, the Chaugān play notably attracts our attention as being specially favourite with the upper sections of our community.

---

[1] *Vide* Bangsidas, p. 195.

[2] See Bangsidas, pp. 72-73.

See Bijay Gupta, p 196, 'দীর্ঘভুজ লক্ষীন্দর দীর্ঘ মাথার চুল' also Krittivas, 'পলায় রামের সৈন্য নাহি বাঁধি চুল'।

[4] See Ketaka Das Kshemananda, 'খনি বদলে দিব কাঁচা পাটের শাড়ী। শঙ্খ বদলে দিবয় সুবর্ণের চুড়ি। 'সিন্দুর বদলে দিব ফাউগের গুড়ি।'

(*i*) The game of Chaugān used to be played with much vigour.[1] The word Chaugān is of Persian origin, from 'Chau'—a crooked stick and 'gān'—a field. The Chaugān was played on horseback with stick and ball. It was played just in the same way as the Polo of the present day is done. Moreover, the polo originally came from Persia where the Chaugān used to be played and it may, therefore, be surmised that Chaugān took the

[1] See Bangsidās, p. 276, and Alwol's Padmāvat, pp 121-122

সিঙ্গল দেশের যত রাজার কুমার।
বাছি বাছি দিল মক্ষ দশ আছোয়ার॥
রত্নসেন দিল হস্তে জুগি দশজন।
চৌগান খেলিতে হেল অশ্বে আরোহণ॥
দুইদিগে চারি খুটী আনিয়া গাড়িল।
মদ্দভাগে আরোপিয়া গাড়িয়া ফেলিল॥
মিশামিশি হই সবে লাগিল খেলিতে।
সকলে চাহন্ত নিতে আপনার ভিতে॥
সিঙ্গলের অশ্বরার গুলি নিতে চায়।
চৌগান বৈলিয়া জুগি গোলা পল্টায়॥
গেরুয়া বেড়িয়া শব্দ উঠে ঠনাঠনি।
দ্বারে থাকি দেখে রত্নসেন নৃপমুণি॥
ইষৎ হাসিয়া নৃপ আসিয়া ত্বরিত।
গেরুয়া মারিয়া দিল সিঙ্গলের ভিত॥
সিঙ্গল কুমার সবে খেলায় চতুর।
বেলাবারি হানিয়া গেরুয়া কৈল দূর॥
পুনি বলে খেরি খেলি অশ্বগুলি সঙ্গে।
শীঘ্রকরি নিয়া যাও নিজ মনোরঙ্গে॥
পাছে পাছে অশ্ব লইয়া ধায় জুগিগণ।
ফিরাইতে নারে কেহ করিয়া জতন॥
জুগিগণ বলে গুরু কি কর্ম্ম করিলা।
আপনা হস্তের খেরি পরহস্তে দিলা॥
তুমি হেন মহারাজ সংসার মাজার।
আমা হৈতে গুলি নিতে শক্তি আছে কার।
হাত হৈতে গুলি গেলে আর নাহি আশ।
গুরুর চরণ মাত্র করিও ভরসা॥
আমরা না জানি হেনমতে খেলা ভাও।
আপনে করিয়া জত্নে গুলি পালটাও॥
গুরু বলে শুন শিষ্য আমার বচন।
দড়ভাবে খেলা খেল হৈয়া একমন॥
পরহস্তগত যদি হইল গেরুয়া।
ফিরাইতে পারে সেই সে খেরুয়া॥
শিষ্যগণ সঙ্গে নৃপ এতেক করিতে।
সিঙ্গলের পরে গুলি নিল নিজ ভিতে॥
তখন সকল লোকে মনে ভাবিলেক।
সিঙ্গলের অশ্বরারে খেলা জিনিবেক॥
খুটার নিকটে নিজ করিবারে হাল।
জুগিগণে গেরুগুলি রুখিল তৎকাল॥
দুই খুটি মদ্ধে দিয়া গুলি নিতে ছায়।
চৌগান ঠেলিয়া জুগি গুলি পালটায়॥
খুঁটি বেড়ি দুইদলে করে হানাহানি।
রত্নসেন নৃপ তবে মনে মনে গুণি॥
বিজলি চটকে প্রবেশিয়া মহামতি।
চলিল গেরুয়া লই অলক্ষিত গতি॥
বেলাবারি হানি গুলি দূরে চালাইল।
পাছে পাছে শীঘ্রগতি অশ্ব ধাবাইল॥
আর পাছে অশ্বরার ধাইল ত্বরিতে।
নৃপতির শিক্ষা কেহ না পারে লক্ষিতে॥
ছাটর উপরে ছাট অশ্বরে চাপিয়া।
চলিল নৃপতি তবে গেরুয়া লইয়া॥
ডাইনে বাহিয়া গুলি বলে খেলাখেলি।
শীঘ্র দূর কল্প রত্নসেন মহাবলি॥
লঙ্গিতে নারিল সিঙ্গলের অশ্বরার।
এইমতে জুগিয়া জিনিল তিনবার॥

name of polo (from Tibetan 'Pulu') afterwards, as it travelled down to India *viâ* Tibet. Bengal is directly indebted to Manipur for its introduction to this country.[1]

In Alāol, we get the following vivid description of the same, which gives a clear idea of the manner in which it was played:

Two parties, each consisting of ten riders, stood facing each other. It was the aim of each rival party to drive the ball through the goal-posts of the other. At first one party stood on the defensive. When the latter approached the goal of the former ('দুই খুটি মধ্য দিয়া গুটি নিতে চায়') with hard riding, the defending party lost courage. But their goal was saved by the tact and agility of the goal-keeper (King Ratna Sen) who sent the ball to the opposite party with a good stroke of his stick. The opponents received the ball in right earnest and again furiously charged the other party when it seemed that none could save the situation. Suddenly the goal-keeper checked the progress of the ball and with a wonderful dash charged his opponents and in their confusion sent the ball right through their goal-posts, thus defeating the assailants with much smartness and vigour.

The main point to be considered in the game is the throwing of the ball through the opponent's goal-posts. In polo the same thing is also done. The way in which one party defeated the other as mentioned in the Padmāvat ('চলিল নৃপতি তবে গেরুয়া লইয়া') shows that in Chaugān there was no offside as in the Polo. As from Chaugān perhaps comes the Polo, so from the Polo perhaps comes the Hockey, Golf and Cricket.[2] The Chaugān might also be the origin of our indigenous '*Dhopbari*,' a sort of rural hockey played with a crooked bamboo-stick and ball in the district of Mymensingh.

[1] *Vide* Encyclo. Brit., Vol 22, pp. 11-12.

[2] *Vide* Encyclo. Brit, Vol. 22, pp. 11-12.

(*ii*) Next to Chaugān, the Geru play may be mentioned. Geru means a ball (Prakrit, 'গেণ্ডুঅ'). It used to be played by a number of boys in which the throwing of the ball at the opponent and the catching of it by him constituted the main point of interest.[1] The play is still current in Bankura and some other parts of West Bengal.

(*iii*) The Dharmamangal poems give us a clue to the method of wrestling and its popularity in by-gone days.[2] In wrestling it had always been the custom to rub the body with the dust of the play-ground, this dust being known as 'Birmati' The 'Mallas' or wrestlers would after tightening the cloth round their loins and a rope known as the 'wrestlers' rope' ('মল্লডোর') round their heads rub their bodies with this grey dust before the game starts. There were professional wrestlers generally recruited from the lower class people as the line 'কৃষ্ণকলেবরকান্তি মূর্ত্তিমান কাল'[3] would signify. Here is an account of a wrestling contest described by this poet.

"At first the combatants sat crouching, exhibiting the strength of their arms, in the course of rubbing their bodies with earth, and all the time kept shouting out challenge to each other ('বচনে বচনে বড় বাড়িল বিবাদ। ভূতলে আছাড়ি ভুজ ছাড়ে সিংহনাদ'). Then suddenly both of them jumped up and caught hold of each other's arms. Each

---

[1] See Chandidas, 'ফুলের গেরুয়া ধরয়ে লুফিয়া সঘনে দেখায় পাশ'।

[2] *Vide* Dharmamangal poems of Ghanaram, pp. 79-82

বচনে বচনে বড় বাড়িল বিবাদ।
ভূতলে আছাড়ি ভূজ ছাড়ে সিংহনাদ॥
আড়ম্বরি কবি দোঁহে মাখে বীরমাটী।
অমনি উঠিয়া লম্ফ উলটি পালটি॥
মালসাট মারি দোঁহে হাতাহাতি যুঝে।
ঘোর শব্দ উঠিছে আছাড়ে ভুজে॥
মত্ত গজে গজে যেন বাজে মহাযুদ্ধ।
রণ-ধূলে অবনী আকাশ হ'ল রুদ্ধ॥
সেইরূপ সমরে সমান রোষারুষি।
মহাযুদ্ধে মাথায় মাথায় চুসাচুসি॥
বাহু কসাকসি কষি ঠেলাঠেলি যায়।
চঞ্চল চরণ গতি ছান্দে পায় পায়॥
অমনি আছাড়ে ফেলে সিংহনাদ ছাড়ি।
পাছাড়ি পাছাড়ি ভূমে যায় গড়াগড়ি॥
সেন মহাপ্রতাপ মালের বসে বুকে।
মুটকি মারিতে তার রক্ত উঠে মুখে॥

[3] Ghanaram p. 79.

of them tried hard to subdue his adversary and in the attempt of doing so every part of the body of each came in close contact with that of the other. Interlocking of arms, knocking of heads, all formed parts of the contest. ('বাহুকসাকসি রুষি ঠেলা ঠেলি যায়। চঞ্চল চরণ-গতি ছাদে পায় পায়'). After hard struggle, one of the wrestlers (Lausen) got the better of the other whom he knocked down upon the earth and sitting upon his breast continued showering heavy blows on him till he spat blood."

Culinary Art.

The culinary art once attained a high degree of perfection in this country. It was regularly cultivated by the Hindu women and even the ladies of rank took pride in cooking and thus we find a Sanaka and a Khullana preparing a hundred palatable dishes. In ancient times a knowledge of the culinary art in a girl was more appreciated than any other attainments. It was owing to the peculiar condition of domestic life in the Hindu society and the part allocated in it to women that they acquired efficiency in the art and learnt how to cook innumerable articles of food. Due regard was always paid to the ordinary rules of Hygiene in preparing these dainties.

In 'Daker-Vachan' composed between the 8th and 12th centuries A.D. we find mention of curries, plain and simple, being composed mainly of vegetables, bearing a striking contrast to the subsequent rich dishes of meat and onion of the Mahomedan period. In Manikchandra Rājār Gān and in other writings of the pre-Mahomedan period mention of fifty dishes was very common.

Some of the meals of this period, the preparation of which seems to be forgotton in our days, are enumerated below:

(*i*) Sitā Misri: It was a sort of crystallised sugar made in the following process :[1]

"The juice of sugarcane is boiled first. At that stage dregs appear on the surface in the form of froth, which when removed the sugar gets condensed. It is known as '*Raja Gur*' (রজগুড়). It is then made into '*Modakgur*' or ball-shaped raw sugar which again is kept in a jar having an opening at the bottom. Through this hole the liquid portion leaks out. At this stage the upper part of the jug is broken and a kind of vegetable leaf commonly known as '*ganj*' (গঞ্জ) is put on the surface. Owing to the chemical action the raw ingredients of sugar become more refined. But it is yet somewhat coarse and in called '*Bhura.*' At this stage, the sugar is kept in the sun for some time and is then boiled with milk. This process makes the sugar milk-white purging it of the coarse substance. This refined sugar is again boiled and made into small *balls* which now become very white and are called the '*Olalandu*' or 'Laddu,' These are boiled once more with milk and formed into an entire lump which is finally boiled with milk and now the preparation of the 'Sitā-misri' or the yellow-coloured crystallised sugar is complete."

---

[1] See 'Sahaja Upasana Tatwa,' M. S. (U L.)

দেখ যেন ইক্ষুরস দ্রবের সমান।
অনলের জোগে দেখ হয় বর্ণ আন॥
দেখ জেন ইক্ষুদণ্ড নিষ্পীড়ন করি।
অগ্নী আবর্ত্তন করে অতি জত্ন করি॥
অনলের জোগেতে বিরাশ জে উঠয়।
বিরাগ নির্ম্মল হএ রজগুড় হয়॥
সেই গুড় মোদকেতে পুন লৈয়া জায়॥
গাঞ্জ জোগ দিয়া পুন বিকার ঘুচায়॥
গাঞ্জ জোগ শাঞ্জ হৈলে ভুরা তার নাম।
সূর্য্যাগ্নীতে পুনরোপী করএ যুখান॥
অনলে চাপায় পুন দিএ দুগ্ধ জোগ।
নির্ম্মলতা হয় তার জায় গাদরোগ॥
যুক্রবর্ণ্য হয় রশ নাম তার চিনী॥
তত্তপব ভিআনেতে ওলালাণ্ডখানি॥
পুন দুগ্ধ জোগ দিএ তাহার ভিয়ান।
অখণ্ড লড্ডুকা হয় মিশ্রী তার নাম॥
তার পর দুগ্ধ জোগে ভিয়ান করয়।
সীতা মিশ্রী নাম তার নির্ব্বিঘ্নতা হয়॥
অখণ্ড মধুব রশ শিতামিশ্রী নাম।
হেমবর্ণ্য বরিষন হয় অবিরাম॥

(*ii*) 'Indramitha' and 'Alfa' seem to have been once very common. They are perhaps not extant now, 'Indramitha' was an article of food (a sort of sweet) of great delicacy.[1] 'Alfa' was a kind of sweetmeat mentioned in the Padavali of Chandidas.

(*iii*) Meat of goat with the soft roots of banana plant was once a relishing preparation.[2]

(*iv*) 'Gāḍarer Cham' (sheep-skin) seems to have been a dainty. In the Manbhum district even the upper classes take the skin of sheep, goat, etc., down to the present day as they relish the fat beneath the skin.[3] Gupta, p. 94, and Bangsidas, p. 289, "গাড়র ছাগল যত লহ যত্ন করি").

(*v*) 'Dugdha-Kusmānda,' or a combination of milk and gourd is perhaps an obsolete dish now, though once very popular.[4]

(*vi*) 'Dugdha-kusumbhā' was another kind of favourite preparation.[5] In consisted mainly of milk and *cannabis sativa* or opium. It is yet extant in Rajputana where the article is taken on occasions of festivity.[6]

---

[1] *Vide* Manikchandra Rajar Can, Typ Sel, Vol 1).

[2] *Vide* Bijay Gupta, p. 94, 'ছাগমাংস কলার মূলে অতি অনুপম।'

[3] *Vide* Bijay Gupta, p 94, and Bangsidas, p 289, 'গাড়র ছাগল যত লহ যত্ন করি।'

[4] *Vide* Kavikankan, p. 157, 'দুধে লাউ দিয়া খণ্ড, জ্বাল দিল দুইদণ্ড সন্তোলিল মহুরির বাসে।'

[5] *Vide* Bharatchandra's 'Annadamangal,' p 73, দুগ্ধ কুসুম্ভায় আজি হয়েছে বাসনা'

[6] *Vide* History of Bengali Language and Literature, p 390.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. Çunya Purān by Ramāi Pandit.
2. Maināmatir Gan, edited by N. Bhattasali.
3. Goraksha Bijoy by Sheikh Faizulla, edited by Munshi Abdul Karim.
4. Minchetanā by Çyamadas Sen, edited by N. Bhattasali.
5. Dharma Puja Paddhati (Sahitya Parishat).
6. Sri Krisṇa Kīrtana edited by Mr. Basantaranjan Ray.
7. Mansā Mangal by Bijoy Gupta.
8. Do. „ Bangsidas.
9. Do. „ Narayan Deb (Extracts).
10. Chandikāvya by Madhavacharyya (Extracts).
11. Do. „ Kavikankan Mukundaram.
12. Dharmamangal Poems by Ghanaram.
13. Do. „ Manik Ganguli (Extracts).
14. Do. „ Sahadev Chakravarti (Extracts).

Besides, I always consulted the 'History of Bengali Language and Literature,' 'Typical Selections,' Vols. I and II, 'Bangabhasa-O-Sahitya.'

Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age
VIII

BY

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

It is now possible to gather up the results at which we have arrived along the various lines of investigation followed out in preceding papers, and to consider the effect of those results, with special reference to their bearings upon "Indo-Āryan" Origins and what are popularly known as Vedic Times in ancient Sapta-Sindhavāḥ. I propose, therefore, briefly to pass in review the findings which we have so far come to.

With the ultimate truths lying at the bottom of the practically unfathomable well of Anthropology, we are not concerned : yet, as our subject is Antiquity, it is necessary to start from a point in the past that is fairly well back.

First, we saw that mankind may be regarded as having originally (*i. e.*, at as remote a period as we need bother about) occupied the globe in three main zones. (1) In the northern zone dwelt those slant-eyed yellow-skinned ethnoi to whom I have given the broad generic name *Xantho-Tūrānians*. (2) In the central zone dwelt those dark-white ethnoi whom I similarly distinguish by the broad generic name *Melano-Leukochroi*. (3) In the southern zone dwelt those duskily coloured ethnoi whom we may call by the broad generic name *Melanochroi*. Originally, no doubt—say in inconceivably remote

"Gondwānaland" days—these latter were black, and of a very rudimentary developmental type: but, in course of time, as ethnic margins overlapped and mingled, the brown sub-stocks came into existence. The same process went on elsewhere, and, race-movements, also from time to time occurring, had the effect of complicating matters still further; till eventually, out of the three original zonal types, numerous and complexly dispersed sub-stocks arose, exhibiting, often in mosaic-like groups, every variety of type and character, and every inter-blending shade of colouring.

Nevertheless, for millenniums that are really countless, amongst these heterogeneous aggregations of humanity, one type of man—now very prominent and influential—could nowhere be found. North or South, East or West —*there was no Blond race!*

At last, however, a Blond race did, as it were, spring into existence—how and precisely when, do not very much matter. Quite possibly we see vestiges of them in the original Libyans of Atlas in north-western Africa.

At last, also, a *Rosy-Blond* (or *Rhodo-Leukochroic*) race came upon the scene—how and precisely when, are again questions which we need not trouble about. Perhaps they were a variant of the Blond (Libyan) group. In any case, they made their appearance *in the Mediterranean World*: for we actually find them there—say in B.C. 20,000—a dominant race, superposed upon the previous short, slightly-built, Melano-Leukochroic denizens of those regions, both in southern Europe and northern Africa.

The Civilization of the Dark-Whites, or Melano-Leukochroi, who, so far as we can tell, were the first culture-inhabitants of this Mediterranean division of the great Central Zone, was inconceivably long, and, in connection, first with the worship of the Forces of Nature (and more particularly of Re-Production), then with Moon-Worship,

and finally with Sun-Worship, was associated with a dominant divine-name something like EL *and its variants.*

The Civilization of the Rosy-Blonds, or Rhodo-Leukochroi—also inconceivably long, but not so long as its predecessor—was more brilliant and progressive, not only from a materialistic point of view, but also intellectually, and even intuitionally. In connection with a spiritualizing of the mysteries of Sun-Worship (a spiritualizing which, so far as it persisted, became esoteric, and, so far as it degenerated, became exoteric), this Civilization was associated with a dominant divine-name something like IŌ *and its variants.* In a later, but still even remotely pre-Greek, age, one of these variants was *Zeus.* Here I am not referring to the familiar "Homer's" *Zeus* about whom we read in classical dictionaries. Though founded upon obscurely grandiose popular traditions of the older *Zeus,* "Homer's" *Zeus* was the fanciful artificial production of a poetic and very much later, indeed comparatively modern, age. In fact—though long before the birth of Hellas—this refulgent Rhodo-Leukochroic Age may, in its latest stage, be called the *Zeus Era.*

Our evidence for these two long-enduring and glory-enveloped Ages of the remotely ancient Mediterranean World—Ages whose fame outvies even that of later Minōan and pre-Hellenic Ægean times—has hitherto, it is true, only or mainly been found in the matchless legends of Greek Mythology. There are some—certain types of specialist and their imitators—who affect sneeringly to reject such testimony, as constituting no evidence at all for the "scientific mind." To me, however, its probative force is even greater than that of the kind of evidence demanded by Didymuses who seem incapable of appreciating anything that does not appeal directly to the senses. But, I ask, in the circumstances of the case, what better or

other evidence than these intellectually objective treasures of Mythology could we possibly expect?

The Civilization of *Khem* (usually called ancient *Egypt*)—though isolated and seemingly unique—was rooted in the archaïc Melano-Leukochroic Age, but it was also modified by ethnic and cultural influences streaming into it from surrounding Rhodo-Leukochroic sources. It was co-eval with both Ages; it actually survived the pre-Hellenic *Zeus* Era; and, mature, beautiful, and full of vitality, it stands majestically before us, even then an *ancient* phenomenon of the past. Nay, as "Khem" (home of the original old Romiū), it endured up to a date no less recent than the 8th century B.C. For 2 centuries more it was ravaged and broken up by merciless enemies —all more or less Kāssitic—and only from about the 6th century and onwards does it become popularly "Egypt."

Now let us turn aside for a moment, to notice another very unique race—but folk of a vastly different character. I speak of the KĀSSI. Fastened like a many-tentacled monster upon the rest of mankind, these were the product of a very extensive amalgamation between the mingling margins of the northern zone, where dwelt the slant-eyed Xanthochroic Tūrānians, and the central zone, where dwelt the Dark-Whites, or Melano-Leukochroi. This momentous event (which doubtless occupied centuries) seems to have started in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, and in an Age when both these great original stocks were at a distinctly rudimentary stage of development in volution. Hence the low type evolved. Another name by which they went was KĀFS and its variants—whence *Kephēnians*, *Keftiū*, *Kappadokians*, etc. *Caucasus* itself appears to preserve some memory of both these remote old names. For the most part the Kāssi, or Kāfs, inhabited the great mountain-ganglions and wilderness-regions of continental Asia and Africa.

One flood of them poured into Central Europe from the East, after the close of the last Glacial Period (when, on the retreat of the Ice-cap, those regions were occupied by short, dark-white Palæolithic man), and, with their stormy advent, seem to have introduced the so-called Neolithic Age there. Conventional Ethnology knows them as *Homo Alpinus*, "Alpine man." Another flood surged down into Asia Minor and the adjacent parts of Europe and Asia, and are now classified as *Anatolian* man. Yet another mighty swarm, doubtless using Syria as a high-road, passed into Africa, and developed into the Kephēnians of Kūsh (Ethiopia). Some, haunting that indefinitely widespread stretch of country which of yore was yclept *Nūm-Mā*, or *Si-Nim* (say, Zāgros and neighbouring regions), acquired notoriety as the Wild Huntsmen of Wolf-Lands, and, in Babylonian and Assyrian annals, are afterwards mentioned as the denizens of Kāshshū, Elām, and so forth. Others went still farther east, and became known to the ancients as the Kephēnians of the country eventually so celebrated under the name of Persia. And, in even wilder tracts, minor offshoots led a lawless and precarious life under such names as the Tokhs (People of the Snowy Range), the Dahyūs, the Tokhāri, and the like—afterwards by the Greeks, the Romans, and the Indians called Daai, Dahae, Dasyūs, Togharioi, Tūshāra, etc.

All were *par excellence* the representatives of *Barbarism*. This does not mean that the ethnoi of Kāssitic descent were never civilized and cultured. Nor does it mean that, from a materialistic point of view, they were feckless and effete. In some cases, both ancient and modern, their historical representatives have been very highly cultured, and exceptionally efficient, and their civilizations splendid and irresistibly attractive—at least to a humanity whose development in

volution had only reached that *in*volutional stage when worldly-mindedness is the feature by which it is principally characterized. Even amongst the so-called Culture-races, there are still vast numbers of people who are no farther advanced than that, along the path of volutional progress. In fact, the representatives of Barbarism might be—and sometimes were and are—just as intellectual and even intuitional as the Culture-races. In respect of efficiency, it is open to discussion whether they have not actually been superior. Witness the Chaldæans in the days of Nebuchadrezzar the Great: and, in our own times, the Prusso-Germans of recent *Schrecklichkeit* notoriety. What really differentiates "Kultur" from "Culture," and relegates the former to an infamous class by itself, is the diabolical uses to which it unfailingly puts its attainments and resources—uses which proclaim the fact that the animating spirit of "Kultur" is *in*volutional, while that of "Culture" is *e*volutional.

Without staying to trace out the earlier pug-marks of Barbarism—its treacherous upheavals, and savage attacks upon the Civilized World—I pass at once to the epoch when—owing to the break-up of Mediterranean Rhodo-Leukochroia at its political and cultural centre (say where the Ægean Sea now rolls)—vast multitudes of the Rosy-Blonds, or Rhodo-Leukochroi, abandoned for ever their age-long *Vaējō* in the West, and fared forth into the East, to found new home-lands there. Be it borne in mind that up till now the Rosy-Blond race had been confined to the Occident. No such type of man was yet in existence in the Orient.

The first important and permanent result of this movement was a mighty amalgamation effected between the migrant hosts and the Xantho-Tūrānian autochthons of the long-settled regions lying between say the river Halys in the west and the southern end of the Caspian

Sea in the east: in other words, the birth of a brand-new race-stock which I call the *Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians*. Eventually, this new ethnos concentrated and flowered into the historical people now beginning to be known as the *Mitannians*, but wrongly represented by some writers as Hittites. Through them, and other new sub-stocks that came to birth later on, the East was not only metamorphosed ethnically: it was also inoculated with the culture and progressive spirit brought by the Rosy-Blonds from their ancient cunabula in the Mediterranean West. Also, in Mitanni, we see the rise of a State which became the Suzerain Power in Western Asia, and as such endured up till say the 16th century B.C. As dominant in that part of the world, the Mitannians—or perchance the various peoples included in Mitanni's empire—acquired in course of time the name of *Hek-Khās-Khetū*.

In say the 3rd millennium B.C. the inhabitants of Agadē (formerly Kiūri, meaning "Highlands") were Dark-Whites, or Melano-Leukochroi—akin, broadly, to those immemorially settled throughout the Great Central Zone, though doubtless of a special type. In the neighbouring region of Sūmer (formerly Kengi, meaning "Lowlands") there were Dark-Whites of the same ethnic stock—all known as AAMU (whence originated the Abramites, or *'Ibr*-Aamū, or *'Abr*-Aamū). But, dwelling amidst these, and probably even more numerous, was a local variety of the great Xantho-Tūrānian main-stock.[1] Through them we are supposed to get the fact that the people of Sūmer had long been highly civilized. Hitherto this has always been regarded as meaning that it was the Tūrānian (otherwise Mongaloid) element in Sūmer that originally possessed this culture. But what is to prevent us from believing that the dark-white or Aamū element

[1] *Note.*—Their alleged similarity to certain ethnic types in Khem and India was simply due to the fact that *all three* were autochthons of the Great Central Zone.

in that country were equally responsible for it? *Both* stocks had been settled in the Great Central Zone for an unascertainably long period. Indeed, we really do not know which, if either, were the first comers there. Hence, we are not justified in asserting that so-called Sūmerian Culture was essentially Mongolo-Tūrānian. We may just as reasonably hold that it was essentially Aamū, *i.e.*, Dark-White, or Melano-Leukochroian. Personally, I prefer to think that *both* stocks contributed to its origin and development. These Dark-Whites, or Aamū, of Kiūri and Kengi (Agadē and Sūmer) were merely local representatives of the widely-diffused ethnos familiarly known to our fathers and grand-parents as the "Semites."

Now, hanging like a thunder-cloud over the eastern borders of early Agadē, were the Barbarians of Kāshshū, etc. So ominous grew the menace that, in alarm, the Agadēans sent an embassy to the Rhodo-Leuko-Tūrānians in the north (probably the Imperial Court of Mitanni), beseeching them to undertake the administration of the country, to teach its inhabitants (the "black-headed ones" of the Tablets) the culture of the West, to reorganize their institutions, and to protect them from the "Frightfulness" and the "Kultur" that were threatening them. Results: the advent, first, of *say* Shārrū-Gī (probably in the name of the Mitannian Crown), and secondly of *say* Shārgani-Shārri (doubtless in a like Vice-Imperial capacity)—and, in fact, the whole subsequent drama of Babylonian history.

Meanwhile, in the heart of Asia Minor, out of Kāssi-descended Anatolian man, or perhaps the outcome of a blend between Anatolian man and several other stocks, European and Asiatic, that still mysterious race known historically as the Khatti, Khetā, or Hittites, had evolved, and were beginning to interfere actively in international affairs. Meanwhile, also—just east of the great

bend of Euphratēs—the Mitannians, or Hek-Khās-Khetū, were not only established as the undisputed, nay, the willingly acknowledged, Overlords of everybody throughout Western Asia and even perchance beyond—particularly of the Hittites in Nāharīn, the Amorites of Yādai, and the Aamū communities settled or roving throughout the land. After worming their way into Khem, they had also eventually obtained the mastery there (though they actually only *occupied* the Delta)—thus creating the situation popularly spoken of as the "Hyksōs" Domination of Egypt.

From a remote date—say about B.C. 2050 or earlier—an offshoot of the Aamū race, settled in Sūmer, had established itself at Mamrē in the Hebron district, south of Khārū, where they became "confederate" with a local three-fold group of Amorites. These were the *'Ibr*-Aamū, *'Abr*-Aamū, or Abramites (the Aamū who had "crossed over" the Euphrates)—the real and only *Hebrews*. The confederacy were styled the *Khabiri*.

Also, from an unspecifiable, but perhaps even earlier, date, another sub-division of the far-flung Aamū race, known as the *Children of I-Sarah-El* (because they were once worshippers of an ancestress named *Sarah*, whom they had deified), had been settled in Deltaic Khem. In course of time they had intermarried so freely with the Romiū that they had become half-Romic, and even particularly zealous devotees of the cult of *Mes-Rā, the Young Bull of the Zōdiac.* Hence their name—the *Mesrāyim.* For it was *they, not the Romiū themselves*, who bore this name. Hence also another of the names by which they were known—the *Abiri*, or "People of the Abir." *Abir*, or *Ābbir*, "the Strong," was merely the Aamū, or Semitic, form of the same name—"Young Bull." It seems, however, that originally, in their "Sarah" days, they had been a "Ewe" folk, not a "Bull"

folk. Yet other names—*Ephraïm* and *Joseph*—they acquired much later, *i.e.*, in the 5th century B.C., when "Ezra" (or whoever or whatever that name stands for) began to re-write history. We are supposed to understand that the meaning of *Ephraïm* is "Fruitful." As a matter of fact, it derives from *Epher*, Hebrew for "Calf." Even the name "Israelites" was possibly not established till after the union which eventually took place between the Abiri and the Khabiri, *well outside Khem*, and in the days of the struggle for possession of Khārū, referred to in the *Tell-el-Amarna* Correspondence. In *Exodus* the Mesrāyim, or Abiri, and the Khabiri of Hebron are deliberately represented as one and the same people, dwelling in Khem, and are referred to indifferently, sometimes as the "Children of Israel" and sometimes as the "Hebrews." Now, however, we see through this impossible nomenclature, as a cunning literary device on the part of "Ezra." Curious evidence that it really was the Abiri, or Children of I-Sarah-El, who were known as the *Mesrāyim*, is to be found in the story of Joseph's journey into Khārū to bury his father, wherein we are told that, on witnessing the mourning-scene at the threshing-floor of Atad, "the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites," exclaimed: "This is a grievous mourning to the Mesrāyim!" "Wherefore," it is added, "the name of it was called Abel Mesrāyim" (*Gen.* L. 11). Here, "Canaanites" was a loose, B.C. 5th century expression only. When, in and after the 15th century B.C., the Babylonians—and subsequently the Assyrians—became acquainted with these Abiri, or Mesrāyim, first perhaps as wanderers in the regions between Khem and Southern Khārū, but afterwards as settlers in "Canaan," they appear to have given those regions (where the "wanderings" seem really to have occurred) the name of *Mūsri*. In course of time this name was applied to Khem itself.

Indeed, in that or some other cognate form, it came to be the name by which all outside (*i.e.*, non-Romic) nations habitually referred to Khem, and later on to Egypt. In "Jewry," of course, Khem and Egypt are always called *Mesrāyim*, *Mizrāïm*, *or Mizrāïn*. This last, however, is really only an Aramaïc form. The rendering "Egypt," in the English version of the Pentateuch, and as commonly used without reference to any particular age, is absolutely wrong. That name was unknown till after say the 7th century B.C. So long as these conventional errors persist —and it seems almost impossible to get rid of them— no true picture of Antiquity, in its relations to ancient Romic history, is ever likely to find a place in the mentality either of the learned or the unlearned. When the biblical record is examined with knowledge, and read between the lines, it is seen to be in many respects a wholesale and meticulous perversion of the actual facts of history. For this we have to thank "Ezra." I do not, however, think we would be justified in accusing "Ezra" of any intentional moral turpitude in his story of the origin of the divine name *Yāhveh*, of Khem as a "House of Bondage" and a synonym for all that is evil, and of the origins and developments into ethnic and national maturity of the "Hebrews" and "Children of Israel," not only as one and the same ethnos, but also as including (even when in Khem) all the "tribes" other than Joseph, and in particular the so-called "tribe" of Judah. True, his narrative—as historical Christendom, and probably the world at large, have hitherto accepted and understood it—has, in the light of recent revelations, all the appearance of being an astutely concocted misrepresentation of the Past, with a view to exalting the name of *Yāhveh*, establishing the Hebraïc origin of the "tribes," and in particular glorifying and advancing the worldly interests of the

House of Judah, and obliterating their Amoritic descent. But all that is really necessary is, to assume that "Ezra" was obsessed with the conviction that, in some mysterious and all-compelling way, he had been charged with a mission to preserve and spread the gospel of certain esoteric spiritual truths; that the best way to perform the trust reposed in him was to enshrine those spiritual truths cryptically in some literary effort specially constructed for that purpose; that the literary device he eventually decided upon, was the record now known to us as the Old Testament, and in particular the Pentateuch; that, in his day, the real facts, not only of ancient Romic history, but also regarding the identity and origins of the several communities who contributed to the constitution of the nation of "Israel," were so well known, that there was little or no danger of his contemplated "enshrinement" of the spiritual truths aforesaid being misunderstood and deemed fraudulent, either by Jewry or by the outside Gentile world; but that Christendom, both clerical and lay, has ever been so crassly ignorant of all these things, which were common knowledge of old, that it blindly accepted "Ezra's" specially prepared narratives as an intentional and even divinely inspired (and therefore unimpeachable) record of the actual Past, and swallowed them whole, as gospel truth in that sense; and that, since then, the policy of an objectivizing priesthood, which has never been able to realize that "Ezra" had any spiritual object in view, combined with the ridiculous interpretational instincts of a childishly superstitious and (when not indifferent) ritualistically drugged laïty, have resulted in "Ezra's" literal text, contradictory and impossible though it is on its very face, being accepted as it stands—to the utter confusion of everybody who realizes that there is obviously something wrong with the authorized record, but who has not quite enough

nous to show him wherein lies the correct solution of the problem which persistently confronts him, as he reads his Bible and tries to appreciate it on the lines laid down for him by his equally unenlightened, but perchance more politic, and, in these matters, more carefully *mis*-trained, *gūrūs*. Our conclusion, therefore, is, not that "Ezra" was a pious scoundrel, but that Christendom—especially in its officialized sacerdotal strata—has hitherto been, and still remains, in this particular connection, astoundingly ignorant, timorous, and spiritually moribund, if not dead. Blind guides! Claiming, and even supposed, to be in possession of the Key of Knowledge, they enter not in themselves, and those who are entering in they hinder!

After the Hek-Khās-Khetū ("Hyksōs") had been expelled from Khem by Aahmēs I, *circa* B.C. 1580-1575, the Imperial Romic Government decided to conquer and annex the North, as far as the Euphratēs, with a view to protect Khem against any possible attempts at a renewal of the "Hyksōs" Domination. As a measure subsidiary to this general policy, Aahmēs, or one of his more immediate successors, entered into a solemn compact with the half-Romic Mesrāyim, or Abiri, for the establishment of the latter in Khārū, *as an imperially-maintained Romic colony*. The terms were, inheritance of Khārū for ever by the colonists and their descendants, in consideration of obedience on their part and co-operation with the Pharaoh for the time being—or "the Good God," as he was quite usually then called. In the reign of Thothmēs II (say B. C. 1491), pursuant to this arrangement, the Mesrāyim, or Abiri, issued from Khem *en route* for Khārū, under an official escort provided by the Crown. Unfortunately, however, the position in Khārū had been misjudged. The Amorites, still unsubdued, were in a particularly hostile mood, and the

imperial scheme had to be postponed. Hence the interval of suspense, "Ezra"-ized into the familiar story of the 40 years of Wandering in the Wilderness. For the time being, "Yāhveh" had failed to make good his undertaking to lead the Children of Israel into the "Promised Land": but in the "Ezraïc" account, the blame is, of course, laid upon the migrating people (*Deut.* I).

Who were these out-going hosts in B. C. 1491? Only the Josephites (Mesrāyim, or Abiri), and certain hangers-on of dubious status, vaguely described under the name of "Levites," who had served them in Khem in the capacity of domestic ministers of religion—probably in connection with the cult of Mes-Rā. One thing is very certain. *There were no Judahites, or Jews, in Khem in those days. No such ethnos were then even in existence.* Nor were there in Khem, or as yet even in being, any of the other so-called "tribes" of *Israel.* Even the *Hebrews*—wholly distinct from the Josephites—were then in residence at Mamrē in Hebron, well beyond the north-eastern border of the Delta, being there known as the *Ibr*-Aamū division of the *Khabiri.* As for the peoples who eventually did become the House of Judah and the Jews, they were dwelling in Nāharīn and Khārū, as the *Amorites of Yādai* and certain offshoots of the great *Hittite* stock.

Not till Thothmēs III's victories in his 30th regnal year (B. C. 1451—forty years after the Exodus) were the wandering Israelites (the Mesrāyim, or Abiri) in a position safely to emerge from the Wilderness, cross the Jordan, and enter into their promised "inheritance." It was in Thothmēs III's 38th regnal year (B. C. 1443) that the land was divided by lot amongst the "tribes," *i.e.*, according to "Ezra" (*Josh.* xviii. 10). But it was not till Thothmēs III's 42nd regnal year (B. C. 1439) that the military power of the "Hyksōs" was effectually and finally broken at Kadesh-on-Orontēs.

From then and onwards we read of struggles for actual *possession* of the land, between, on the one side, the Amorites (later known as the Jews), and, on the other side, the Abiri and *Khabiri*—these last a folk who now joined in, and are frequently mentioned in the *Tell-el-Amarna* letters, being none other than the Abramites of Hebron (*i.e.*, the Hebrews proper) and their age-long confederates, the Amorites of Mamrē, Eshcol, and Aner, aforesaid.

In the meantime, divers piratical sea-faring communities of the eastern Mediterranean (undoubtedly Europeans, but probably of very mixed stock), were making daring and frequent attempts to settle permanently on the Khārū coast—Pūra-Satiū, Dāiniūna, Zākkarū, Uāshash, and the like.

Though the power of the Hek-Khās-Khetū had been crushed in B. C. 1439, Mitanni, as a State, lived on—in amity, strange to say, with Khem. The Pharaohs had deemed it advisable to keep her in being, as a going concern, doubtless in order to preserve the "balance of power" against the Hittites, Amorites, and Kāssite Babylonia, and perhaps also in view of the rapidly growing might and aggressiveness of Assyria.

At last, however, sometime during the reign of Amenhotep IV (*alias* Ākh-en-Āten and Napkhūria)—B.C. 1341-1325—Khem's empire in the North itself collapsed; whereupon all Western Asia became filled with a spirit of violent unrest—Hittites, Kāssite Babylonians, and Assyrians competing furiously for the vacated Supremacy.

In the midst of the turmoil, Mitanni, as a State, disappears!—her territories (previously dismembered by Sūbbilūliūma, the Hittite, being eventually annexed *in toto* by Shalmaneser I of Assyria, shortly after the opening of the 13th century, B.C.

In course of time, under the earlier Pharaohs of the 19th dynasty, Khem to some extent revived, and even

made more or less effectual attempts to re-establish her Overlordship in the North. In these efforts, however, she was vigorously opposed by the Hittites, who were now actively ambitious in those regions. At last this opposition suddenly ceased—Kheta-Sār II, the Hittite king, coming to terms with Rāmēsēs II, and, in B. C. 1250, signing the famous Peace-Treaty of that year. What lurked behind this mysterious pact? The Assyrian menace? Yes, probably news of Sār Tūkhūlti-Ninib's great triumph over Babylon. The practical result for Khem was that she recovered undisputed possession of at least Khārū: and thereupon her prestige in the North was to some extent restored. About B C. 1199, Meren-Ptāh's punitive operations in Khārū, principally against the Amorites—certainly not against his own half-Romic colonials, the *Beth-Sākh* up in the north—and again his triumphant repulse of the Libyan assault upon the Western Delta, *circa* B. C. 1197, won for Khem a considerable measure of very solid *kūdos*; and finally, *circa* B. C. 1151, Rāmēsēs III's resounding land-and-sea victory over the invading Pūra-Satiū and their allies, and divers minor exploits in other years that stand to his credit, shed upon the Romic name a lustre that has never since been forgotten throughout the civilized world—though (thanks to "Ezra," and the stupidity of Christendom) the name of Khem itself has suffered a most extraordinary eclipse. All these wonderful happenings gave the subtle-minded Amorites furiously to think. Clearly the time had come for them seriously to ponder over their position. Whom should they acknowledge *now* as their Overlords? It was a very difficult question to answer. Those semi-sacred super-men, the Hek-Khās-Khetū, had vanished. The star of Asshur was rising rapidly: but who could tell whether her power would last? The Hittites, though still strong, might be ruled out. Were they not in

fear of Assyria? And had they not given up the contest with Khem? On the other hand, the majesty and the might of Khem appeared to be as solidly based as ever. Pharaoh's name was still one to conjure with. But, in view of the past—that luridly disloyal past of theirs—was Khem likely to have anything to do with them? Loudly, and with unmistakable emphasis, their consciences answered "No"! Their own standards were all they had to go by. True, the Romiū were a generous, even a noble-minded folk. But the Amorites did not believe much in that type of humanity. They were constitutionally incapable of grasping the concept that any people could ever really be magnanimous—except, of course, on the assumption that they were also fools. And the Romiū, they knew, were not fools. Nevertheless, *something* had to be done, and that speedily; and.....Ah, happy thought! Planted right in the very heart of Southern Syria, were those half-Aamū, half-Romic colonials, the Hebro-Israelitish *Beth-Sākh*. Could not something advantageous be wrangled out of Fate in that direction?

What practical conclusion they came to in the matter, and what definite action they took—though hitherto Jewry and Christendom, united in a conspiracy of silence, have succeeded in suppressing them, and in inducing the whole world to believe another story altogether—now stand revealed, for every one who thinks to meditate over.

In brief: the Amorites of Yādai, the Old Lions of the Lebanon, the storm-swept huddle of Hitto-Amorite humanity in southern Khārū, decided to *throw in their lot with Imperial Khem*. And the way they did it was this. Their most powerful division consisted of the Amorites of southern Khārū. Dwelling near these was a small Hittite community—afterwards known as *Benjamin*—who had

already erected themselves into a monarchy, possibly under Hittite suzerainty. Certainly they were not Hebro-Israelitish. As surely they were not Jewish. *Saul* was a mere name, invented by "Ezra," and signified "The asked for." With them the Khārū Amorites united —the entire body (on the strength of associations connected with old Yādai, which was really *Yāu-deh*) adopting the common name *Yāudim*, afterwards "Ezra"-ized into *Yāhūdim* or *Judahites*. That done, they proceeded, at Hebron, to elect and anoint as their king another individual—a brilliant young military adventurer of Amorite stock, named David. The "anointing" was probably by Pharaoh's Representative. This happened about B.C. 1054 (2 *Sam.* ii. 4). David was ambitious (or his Amorite followers were), and, seeing his way to a more exalted position and greater power, he entered into negotiations with the Hebro-Israelitish *Beth-Sākh*, the half-Aamū, half-Romic colonials up in the north of Khārū. The outcome was a further and much bigger political union, this time between these *Beth-Sākh* and David's own Amorite-*cum*-Hittite group, the *Yahūdim*. Finally, again at Hebron, David was elected and "anointed" king of *Israel* and *Yāudeh*. This event occurred *circa* B. C. 1046½ (2 *Sam.* v. 3). The common capital of the new State was eventually established at Jerusalem—a name whose original significance was quite different from what it is popularly thought to be. Back of *Jeru* would seem to be the Romic word *Aarū*, or *Yārū*, meaning "Fields of the Blessed"; and the part rendered *salem*, far from signifying "Peace," appears to be a deliberate distortion of the name of a deity which used anciently to have a shrine there or thereabouts.

Note that, whatever may have been the steps from time to time taken by David in pursuit of his ambitions, and those of his Amorite following, he always first

"enquired of the Lord." This, of course, is merely "Ezra's" way of describing something which in reality was very different. What we have to read into it is this. Pharaoh, the "Good God" of Khem, was Lord Paramount in Khārū. David, the rival of Hittite "Saul"—not only acknowledged Pharaoh's suzerainty: he also relied upon that suzerain's support. Everything, therefore, that was done in these days, was done with the knowledge and sanction, and apparently even under the auspices, of the "Good God," or, as "Ezra" calls him, *Yāhveh*. ("Ezra" was too astute to miss the opportunity presented by a phrase like this for advancing the interests of *Yāhveh*). Hence, when, in B.C. 1046½, David made his league with the elders of Israel, we read that this was done "before the Lord," and we are told that it was "the Lord" who had said to David: "Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be a captain over Israel" (2 *Sam.* v. 2). When we realize that "the Lord," in "Ezra's" narrative, was none other than David's human Suzerain, the imperial "Good God" of Khem, Lord Paramount, in the purely worldly sense, of Khārū, it is interesting to peruse what is ostensibly God's message to David, and David's reply, as recorded in 1 *Chron.* xvii, and also David's address to his people, as recorded in 1 *Chron.* xxviii, and also Solomon's Prayer and God's announcement to him, as recorded in 2 *Chron.* vi and vii.

Nay, in the subsequent days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat—when the so-called "Ten Tribes," or *Beth-Sākh*, separated explosively from *Beth-Judah*—what can Ahijah, the prophet, be regarded as standing for, if not an emissary of the Earthly Overlord, or Suzerain, Pharaoh, the "Good God" of Khem...perhaps Amenemopet of the 21st dynasty? As half-Romiū and, at leāst in original contemplation, an imperial colony of Khem, the Hebro-Israelites (amalgamated Josephites and Khabiri) were

specially favoured by the Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty. On the other hand, Judah—who to this day loudly claims a monopoly of the Divine affection—represented for the most part the old Amorites, Khem's age-long hereditary enemies. Therefore, to ask us to believe that it was in *them* that the Pharaohs of old took so deep and abiding an interest, is to put upon our intelligence a strain that it simply refuses to bear. Further, we may even venture to add a considerable pinch of salt to "Ezra's" repeated representation of David—the young Amorite hero—as a man for whose personal and political welfare "the Lord," or "Yāhveh" (*i.e.*, in plain language, the Romic Crown) was tenderly and ceaselessly solicitous.

Another very important matter demands notice. In B. C. 1054 and B. C. 1046½, the divine-name *Yāhveh* (or *Jehovah*, as we commonly render it now), was unknown, even in its *alleged* abbreviated form *Jāh*. The only *Jāh* that David was acquainted with was the traditionary Amorite deity of old Yādai, *i.e.*, IŌ—derived *Yāu*, or some such name. Also, as is quite understandable, up to say B. C. 1054, almost every name in the Amorite community of Southern Khārū had been compounded with *El*, *Āb*, *Āch*, *Shemesh*, *On*, *Ām*, *Baal*, and the like: yet, from B. C. 1054 and onwards, if we are to believe "Ezra," there is hardly a name among them into which some form of "Ezra's" *Yāhveh*, or *Jāh*, does not enter. Obviously (subject, of course, to what I have already said regarding "Ezra's" motives), it is a very thin attempt to impress upon us the belief, that the so-called House of Judah had always been Judahites—never Amorites or anything to do with them, save as enemies—and that the God of Judah had always been *Yāhveh*—never old *Yāu* of the Yādai Amorites,—and that the names of the Amorites had always been compounded with *Yāhveh*, in some form of that "Ezraïc" divine-name.

Thus, then—creeping first, into the political fold of "Israel," the special *protégés* of Imperial Khem—the Amorites of Yādai actually sought shelter under the ægis of the "divine" Pharaoh—thereby not only making their peace with the suzerain whom they had so long and so outrageously flouted, deceived, and injured, but even succeeding in tricking him into according them the rights and privileges of a specially-protected and even pampered people. Herein really lies *the origin of the claim, still maintained by Jewry*, that they are the objects of a sleepless, peculiar, and indeed exclusive, loving-kindness on the part of Providence!

This is the true story of the origin and identity of that far-scattered people who are now, under the name of the *Jews*, universally associated with the Semitic family of man, and particularly with its Hebrew sub-group, and of how they astutely managed to inveigle themselves into the political family-circle of the genuine Israelites—whose name and prestige and supposed destiny, indeed, they have for some 2,500 years actually appropriated. Truly, "the Cuckoos of Humanity" would not be an unsuitable cognomen for such an ethnos. Now we understand how it was not for nothing that "Ezra" threw the facts relating to the mystery of their beginnings into the form of the otherwise extraordinary incident figuratively presented in *Genesis* xxxviii. Also how the O. T. record contains the otherwise startling statements to be found in *Ezekiel* xvi. 1-3, 45—statements in connection with which the Talmud has a very characteristic little tale to tell. As a matter of fact, too, in its more enlightened circles, modern Jewry is perfectly well aware of these skeletons in its cupboard; but, like Brer Rabbit, it lies low and says nuffin.'

Meren-Ptāh's regnal period was *circa* B.C. 1201 $\frac{346}{480}$—1182 $\frac{213}{480}$, and Rāmēsēs III's was *circa* B. C. 1158-1127.

The century that stretched between these two stirring epochs was the Age of what are known as the Great Sea-Raids. The principal of these have already been alluded to. Several others of minor importance also took place—particularly some upon the coast of Khārū, conducted by the Dāiniūna, the Zākkarū, the Uāshash, etc., with the object of winning permanent foot-holds there.

In this connection I have mentioned the great attempted "invasion" of Khem in B. C. 1151, or thereabouts, led by the Philistines. For Indians the very special interest attaching to this famous event—apparently so far removed from all that as a rule arrests their concentrated attention—lies in the fact, never even dreamt of till I first suggested it about 3 years ago, that, in the scattering of certain ethnoi (Pūra-Satiū, Yādai Amorites, Hittites, and the like) somewhere in Khārū, Zāhi, or Nāharīn, in consequence of Rāmēsēs III's alleged victory over the Philistines and their allies in or about that year, we hit upon a solid historical event, wherein are probably hidden the ethnic identity and origins of at least some (certainly two, if not more) of those 5 *Janāhs* who are mentioned in the *Ṛig-Veda Saṁhitā* under the names of the Pūrūs, or Pūravās, Yādūs, or Yādavās, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs—peoples who were clearly distinguishable from the Dasyūs and Niṣādas of early Sapta-Sindhavāḥ; who were also obviously quite different from the *śūkla* Āryas (apparently hailing from Zarah-lake land, but with regard to whom there is really little or no evidence that they ever dwelt in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, at least on the Indian side of the Indus); who appear to have either for a time resided in, or passed through, Zarah-Lake land (modern Sēistān); who certainly arrived in the East from somewhere more west; who seem to have hailed from a country known as the "Two-Rivers-land," and even to have imposed a similar name on

Zarah-Lake land and its environs, which happened to be also full of rivers; who brought with them a Culture of a very high order, which might easily have been the Culture prevalent in Syria at the time they abandoned it—for we learn that in those days the Culture of Syria was not only equal in quality, but even in some respects superior, to that of B.C. 12th century Khem; and lastly, whom all Indians, to this day, believe (though quite mistakenly) to have been "the Āryas."

Chronology also supports my theories in this connection. After I had published *European and Other Race-Origins*, I discovered that some of its chronology was glaringly wrong. Moreover, I realized that a study of Antiquity was practically futile unless *Chronology*, as a subject by itself, were put upon a satisfactory basis—for hitherto, in this field of research, even our recognized authorities have cherished astoundingly divergent views. I accordingly determined to tackle the subject seriously and persistently. I decided that the investigation of the mysteries of Ancient Egyptian Chronology (or Romic Chronology, as I prefer to style it) offered the best chances of arriving at a solution of the problem. In the course of my lucubrations, I found that all the chronological data obtainable from the monuments, etc., were intended by the old Romic priests to be put upon some of their Cycles; and then it further flashed upon me that certain divisions of the various Spheroidal Cycles were nothing less than identical with those *Sed* and *Hunti Heb* periods of which even our leading Egyptologists have taken such very different and not always very intelligible views. My first struggles with the difficulties that abounded appeared in the shape of my booklet *The Secret of Egyptian Chronology*, published in London, in (I think) 1916. With this I was dissatisfied: and a

further effort at self-enlightenment was made in a paper which I had the honour of reading at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal held on the 2nd July, 1919—a privilege for which I was indebted to the kindness of our great-hearted Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Afterwards—again under the auspices of the same magnetic personality, who has ever unfailingly accorded me his enlightened encouragement and practical support—that preliminary paper was re-cast and improved, and re-appeared in the form of the pamphlet, headed *Ancient Romic Chronology*, which may be found at the end of Vol. I for 1920 of this *Journal*. Since then, I have contributed to the same publication various papers, further modifying, elaborating, and adding to my views.

Briefly: the outcome of my investigations was this. It was already known, of course, that the ancient Romiū originally made use of a Spheroid of 360 degrees; that they were also acquainted with the Spheroids of 364, 365, and $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees; and that they were quite well aware that the Year really consisted of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. What has not hitherto been realized by Egyptologists are the nature and importance of the *Sed*, *Hunti*, and other periods, as corresponding to divers very exact divisions of the spheroidal cycles; and that these spheroidal divisions are all different for the different Spheroids adopted. All dates for those times can be put upon the Cycle: but what that Cycle is, depends on the kind of Spheroid selected. And, in different ages, and under different political *régimes*, the Romiū—throughout the many centuries of their settled existence—selected several different Spheroids. Hence, also, arose the *Heb* and other periods of varying magnitudes and application. For instance, the *Heb* suitable for controlling chronology for one Spheroid, will only produce confusion if used in connection with any other Spheroids.

Moreover, as shown in my papers on "B. C. 2782" and the "Problem of the Reported Rising-dates," long before the Romiū discovered the uses of the Sōthic Cycle of 1460 years (based on a Spheroid of 365 degrees), they had been familiar with another Cycle which might be regarded as consisting of 1440, 1456, 1460, or 1461 spheroidal years, according to whether the Spheroid adopted was one of 360, 364, 365, or $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees. When they realized the periodicity of Sirius (1460 spheroidal years), they found that the length of the other Cycle with which they had been so familiar would have to be taken as consisting of 1460 spheroidal years also, and therefore as based on a Spheroid of 365 degrees, which gave them a *Sed Heb* period of 30 $\frac{5}{12}$, and a *Hunti Heb* period of 121 $\frac{2}{3}$. The Sōthic Cycle, it was found, ended 228 ordinary years later than the other Cycle did. Furthermore, there was a way of working all the Cycles on the basis of the old 360-degree Spheroid, and the chronology of each could, if necessary, be transmuted into terms of any of the others: but it was a complicated and muddling process.

The trouble is that the problem as a whole is hydra-headed. No sooner is one difficulty overcome, than another (equally or perchance more appalling) immediately starts up elsewhere. One important success, at least, I can already claim. I think I have settled the question of where to look on the Spheroid for the Sōthic-Rising Point—*i. e.*, the point from which we have to count for the shifts that give us the dates of Reported Risings. It seems never before to have been put upon a reasoned-out basis. Yet another puzzle which I believe I have straightened out is this. In Professor Flinders Petrie's list of Reported Sōthic-Risings the dates are given in a repeated sequence of 7, 14, 21, 28– which nevertheless, is not always adhered to—and, towards the

nd of the list, things seem to have got tangled up, as hough the copyists had not understood their originals, nd had blundered badly. By assuming that these equential dates are based on a Calendar connected with Luni-Osirian Spheroidal Cycle of 364 degrees, I elieve I have been able to extract some sort of intelli- ible conception out of what appears hitherto to have affled our Egyptologists completely.

These investigations are abstract, abstruse, and obs- ure. Many, glancing uninterestedly at them, will doubt- ss be inclined to ask: *Cui bono?* But really they have very practical importance. Fix Romic Chronology on reliable (I hardly like yet to say a "scientific") basis, nd, by means of synchronisms—of which, happily, there re not a few—we can reach out into other Civilizations, nd thus perhaps re-construct these latter from a chrono- ogical point of view, in a manner and to an extent that therwise might well appear to be hopeless. In this way ght can even be shed on some of the dark places of *ncient Indian history.*

For example: take the still very vexed question of ie identity and origin of the above-mentioned 5 *Janāhs* amed in the *Rig-Veda.* Should it turn out—as I am onvinced it some day will—that the Pūrūs were none ther than the Pūra-Satiū dispersed in B. C. 1151 by āmēsēs III, and the Yādūs none other than the Yādai morites of the same epoch, then would it be a little thing ere I, one fine day, to be in a position to announce that omic Chronology—which indicates the period of these hnoi—had been finally put upon a meticulously exact erchance "scientifically" exact) basis; that say B. C. 51 was the precise year in which the Pūra-Satiū and the ādai Amorites were scattered in Nāharīn (Rivers-land); id therefore that, so far at least as the Pūrūs and Yādūs ere connected with *Rig-Vedic* Times and Indo-"Āryan"

Origins, those Times and Origins cannot possibly be assigned an earlier date than some indefinite period shortly after B. C. 1151? Needless to add, with that impregnably established, the flood-gates would at once fly open for the admission of all sorts of further conclusions of a most interesting nature.

Now let us approach the same problem *from the side of India*. I propose to begin rather far back—in fact, to start at a point no less remote than the Permian, or last, sub-period of the Palæozoic or Primary Era. This, I imagine, ought to satisfy even Dr. Abinaschandra Das. In those archaic days the aspect of the world—the distribution of its land-and-water areas—was vastly different from what it became in times that we regard as historical, or even proto-historical. In the northern hemisphere there were several extensive and fantastically-shaped continental masses. Immediately south of these, extending right away eastwards from about Sardinia in the west, and completely submerging many now well-known countries lying in and about that latitude, rolled a gigantic sea, which has been called *Tethys*. Below this, again, and almost filling up the entire southern hemisphere, was an enormous ring, or hoop, of land, the northern stretches of which contained the regions now known as South America, all Africa, all India, including much of Tibet, and the greater part of Australia. Inside the ring, or hoop, was a tremendous sea, practically oceanic. All these southern territories have received the name of "Gondwānaland."

Countless millions of years elapse, and a stupendous transformation greets our astonished gaze! What happened was due, possibly to mighty volcanic agencies, but more probably to a long succession of seismic disturbances. It may have begun in Jurassic days. At any rate, by the time of the Middle Cretaceous sub-period, not only

has old Gondwānaland completely dissolved and vanished —save for isolated remnants to which I shall refer presently—but the great Tethyan Ocean is succeeded by a very much vaster world of waters. With the new continental masses, north of the tropic of Cancer, we are not concerned. But, in the new marine area in equatorial regions, between the tropic just mentioned and the tropic of Capricorn, our attention is arrested by four new land-formations—Amazonia (approximating to South America); Ethiopia (similarly approximating to Africa); an Australia even larger than the Australia we see to-day; and, between that and Ethiopia, a long, narrow, bean-shaped island-continent, called Lemuria. It is this last in which we are specially interested just now; for, within its northern half, lay the whole of that area which was destined eventually to constitute "India." But this statement needs qualification. The India just spoken of included those now trans-Himālayan regions which extend northwards as far as Karakoram. It *ex*cluded present India's extreme eastern and western corners. In other words, the country long afterwards known as *Sapta-Sindhavāḥ*, and also other territories of considerable extent in its vicinity, were then submerged; and, further, they remained so submerged up till some time in or after the Eocene period.

More millions of years creep slowly past—and again Time waves his magic wand. What, now, do we behold? The southern half of islandic Lemuria has disappeared amid the waves of the Southern Ocean. The northern half, however, remains, and stands forth as heart-shaped "India"—more or less as we know it to-day: and even her extreme eastern and western corners (those tracts just alluded to, which for ages had lain at the bottom of the sea, out of sight and out of mind) eventually emerge from their watery tomb!

Still, however, the world of Tethyan and other waters in the north stretches between these remnants of vanished old Gondwānaland (of which remnants northern Lemuria—*i. e.*, recently individuated "India"—is only one): and millions of years more have to elapse before these waters dry up, and so enable "India" to have *direct physical relations* with the great continental land-masses of the northern hemisphere.

Originally, therefore, India owed her existence to Gondwānaland: and, so far, it is still Gondwānaland soil that constitutes her physical frame; it is still Gondwānaland blood—and as yet none other—that runs in her veins. And when we thus speak of archaean India, *entire* India has to be understood—not merely that *Southern* India which alone, Dr. Abinaschandra Das would have us believe, had its origins rooted in Lemurian sources—and these misunderstood.

Moreover, as Sapta-Sindhavāḥ was in that extreme western corner of Northern Lemuria, *i.e.*, of eventual "India," which, for unrecorded ages, had lain sunk beneath the waves, it follows, that, as much as any other part of "India," northern or southern, *Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, in its origins, and also in its developments up to some indefinite early period, belonged essentially and exclusively to archaean Gondwānaland.*

So far as we have yet traced matters out, there has been no evidence at all of the existence of *Humanity*. The Jurassic period—a subdivision of the early Mesozoic era—was dominantly the age of *reptiles*. Even the much later Eocene (which is as far as we have got as yet, in this review)—a subdivision of the early Kainozoic era—was only the age of archaïc *non-human mammals*, then vanishing. But, even right away back in the Archæozoic era—the days of protozoa and protophyta—there were

undoubtedly, throughout Gondwānaland, simple and primitive forms of organic life which were destined eventually to evolve into humanity. Hence, after the Eocene, when the extreme western corner of India had emerged from ocean depths, there may have found their way into Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, from other parts of India, forms of organic life, not yet human, but tending volutionally towards that goal, which, stage by stage, *had developed out of the above-mentioned biological beginnings in Gondwānaland*. That is all we are in a position to infer from the data at present available.

Ages continue to roll on: and once more Time waves his magic wand. Tethys has completely dried up; both land-masses and water-areas throughout the globe are much as we see them now; India has become integrally associated with the newly-formed Asiatic continent—*i.e.*, she is no longer sundered by a far-stretching expanse of ocean from the great land-masses in the northern hemisphere; humanity, in three main types that are easily distinguishable, is settled upon the Earth as the practically autochthonous denizens of 3 great zones—(1) the Northern zone, containing the slant-eyed yellow-skinned Xantho-Tūrānians, (2) the Central zone, containing the dark-white Melano-Leukochroi, and (3) the Southern zone, containing the Melanochroi, *i.e.*, the black-skinned *homines* who—swarming over an enormous area, co-extensive with Gondwānaland, first as originally existing, and subsequently as represented by its isolated surviving remnants—constituted the original source whence, there can be no doubt, archaean India obtained her first inhabitants.

And, in coming thus to the conclusion that this was autochthonous India's ethnic basis—*i.e.*, that her

primitive *Niṣādas* were *pure Melanochroi of exclusively Gondwānaland origin*, we cannot, either in reason or in fact, draw any distinction whatever between Sapta-Sindhavāḥ and any other part of India, north or south. In this respect, so far as her origins are concerned, she was, and remains, a *unity*.

But that is not, by any means, the conclusion of the whole matter. Only the very simple-minded can imagine that our subject is as simple as this. India does not consist solely, or even mainly—except, of course, as regards numbers—of Aboriginal India. The India that counts is an exceedingly complex entity. Indeed, Earth has never seen a country which, from an ethnical point of view, is more complex than, nay, is so complex as, India. Every type of humanity—from the very highest to the very lowest—contributed in some way to the fashioning of her racial organism, though even the highest seems somehow and somewhere and sometime *to have come into organic touch with the autochthonous basis*. But, despite this obvious fact, whether physically, mentally, or spiritually, her heterogeneous millions—more than any other community that has ever breathed heaven's air—are probably representative of Man, as he has been, is, and is destined to be. In short, if it is still permissible to speak in terms of teleological assumption, may it not be said outright that, for some perhaps inscrutable purpose, the Most High has deliberately chosen India as the sphere in which it pleases him to reveal, in actual operation, the mystic processes of that sublimest of all his innumerable wonders—the *Kenōsis*—not in the narrow theological sense taught by sacerdotal Christendom, but in that immeasurably grander sense whereby, with the object of producing Creation—whether creation of the Macrocosmic World, or creation of the Microcosmic individual Soul—

the Divine Spirit, the Supreme *Ens*, *Param-Ātman*, is understood voluntarily to descend, *in*volutionally, into the lowest depths of *Ex*istence, in order, by the reverse process of *e*volution, eventually to raise the organisms in which it thus elects for a time to *bury its divine nature* to the glorious plane of *Sub*sistent Life? To him who inhabiteth Reality, whose Eternal Now and Absolute Idea are alike unaffected by either Time or the Imperfections that attend its passage, who sees the Perfect even in the immature volutional approaches thereto, æons are but as a moment, and the End already subsists in the Processes that seem to be only working towards it: nevertheless, like all the mightier mysteries of the universe, this *Kenōsis*—whether regarded as kosmic, or as worked out in the more limited sphere of ethnic developments—is for us an inconceivably long and slow business, the preliminary and basic operations of which are conducted on the objective plane—of course through the agency or instrumentality of races which, whether physically, mentally, or spiritually, are already more or less advanced along the path of volutional progress.

What enabled these higher race-types to be introduced to the sphere wherein Providence intended their qualifications to be employed in the furtherance of its far-reaching schemes, was the fact, already alluded to, that the India whose elements and origins were essentially rooted in archaean Gondwānaland, was now *integrally associable with that main continuous land-area of the northern hemisphere which is known to us as Asia*. Be it noticed that, with the drying up of Tethys, that Great Central Zone (in which, from some still quite unascertainable epoch in the past, the short, slightly-built, dark-white type of man whom we are calling the Melano-Leukochroi had found his area of

characterization), now extended eastwards right across the northern hemisphere, from say the Pyrenees and Atlas in western Europe and western Africa, to the farthest limits of the country now known to us as China. In the zone just north of that, slant-eyed yellow-skinned Xanthochroic man had, in a probably very much earlier age, enjoyed the advantage of migrating freely anywhere he liked *within his zone*. Henceforth, in addition, he had the privilege of extending his wanderings *southward*, as far as he could succeed in penetrating. All these changes in the world naturally introduced a new factor into the possibilities of life as it was lived in Gondwānaland-descended India by her originally black-skinned and wholly uncivilized *Niṣādas*.

Thus, there can be little doubt that the first flood of outside humanity which oozed through India's borders and modified the pristine simplicity of her dusky denizens, consisted of Melano-Leukochroi from the west, *i.e.*, Dark-Whites of the Great Central Zone, *after its prolongation eastward, following upon the drying-up of Tethys*—a stock who doubtless brought with them archaïc Nature-Worship and the cult of the Great Mother, as originally developed in the Mediterranean West in the remote Melano-Leukochroic Age: all subsequently revived in *Pūrānic* times, after a long interval of *pralāya*. Indeed, it is this particular ethnic stratum, so very anciently laid down, to which that *Pūrāṇic* Revival, with its previously unknown goddess-worship, is really ascribable. Also, we can imagine wave after wave of the slant-eyed Yellows of the Northern Zone managing later on to effect an entrance, peaceable or otherwise—probably through Assam's open door-way in the N. E.—and then, to a certain extent, diffusing themselves south-west wards. Each of these intruding ethnoi must have brought with them some form of Culture which, whatever it may

have been, was at any rate superior to anything wherewith, up till then, *Niṣādic* India had been acquainted. Much later must have been the inroads (also from the west) of those "Wolf-Folk" from early Nūm-Mā, or Si-Nim, who, pouring in from Central Asia, forced their way down the western coast-lands of the Peninsula, and finally, settling permanently in Southern India amongst its black-skinned Gondwānaland-descended *Niṣādas*, amalgamated with them, and, in course of time, gave birth there to what is usually styled the *Drāvidian or Tamil race*. Why I have said "Much later," is because the Wolf-Folk were a branch of the original Kāssi. Now these, as already explained, were the product of a big amalgamation (which itself must have lasted for centuries) between the southern margin of the Xantho-Tūrānians of the Great Northern Zone and the northern margin of the Melano-Leukochroi of the Great Central Zone, in an age when both these original stocks were in a very rudimentary stage of development—thus producing a sub-stock with characteristics which, at any rate from a *moral* point of view, turned out to be exceedingly defective. Hence the fact (so productive of unspeakable misery for the Culture-races of future ages) that these horrible Kāssi, ever true to type, have proved themselves, throughout recorded time, the representatives *par excellence* of Barbarism. True, it is sometimes exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, *from a purely worldly point of view*, successfully to maintain that they are culturally the inferiors, nay, that, in some respects—notably efficiency—they are not actually the superiors, of the Culture-races. But, for all that, they have always been out-and-out barbarians; because the only use to which they invariably put, or dream of putting, their faculties, and the resources of Civilization over which from time to time they get more or less complete control, is to betray, to terrorize, to

agonize, and if possible eventually to destroy, their more highly developed and usually unsuspecting neighbours—the Culture-races. Many of this hideous ethnos found their way into Central Asia, long before the Airyāniāns arrived in Airyavō-Vaējō. There, they became known as the Tokhs, or People of the Snowy Range—and it was a body of them who, *ex hypothesi*, burst into India on the remote occasion just alluded to. As regards date, I incline to assign it to not later than *circa* B.C. 3500. According to a rough calculation made in a previous paper, that was the approximate epoch of the advent of the migrating Rhodo-Leukochroi, or Rosy-Blonds, in Airyavō-Vaējō. Their arrival doubtless disturbed the older inhabitants—these barbarous Tokhs. Hence the abandonment by the latter of their age-long Central Asian haunts, and their stampede into unfortunate India.

As already frequently remarked, though barbarians, these Tokhs were by no means incapable of assimilating the culture-forms, and adopting outwardly the manners and customs, of the Culture-races. We know too, that, in these respects, Southern India, at an extremely early date, enjoyed intimate and well-maintained transmarine relations with Western Asia. It is by no means surprising therefore, to learn that, long before the "Āryas" of Northern India began to interest themselves in Southern India, the Drāviḍian inhabitants of those regions possessed a civilization of a very high order, which had every appearance of having been independently developed. How far northwards these Drāviḍian ethnoi diffused themselves, more or less permanently, is a question into which I need not enter here. Though they had in them this very strong strain of Kāssite blood, emphasis must be laid upon the fact of their basically Lemurian, and, behind that, Gondwānaland, origin. In

his *Early History of India*, at p. 396, the late Mr. Vincent A. Smith remarked—

"The Greek geographer Ptolemy, who wrote his treatise about 140 A.D., was well acquainted with Southern India, which he called Damirīkē, a good translation of Tamilakam," i.e., *Tamil Country*, "*r* and *l* being interchangeable, but unfortunately corrupted in the manuscripts into the unmeaning form Limyrīkē, owing to the frequent confusion between Λ and Δ."

But merely because the *mss.* have *Limyrikē* (which Mr. Smith imagined was substituted by mistake for an original *Damirikē*), it surely seems unnecessarily gratuitous to assert that this is corrupt and "unmeaning." Why should we not take the *ms.* form *as it stands*, and accept the position that, when writing *Limyrikē*, Ptolemy really intended to write it just so, giving it as a deliberate rendering on his part of the ancient name *Lemuria* (Lemur-*ikē*?)? If it is also possible to think with Mr. Smith that *Tamil* can be changed into *Damir*, because r and l are interchangeable, it merely serves to support my hypothesis regarding the early advent into these regions of the ancient Kāssi. They, too, like their congeners and descendants elsewhere—the Kāshshi of *E-i-lām* (*E-i-rām*), the Tokhs (Dahae and Dahyūs of Tūrān), and the Mlechchas, or Meleks (Khūs, Kūrūs, or Khāns)—pronounced r as l, and *vice versâ*; and here we see the Drāviḍians doing the same. Further, we find a substitution of the sharper *l* for the softer *d*, which is not unknown, for instance, amongst the modern Germans, and was probably another characteristic of the Kāssi, as it also is to-day in Lhāsā Tibetan. In short, *Tamilakam* would seem to be an etymological abortion, due to some mis-reading such as that above alluded to. The name should never have come into existence. It ought really to be *Limyrakam*, *i.e.*, "Lemur-land," from "Lemuria."

Such, then, broadly and rapidly sketched, was the ethnography of continental India, on the advent, in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, from Syria, of those 5 Janāḥs—the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs—some time not very long after B. C. 1151 : save that, in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ itself, where the main ethnic basis consisted of black-skinned *Niṣādas* of Gondwānaland origin, dwelt very powerful settlements of an ethnos (distinct from all other surrounding peoples who, in the *Ṛig-Veda Saṁhitā*, are frequently referred to in various ambiguous connections under the specific name of the *Dasyūs*, which is simply Sanskrit for a much older name *Dahyūs*, Airyānian for the Tokhs of Airyo-Tūrān, or ancient Central Asia. These Sapta-Sindhavāḥ Dasyūs, then, were of Kāssite stock, and were either off-shoots of the invading Kāssite hordes of B.C. 3500, who had settled by the way during the *durchbruch* into India at that epoch, or else were independent representatives, in India, of the Tokh main-stock in Central Asia, who, in ordinary course of diffusion, had found their way to the regions east of the Indus. In personal appearance, as Kāssi, they must have partaken, partly of the features and complexion of their yellow-skinned Xantho-Tūrānian ancestry, and partly of those of their dark-white or Melano-Leukochroic ancestry—a blend which, if not absolutely identical with what ancient Indian writers used to speak of as "the Āryan colour," and "wheat colour," seems to have been a very close approximation thereto. Moreover, it is by no means unimportant to note that, like the Tūrkomāns, Afghāns, and other wild ethnoi, they were a race of (chiefs, *khāns*, *meleks*, and the like), and hence called themselves *Kūrūs*, which may have had associations either with *Kūr*, Hittite for "mountain," or with *Khū* and *Khūn*, Akkadian and Hittite for "prince";

Kūrū, Akkadian and Hittite for "governor"; and *Kūrū Khū*, Hittite for "governing prince."

Now, when Orientalists—Indian or European—speak of "Vedic Culture," and "Āryan Culture," they mean the Culture possessed by these 5 *Janāhs*, the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ—for it is these peoples who, in orthodox and popular circles, have always hitherto been, and still are, regarded as "*the* Āryas." But, on the basis of my new and very different theory that they were not Āryas at all, but that, if any Āryas in the flesh really existed, they are probably to be found in the *śūkla*, Airyānian-descended inhabitants of ancient Zarah-Lake land (modern Seistān), the Culture introduced into India, *viâ* ancient Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, must have consisted, not of one Culture, but of two—the Culture of these supposedly genuine Āryas, and the Culture of the 5 *Janāhs* aforesaid.

All scholars—whether Eastern or Western—unite in the view that Āryan Culture (whatever its origin) was of an exceedingly lofty order: and, naturally, Indians regard it as immeasurably superior to any other. Personally, I agree whole-heartedly with Indian thought on this particular point. But, in connection with it, there is another point over which we have to ponder—*the problem of what "Āryan Culture," in the true sense, really was.* And, here my studies and my convictions compel me to join issue with Indian scholarship.

I repeat, we have to deal with *two* kinds of Culture —kinds which, though perfectly distinct and separable, have nevertheless, in consequence of the actual developments of early Indian history and the vicissitudes of Time, become hopelessly confused in men's minds, and are now regarded as one and the same, with no other rival.

Of these two kinds of Culture, one is now traceable with comparative ease—its nature being fairly definite and its origins and developments having left numerous specific evidences of their beginnings and progress. This Culture is the "Syrian" Culture that was possessed by the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs.

The other is wider, vaguer, and not so shortly definable. Yet, a vast array of traditions surrounds its memory. In men's minds—and particularly in the dreams of Indians—that memory is enthroned in a well-nigh unapproachable majesty: it is regarded as almost too sacred for aught but words of the most ineffable import: it is invariably associated with a super-race of humanity called the Āryas: it is the thrice-holy foundation of those "eternal" *shāstras* which are everywhere regarded with a boundless veneration, under the name of the *Ṛig-Veda* and other *Saṁhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and so forth. And yet, withal, whether amongst the learned or amongst the unlearned, nobody seems really to know very much about it. I doubt if many, nowadays, are even *interested* in the subject. In these days we are all unblushingly materialistic. In this respect Indians are no better than anybody else.

The difficulties attending this long-standing and persistently obsessional combination of grandiosity and nebulosity of thought, are numerous and of various magnitudes: but, great or small, they all vanish, like morning-mists before the sun, when viewed in the light of those new facts and considerations regarding Antiquity which, in previous papers and elsewhere, I have been setting forth more or less methodically during the last few years.

Summarized, my submissions are briefly these—

1. In pre-Vedic Sapta-Sindhavāḥ—say in B.C. 1200—the inhabitants of the country consisted of (*a*)

Gondwānaland-descended *Niṣādas*, or aborigines—black-skinned, short-statured, and flat-nosed, but modified, no doubt, by a considerable strain of anciently absorbed Melano-Leukochroic blood, and in a much lesser degree by an almost equally ancient strain of Xantho-Tūrānian blood ; and (*b*) a powerful community, or communities, of Kāssi-descended folk, akin to the Tokhs or Dahyūs west of the Indus—later on known as the *Dasyūs* (Sanskrit equivalent of Dahyūs). These also called themselves *Kūrūs*, or *Krivis*,—a name meaning much the same thing as *Khān*, *Melek*, etc. In the forests of the Vindhyas also dwelt a degraded folk later on called the *Mlechchas*—a term which appears to be merely a Sanskrit way of cynically rendering *Melek*. I think Mr. K. P. Jayaswāl was the first to suggest this. Probably these were a particularly low and isolated branch of the Dasyūs.

2. In Zarah-Lake land appear to have dwelt a community of Rosy-Blond Airyānians, who, at some indefinite time in the past, had seceded from the main Rhodo-Leukochroic stock in Airyavō-Vaējō. These were the nearest specific approximation that we are ever likely to reach to the people known as the *śūkla Āryas*.

3. The 5 *Janāḥs* mentioned in the *Ṛig-Veda Saṁhitā* under the names Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs, were admittedly not of this rosy-blond stock, but are indefinitely, though quite positively, referred to as having been "Dark Warrior Peoples." It is also admitted that, originally, they were intruders into Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, entering it from the west. Nevertheless, in orthodox scholarly circles (European as well as Indian), and also popularly, they have hitherto been, and are still, included amongst "*the* Āryas," the folk who brought "Āryan Culture" into India with them.

4. In say B.C. 1151, issuing out of old Keft (Kilikia, *not crete*), the Keftiū, or Pūra-Satiū—moving as a migrating nation—swept through Nāharīn ("Rivers-Country"), and, after ejecting the Amorites from Yādai, and destroying the power of the local Hittites, were believed by the Romiū to be contemplating an invasion of Khem. In fact, however, they called a halt somewhere up in the north. Operating with them was a fleet—the Pūra-Satiū having for ages been a sea-faring folk. *Pūra-Satiū* means "the People of Pūra, or Pūla," and perhaps equates with Greek *Pelasgoi*. Possibly their real objective was the coast of Khārū, from Gaza to Mount Carmel—they having for centuries been making more or less ineffectual attempts to settle there. In any case, Rāmēsēs III attacked them in force, both by land and by sea. According to his inscriptions, a great and glorious victory was won—the "invaders" being scattered to the four winds. Some doubt has been cast upon this imperial boast, seeing that the Philistines (the same people as the *Ai-Keftiū* and the Pūra-Satiū) did in fact obtain permanent possession of the territories they had been coveting—all Khārū or Ai-Keft afterwards acquiring *from them* its eventual name of "Palestine," *i.e.*, the *sthān* of the Pūla-folk, as we might now say.* Nevertheless, there probably *was* a victory—for the settlement of the Philistines may not have been actually effected till some time afterwards—perchance during the reign of Rāmēsēs IV, or some other of Rāmēsēs III's feeble successors.

5. Some of the "invaders" thus scattered by Rāmēsēs III—Pūra-Satiū and Yādai Amorites—plunged off in flight in *the only direction open—eastwards*. With them seem to have gone a body of broken Hittites.

* *Note.*—Or the *ēnē* of the Pūla-Sattū.

Further, these three ethnoi appear to have been joined, somewhere *en route*, by two other communities.

6. Not long after B.C. 1151, the *śūkla* Āryas of Zarah-Lake land were disturbed by the arrival of certain aggressive strangers—doubtless these 5 communities—upon their western border. Thereupon, either the *śūkla* Āryas fled eastwards, or the 5 swept on through their territories—in the course of their passage (possibly sojourn) leaving there the memory of the name of their own abandoned home-land in Western Asia, *Nāharīn*, in the shape of the name which those regions did actually acquire of *Hapta-Hendū*. This, no doubt, is really an Airyānian word (perhaps late), and there is certainly a definiteness about the *Hapta*, "Seven," which seems antagonistic to the dualism of *Nāharīn*: but my point is that the idea of a country *associable with rivers* is the important thing to look at, the precise number of those rivers being negligible.

7. The *jana* mentioned in the *Ṛig-Veda* as the Pūrūs—camped for a time in Sapta-Sindhavāh (the Sanskrit equivalent of Airyānian Hapta-Hendū)—were none other than the group amongst these fugitives from Nāharīn who were known as the Pūra-Satiū; the *jana* called the Yādūs were none other than the group once known as the Yādai Amorites; while the *jana* called the Tūrvaśas, and usually mentioned in association with the Yādūs, were none other than the group (neighbours, if not friends, in Nāharīn, of the Yadai Amorites), once known as the body of broken Hittites who, after the scattering by Rāmēsēs, had accompanied the Pūra-Satiū and the Yādai Amorites in their flight eastwards. As for the *janāhs* called the Anūs and the Drūhyūs, they were communities who appear to have been picked up by the other fugitives somewhere on the way. There was a place called Anau (overlooked from the northern Persian plateau),

which lay not far from the possible route taken by the fugitives, and the Anūs may have hailed from there. I incline, however, to think that the folk eventually called the Anūs were an offshoot of the *Anūs* or *People of the Pillar* (Phallic), whose seat for ages past had been established in or around On, or Ān, later known as Hēliopolis. With regard to the Drūhyūs, so forcibly does the name remind us of Airyānian *Drūj*, meaning "Evil One," "Enemy," that, whoever were the community to be identified, they were probably the last to be picked up, at a time when the fugitives had arrived well within the sphere of influence of the Airyavō-Vaējans. Probably they were a low type of the Dahyū wilderness-folk in Airyo-Tūrān. *Tūrvaśas* seems to mean a folk who "dressed after the manner of the denizens of Tūrān" —a thing which the Indara-worshipping Hittites were by no means unlikely to have done.

8. The Philistines, we know, were civilized, their Culture having been of the high type styled Ægean, though probably with modifications arising from the proximity of old Keft (Kilikia) to the powerful Hittite State which had its seat deep in the interior of Asia Minor. The Hittites too—though, to some extent, tracing back to a barbarous Kāssite ancestry—were unquestionably civilized *in a way*: but of that way it cannot be said that as yet we known very much about it. As for the Amorites of Yādai, there is no uncertainty at all about *their* cultural status. It was very superior.

Calling the whole country (Nāharīn, Zāhi, Kināḫḫi, and Khārū) by the modern name of *Syria*, we have been told (I think by Professor Flinders Petrie) that in the 12th century B.C. its Culture was quite equal, if not in some respects even superior, to that of mighty and illustrious old Khem—in which case, there can be no doubt, it must have been of a very high order indeed. Further,

as a consideration binding all these facts together, and, as it were, welding them into one, be it remembered that for centuries, dating say from (in round numbers) B.C. 4000, the great Rhodo-Leuko-Turānian race in the north of Western Asia, from the Halys in the west to the southern end of the Caspian, had been the Custodians of Progressive Civilization; that this great race had found concentrated and matured expression in a State now historically known as Mitanni; that, for centuries, Mitanni had been, not only the Distributing-Centre of Culture throughout the Orient, and the sacred Source whence had issued throughout that Orient all its higher Ethnic-Developments, but also the willingly and even proudly acknowledged political Suzerain of all nations and communities in Western Asia, and even perhaps beyond, and particularly of the Aamū of Western Asia and the Hittites and Yādai Amorites of Nāharīn—perchance even of the Satiū of Keft or Pūra, above-referred-to; and, lastly, that the Culture so preserved and diffused as aforesaid by Mitanni was none other than the ancient Culture of Rhodo-Leukochroia in the old Mediterranean World whence the Rosy-Blonds had originally issued as emigrants.

9. Passing from the general to the particular, and having regard to the place of origin (Nāharīn) of these 3 fugitive ethnoi, the Pūra-Satiū, the Yādai Amorites, and the broken Hittites, the probability is almost a certainty that it was they who first brought into India those exceedingly interesting Hittite expressions, applicable to the Moon-God in Mitanni, and other divine personifications, the worship of which was there in vogue say in the 14th or 15th century B.C.—*Urū-w-na*, *In-da-rā*, *Mi-it-rā*, and *Na-sa-at-ia*—and which afterwards, when naturalized in "*Ārya*"*-varta*, became, by some obviously very human but very influential agency, so

wonderfully transmuted into what every pious reader of the *Ṛig-Veda* firmly believes to have been the genuine, and genuinely Indian, divine names found in those mystic old hymns in the finally moulded shape of *Vāruṇa, Indra, Mitra*, and the *Nāsatyau*, or *Āsvins*.

10. A further conclusion to which, it seems, we may now reasonably come is that it is from the advent of these 3 leading ethnoi from Western Asia—the Pūra-Satiū, the Yādai Amorites, and the broken Hittites, and perhaps more especially from the advent of these last—in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, that we must date the first introduction into India of the cult of that world-renowned Thunder-and-Rain God, or Fertilizing Deity who is specially known to the so-called Indo-"Aryas" as *Indra*. And, in this connection, a very curious circumstance may be mentioned. Hidden away in some of the *Ṛig-Vedic* hymns in which this once principal member of the Indian pantheon is mentioned, his name appears in the very unexpected form *In-da-ra*. That such is the necessary reading of the name, emerges from the fact that, unless it *is* so read, the metre of the *slōkas* will not scan. Here, then, in what is far and away India's own most important literary treasure and archival shrine, is proof positive that the name of this celebrated deity did probably, as I am submitting, arrive within her ancient borders, not in the familiar form in which it was ultimately established, *i.e.*, *Indra*, but in the very form of the Boghāz-Keui Hittite expression for the equivalent, as recognized in Mitanni, of their (the Hittites') own obscurely famous Thunder-, Hammer-, or Battle-God (perhaps *Tarkū*, perhaps *Sūtekh*), namely, *In-da-rā*.

11. But who were *the Āryas?* And what, and whence, was the Culture which scholars (Indian and European) refer to, when they speak of *the Āryan*

Culture? In a word, what is really meant by this "Āryanism" that we hear so much of, as a boast, and learn so very little of, as an actuality? First, the ethnic aspect. Certainly the 5 *Janāhs* mentioned in the *Ṛig-Veda* were not the Āryas. The evidence in support of the popular belief that there were ever at all any Āryas (*i.e.*, *Śukla* or blond Āryas) in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, so far as Sapta-Sindhavāḥ may be regarded as lying on the eastern side of the Indus, is astonishingly meagre. Indeed, it seems to consist solely of a lot of shadowy names ascribed to the alleged priests of the several 5 *Janāhs* and other communities (even the Dasyūs) in the land. In other words, it is for scholars to decide—one way or the other—whether truth lies in accepting these names merely as the names of a number of Priest-poets, *or* in looking upon them as the only evidence that survives in support of the belief that the Āryas ever came into Sapta-Sindhavāḥ from the west, or from anywhere at all. Secondly, as regards Āryan Culture. Was there ever, in fact, any such Culture? In my opinion there was: but it was not the specific Culture possessed by the 5 *Janāhs*, the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs: much less was it the Culture, whether original or acquired, of the Kāssi-descended Kūrūs, or Dasyūs. In other words, it was not the specific Culture possessed by the fugitive Pūra-Satiū, Yādai Amorites, broken Hittites, and other ethnoi, when they arrived in the East, and which was taken by them into Sapta-Sindhavāḥ when, shortly after B.C. 1151, they crossed the Indus, and eventually, on this side of that renowned flood, became so magically transmuted into the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Anūs, and Drūhyūs of the *Ṛig-Veda*. Much less was it the Culture (if such a word may be used in this connection) of any of the wilderness-haunting Tokhs with whom these fugitive bands doubtless came into contact from time to time in their career

across Central Asia to the Indus Valley. What then, was it—this "Āryan Culture"? I submit that, though once real and vital, it was then more of an abstraction, an idea, a beautiful dream, than anything definite, concrete, and in actual operative existence. It was, in short, Oriental man's ineradicable and sacred reminiscence, his proud and undying tradition, not only of the Culture that once upon a time, in the dimly remote past, had been brought into the East from the Old Mediterranean West, but also of his supposed lineal descent from the super-men who brought it thence, and diffused it throughout the Orient—say from Mitanni. Naturally, this "Āryanism" (as we may call it in its two-fold aspect) was to be found, in its most concentrated form, its most vivid and piously preserved expression, amongst communities like the Airyānians of Airyavō-Vaējō and the Āryas of Zarah-Lake land who really were Rosy-Blonds of the full blood, and amongst even other ethnoi, such as the ancient Medes and the peoples of Northern Syria, who really were Rosy-Blonds of the half-blood. As naturally, we now find the tradition of it piously venerated amongst all who, however absurdly, have come to think that they are the physical and cultural heirs of these old ethnoi. And of course—in both its aspects, racial and cultural—it has been loudly claimed by the Kāssi-descended ethnoi as their possession, sometimes even their peculiar or exclusive possession: for such, throughout history, ancient and modern, has been their invariable policy and "stunt," especially when temporarily in power, politically, militarily, or in respect of literature. But the bald fact remains, and refuses to budge, that the Airyānians of Airyavō-Vaējō, however undoubted their descent, were no longer the people they once had been, certainly no longer the kind of people that the original old Rosy-Blonds were.

And as for the Āryas—even the Āryas of Zarah-Lake land—they are little more than a floating hypothesis. The claims of Barbarism—even highly civilized Barbarism—nay, even Barbarism at its zenith of power and prestige—a position to which it undoubtedly attained more than once—may, of course, be regarded with a smile, or otherwise, according to our mood.

12. Whether, therefore, this name "Āryanism" be regarded as standing for descent from a race or nation of supermen who flourished some time in the past, or for their Culture—either as possessed by them, or as subsequently diffused throughout the East—the thing itself, for which the name stands, is nothing but a glorious but indescribably nebulous tradition of remote Antiquity—a tradition, however, which certain ethnoi (notably those highly estimable folk who to this day actually believe that they are the physical and cultural representatives of the Āryas, and therefore fondly call themselves the "Indo-Āryas") appropriate more or less exclusively to themselves. Either this, or, in the *Śūkla* Āryas of Zarah-Lake land, there really was a concrete Āryan ethnos, with a concrete Culture of their own, properly called Āryan—but whose traditions and glory have been filched from them, and whose memory has been assassinated. Now, the facts of the past being what to-day we know them to have been, how has this extraordinary state of affairs arisen?

13. As usual, the *fons et origo mali* is traceable back to Kāssi-descended Barbarism. The folk responsible for the absolutely up-side-down and generally chaotic views which are still so prevalent, are the Dasyūs of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, who, with astounding astuteness, actually succeeded in placing *Le Bandeau* over the eyes of mankind, not only in India, but throughout the world, and, with equally astounding address, have even succeeded

in keeping it there for the last 2,500 years, more or less.

14. What happened was this. When the fugitive bands of Pūra-Satiū, Yādai Amorites, Hittites, and others, first arrived in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, the Niṣādas were out-and-out savages, and the Dasyū communities, with their numerous petty *Kūrūs* (*khāns*, *meleks*, or chiefs), were little better. The Dasyūs, however—being Tokhs, or Kāssi—were a crafty, far-sighted, and exceedingly mimetic race. The Pūra-Satiū, the Yādai Amorites, and the Hittites, were highly civilized, their Culture, regarded broadly, having been that of B.C. 12th century Syria. This civilization the Dasyūs did their best to assimilate—apparently with a considerable degree of success—and doubtless they also adopted the cult of In-da-rā, the Thunder-and-Rain God, who was worshipped at least by the Hittites and the Pūra-Satiū. Next, fixing their hopes upon the Pūra-Satiū, as the most powerful community amongst the newcomers, they so wormed themselves into the good graces of that proud and martial folk, that eventually, in the higher ranks of society, inter-marriages took place, and even the crowning-triumph was achieved of effecting a matrimonial alliance with the Pūric royal house. In this and other ways, the Dasyūs gradually improved their status, advanced their interests, and augmented their power in the land—while, at the same time, they took special care to acquire all the culture, adopt the manners, and learn all the military secrets, of their brilliant friends. Having climbed up to prosperity with the assistance of the 5 *Janāhs*, or *Pāñch'ālas*, as we may now call them, the next step contemplated by these charming scoundrels was to betray and overwhelm their benefactors, with a view to stepping into their place, and so securing the hegemony in the State. I have already referred to this particular

stage of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ history, and need not repeat what I have said. Suffice it that the efforts of the Dasyūs to achieve their purpose by means of force failed. Nevertheless, they were not to be denied, and, ant-like—foiled in one direction—they were soon again as busy as ever in another.

15. All Sapta-Sindhavāḥ was in two great camps—that of the aggressive Dasyūs, Kūrūs, or Krivis, and that of the Pānch'ālas, whose attitude was purely one of defence. The Pānch'ālas eventually abandoned the country, effecting an apparently masterly retreat eastwards. The Dasyūs, at this stage known collectively as the *Bhāratas*, pursued. At last, behind certain "Marne"-like defences erected along the Yāmunā, the Pānch'ālas stood fast. Thenceforward Dasyū policy underwent a complete metamorphosis—physical force being discarded in favour of guile, pure and simple, or rather the very reverse of simple, for it was camouflaged under an almost incredibly artful presentation of the ideas of "Āryan" descent and "Āryan" Culture, and, in particular, was further wrapped up in the ostensibly "spiritual" teachings of a newly-invented religio-philosophico-social system.

16. In Sapta-Sindhavāḥ days, and even, perhaps, in early Madhyā-deśan days, there was no such thing as *Caste*, as that institution is now understood. Undoubtedly there were different *Varnas*, for we have seen all along that the country was inhabited by several races, and, in respect of complexion, these were distinctly and easily differentiable. The Yādūs, or Yādavās (Yādai Amorites) were blonds; the Pūrūs, or Pūravās (Pūra-Satiū), were dark-whites, with probably a touch of blond in them; the Tūrvaśas (Hittites) were a blend of Eastern Mediterranean man, Anatolian or perhaps Alpine man, and northern Aamū stock, hence probably fairish, with dark hair, and eyes usually dark; the Dasyūs, the Anūs, and the Drūhyūs, were all dark-whites, with a strain of yellow

Xantho-Tūrānian in them; while the Niṣādas, being mostly of ultimate old Gondwānaland stock, must have been coal-black. Also, within each of these differing communities, there could not but have been social classes, orders, or grades—principally, no doubt, arising from the many differing *jātis*, or vocations, of the inhabitants. But Caste was absolutely unknown.

17. When the Pūra-Satiū, Yādai Amorites, and Hittites, first arrived in India from Western Asia, they brought with them—locked up in the souls of their royal and warrior classes—a kind of Mystic Wisdom, or Esoteric Pantheism, which has since been identified with what is called, in Vedantic *parlance*, the Doctrine of the *Param-Ātmaṅ*. This, too—or rather an intellectually objective impression of it—certain subtle-minded, deeply-planning, and far-seeing members of the Dasyū community managed to worm out of the exclusive keeping of its original possessors. Thereupon, these Dasyūs erected themselves into a Cult, and eventually, by means of intrigue, this cult was transformed into an exclusive and highly-privileged *State Hierarchy*, the members of which called themselves Brāhmans. Such was the origin of *Historical Brāhmanism*, and with it of *Caste*. It was in Brahmā-ṛishi-deśa—Kūrū-land—the special home-land of the magically transmuted Dasyūs—that this portentous institution had its birth. It was from there that its principles first spread into Pānch'āla-land, and afterwards enveloped the whole of India with its innumerable tentacles, gripping and controlling the destinies and happiness of her teeming millions as in a vice. The military attack failed—its last phase being represented by the appearance in the Middle-land of the so-called State of the *Kūrū-Pāńch'ālas*, which (at first at least), was no State at all, but was merely the final military position of the forces concerned. Yet this new and very different

effort on the part of the Kāssi-descended Kūrūs, or Kūṣika Dasyūs, to enslave surrounding humanity, succeeded, probably beyond the wildest dreams of its absolutely unspiritual, because intensely worldly-minded and evilly-disposed promoters—as is now only too well known by everybody, except, perhaps, its simple-hearted, crassly-ignorant, and completely-deluded victims.

18. One very necessary department of the Dasyūan plot, thus so craftily devised, and so ably worked out to its triumphant conclusion, was a thoroughgoing revision and formal metamorphosis (on a basis conformable to Dasyūan interests and designs) of the records and traditions of the past. In this connection the lines actually followed do not appear to have differed very much from those adopted in the 5th century B. C. by those patriotically and proto-kabbalistically fanatical reformers who are commonly grouped together under the single name of "Ezra," when, for the glorification of the name *Yāhveh*, and to enhance the prestige and power of Jewry, they decided deliberately to re-write history—particularly the history of ancient Khem, and of those Amorite subjects of hers in the North who, for centuries, flouted her majesty so outrageously, and, in spite of magnanimous treatment, gave her so much trouble, and finally traduced her memory. By these tactics all records of Northern India's past, written or unwritten, were first reduced to hopeless pulp and confusion, and then, on a scale both vast and meticulous, were deliberately re-moulded according to plan—lapse of time and earthly vicissitudes also conspiring to bring about the intended result, and to give it an appearance of naturalness. Most craftily, too, was this done—for not everything was destroyed, or perhaps even tampered with. Some things were even allowed to stand—unimpeachable testimony, of course, to the genuineness of all the rest. For instance, certain names

were left unaltered, though quietly, perhaps, transferred to a context which had the effect of rendering them annoyingly ambiguous. And in particular—just as "Ezra," while deleting, or modifying, all which tended to reveal the fact that the Judahites were merely the Amorites transmogrified, yet suffered the name of the Amorites (of course as a people distinct from, and specially hostile to, the Judahites) to remain in his artificially constructed narrative—so these early Brāhmanistically-minded Kūśika Dasyūs (when originally putting together that wonderful literary edifice which, in recension after recension, under the name of the *Ṛig-Veda Samhitā*, has come down to modern times in the form in which we know it now)—boldly retained the name *Dasyūs*, yet in such manner and connections as to leave on the minds of the faithful the fixed impression that, in ancient Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, the ethnoi so called had been racially distinct from, and even the constant and bitter enemies of, the "Āryan folk"—all the evidence that these now astutely maligned and repudiated Kāssi-descended Kūrūs were nothing but the very human ancestors of the Brāhmanistic inhabitants of Kūrū-land (Brahmā-ṛishi-deśa) themselves, being obliterated, resolutely, carefully, and, as they fondly thought, completely, without likelihood of any revival and *exposé*. Then, to crown all, these Kūrūs of Madhyā-deśa—once the Dasyū-Meleks of early Sapta-Sindhavāḥ times—unblushingly announced and spread it about that *they* were "the Āryas"; that their Sanskrit-enshrined Kultur was the genuine old Āryan Culture; and that certain districts to the westward, where the *Śūkla Āryas* were supposed to have dwelt, were thenceforward to be deemed the homeland of the "Excluded" (*Balhikas, Vahikas*)—the simple truth, of course, being that all the genuine associations connected with those districts were much too reminiscent of the actual past of the Kūrū-Dasyūs

themselves to be either pleasant or safe, now that they desired to pose as a Culture-race and to cut themselves adrift from their own disreputable beginnings.

19. Needless to add, this view of the matter detracts nothing—and is in no way calculated to detract anything —from the dignity and value of the *Saṁhitās*, either in themselves or in the estimation of Indians. It merely assumes that—precisely like the narratives in the Pentateuch and other divisions of the Old Testament—the sacred writings of India (being, at least from one point of view, essentially human documents), are susceptible of subjection to the same critical tests as are applicable to all other records of Antiquity. For those whose spiritual faculties are sufficiently developed to enable them to discern aught of a spiritual nature that may be contained in these *Saṁhitās*, their worth remains, as ever, wholly unaffected, just as in the case of the Bible. At the same time, nothing but advantage can possibly accrue from a *bonā-fidē* but fearless interpretation, even of Sacred Writings, to whatever race they may belong, when based upon the Past as it actually was, instead of upon a demonstrable perversion thereof—however beautiful that perversion may be, however deeply it may have rooted itself in our affections, and however piously we may be inclined to treasure its memory.

20. In conclusion: (1) if not discoverable, as a concrete ethnos, in the *śūkla* inhabitants of Zarah-Lake land, *circa* B. C. 1151, and indefinitely before then, the *Āryas* were simply the tradition persistently prevalent throughout the East, and especially, perhaps, in and around Airyavō-Vaējō, of an idealized race of supermen to whom the more highly developed peoples of that East could trace, or claimed to be able to trace, their origin; (2) *Āryan Culture* was simply, throughout the same regions, the complex form in which an idealized memory of the

Culture of that super-race persisted in men's minds; and (3) *the Vedic Age* was simply the period, beginning shortly after B. C. 1151, when the five fugitive ethnoi from Syria and elsewhere arrived in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ, bringing with them, not only the general Culture of B. C. 12th century Western Asia, but the Hittite expressions *Urū-w-na*, *In-da-rā*, *Mi-it-ra*, and *Na-sa-at-ia*, and also the earliest forms of that graphic-system which eventually became known as the *Brāhmi* script; and at some indefinite time during which, as the result of Dasyūan ambitions and organizing skill, the vaguely but widely prevalent "Āryan Idea" was first indefinitely associated with the in-coming Pūra-Satiū, Yādai Amorites, Anūs, and Drūhyūs, and the Culture that they brought with them, and then and more definitely with the transmogrified Dasyūs, in their character as Brāhmanists, and under their new name of Kūrūs (really their old original name with a wholly new significance), and the metamorphosed forms of Culture (now "Kultur") for which they were responsible; and when, finally, some time during its later stages, these same extraordinarily able but scheming Kūśikas deliberately re-wrote history, and presented their account of it to posterity in the guise of the *Ṛig-Veda Saṁhitā*.

Of course, too, when we realize the immense antiquity of the epoch when Rosy-Blond humanity first arrived in Western Asia (say early in the Tauric Era, or before), and the long centuries during which they and their Culture subsequently developed and spread throughout the East, we can also understand how the above-mentioned Oriental tradition of the *Vedic Age* goes back into a delightfully nebulous and fabulous past. In short—if we give our imaginations the rein—there is no reason why we should not seek its beginnings, not in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ at all, or indeed anywhere in the Orient, but

away back in that archæan old Mediterranean World (the world of pre-Hellenic *Zeus* and his mighty progenitors) from which the Rosy-Blonds originated when first they migrated east.

The foregoing theories, constitute the basis of a paper read by me on the 29th January, 1922, at a meeting of the Vedic Section of the recent *Oriental Conference.*

The Antiquity of the Rig-Vedic Age

(*Reply to Mr. H. B. Hannah's criticism of "Rig-Vedic India."*)

BY

DR. ABINASCHANDRA DAS, M.A., PH.D.

I thank Mr. H. Bruce Hannah for giving my book *Rig-Vedic India* a wide publicity by directing against it a murderous fusillade of thundering criticism extending over 100 pages of the *Journal of the Department of Letter, Vol. V*, published by the Calcutta University. With a grim determination he has aimed at demolishing my theory of the original cradle of the Aryans in Sapta-Sindhu, or the Punjab, by subjecting it to an incessant fire from his formidable batteries; but so far, his shells appear either to have been discharged quite wide of the mark, or to have fallen far short of it, and burst with terrific explosion, creating a deafening noise, and raising only heavy clouds of blinding dust which, let us hope, would miraculously leave the poor victim unhurt, and very much alive and kicking. The ponderous learning that Mr. Hannah has requisitioned for his task may fitly be compared to a primeval tropical forest in which giant trees of different species have grown up, cheek by jowl, shutting out the blue sky, the bright sunshine, and even the very breath of life, filling up the interstices and every nook and corner with impenetrable gloom, where the poor wanderer feels himself bewildered,

choked and hopelessly lost for ever. Astronomical, Cosmological, Theosophical, Ethnological, Anthropological, Archæological and Geological speculations, facts, fancies, cogitations and deductions seem to have run riot, leaving one bewildered and "positively limp and breathless with amazement," even more than "the charmingly ingenuous and dogmatic utterances of a precociously serious and intelligent child" are calculated to do. This confusion of thoughts and ideas reminds one of the graphic description that Dr. O. W. Holmes has given in his *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* of the effect, produced by the unrolling of a huge stone, upon the colony of creeping and wriggling denizens that had safely ensconced themselves and taken shelter under it for long generations. The lifting up of the huge stone of "established fact" invariably produces a similar stir and commotion among the broods of our thoughts and fancies that have grown and flourished under it undisturbed for a considerable length of time, and no wonder!

Without further indulging in rhetorics, let me at once proceed to the main points of Mr. Hannah's criticism of my book. To use a legal metaphor of which Mr. Hannah seems to be fond, he has proceeded first of all to attack the point that he considers to be *the weakest* in my book, and tried to obtain a decree on the preliminary issue itself—a process which, he thinks, would save him the trouble and worry of dealing with the other issues, and win him an easy victory. He seems to have made capital of the fact that I have ventured to take back Aryan civilisation to the *Miocene* and *Pliocene* epochs from references in the Rig-Veda to the existence of the Eastern and the Western Seas, and of the Rajputana Sea into which the Sarasvati flowed at a time when some, at least, of the Rig-Vedic hymns were composed. I do not find Mr. Hannah anywhere questioning the genuineness

of these references in the Rig-Veda to the above seas, though with regard to the "four oceans" he says that they "might be *any oceans*" (my italics). Mr. Hannah may interpret them in that way; but the question that remains to be answered is: Why only *four* oceans, and not *forty* or *four hundred*? The number *four* is quite definite, and cannot be interpreted in an indefinite sense. Then, again, another question arises: If you admit them to be oceans at all, where did they really exist? Further, it should be observed that Mr. Hannah does not say anything about the Rig-Vedic reference to the Eastern and the Western seas, over which he chooses to remain studiously silent. Where were the Eastern and the Western seas situated? Western scholars have unanimously admitted that the Aryans did not advance beyond the Punjab in Rig-Vedic times, and that they were not then at all acquainted with any of the Eastern provinces like Pānchāla, Matsya, Kosala, Magadha, Anga, Banga, etc. The Eastern Sea could not, therefore, have been the Bay of Bengal, as a knowledge of it would presuppose a knowledge of the aforesaid Provinces on the part of the Rig-Vedic Aryans.[1] The Western Sea could not also be

[1] After this article had been written, the second session of the Oriental Conference was held in Calcutta from the 28th January to 1st February 1922. In the Ancient Geography Section, my colleague, Mr. H C. Chakladar, read a paper in which he was pleased to attack my theory about the existence of the Eastern Sea to the east of the Punjab during Rig-Vedic times, without previously informing me about his intention to do so, as otherwise, I could have made time to hear his interesting paper and taken an active part in the discussion that followed. As a matter of fact, I happened by mere chance to be in the Ancient Geography Section towards the fag-end of his lecture, and hearing from friends about the nature of his attack, rose to reply; but before I could finish, Mr. Jayaswal, the President, rang me down. Mr. Chakladar is said to have laid great stress on the mention of *Kikata* or Soun Behar in the Rig-Veda with a view to disprove my theory about the existence of the Eastern Sea *Kikata* might as well have been the name of a mountainous region in Sapta-Sindhu itself, from which the Aryan emigrants probably took the name in a later age to South Behar which was called after the mother-country. But even admitting that it was South Behar, a mountainous region, its existence in Rig-Vedic times and mention in the Rig-Veda do not in any way militate against, or

identified with any present sea, as the Arabian sea lies more to the south-west than to the west of the Punjab. The sea into which the Sarasvati flowed is non-existent at the present time, and an arid desert now chokes up her mouth. The mention, however, of these seas in the Rig-Veda is undoubted, and they must have existed round about the Punjab in Rig-Vedic times. There can be no question about that. The real difficulty lies in identifying them correctly. I had recourse to the results of geological investigation to establish the identity of these seas, and by referring to such meagre geological literature about the Punjab, Rajputana, and the Gangetic provinces as I could lay my hands on, I found it stated therein that a sea had existed over the Gangetic trough down to *Miocene* times, and there had existed another sea over Rajputana in the Tertiary era. Mr. Wadia's excellent work, named *Geology of India*, had not been published when I wrote my book, and I had to depend on old standard works for proofs about the existence of these seas in geological times. It was, therefore, quite natural for me to conclude that if these seas had existed in such ancient geological epochs as the

---

disprove the existence of the Eastern Sea to the east of the Punjab, as it was spread over what was known as the Gangetic trough only, and not over the mountainous region known as *Kikata*, which must have formed the southern coast of this sea. The Aryan merchants, known as Paṇis, must have visited this coastal region during their voyages in the Eastern Sea, and brought accounts of the poor breed of cattle that dourished there. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury also remarked that the Rig-Veda not being a Handbook of Ancient Geography, the absence of the mention therein of any provinces like Panchala, Kosala, etc., did not mean much. Forsooth! But is this not highly significant in the face of the fact that the Rig-Veda frequently mentions all the rivers of the Punjab (including the Gangā and the Yamunā in their upper courses), the strip of desert in the south, the Himalaya in the north, the seas to the south, the east and the west, the four seas, the Lake Ṣaryanāvat in Kurukshetra, and the provinces of Sindhu, Iḷā, Bhārati, Sāraswat, and Gāndhāra? Are these proofs to be discarded, simply because the Rig-Veda is not a manual of Ancient Geography? An argument like this, coming as it does from an antiquarian, is simply astounding.

A. D.

Miocene or the *Pliocene*, some of the Rig-Vedic hymns which refer to the existence of these seas must be as old as the one or the other epoch. There could be no other conclusion than this. It was with great diffidence, however, that I advanced this view as the following extracts from my book will go to show :

"It is within the bounds of possibility that man appeared in India in the Miocene epoch, though it is extremely doubtful that he attained the high degree of civilisation ascribed to him in the Rig-Veda, unless we assume that the evolution of man in India was earlier and more rapid than that of man in other parts of the Globe. The geographical distribution of land and water in India in the Miocene and Pliocene epochs agree to a very large extent with the description of land and water in the Rig-Veda, which emboldens us to surmise that Pliocene man, at any rate, attained a comparatively high degree of civilisation in Sapta-Sindhu, as depicted in some of the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda. It will surely be regarded as a very bold surmise, but we are forced to it by the irresistible evidence found in the Rig-Veda" (p. 114).

The concluding lines of my book are as follows :

"As regards my calculation of the age of some of the oldest hymns of the Rig-Veda which I have set down to the Miocene, or at any rate to the Pliocene or the Pleistocene epoch, I am afraid that Vedic scholars will accuse me of romancing wildly. But if the geological deductions are found to be correct, my calculations which are based on them cannot be wrong. They will either stand or fall with them." (p. 567).

There could be no more explicit statement than the above to explain my attitude. I was not at all anxious to take back Aryan civilisation to such ancient epochs, but the results of geological investigations, as I was

then acquainted with, compelled me to do so. There was no mistake in the reading of the Rig-Vedic facts about the existence of the four seas; but the mistake, if it was really a mistake, lay in misreading the geological facts. Geologists either miscalculated the age in which the seas mentioned in the Rig-Veda had existed, or failed to study the question exhaustively. The inference drawn by me on the basis of such geological calculations need not, therefore, have evoked any ridicule from any serious-minded person, but should rather have set him a-thinking, and induced him to study more geological facts in order to find if they would throw any fresh light on the question. And this should have been the proper and obvious course open to Mr. Hannah who, it appears, is an ardent lover of truth and, as such, is expected to vindicate it at all costs. I deliberately brought in the Pleistocene epoch in my calculation of the age of some of the oldest hymns of the Rig-Veda, as I was fully conscious that the Miocene or the Pliocene epochs, in spite of the fact that man in some form had existed in those epochs, would probably be too early for Rig-Vedic culture. But my reading of the results of geological investigations having stood in my way, I found no other course open to me than to hazard a guess that the seas had probably existed down to the Pleistocene epoch.

I am thankful to Mr. Hannah for having drawn prominent attention to this point of my arguments, though I must candidly say that even if it fail to stand criticism, it would not affect the vast antiquity of the Rig-Veda and Rig-Vedic civilisation, in as much as the fact about the existence of the four seas remains undoubted, on which I take my firm stand. If Rig-Vedic civilisation could not be as old as the Miocene or the Pliocene, it would at any rate come down to the Pleistocene epoch or even later, when very likely

these four seas existed, and man with his large brain was capable of developing a comparatively high civilisation, not much inferior to early Rig-Vedic culture. This, at best, would be regarded as only a surmise unsupported by any geological or historical testimony. But fortunately for Historical Truth, proofs are forthcoming in support of this view. In his *Geology of India* (1919), p. 248, Mr. Wadia says :

" In the Pleistocene period, the most dominant features of the geography of India had come into existence, and the country had then acquired almost its present form, and its leading features of topography, *except that the lands in front of the newly upheaved mountains* (*i.e., the outer range of the Himalayas*) *formed a depression which was being rapidly filled up by the waste of the highlands.* (My italics.) The origin of this depression or trough, lying at the foot of the mountains, is doubtless intimately connected with the origin of the latter, though the exact nature of the connection is not known and is a matter of discussion. The great Geologist, Edward Suess, has suggested...that it is 'fore-deep' in front of the high crust-waves of the Himalayas as they were checked in their southward advance by the inflexible solid land-mass of the Peninsula."

If Mr. Hannah, instead of being prejudiced by preconceived ideas, had kept his mind open to the influences of Truth, he would doubtless have quoted the above passage from Mr. Wadia's *Geology of India* (from which he has quoted so many passages with a view to criticize and demolish my theory) in order to convince himself and his readers that at the foot of the Himalayas, a depression or sea had existed *in the Pleistocene period* which was being rapidly filled up by the waste of the highlands. How long did the depression take to be filled up cannot be exactly ascertained ; but there can be no

doubt that this *was* a sea in Pleistocene times, and formed the Eastern Sea (*Purva Samudra*) of the Rig-Veda, when some of the Rig-Vedic hymns were composed. A similar depression must then also have existed at the foot of the Western Range which was known as the Western Sea (*Apara Samudra*).

As regards the existence of the Rajputana Sea, the geological facts are yet too meagre to fix its age. Mr. Wadia says:

"The inroads of the Jurassic Sea penetrated much further than Cutch in a north-east direction, and overspread a great extent of what is now Rajputana. Large areas of Rajputana received the deposits of this sea, only a few patches of which are exposed to-day from underneath the sands of the Thar desert. *It is quite probable that a large extent of fossiliferous rocks, connecting these isolated inliers is buried under the desert sands.*" (My italics) (*Geology of India*, p. 172.)

Again, "rocks of the Tertiary system occur in connection with the Jurassic and Cretaceous inliers of Bikaner and Jaisalmer in the desert tract of Rajputana, west of the Aravallis" (*Geology of India*, p. 208).

The above extracts undoubtedly go to prove the existence of a sea in Rajputana down to the Tertiary Era, though, so far, there is no evidence of the existence of a Pleistocene sea in that region. It should, however, be remembered in this connection that Rajputana has not as yet been thoroughly surveyed geologically, and it is extremely likely that fresh facts may be brought to light when the fossiliferous rocks that lie buried under the desert sands come to be examined by geologists. There can be no question, however, that in early Rig-Vedic times there had existed a sea or an arm of the sea into which the Sarasvati poured her waters, as is clearly mentioned in R. V. VII. 95. 2, unless Mr. Hannah is

prepared to contend that the above *rich* was the result of a "Brahman intrigue" to prove the hoary antiquity of the Rig-Veda! Rajputana at that time probably consisted partly of desert (of which there is mention in the Rig-Veda), and partly of a shallow sea at the foot of the Aravalli mountains, stretching its arms inland like the Rann of Cutch. That there had been frequent "marine encroachments" on Rajputana in ancient times is admitted as a fact, though the records of such encroachments are meagre owing to imperfect geological investigation in that region. Referring to a recent subsidence near the Rann of Cutch, Mr. Wadia writes:

"The recent subsidence in 1819 of the western border of the Rann of Cutch under the sea, accompanied with the elevation of a large tract of land (the *Allah Bund*), is the most striking event of its kind recorded in India, and was witnessed by the whole population of the country. Here, an extent of country, some 2,000 square miles in area, was suddenly depressed to a depth from 12 to 15 feet, and the whole tract converted into an inland sea. The fort of Sindree which stood on the shore, the scene of many a battle recorded in history, was also submerged underneath the waters, and only a single turret of that fort remained, for many years, exposed above the sea. As an accompaniment of the same movements, another area about 600 square miles, was simultaneously elevated, several feet above the plains, into a mound which was appropriately designated by the people "the Allah Bund" (built of God). Even within historical times, the Rann of Cutch was a gulf of the sea, with surrounding coast-towns, a few recognisable relics of which yet exist. The gulf was gradually silted up, a process aided no doubt by the slow elevation of its floor, and eventually converted into a low-lying tract of land which, at the present day, is alternately a dry saline

desert for a part of the year, and shallow swamp for the other part." (*Geo. of India*, pp. 30-31.)

The process of subsidence and upheaval which was observed in very recent times in and about the Rann of Cutch had undoubtedly existed in Rajputana in ancient times down to the Pleistocene period and even later, and one such subsidence and upheaval was probably connected with the name of the great sage Agastya who is said to have sipped up the ocean dry, and after depressing the top of the Vindhya (Aravalli) mountain, to have led an Aryan colony to the Southern Peninsula. I hope Mr. Hannah will not trace the origin of this Paurānic legend to "Brahman intrigue" for proving the hoary antiquity of the Rig-Veda.

Mr. Wadia says: "In the Jurassic period, several parts of the Peninsula (the Deccan), *viz.*, the coasts and the low-lying flat regions in the interior, like Rajputana, were temporarily covered by the seas, which invaded the lands" (*Geo. of India*, p. 168). Commenting on this statement, Mr. Hannah says: "These encroachments, as Mr. Wadia calls them, over what was previously dry land, are, he says, *not uncommon in the records of several geological periods*; but they were always of a temporary nature." As Mr. Wadia says: "Such invasions of the sea on land, known as 'marine transgressions' are of comparatively short duration and invade only low level areas, converting them for the time into epi-continental seas." (*Ibid*, p. 168.)

"The comparatively short duration" of these marine transgressions which were "not uncommon in the records of *several geological periods*" (my italics), must, of course, be understood in a geological sense only. They probably lasted for several thousand years at a time. Is it then unreasonable to suppose that at the time of the composition of the Rig-Veda, in the Pleistocene period

or even later, there was one such "marine transgression" invading low-lying Rajputana for thousands of years, as the sea has recently invaded 2.000 square miles of dry land to the west of the Rann of Cutch? Try however Mr. Hannah may to disprove the existence of the Rajputana Sea in Rig-Vedic times, he would not be able to put a different interpretation on R.-V. VII. 95. 2, which clearly indicates the existence of a sea into which the Sarasvati flowed. If it was only an arm of the Arabian Sea that had "transgressed" on Rajputana, it was nevertheless a sea, and the rest of Rajputana consisted either of large patches of arid desert, or of shallow lakes and swamps that made it quite impassable for human beings. These lakes or the sea, if a sea covered the whole of Rajputana as a "marine transgression," must have dried up in post-Rig-Vedic times, connecting Sapta-Sindhu with the Southern Peninsula, as the legend that has grown round the name of the sage Agastya goes amply to testify.

In this connection I may be permitted to mention here that Mr. V. B. Ketkar of Poona has attempted to prove on astronomical grounds, the existence of the Rajputana Sea down to 7500 B.C. In a letter dated the 14th May, 1921, addressed to me, he writes:

"I read a paper before the first Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919 A.D., wherein I have proved on Astronomical evidence and Pauranic account that the Rajputana and the Gangetic seas nearly separating Jambudvipa from the Punjab and the Himalayas disappeared after B.C. 7500 by the upheaval, partly volcanic and partly seismic, of their beds. The paper will appear in the volume to be issued by the Bhandarkar Institute."

I need hardly say that this paper will be most eagerly read, when published, and if the view advanced by Mr. Ketkar be found on examination to be correct, it

would not only most unexpectedly support the Rig-Vedic evidence about the existence of these seas, but would altogether change the very outlook on the ancient history of the Indo-Aryans.

Writing about astronomical evidence, I would draw Mr. Hannah's attention to Mr. D. N. Mookerjee's "Notes on Indian Astronomy," published in the same volume of the *Journal* as contains his criticism on *Rig-Vedic India,* in which he has arrived at the following conclusion:

"It is clear that the Hindus carried their observations assiduously at least from 12000 B. C. to about 3500 B. C. to expound the Libration of Equinoxes, in which case the Hindu civilization is at least 14000 years old" (p. 282).

This, of course, refers to a certain phase of Hindu civilization, but the very beginnings of it would undoubtedly go back to hundreds of thousands of years.

Mr. Hannah seems to have set great store by his own finding (which he imagines to be decisive) on the preliminary issue of the controversy, *viz.*, whether Sapta-Sindhu or the Punjab had seas to the east and south of it in Rig-Vedic times, and thus exultingly refers to his imaginary victory:

"With the complete evanishment into the thinnest of thin air of Mr. Das's beautiful dreams regarding his Miocene, or Pliocene, or Pleistocene *Rig-Vedic* 'Indo-Aryans' in Sapta-Sindhu, and the oceans by which he thought they were surrounded, away also into the same thin air disappear all those other ambitious theories about the origin of outside Western races and cultures which he has striven so ingeniously to elaborate in his book. *It is unnecessary, therefore, to deal with them at all*" (p. 165).

What a sigh of relief must Mr. Hannah have heaved at the thought that he has won his imaginary victory on

the very preliminary issue, and has thus been saved the trouble and worry of meeting my "other ambitious theories about the origin of outside Western races and cultures" which, according to him, I have "striven so ingeniously to elaborate" in my book! He has, indeed, accomplished a greater feat than the renowned Agastya himself, in as much as he has caused not merely one ocean, but *four* oceans to evaporate "into the thinnest of thin air" by a mere magic stroke of his pen, notwithstanding the fact that their existence had been proclaimed by the Rig-Veda long long before any of the Western races outside India were born, or even heard of.

As the Eastern Sea of the Rig-Veda has been admitted by Mr. Wadia to have existed at the foot of the Himalayas in the Pleistocene period, we shall not be wrong in assuming (as I have done in my book) that the Indo-Aryans lived in Sapta-Sindhu in that period. But the question would be asked: "Did man flourish in that period, and was he sufficiently advanced to develop a civilization which may be called comparatively high?" The answer to this query would undoubtedly be in the affirmative. Mr. Wadia says in his *Geology of India* (p. 269):

"As in other parts of the world, the Pleistocene in India also is distinguished by the presence of Man and is known as the Human Epoch.

"Man's existence is revealed by a number of his relics preserved among the gravels of such rivers as the Narbada and Godavari, or in other superficial alluvia, *both in South and North India.* These archaic human relics consist of various stone implements that prehistoric man used in his daily life, ranging from rude stone chippings and flakes to skilfully fashioned and even polished instruments like knives, celts, scrapers, arrow-heads, spears, needles, etc., manufactured out of stone, or metal

or bone. These instruments ('artefacts') become more and more numerous, more widely scattered, and evince an increasing degree of skill in their making and in their manipulation as we ascend to newer and younger formations. This testimony of his handiwork furnishes us with the best basis for the classification of this period into three epochs :—

3. Iron Age.
2. Bronze Age.
1. Stone Age { Neolithic—polished tools. / Palæolithic—rude tools.

"These three stages of the Human epoch, decipherable *in the Pleistocene records* of the other parts of the world, are recognisable in the numerous relics of man discovered in India."

It is, therefore, clear that Pleistocene man in India was also acquainted with the use of metals, which is not incompatible with early Rig-Vedic civilisation.

The Pleistocene period ranges, according to Mr. Wadia, from the Stone Age to the Iron Age. But it should be borne in mind that the Palæolithic stage is also synchronous with the Upper Miocene, and for the matter of that, the Pliocene. Rev. E. O. James says in his *Introduction to Anthropology* (1919), p. 69 :—

"There are forms (of palæolithic implements) that have been discovered in the Upper Miocene which shows signs of regular chipping only explicable when regarded as the result of human workmanship."

But as Mr. Hannah would not hear of Miocene or Pliocene man, or ascribe to him any status higher than that of anthropoid apes, I will, for the moment, leave him out of consideration, and speak only of Pleistocene man. In his Neolithic stage, Pleistocene man became a comparatively civilised being. Speaking of Britain and Europe, Rev. E. O. James says :

"As we pass from the Palæolithic to the *Neolithic period*, we find great changes not only in the mode of life of the people but in the geographical distribution of land and sea. Hitherto Britain was part of the continent of Europe, but with the dawn of the Neolithic, land submergences took place, which separated Britain and the Channel Islands from the mainland, leaving traces here and there of submerged forests in the North Sea, the English Channel and the Irish Sea. The Palæolithic fauna and Arctic flora quickly disappeared, giving place to animals and plants characteristic of a temperate climate. Man too speedily changed his customs. Finding the produce of the chase becoming scarce, he gave up his nomadic life for a more settled existence, domesticating a number of the animals by which he was surrounded (horse, dog, sheep, goats, etc.), and cultivating the 'kindly fruits of the earth' (wheat, barley, millet, fruits, etc.). Whether this new departure was a result of immigration of new races into Europe, or whether it was merely an outcome of the new environment on a people directly descended from Palæolithic man it is difficult to say. At any rate the experiment was eminently satisfactory.

"From agriculturists, Neolithic man became acquainted with the useful arts—the manufacture of cloth by spinning and weaving wool and fibrous textures; the making of pottery, etc. .....The energies of the inhabitants of Europe in the new Stone Age were spent in the erection of houses and the making of clothing, utensils, etc., and (*sic*) the various features of which make for civilisation." (*Intro. to Anthrop.*, pp. 82-84)

Again, the same writer elsewhere says: "It may be reasonably supposed that clothing like cave-dwelling was one of the arts of life learnt by man in the Pleistocene—probably early in the Mousterian phase." (*Ibid*, p. 98.)

Further, "fire, though familiar to man from the beginning, was not used by him till he had learnt the secret of its properties and devised some means of obtaining it. How and when this was accomplished is not known. In the early Pleistocene there is evidence of its existence, as for example in the hearths discovered in Mousterian sites." (*Ibid*, p. 98.)

The Pleistocene man in Europe was, therefore, comparatively civilized in that he knew the arts of agriculture, house-making, cloth-weaving and pottery-making and also the use of fire. Is it too much to suppose that the Pleistocene Indo-Aryans of Sapta-Sindhu, who admittedly became more highly civilized than their contemporaries in any other part of the world, did not know these arts of civilisation? As a matter of fact, there are numerous evidences in the Rig-Veda itself, which will go to prove the existence of the different stages through which the Aryans had passed, before they reached the stage of Rig-Vedic civilisation, of which I will give an account in a separate article.

Rev. E. O. James says that it is difficult to say whether the new departure in Neolithic civilisation in Europe was a result of immigration of new races, or whether it was merely an outcome of a new environment on a people directly descended from Palæolithic man. I have surmised a guess in my book that this new civilisation was carried to Europe in the Pleistocene period by Indo-Aryan nomads who had been driven out of Sapta-Sindhu by the more advanced tribes.

It would thus appear that even if we admit the Indo-Aryans of Sapta-Sindhu to have belonged to the Pleistocene period, the Rig-Vedic civilization must be held to be as old as that period in as much as the Rig-Veda contains internal evidence of a different distribution of land and water in Sapta-Sindhu as it had then existed.

Professor Sallas estimates that the collective deposits of the Pleistocene period have taken approximately 400,000 years to form. (*Nature* 1900, Vol. lxii, p. 481.) But "Prof. Rutot thinks that 140,000 years will suffice to account for the formation of the Pleistocene gravels of Belgium, and therefore argues that what applies to Belgium applies to the rest of Europe." (*Intro. to Anthrop.*, p. 27.) I do not know how many thousands of years did the Pleistocene deposits of India take to form; but even if we admit that they took 140,000 years to form at the lowest estimate, will it be wrong and absurd to put down the age of Rig-Vedic civilisation to more than one hundred thousand years?

I cannot better conclude this article than by quoting the following extracts from an article published in the *London Times* in its issue of January 8, 1921:

"We recently commented on discoveries proving the existence of large-brained men at a period so remote from our own times *as to be measured by hundreds of thousands of years.* (My italics.) These and the recovered stages of lost civilisations have changed the simple and attractive view of human history created in the first flush of Darwinism. Modern man is not the unique achievement of the evolving human race. The lowest savages of to-day may not be surviving stages in the ascent of the white man from the apes, but the degenerate descendants of forgotten peoples *with brains as large and mental and moral faculties as high as our own.* (My italics.) We are not the 'heir of all the ages,' but only the representatives of one civilisation, lying as Geologists would say, unconformably on the denuded surface of many other civilisations. Professor Flinders Petrie has insisted that culture is intermittent. He estimates the average duration of any period of culture at about 1500 years. He has traced eight such periods in ancient Egypt. There have been

other foci of civilisation in Peru, in Central America, in China, *in Northern India*, the Persian Plateau and Asia Minor. Evidence accumulates that these various centres have been the seat of not one but of several types of culture, each separated by an interval, and each severed from its predecessor. The possibility, nay practical certainty, that many 'empires of beautiful things' have perished swiftly and completely, is being established. The history of European civilisations has been misleading."

How many periods of culture, and different types of it, have followed one another at long intervals in Northern India, or for that matter, Sapta-Sindhu,—an admitted "focus of civilisation"—since its inception in the Pleistocene period some hundreds of thousands of years ago? The ancient literature of the Hindus, commencing from the Rig-Veda, the oldest work extant of the race, has left numerous relics of these innumerable periods and types of culture in its different strata, which have to be carefully sifted, picked out, and deciphered by the patient student and diligent researcher. Mistakes there will be, and are bound to occur both in facts and deductions. But it will certainly not do merely to ridicule a theory, simply because you cannot agree with it, or because it goes straight against your "established facts."

Races of India.

BY

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

Introduction

"Races of man" usually denote peoples or nationalities, and the term used in anthropology for 'race' in the zoological sense is 'pure race.' A 'pure race,' or a uniform group of individuals distinguished by certain stable physical and mental traits from other groups of men, is now practically unknown. So the classification of the population of a country or a continent into 'races' or 'pure races' by drawing lines over the map is well nigh impossible. But may we not assume that some time in the remote past mankind was divided into a number of pure races with definite physical and mental characteristics due to long isolation into extremely differentiated environments? The evidences that we possess relating to folk-wanderings and folk-mixings since the end of the Palæolithic period downward do not quite support such an assumption. Among the skulls found ceremonially buried in the Azilian stratum of Ofnet marking the transition from the Palæolithic to the Neolithic stage of culture there are heads of all known types, long, round and medium. But the manner in which parental traits are inherited by children discloses a tendency to the evolution of pure races and lends support to the hypothetical existence of such races

before the dawn of history. Though, therefore, it may not be possible to classify the present population of any country into pure races, for it is no longer possible to isolate such units, an attempt may be made to reconstruct the racial history of the Indian people by stratigraphically analysing the different ethnic strands that enter into its composition.

The best materials for the stratigraphical analysis of the ethnic elements or reconstructing the racial history of a people from the past to the present are dateable skeletal remains of different ages representing successive waves of migrations. Such materials representative of every period for the last sixty centuries or more have been found in adequate numbers in Egypt and to a less extent in Western Europe. But in India accurately dated bodily remains of the population are not yet available to students, and in a land where cremation has been practised by most peoples from time immemorial very few such remains can be expected. So in India we have to pursue the racial history from the present to the past, from the living population to the dead. For doing so our guides are anthropometrical measurements, descriptions based on observation of the soft parts, and photographs. Considerable number of measurements of head, nose, and stature, general descriptions of the features of most of the tribes and nationalities, and considerable number of photographs of groups and individuals are already available to the student of Indian ethnology. But judged by the standard now adopted in Europe and America these materials are neither sufficient in quantity nor satisfactory in quality for the purpose of analysis. Such an analysis can only be attempted with some hope of success when the physical traits of the different nationalities, tribes, and castes in India have been restudied on a far more extensive scale by specially trained

observers in accordance with the most up-to-date methods.

What then, it may now be asked, is the justification for this paper wherein I venture to attempt a stratigraphical analysis of the ethnic elements of the population of India with such insufficient data? My main object is the stock-taking of the materials that have been collected by various observers during the last fifty years or so; for such stock-taking may help the future workers, if in no other way, at least by strengthening their determination, to carry on fresh investigations in accordance with improved methods. Though the Ethnographic Survey of India has nearly finished the work it had undertaken, anthropology is now being adopted as a part of the regular curriculum by the Indian Universities. The University of Calcutta has already opened, mainly at the initiative and through the exertions of the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a department for the post-graduate study and research in anthropology, and other Universities are likely to follow the example. So we may soon expect the inauguration of the intensive study of the physical, cultural, and social traits of the tribes, castes, and nationalities of India under the auspices of the Indian Universities. But we cannot expect that the Universities will be able to place at the disposal of students sufficient fresh materials for the purpose of analysis and synthesis at an early date and before it is too late unless adequate funds are placed at their disposal by the State to enable them to train men and organise expeditions for collecting data.

(1) *The Pre-Dravidians or Nishādas.*

Both physically and mentally the hill tribes of Central and Southern India seem to represent the most primitive stratum of the Indian population. Risley classifies these

dark, short, and coarse-featured jungle folk with the cultured peoples of Southern India who speak Dravidic languages and name the group as the Dravidian Type. Lapique and others recognise the Kadir of the hills of Travancore, the Paniyan of Malabar, and the Irula and the Kurumba of the Nilgiris as a separate type named Pre-Dravidian and trace their affinities with the Vedda of Ceylon, the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, and the aborigines of Australia. With the Kadir, the Paniyan, the Irula and the Kurumba of the South should also be classified the Yeruvas of Coorg, the Savara or Saoras of the hill tracts of the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts, the Khand, the Juang, and the Bhuiya of the hill tracts of Orissa, the Ho, the Bhumij, the Munda, the Oraon and other hill tribes of Chota Nagpur, the Gonds and Bhils of Central Provinces and Central India, and the Kharwars, the Cheros and other hill tribes of the Mirzapur district of the United Provinces. All these tribes either physically resemble the Kadir and the Paniyan of the south or disclose a basic element that is akin to them. The physical traits that characterise them are wavy hair, scanty beard, long narrow head, broad nose, thick lips, dark complexion, and short stature. In the Epic and the Purānas the tribes dwelling in the Vindhya ranges are called the descendants of a mythical person named Nishāda who sprang from the right thigh of the wicked king Vena. This person is described as one having flattened feature, dark complexion, and short stature.

hrasvātimātraḥ puruṣaḥ Kṛiṣṇas-cāti babhuva ha

'The person was very short and very dark,' says the Harivaṃsa (5. 17). As the physical traits of the mythical Nishāda are still conspicuous in the hill tribes of the Central and South-eastern India, I should prefer

to call the type Nishāda instead of giving it the cumbrous name Pre-Dravidian. In the Aitareya Brāhmana the Savaras and the Pulindas are called *dasyus* or barbarians. In the Kathāsaritsāgara, a Sanskrit work written by Somadeva in the eleventh century A. D. and based on a Prakrit work called Vrihatkathā written long before, Śavara, Pulinda and Bhilla are used as synonymous terms. Bāṇa who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. D. thus describes a Śavara young man, "His nose was flat (*aranālanāsikam*), his lower lip thick (*cipilādharam*), his jaws full (*cikkacibukam*), his forehead and cheek-bones projecting." A comparison of these descriptions in the ancient Sanskrit literature with the physical features of the living jungle tribes of the Vindhyas show how stable the racial characteristics have proved to be.

Another tribe of the Nishāda group, the Cheros of the Mirzapur District, are evidently named in the Aitareya Āranyaka (II.1.1) as Cherapādas. Though the Cheros speak Hindi and worship some Brahmanic deities, they still retain the traits that characterised the Nishādas and the Śavaras of old. Crooke thus describes them, "They vary in colour, but are usually of a light brown. They have, as a rule, high cheek bones, small eyes obliquely set, and eyebrows to correspond, low broad noses, and large mouth with protuberent lips." To this must be added absence of or scanty beard, a trait of the pre-Dravidian or Nishāda type that has not received the attention it deserves.

(2) *Proto-Dravidians.*

The long-headed elements among the cultured speakers of the Dravidic languages of Southern India of whom the Nairs of Malabar and the Vellalas of the Tamil

country are the typical representatives are usually recognised as the Dravidian race. Some ethnologists trace the affinities of the Dravidian with the Mediterranean race of Northern Africa and Southern Europe. Professor Giuffrida-Ruggeri distinguishes the Ethiopians or Hamites of the eastern coast of Africa and Somaliland as a separate subrace and considers the Dravidians as akin to this Ethiopian or Indo-African race (*Homo sapiens Indo-Africanus*). The Todas of the Nilgiris offer a difficulty. Their geographical isolation, physical features, and primitive culture point to a distinct ethnic origin. Rivers is inclined to the view that the Todas are akin to the Nairs and the Nambutris of Malabar. He attributes the greater stature of the Todas as compared to the Nairs and the Nambutris to "their more healthy environment." About another trait Rivers writes, "The hairiness of the Toda is perhaps the feature in which he differs most obviously from the races of Malabar, while the robustness of his physique and general bearing are perhaps almost as striking. The latter qualities may be entirely due to his environment, to his free life in the comparatively bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and, so far as we know, the development of hair may have a similar cause."[1] It is not possible to agree to the view that the greater stature and hairiness of the Toda are due to environmental influence. There are four other tribes in the Nilgiris, the Kotas and the Badagas who resemble the Dravidians of the plains, and the Irulas and the Kurumbas who are of pre-Dravidian type, neither so tall nor so hairy. Haddon and Giuffrida-Ruggeri recognise the Todas as the representative of a distinct non-Dravidian stock to whom the former gives the name proto-Aryan. The Todas are not the only hill tribe of Southern India who have such

[1] Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, pp. 708-9.

traits. A. W. Painter writes about the Mala Arayans of Travancore :—

"The Hill Arrians live along the slopes of the Western Ghats in the Native State of Travancore.... .They differ considerably from the ordinary Hill Tribes of India. ....In colour many of them are remarkably fair. The men average 5 feet 6 inches in height. Their features are as a rule, well-formed. The lips are thin and the nose frequently acquiline."[1]

The presence of the Todas and Mala Arayans in the south suggests a simpler solution of the Dravidian problem than the one usually held by the anthropologists. Philologists have failed to establish any connection between the Dravidic languages spoken in India and any other family of languages spoken anywhere outside, and we are therefore forced to conclude that the Dravidic languages originated in India. May we not also hold that the *Dravidian type* also originated in India as a result of the intermixture of aborigines of pre-Dravidian or Nishāda type with immigrants of Caucasic type now represented by the Todas and the Mala Arayans who may therefore be termed Proto-Dravidians. This hypothesis is not a new one. According to Rivers, Lapique "regards the Todas as pure or almost pure examples of one of the two races of which the Dravidian population of India to be composed, the Nairs being more mixed with the Negroid element, which forms the other component of the population according to M. Lapique."[2] By "the negroid element" Lapique means the pre-Dravidian or Nishāda element.

Wherefrom came these pre-Aryan proto-Dravidian white or Caucasic invaders of India? Giuffrida-Ruggeri

---

[1] *The Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society*, Vol II, 1889, pp 146-147

[2] Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 107, note 1.

doubtfully suggests Mesopotamia. We would prefer Central Asia. At Anau near Askabad in Western Turkistan Raphael Pumpelly found dolichocephalic skulls of the Mediterranean type according to Sergi in a stratum which he assigns to the seventh millennium B. C.[1]

(3) *The Aryan Question—Indo-Afghans.*

Now we are face to face with the Indo-Aryan question. Between the population of the North-Western borderland of India characterised by light transparent brown complexion, fine acquiline or straight nose, thin lips and full beard, and the hill tribes of the Nishāda type inhabiting the table-lands of Central and Southern India, there is a large body of mixed population speaking Indo-Aryan dialects. The Nishāda strain is easily distinguished in varying proportions in the various strata of this population. But what are the other elements? A submerged proto-Dravidian strain may be assumed which is lost in the so-called Aryan strain. But what is this Aryan strain? Risley recognises an Indo-Aryan type characterised by tall stature, fair complexion, plentiful hair on face, long head, and narrow prominent nose in the inhabitants of Kashmir, the Punjab, and Rajputana; and to the east in the United Provinces and Bihar are men of Hindusthani type sprung from the intermingling of such invaders and the aborigines. There is a strong broad-headed strain in the inhabitants of the regions lying to the west, south, and south-east of the Punjab, Rajputana, and Hindusthan. But I should here pause and explain what is meant by long head and round head and briefly refer to the controversy relating to the value of this head-form as a test of race. The long-headedness or

[1] Explorations in Turkestan Expedition of 1904 Vol II, pp 445-464

broad-headedness is indicated by the length-breadth index or the percentage ratio of greatest breadth to greatest length of the head. When this ratio is below 75 the head is called long and when this ratio is 80 or above the head is broad or round. The ratio of the intermediate type ranges from 75 to under 80. The next question is, how far is the head-form stable, that is to say, controlled by heredity, and how far is it liable to be modified by the environmental influence. The investigations of Franz Boas in America have shaken the faith of many in the stability of the head-form and its value as a test of race. To take only one instance, the head index of the European-born children of European Hebrews ranges around 83. "The value drops to about 82 for those born immediately after the immigration of their parents (to America), and drops to 79 in the second generation; *i.e.*, among the children of American-born children of immigrants."[1] Even if we admit that the fall in the head index of the American-born children of Hebrew immigrants is due to environmental influence alone, and selection or other factors had no share in it, it will be seen that the fall is not such as to take out the American-born Hebrew from the broad or round-headed type. As Franz Boas himself observes, "Although we have seen that environment, particularly domestication, has a far-reaching influence upon the bodily form of the races of man, these influences are of a quite secondary character when compared to the far-reaching influence of heredity."[2] But the skeletal remains and mummies dug out of the dateable ancient graves of Egypt examined by Elliot Smith shows that in Egypt and the neighbouring countries the head-form has remained

[1] Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, New York, 1919, p. 56

[2] *Op. cit*, p. 76.

stable for the last six thousand years or more. He writes :—

"The narrow-headed brunet of small stature, who had dwelt around the shores of the Mediterranean since the dawn of history, was almost, if not quite, as definitely differentiated from the round-headed Armenoids of Western Asia at the end of the Stone Age as are their modern representatives; and all the millenia of exposure of their scattered descendants to vastly different climates and conditions of life have produced amazingly little effect upon their physical characteristics." [1]

So we may very well recognise the head-form as a good test for stratigraphically analysing the ethnic strands that enter into the composition of the Caucasic peoples.

Now to return to Risley's Indo-Aryan type of North-western India characterised by fair complexion, plentiful hair on the face, elongated head, and narrow prominent nose, it is evident that such a type is the dominant element in the population of the Hindusthan proper. But the name given to the type by Risley is open to one serious objection. It is based on the assumption that the so-called Aryans or the people among whom the Aryan speech and culture originated were long-headed. As there is no evidence whatever for such an assumption we prefer to call the type Indo-Afghan following Deniker and other authorities.

The most typical Indian representatives of the Indo-Afghan race, as far as the complexion and the regularity of feature are concerned, are the Kashmiri Brahmans. In November last at Lahore I measured 14 Kashmiri Brahmans from Kashmir. They are mostly long-headed, the index ranging from 66·8 to 78·9.

[1] *The Eugenics Review*, October, 1915.

But the Kashmiri Brahmans are also a mixed folk. They call themselves Sārasvata Brahmans and the name Sārasvata indicates that they are immigrants from the Punjab. They must also have absorbed the aborigines of the valley who according to the legends of the Nilamata Purana were themselves immigrants from Central Asia. Another tradition tells us that in the fourteenth century A. D. Moslem persecution was so great that only eleven Brahman families were left unconverted to Islam, and later on certain Brahman families from the south settled in the valley and intermarried with these genuine Kashmiri Brahmans. As far as we know the inhabitants of the Punjab and the United Provinces are long-headed. I have measured and observed at Allahabad and Lahore [1] 35 Kashmiri Brahmans whose ancestors migrated to the plains mostly in the eighteenth century. In complexion and features these Kashmiris of the plains more resemble their brethren in the valley than the Hindusthanis. But they are mostly broad or medium headed. Of the 35 persons measured 4 are only long-headed (with index ranging from 73·4 to 74·8), 10 are round-headed with index ranging from 80 to 85·4, and the rest medium-headed. Though no definite conclusions can be drawn from such scanty data, they clearly indicate that the traditions referred to above are not baseless. These Indo-Afghans probably represent the Vedic Aryas and Pakhtanas. But it is very doubtful whether the Vedic Aryas were a pure race, for in the Rig Veda itself we read of Aryas who were 'white' and others who were dark, and the grammarian Patanjali

[1] I was enabled to take measurements at Allahabad mainly through the kind assistance of the Hon'ble Mr Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr Amal Home and at Lahore through that of the Hon'ble Raja Narendra Nath and Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, Superintendent of Archæology, Northern Circle

speaks of Brahmans with reddish hair (*kapila* and *pingala keśa*).

4. *The Pamirian Race.*

On the North-Western borderland, in Baluchistan, Sind, Guzrat, the Deccan, Orissa and Bengal is found a strong ethnic element characterised by broad head, plentiful hair on the face, prominent nose, and above mean stature. Risley was of opinion that the broad-headed strain in the population of the borderland of Afghanistan and Baluchistan belongs to the Turki race, that of Gujarat and the Deccan represents the Scythian invaders, and that of Orissa and Bengal is Mongolian in origin. The so-called Turki race is not a pure race, but the result of an admixture of men of Mongolian and of Caucasic types. The Scythians are ethnically almost an unknown quantity, and as the so-called Scythian invaders of India never succeeded in permanently occupying any part of the Deccan, the Scythian hypothesis is historically untenable. As regards the strong round-headed elements among the Bengali, Risley was led on to trace a Mongolian origin for these by mistaking the Koch of Northern Bengal as typical Bengalis and by assuming that round-head was a monopoly of the Mongolians. Another reason for Risley's hypothesis is this that at the time when he wrote it was not so well known, as it is now, that there are long heads and broad heads among all the great divisions of mankind—Negro, Mongolian and Caucasic. The Koch problem we shall deal with presently. The pre-Dravidian or Nishada—Risley's Dravidian—strain in the Bengali is quite prominent. There is also an Indo-Afghan strain. But this does not seem to be considerable. For Brahmanic codes contain injunctions to the effect that twice-born men from the Madhyadeśa—modern Hindusthan proper—should not visit South Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, the Deccan, the

Kathiawar peninsula and Sind. So in connection with the Bengali origins the difficulty lies in tracing that element which is found in considerable number in the upper ranks of the society, and particularly among some sections of the Brahmans, and that is characterised by variable complexion, mean stature, round head, prominent nose, and plenty of hair on the body. In most of these cases the round or broad head may be discerned without measurement by looking at the back of the head which is usually almost flat. I have elsewhere suggested that such elements among the Bengalis, and among the population of the Deccan,—Western India, and the North-Western borderland should be traced to a common source, that source being represented in its purest form by the Galchas or hill Tajiks of the Pamirs, by the Tajiks of Turkestan, Khurasan and Afghanistan, and by the scattered remnants of a population of the same type that once occupied the oases of the Taklamakan desert, and whose bodily remains dating from the beginning of the Christian era have been unearthed by Stein in the eastern border of that desert. This type seems to be akin to the Armenoid race of Western Asia and the Alpine race of Europe and may be termed the Pamirian race.

The Pamirian or Tajik strain in the Bengalis and the Gujratis is indicated not only by the physical but also by the mental traits of these peoples. Afghanistan is the home of three different races, the Pathans of the Indo-Afghan stock, the Pamirian Tajiks and the Mongoloid Hazaras. About these three races Tate writes :—

"The Hazaras are Mongols—relics of the invasion of Chingiz Khan, reinforced afterwards by later arrivals from the banks of the Oxus and the country beyond... They are addicted to the heretical form of belief of the

Ali Ilahi sect. They do not coalesce socially or politically with either Tajik or Afghan..... . .....

"The Tajiks display all those qualities which distinguished the agricultural population in the valley of the Oxus, who were known to the Chinese as the Tahia. They live in houses and form orderly village communities. They are appreciative of the benefits of education and of the amenities of civilized existence, and in their household they maintain a higher standard of comfort to that which prevails among the Afghans and Hazaras . . . In spite of centuries of misgovernment and oppression at the hands of predatory barbarians, they have clung tenaciously to agriculture, and engage in commerce as well. .

"The Afghans pride themselves on their nomadic proclivities, and on those qualities which they complacently regard as military virtues, but which others may stigmatize, with good reason, as brutality."[1]

Like the Tajik, the Gujarati and the Bengali also have a strong predilection for peaceful occupations which may therefore be recognised as a race heritage. The population of the Deccan on the other hand, the Marathas and the Coorgs among whom also there is a strong round-headed element, disclosed, up till a recent time, predatory and warlike propensities. This trait of the round-heads of the Deccan seems to indicate that they are more akin to the nomadic and predatory Baloch who are round or medium-headed than to the peaceful Tajiks. Giuffrida-Ruggeri also recognises two different waves of migration of round-heads to India, a group of dark round-heads from the south-west, and a group of fair round-heads from the North-West. The Tajiks are fairer than the Baloch. In India the contrast

[1] Tate, *Afghanistan*

between the Marathas on the one hand and the Bengalis and the Gujaratis on the other does not stop with the warlike instinct of the one group and the peaceful proclivities of the other. It extends also to religion, or to the divergent forms of the same religion. The Vaishṇavas of Mahārāshtra are the worshippers of adult Krishṇa, the husband of Rukmini, while the Vaishṇavas of Sind, Gujarat and Bengal are the worshippers of child Krishṇa the lover of Radha. The Bengali Language is more akin to the dialect spoken in Bihar than the latter is to Hindi and Hindusthani. The present inhabitants of Bihar, so far as we know from the available measurements, are predominantly long-headed. But the earlier inhabitants of Bihar, the people among whom Buddhism arose, were probably round-headed. In the Sanskrit Buddhist canonical works like the Avadanaśataka and the Divyāvadāna the hero of some of the tales is described as *chatrākārasirśah*, 'having umbrella-like or round head,' and *tungaṇāsah*, 'having prominent nose.' 'In the Lakkhaṇa Suthanta of the Digha Nikaya among the 32 marks of the *mahāpurusha* or superman occur the following, "His eyes are intensely blue" (*abhinila-netto hoti*) and, "His head is like a royal turban" (*unhisa-sīso hoti*), that is, broad. The inclusion of round-head among the elements of the ideal of personal beauty seems to indicate that there was a strong round-headed element among the population of the home of Buddhism. These round-heads have been gradually driven to Bengal by the pressure of men of the Hindusthani type.

(5) *Indo-Mongolians.*

Now I come to the Mongoloid stratum of the population of the Indian plains. Tribes and castes with Mongoloid features are met in the plain districts at the foot of the Eastern part of the Himalayas from Nepal

eastward and at the foot of the hills of the North-Eastern frontier. But I shall here deal with only one group of these castes, the Koch group of Northern Bengal and Assam. In Northern Bengal we come across a group of allied castes called Koch, Paliya and Rajvaṁsi. The further north we go, such Mongoloid features as scanty beard, flat face, yellowish brown complexion, become more and more prominent, and so one is led to consider these Koch as a cross between the Bengalis and the Mongoloids. In the plains of the Brahmaputra valley *Koch*-making is still going on. Waddell writes: —

"Any one of these tribes (Kachari, Garo, Rabha, Lalung and allied Indo-Chinese tribes) can become a *Koch* by establishing a Brahmanical priest and giving up eating beef, though he need not abjure animal food altogether. In this stage he is called *Saraniya*, usually pronounced in the Assamese fashion *Horoniya*, which means a 'refugee,' implying that he had taken refuge in Hinduism. The more advanced stage can be gained by leaving off beef and swine's flesh and strong drink altogether, when he assumes the full externals and status of a Hindu." (A. S. B., 1900, Part III, p. 48.)

To a similar process we owe the Koch, Paliya and Rajvaṁsi of the Dinajpur, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri districts in Bengal. There is historical evidence to show that Mongolian invaders conquered portion of Northern Bengal in the tenth century. There is a pillar in the Rajbari of Dinajpur brought from the ruins of Bangar. This pillar bears an inscription which tells us that a King of Gauḍa of the Kamboja family built a temple of Śiva in the year 888 evidently of the Śaka era which is equivalent to A.D. 966. The Kambojas were a people of the North-West who probably spoke an Aryan

dialect. But in the Tibetan works like Pag Sam Zanzang Tibet is also called Kamboja. So it appears to be reasonable to think that the term Kamboja is used in our inscription in a generalised sense denoting aliens evidently of Tibetan origin, and the presence of a King of Gauḍa of the Kamboja lineage in the year A.D. 966 indicates that Northern Bengal was conquered by invaders from the Himalayan region.

Early in the thirteenth century A.D. Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar Khalj usually known as Bakhtiyar Khiliji led an expedition from Lakhnawati, the ruins of which lie near the ruined city of Gaud in the Maldah district to Bengal. The historian of the period, Minhaj, who himself visited Northern Bengal in A.D. 1240, writes in his Tābākāt-i-Nāsiri :—

"In the different parts of those mountains which lie between Tibbat and the country of Lakhanawati are three races of people, one called the Kunch, the second the Mej, and the third the Tihārū; and all have Turk countenances. They have a different idiom, too, between the language of Hind and Turk."[1]

This is how the Persian text is translated by Raverty who collated all the available manuscripts. The Kunch is of course our Koch, and the Mej are the modern Mech who are so numerous in the Jalpaiguri district. The Tihārū are evidently the Thārus who now live in the Himalayan Tarāi and the Gorakhpur Division and Northern Oudh. By "Turk countenance" Minhaj denotes Mongolian features and indicates that the Koch, Mech, and Thāru are at base Mongoloids. Still more significant is the historian's remark about the language of these tribes. They spoke a language that neither resembled the Aryan language spoken

[1] Raverty's *Tabākāt-i-Nāsiri* (Bib Ind.), Vol I, p 560

in Northern India nor the Turanian Turki; that is to say, the dialects originally spoken by the Koch, Mech, and Thāru belonged to Tibeto-Burman family. So this precious passage indicates that the Thārus of Northern Oudh and Gorakhpur and the Koch and the Mech of Northern Bengal represent Mongoloid invaders from the Himalayan region.

The Problem of the Sothic-rising dates as reported by the Egyptian Priests.

II

BY

H. Bruce Hannah

In a recent paper on the above subject (see p. 85) I dealt with a series of so-called Hēliacal Risings of Sōthis, or Sirius, most of which are given by Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie in his *History of Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 32. I pointed out the confusion which seemingly characterizes the reported data towards the end of the list, and I made a preliminary attempt to remove the veil of mystery in which they have hitherto been shrouded, even for our experts. I suggested that the data were originally arranged according to a priest-invented scheme (subsequently forgotten or at least woefully misunderstood), which was based on the Luni-Osirian Year of 13 months of 28 days each, with its own special Spheroid of 364°, its own special Spheroidal sub-divisions (including *Heb* periods), its own special Cycle of 1456 (364 × 4) Spheroidal years, and the necessity in that connection of recognizing, not B.C. 2782 (invariably adopted by our Egyptologists), but B.C. 2786 (B.C. 4242 minus this 1456), as the last Epoch of Coincidence between Nature and the artificial Calendar in vogue specifically at Memphis, and probably generally during the age immediately preceding that usually associated with

the so-called 12th (nominally also Theban) Romic Dynasty.

Further consideration convinces me that the views advanced in that paper are in the main sound; but I desire now to offer the following revised statement of my principles, methods, and conclusions. Let me repeat, also —and even emphasize—that if we can only put ancient Romic Chronology upon a satisfactory basis, and show how, in later "Egyptian" times, it became completely misunderstood and misrepresented, our researches into what is naturally of much more interest to Indians, *i.e.*, Indo-Āryan and Vedic Origins, Cultural and Racial, will be immensely stimulated and assisted.

1. The first reported Sōthic-Rising, or "Manifestation", is the one said to have taken place on the "15th day of the 8th month", *i.e.*, counting either from the then Celestial Summer Solstice, or from the Sōthic Spheroidal "Manifestation"-point (see the *Kahūn Papyrus*; also the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition). This phenomenon, it appears, occurred in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III of the above-mentioned 12th Dynasty, and the 120th year of the Dynasty itself. These years must be understood as Spheroidal years.

The particular Spheroid in vogue during the so-called Theban *régime* (an Osirian Spheroid, though the *régime* began with the opening of the Ariēs Era) was the Spheroid of 365°, having a Solar Year of 12 months of 30 days each, like the original old 360° Spheroid, but a day of $1\frac{1}{12}$, a 4-year period of $4\frac{1}{3}$, and a *Sed-Heb* period of $30\frac{5}{12}$ years, as measured on the 360° Spheroid.

Hitherto, however, Egyptologists seem to have overlooked these spheroidal subdivisions. They appear to have regarded the Spheroid (even in this case) as always one of 360°, the Spheroid that had a Cycle of 1440 Spheroidal years. On the basis of such a Spheroid the Kahūn date

was of course 225 days from the Initial Zero-Point arbitrarily adopted. To obtain their years, Egyptologists have been accustomed to multiply this by 4 ($\frac{1}{90}$th of 360), thus getting 900 Spheroidal years as shiftage; and this they deduct from B.C. 2782, already referred to. In reality, however, B.C. 2782 belongs exclusively to the 365° Spheroid, in virtue of the latter's Cycle of 1460 years (so commonly associated with the Sōthic period); for it stands for B.C. 4242 minus that 1460. But, as Egyptologists, with their 360° Spheroid, necessarily worked (knowingly or unknowingly) on a Cycle of only 1440 Spheroidal years, they *ought* consistently to have deducted their 900, not from B.C 2782, but from B.C. 2802—*i.e.*, B.C. 4242 minus 1440. True, that would not have worked out correctly; but it would have accorded with their plan, as based on the 360° Spheroid.

As it happens, the result they get is B.C. 1882; but that, of course, is on the basis of the Spheroid of 360°. It is not the same B.C. 1882 as the one represented on the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid—the Spheroid on which modern reckoning is based. We shall therefore see presently that B.C. 1882, on the basis of the 360° Spheroid, is something very different when expressed in terms of modern reckoning.

But let us approach this gradually.

First, notice that for the 365° Spheroid the proper multiplier (corresponding to 4 on the 360° Spheroid) is $4\frac{1}{15}$. 225 multiplied by this, produces a shift of $912\frac{1}{2}$ Spheroidal years. Deducting this from B.C. 2782, we get B.C. $1869\frac{1}{2}$ as the date of the Kahūn Rising, on the basis of this 365° Spheroid. Even this would be different, were the date expressed in terms of modern reckoning. In fact, it is in these terms that we want the date stated. Stated otherwise, it is of little or no use to us. We must now resort to the Spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}$°, with its year of 12 months of 30

days each, its day of $1\frac{7}{360}$ 360° Spheroidal days, its 4-year period of $4\frac{28}{360}$, its *Sed-Heb* period of $30\frac{7}{10}$, and its Coincidence Epoch of B.C. 2781—*i.e.*, B.C. 4242 minus 1461. If we take our shiftage-days as 225 *supra*, and multiply by $4\frac{28}{360}$, so getting 913⅛ Spheroidal years, and then deduct that from B.C. 2781, we arrive at B.C. $1867\frac{7}{8}$ as our result. And this is the correct year-date, as expressed in terms of modern reckoning.

If, now, we desire to base our calculations on the 364° Spheroid, *i.e.*, on the Luni-Osirian Year, and yet to express our result in terms of modern reckoning, we can do so by (at the outset) converting the Luni-Osirian days of the month into terms of the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid, *i.e.*, on the basis of 28 Spheroidal years being equal to $30\frac{7}{10}$ Spheroidal years. Thereupon 7 Luni-Osirian months @ $30\frac{7}{10}=852\frac{113}{448}$ Spheroidal years, modern. 15 more days (now $16\frac{137}{448}$) for the "8th" month $\times 4\frac{4}{360}=65\frac{140}{2520}$ Spheroidal years. Together, these $=918\frac{1780}{2520}$ Spheroidal years; and these, deducted from B.C. 2786, leave B.C. $1867\frac{1740}{2520}$. If, instead of $4\frac{4}{360}$ *supra*, we multiply our days by 4, we get B.C. $1868\frac{116}{448}$ as the Rising-date in terms of modern reckoning, yet working with the Luni-Osirian Year.

Seeing that 28 (Luni-Osirian) $=30\frac{7}{10}$ (modern reckoning), we obtain the following table of equations—

364°		$365\frac{1}{4}$° (*modern reckoning*).
1	=	$1\frac{89}{448}$
2	=	$2\frac{178}{448}$
3	=	$3\frac{117}{448}$
4	=	$4\frac{156}{448}$
5	=	$5\frac{195}{448}$
6	=	$6\frac{234}{448}$
7	=	$7\frac{273}{448}$
8	=	$8\frac{312}{448}$
9	=	$9\frac{351}{448}$

10	=	$10\frac{290}{418}$
11	=	$11\frac{429}{448}$
12	=	$13\frac{240}{445}$
13	=	$14\frac{379}{418}$
14	=	$15\frac{105}{448}$
15	=	$16\frac{187}{448}$
16	=	$17\frac{176}{448}$
17	=	$18\frac{315}{448}$
18	=	$19\frac{284}{448}$
19	=	$20\frac{393}{418}$
20	=	$21\frac{332}{445}$
21	=	$22\frac{371}{418}$
22	=	$23\frac{410}{418}$
23	=	$25\frac{1}{418}$
24	=	$26\frac{80}{445}$
25	=	$27\frac{70}{448}$
26	=	$28\frac{118}{418}$
27	=	$29\frac{157}{418}$
28	=	$30\frac{196}{448}$.

2. The next reported Rising is one given in Flinders Petrie's list, and there assigned to B.C. 1546. It appears as Epiphi 9th, date of papyrus in 9th year of Amenhotep I of the 18th Dynasty. In accordance with my hypothesis that these reported Risings are arranged on a definite scheme connected with the Luni-Osirian Year and its Spheroid of 364°, I assume and suggest that this "9 Epiphi" should really be "7 Epiphi."

According to the equations, 7 (Luni-Osirian)$=7\frac{273}{448}$ (modern reckoning). This $\times 4 = 30\frac{196}{448}$ Spheroidal years. These $+ 1217\frac{1}{2}$, the year-value, on the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, of the Sōthic Manifestation-point$=1247\frac{196}{448}$; and that, subtracted from B.C. 2786$=$B.C. $1538\frac{252}{448}$ as the correct date in terms of modern reckoning. We get at that reckoning by first transmuting the Luni-Osirian days of the month

into their values on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid. Nevertheless, the Year still retains its Luni-Osirian character—the spacings between the days of the month being 28 Luni-Osirian years, equalling $30\frac{7}{76}$ years by modern reckoning. Hence the Coincidence Epoch B.C. 2786, not B.C. 2781. Petrie's date is out by 7 years and a fraction.

3. The next reported Rising is Epiphi 14th, feast (undated), Tahūtmēs I (Thothmēs I), Obelisk. It is given in Petrie's list, and there assigned to B.C. 1526—twenty years later than Petrie's date for the last reported Rising.

Here $14=15\frac{70}{441}$. This, multiplied by $4=60\frac{280}{441}$ Spheroidal years. These, added to $1217\frac{1}{2}=1278\frac{161}{882}$; and that, deducted from B.C. 2786, leaves B.C. $1507\frac{720}{882}$—$30\frac{280}{441}$ later than our last-found date.

4. The next reported Rising appears in Petrie's list as the 21st Epiphi, feast, 16th year of Hatshepsūt, Obelisk. We also know that it was the 3rd regnal year of Thothmēs III. Moreover, it is a *Sed-Heb* year; and, looking at my List of Hebs for the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid, we find that it ought to be the *Heb* there appearing for A.M. $2526\frac{5}{76}$, *i.e.*, B.C. 1477 $\frac{11}{76}$, or $1477\frac{330}{836}$. Let us see if our present method works out to this result. If it does, it acts as a clinch-date, and establishes the entire series.

By the table of date-equations $21=22\frac{231}{441}$. That, multiplied by 4, gives $91\frac{140}{441}$ Spheroidal years. These, added to $1217\frac{1}{2}=1308\frac{329}{882}$; and that, subtracted from B.C. 2786, leaves B.C. $1477\frac{553}{882}$, or $1477\frac{7}{76}$. Seeing that one Year is Solar, with 12 months of 30 days each, each day being $1\frac{7}{76}$ days on the 360° Spheroid, and the other Year (by which we are now trying to work, and yet express ourselves in terms of modern reckoning) is Luni-Osirian, with 13 months of only 28 days each, it would be difficult to get nearer results. Petrie's date is B.C. 1498.

5. The next reported Rising appears in Petrie's list as Epiphi 28th, feast, 33rd year Tahūtmēs III (Thothmēs

III), Bersheh; and there it is assigned to B.C. 1470. This, it appears, was a *Hunti-Heb* year; and, looking at my Heb List, I find that it ought to be the *Hunti-Heb* for A.M. $2556\frac{13}{16} = $ B.C. $1447\frac{4}{16}$.

According to the date-equations table, $28 = 30\frac{13}{16}$. That, multiplied by $4 = 121\frac{13}{16}$. This, added to $1217\frac{1}{2} = 1339\frac{13}{16}$; and that, deducted from B.C. 2786, leaves B.C. $1446\frac{13}{16}$.

Thus, so far, we have arrived at the following figures—

7	Epiphi	B.C.	$1538\frac{3}{16}$
14	,,	,,	$1507\frac{13}{16}$
21	,,	,,	$1477\frac{8}{16}$, or $1477\frac{8}{16}$
28	,,	,,	$1446\frac{13}{16}$.

Between each of these years and its successor there is, it will be observed, an interval of $30\frac{13}{16} = 30\frac{7}{16}$—the *Sed-Heb* period for the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, corresponding to 28, the *Sed-Heb* period for the Luni-Osirian Spheroid of 364°. These 28 Luni-Osirian years are the constant interval between the serial dates of the month given in the reports of Risings. According to the Cycle on which the Heb List is based for the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, the exact year-dates are—

7	Epiphi	B.C.	$1538\frac{3}{16}$
14	,,	,,	$1508\frac{4}{16}$
21	,,	,,	$1477\frac{13}{16}$
28	,,	,,	$1447\frac{4}{16}$.

Thus, when we read, as above, of Thothmēs III's 3rd regnal year, and realize that it means B.C. $1477\frac{8}{16}$, and then of his 33rd regnal year, and realize that it means B.C. $1447\frac{4}{16}$, we make the useful discovery that the reporting priest, or other informant, when so speaking of

regnal years, is speaking in terms of the original basic 360° Spheroid, and that the difference between these particular regnal years, though so stated, depends for its value on the Spheroid for the time being in contemplation. Thus, in terms of modern reckoning, *i.e.*, as based on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid, an interval like this of 30 years (between the 3rd and the 33rd) really means $30\frac{7}{76}$ Spheroidal years —the *Sed-Heb* period of the Spheroid just referred to. In other words, according to the Spheroid in view, and its own proper *Sed-Heb* period, a period nominally spoken of as "30 years" might mean any of the following—30, 28, $30\frac{5}{76}$, $30\frac{7}{76}$. What we have to remember is that, in contemplation of modern reckoning—the reckoning that we must express ourselves in if we want to be understood, and if we want our statements to harmonize with current chronological ideas—"30 years" (nominal) means $30\frac{7}{76}$ Spheroidal years as based on the Spheroid of $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$.

6. The next reported Rising appears in Petrie's list as Mesorē 7th, feast, (undated), Amenhotep II. pillar and it is assigned the date B.C. 1434. The regnal year is not stated; but we now have no difficulty in finding it. Obviously, in terms of modern reckoning it is $30\frac{7}{76}$ Spheroidal years after our last date, B.C $1447\frac{7}{76}$. In other words, it is B.C. $1416\frac{13}{76}$. Our method is now as follows, 7 Mesorē (Luni-Osirian)$=7\frac{77}{146}$ Mesorē (Modern). Multiplying the latter by 4, we get $30\frac{108}{146}$. Add $121\frac{146}{146}$ for the previous month, Epiphi, and we get $152\frac{254}{146}$. Add this to $1217\frac{292}{146}$, as before, and we get $1369\frac{108}{146}$. Deduct that from B.C. 2786, and the result is B.C. $1416\frac{130}{146}$.

7. The next reported Rising appears in Petrie's list as Mesorē 14th, feast, (undated), Amenhotep II. Again the regnal year is not stated. But again it can be found. By present methods it is, of course, $30\frac{168}{146}$

Spheroidal years after our last found date, B.C. $1416\frac{110}{148}$, *i.e.*, it was B.C. $1385\frac{38}{148}$. On the basis, however, of the Heb List, the real exact year was B.C. $1386\frac{6}{76}$, *i.e.*, $30\frac{1}{76}$ Spheroidal years after B.C. $1416\frac{14}{76}$.

8. The next reported Rising appears in Petrie's list as 21st Mesorē, feast, (unrecorded). Petrie's date for it is B.C. 1378. As a matter of fact, by present methods it works out at $30\frac{102}{148}$ Spheroidal years after our last-found date, B.C. $1385\frac{102}{148}$, *i.e.*, at B.C. $1\ 54\frac{102}{148}$. On the basis of the Heb List, however, the exact date was $30\frac{7}{76}$ Spheroidal years after B.C. $1386\frac{6}{76}$, *i.e.*, it was B.C. $1355\frac{14}{148}$.

9. The next reported Rising appears in Petrie's list as Mesorē 28th, feast, (undated), Tūtankhamen, tomb. Petrie dates it B.C. 1350. Here, again, the regnal date is not given; but by present methods it works out at $30\frac{138}{148}$ Spheroidal years after our last-found date, B.C. $1\ 54\frac{138}{148}$. Hence, it was B.C. 1324; or rather, it was $30\frac{7}{76}$ Spheroidal years after the last exact date. Thus it was B.C. $1325\frac{6}{76}$.

10. The next reported Rising appears in Petrie's list as Thoth 7th, feast, (unrecorded). No further information. Petrie's date for it is B.C. 1294. Curiously enough, by present methods it works out at $30\frac{138}{148}$ Spheroidal years after our last-found date, B.C. 1324. Hence, it was B.C. $1293\frac{138}{148}$; or rather, it was $30\frac{7}{76}$ Spheroidal years after the last exact date, B.C. $1325\frac{6}{76}$. That is, it must have been B.C. $1295\frac{1}{76}$.

According to the table of date-equations, 7th Thoth (Luni-Osirian) $=30\frac{126}{148}$ Spheroidal years, by modern reckoning. Add $121\frac{114}{148}$ fer previous Mesorē, and another $121\frac{114}{148}$ for previous Epiphi. Then add these to $1217\frac{14}{148}$. Total $=1491\frac{126}{148}$. Deduct this from B.C. 2786 (Coincidence Epoch), and we are left with B.C. $1294\frac{22}{148}$. Or, if we

subtract 1456 (Luni-Osirian Cyclic total) from $1491\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$, we get $35\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$ as balance carryable over to the next Cycle, now about to open again with Thoth. For this succeeding Cycle, however, the last Coincidence Epoch was no longer B.C. 2786, but 1456 years later, *i.e.*, B.C. 1330. Deduct this $35\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$ from 1330, and once more B.C. $1294\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{1}\frac{3}{4}$ emerges. At the same time, expressed in terms of modern reckoning (*i.e.*, on the basis of the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid), the total of Spheroidal years for the old expired Cycle is not 1456, but 1461. Over and above this 1461, therefore, $1491\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$ represents a balance of $30\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$ for the newly opening Cycle. Expressed as a Luni-Osirian day of the month, $30\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$, or $30\frac{7}{7}\frac{7}{8}$, Spheroidal years (even though in modern reckoning)=7th Thoth.

Now deduct this $30\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$ from B.C. 1330 (the new Luni-Osirian Coincidence Epoch), and see what happens. Is the result B.C. $1295\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{1}\frac{3}{4}$ *supra*? No, in modern reckoning, the result is B.C. $1299\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{1}\frac{3}{4}$, *i.e.*, $1299\frac{3}{7}\frac{3}{8}$! This is $4\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$ Spheroidal years more than $1295\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{1}\frac{3}{4}$—possibly accountable for by the extra day, in honour of "Osiris," having come into the Spheroid in the meantime, as the "New Year's Day" for the solar year of the intermediate 365° Spheroid.

Here another question may be asked. In the foregoing list of Luni-Osirian days of the month, why is there no series of 7, 14, 21, 28, *for the 13th month* of the 364° Spheroid? In other words, why does 7th Thoth follow immediately after 28th Mesorē? Why not 7th of the 13th month? Apparently because, though in form Luni-Osirian as regards the days of the month, the year-dates sought to be indicated are already expressible in terms of (for any time being) modern reckoning. That is to say by transmuting the days of the month (regarded as Luni-Osirian) into their equivalents on the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, all

necessity to speak of the dates of a 13th month has been got rid of. So transmuted, the Spheroid may be regarded as on a solar basis, *i.e.*, as consisting of 12 months of 30 days each, but the day $=1\frac{1}{1460}$ instead of 1 as on the original 360° Spheroid. Thus, on the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid, 30 days $=30\frac{1}{1460}$ Spheroidal years; and this, moreover, was the *Sed-Heb* period for that Spheroid.

11. The next reported Rising appears in Petrie's list as Thoth 14th, feast, (unrecorded). No further information. Petrie gives its date as B.C. 1260. By present methods it works out at $30\frac{292}{1460}$ Spheroidal years after our last-found date, B.C. 1293 $\frac{292}{1460}$, *i.e.*, at B.C. $1263\frac{292}{1460}$. According, however, to the Heb List, it was really B.C. $1264\frac{10}{1460}$, *i.e.*, $30\frac{1}{1460}$ Spheroidal years after the last exact date, B.C. $1295\frac{1}{1460}$.

The rest of the series of reported Risings is confused. As it has come down to us, it may, in its confused form, be set forth thus—

12. (?), 5th year of Rāmēssū (Rāmēsēs) II. *S d-Heb.*
13. (?), 33rd „ „

(These two data are not included in Professor Flinders Petrie's list).

14. Thoth 22nd, feast, 41st year Rāmēsēs II, El Kab. This is in Petrie's list. His date for it is B.C. 1234.

15. (?), 64th year of Rāmēsēs II. A *Hunti-Heb.* This is not in Petrie's list.

16. 29th Thoth, 2nd regnal year of Meren-Ptāh, M. Habu. This is in Petrie's list. His date for it is B.C. 1206.

17. 1 Thoth, *temp.* Rāmēsēs III of 20th Dynasty (See *Horae Aegyptiacae*, p. 31, by R. S. Poole). This is not in Petrie's list.

18. 1 Tybi, 11th year of Thakelath II of 22nd Dynasty (See *The Hittites and their Language*, p. 179, by Lieut. Col. C. R. Conder, R. E.). This is not in Petrie's list.

I submit that the proper sequence and correct dates (in terms of modern reckoning) for the above data are as follows—

11. 14 Thoth, 5th regnal year of Rāmēsēs II (his 1st having been B.C. 1268$\frac{25}{365}$, modern reckoning); in the Heb List appearing as *Sed-Heb* for A.M. 2739$\frac{1}{16}$ = B.C. 1264$\frac{100}{365}$, modern reckoning.

12. 21 Thoth, 35th regnal year of Rāmēsēs II; and in the Heb List appearing as *Sed-Heb* for A.M. 2769$\frac{220}{365}$ = B.C. 1234$\frac{220}{365}$, modern reckoning

13. 28 Thoth, 65th regnal year of Rāmēsēs II, being *Hunti-Heb* for A.M. 2800$\frac{1}{16}$ = B.C. 1203$\frac{220}{365}$, modern reckoning.

14. No. 17 *supra*. Instead of "29 Thoth," probably 1 Paōphi. Same as Rāmēsēs II's last year; hence, B.C. 1200$\frac{335}{365}$.

15. No. 17 *supra*. Instead of "1 Thoth", probably 14 Paōphi = B.C. 1142$\frac{335}{365}$ = A.M. 2861$\frac{54}{365}$, represented in Heb List as *Sed-Heb* for A.M. 2861$\frac{1}{16}$. Assuming that Rāmēsēs III reigned B.C. 1158-1127, this would have been his 15th regnal year.

16. No. 18 *supra*. Instead of "1 Tybi", probably 7 Tybi. By present methods (*i.e.*, deducting 30$\frac{1}{16}$ from last-found date) the date works out at B.C. 825$\frac{46}{365}$ = A.M. 3178$\frac{114}{365}$; but true date by Sōthic-Risings List, A.M. 3174$\frac{1}{2}$ = B.C. 829$\frac{183}{365}$, or Thakelath II's 11th regnal year. Difference 4$\frac{117}{365}$—again doubtless due to "Osiris." In his 2nd regnal year, A.M. 3165$\frac{117}{365}$ = B.C. 838$\frac{183}{365}$, Thakelath II had celebrated the *Hunti-Heb* for A.M. 3165$\frac{1}{2}$, or B.C. 838$\frac{117}{365}$.

Thus, Rāmēsēs II's reign may be set forth as follows—

1st regnal year,		B.C. $1268\frac{1}{25}$.	
5th	,,	,, $1264\frac{3}{25}$	*Sed-Heb* year, listed as A.M. $2739\frac{1}{25}$.
35th	,,	,, $1234\frac{3}{25}$	*Sed-Heb* year, listed as A.M. $2769\frac{1}{25}$.
65th	,,	,, $1203\frac{3}{25}$	*Hunti-Heb* year, listed as A.M. $2800\frac{1}{25}$.
67th	,,	,, $1201\frac{1}{25}$	Death of Rāmēsēs II.

It will be noticed that 30 nominal years intervene between the 5th and the 35th regnal years, and between the 35th and the 65th regnal years; but $30\frac{2}{25}$ Spheroidal years intervene between the dates for these regnal years. In Luni-Osirian time, it will be remembered, the equivalent intervening period is 28 Spheroidal years. Thus we saw that there were 28 years between Rāmēsēs II's so-called 5th and his so-called 33rd regnal years. Here we get these Luni-Osirian expressions transmuted into terms of modern reckoning.

When, therefore, we understand matters thus, and rearrange our data, all the apparent confusion vanishes.

Lastly, one often hears it said that the so-called Hēliacal Risings of Sirius, or Sōthis, were really *annual* occurrences, and that it is therefore difficult to see on what principle the priests reported any one particular Rising rather than another.

We now see that the reason why they reported Risings on the 7th, the 14th, the 21st and the 28th of the month, and not otherwise, though other dates, such as 1 Thoth, 22 Thoth, 29 Thoth, and 1 Tybi, have been inserted in the list by mistake, is because they worked on the basis of the Luni-Osirian Spheroid of 364, with its year of 13 months

of 28 days each, and these particular dates stood for *Sed-Heb* periods on that Spheroid, *i.e.*, periods of 28 Luni-Osirian years=30 years on the 360° Spheroid, $30\frac{1}{13}$ Spheroidal years on the 365° Spheroid, and $30\frac{1}{13}$ Spheroidal years on the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid, *i.e.*, for purposes of modern reckoning.

Mânava Śulba Sûtram

BY

N. K. MAZUMDAR

I. INTRODUCTION[1]

The object of this paper is to give an introductory account of the "Mânava Śulba Sûtram," which gives the Rules of Construction of the Sacrificial Vedis and Agnis by means of a uniform string according to the School of Manu, and belongs to the Maitrâyaṇîya Śâkhâ of the Taittirîya Samhitâ or Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda.

Present State of Information.—The Śulba Sutras give rules for the construction of Vedis and Agnis in connection with Yajñas or Sacrifices. Hence they are but parts of Śrauta Sûtras which lay down methods of procedure in conducting sacrifices. The Śulba Sûtras generally form one or more chapters in Treatises on Śrauta Sûtras, but they are also found separately.

As early as 1875, Dr. Thibaut had mentioned four systems of Śulba Sûtras—

(1) Baudhâyana Śulba Sûtra,

(2) Âpastamba Śulba Sûtra,

(3) Mânava Śulba Sûtra,

all three belonging to Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda, and

(4) Kâtyâyana (or Kâtîya) Śulba Pariśiṣṭa, belonging to the Śukla Yajur Veda.

Only very recently two others have been discovered—

(5) Vârâha Śulba Sûtra,

[1] Read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 6th April, 1921.

being only two chapters of the Vârâha Śrauta Sûtra belonging to the Maitrâyaṇîya Śâkhâ of Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda; and

(6) Vâdhula Śulba Sûtra,

being portions of the Vâdhula Śrauta Sûtra. Dr. R. Shama Shastry was very kind to draw my attention to one Manuscript of the Vârâha Śulba Sûtra in Mysore, while I found another in Bombay. The Vâdhula Śrauta Sûtra was recently discovered in Madras.

Of these the first and the fourth, namely the Baudhâyana Śulba Sûtra and the Kâtyâyana Śulba Pariśiṣṭa, were edited by Dr. Thibaut between 1875 and 1880 from about six manuscripts in the *Pandit* (Old Series, Vols. 9-10, and New Series, Vols. 1 and 4), with English Translation, Notes, Extracts from Commentaries, and Diagrams. But his edition of the Kâtyâyana Śulba Pariśiṣṭa was rather incomplete.

The second, *i.e.*, the Âpastamba Śulba Sûtra, was edited (from only four manuscripts) by Dr. Albert Bürk in Z D.M.G. in 1900-01, with German Translation, Notes, Extracts from three different Commentaries, Diagrams, and a very valuable and comprehensive Introduction. An English edition of the Âpastamba Śulba Sûtra has been undertaken by the Calcutta University and will be shortly published.

In 1861 a facsimile of the Ms. No. 17 in the Library of "Her Majesty's Home Government of India," containing the *Mânava Kalpa Sûtra* with Bhâṣya by Kumârilaswâmî, was printed by Theodore Goldstucker, with a Preface on Indian Grammar, which has become classical. In 1900 Dr. Friedrich Knauer published from St. Petersburgh a supplementary edition of the Mânava Śrauta Sûtra. But none of these contain any Śulba Sûtra proper.

Manuscript.—Four manuscripts of the Mânava Śulba Sûtra have been secured by the Calcutta University from

different parts of India, two of which are being copied for the Calcutta University and are not yet to hand. The Ms. No. I.E. 17 in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, catalogued as "Śulba-Sûtra-Bhâṣyam (Mânavam) by Śivadâsa," and a manuscript from the Bombay University form the basis of this introductory treatment. There are certainly difficulties in dealing with only two manuscripts, and although a few details could not be settled satisfactorily, I have attempted to present a faithful, though brief, account of the general contents of the treatise, omitting none of the important points. The first manuscript, from the nature of the writing which is modern deva-nâgarî, seems to have been written by a copyist about 150 years ago, but there is no date. There are certain peculiarities in the letters, *e.g.*, "pa," "va," "ya" are written almost alike in shape; long "û" is sometimes written very peculiarly, particularly in combination with "pa," "ma" and "sa."

Authorship.—The Commentator is Śivadâsa, son of Nârada. He is posterior to Bhâskarâchâryya, as he quotes Bhâskara's *Rule of Three*, and also from *Lîlâvatî* by name. He seems to have made a distinction between a Sûtra-kâra and a Śulba-kâra, writings of both of whom he is commenting on. In Âpastamba and Baudhâyana Śulba Sûtras we find all the rules given in aphorisms (sûtras), but in the manuscripts of the Mânava Śulba Sûtra and the Kâtyâyanîya Śulba Pariśiṣṭa, we find some of the rules given in verse, many of which are identical. According to the Commentator, these verses belong to the Śulba-kâra. But for all we know the Śulba-kâra is later than the Sûtra-kâra. There is very little direct evidence to enable us to establish beyond dispute the date of either. But the prose formulas at least might have been composed during the Sûtra period (c. 500 B.C.—200 A.D.), for by tradition the Mânava Śulba Sûtra is a part of the Sûtra literature. The presence of the verses

does not necessarily point to a later date, for we know that the Vedâṅga Jyotiṣa, composed in verse, belongs to the Sûtra period and supplies astronomical facts of a thousand years earlier.

Subject.—In Vedic Sacrifices, certain Vedis had to be constructed, where the sacrifices were performed, as also certain "Citis" (technically called "Agnis"), where fire was to be placed. The rules of measurement and construction of all these are scattered throughout the Samhitâs and the Brâhmaṇas, which were put together in the form of Sûtras or Aphorisms in handy manuals called the Śulba Sûtras. The marginal notes of the Brâhmaṇas of huge bulk, arranged according to subject-matter, might have formed the different treatises of the Sûtra literature.

In the Mânava Śulba Sûtra, the first section deals with Paribhâṣâ Sûtras; second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth sections deal with different Vedis; a portion of the seventh section contains measurements and a discussion of "Dakṣiṇâ," and only the remaining portion of the seventh section is devoted to the construction of a "Citi" of the most primitive form called "Suparṇa-citi." This may mean the "Garuda-citi," but as there is no reference to any special characteristic of *Garuda* in particular, it may refer to the "Śyena-cit" in general. Although there are various rules for the construction of the "Śyena-cit" in general, and the "Alaja-cit," the "Kaṅka-cit" and the like in particular, in the Âpastamba and Baudhâyana Śulba Sûtras, there we do not find any mention of the "Suparṇa-cit." But it is mentioned in the Râmâyaṇa that Daśaratha constructed a "Garuḍa-cit" in connection with his "putreṣṭi" sacrifice. So perhaps sacrifice with "Suparṇa-citi" was current at one time, and hence the construction of the "Suparṇa-citi" is specifically mentioned. But the form, except for the "Head," is the same as that of, and the rules apply equally well to the

construction of, the *saptavidha-caturaśra-śyena-cit* given by Âpastamba and Baudhâyana.

No other *Citi* is mentioned in the Mânava Śulba Sûtra, and the major portion of it is concerned with the construction of the different Vedis and their parts; whereas in the other Śulba Sûtras, the major portion is concerned with the construction of "Citis," and only a very small portion is devoted to the consideration of the Vedis. It would thus seem that the three Śulba Sûtras of the Kṛṣna Yajur Veda are supplementary to one another, as if by agreement the Sûtra-kâras made a division of labour amongst themselves. Or, it is possible that the Mânava-sûtra-kâra belonged to a locality where "anagnika-yajñas" (sacrifices without "Citis") were in vogue, while the other two Sûtra-kâras belonged to places where "sâgnika-yajña" (sacrifices with "Citis") were performed.

Again, the broad geometrical rules, necessary for the measurement and construction of the *vedis* and *agnis*, are collected in a separate chapter by Âpastamba and Baudhâyana Sûtra-kâras, and some are even stated in the Kâtîya Śulba Pariśiṣta (belonging to the Śukla Yajur Veda); but in the Mânava Śulba Sûtra, we find no vestiges thereof, although we would expect to find some of these geometrical rules, on which are based the constructions, in the first section, the Paribhâṣâ-khaṇḍam.

The Paribhâṣâ-khaṇḍam gives a description, which is not to be found in any other Śulba Sûtras, of the "rajju" and the "śaṅku" by means of which measurements were made. Kâtîya Śulba Sûtra gives one, and Mânava Śulba Sûtra gives four methods, for determining the East-West line, which is the basis of all constructions; but this is not given in the Âpastamba and Baudhâyana Śulba Sûtras. The latter proceed on the assumption that the East-West line is already determined, exactly as the

Mânava-sûtra-kâra proceeds on the assumption that the geometrical rules are well-known. These are some of the points of analogies and differences amongst the different systems of Śulba Sûtras.

Another very important point of difference is this. In constructing a perpendicular to a given straight line, the Mânava Sûtra-kâra, as the other Sûtra-kâras, makes use of certain rational right-angled triangles—but some of these alternative constructions are exact, *e.g.*, 40, 96, 104; 72, 96, 120; $2\frac{1}{2}$, 6, $6\frac{1}{2}$; 15, 36, 39; $7\frac{1}{2}$, 10, $12\frac{1}{2}$; while others are only approximate—*e.g.*, 36, 90, 97; 40, 40, 56; 5, 6, $7\frac{5}{6}$; 4, 4, $5\frac{2}{3}$. The other Śulba Sûtras never use any approximate rational right-angled triangles, excepting only one case, namely, two sides of a square and an approximate value of its diagonal (Âpastamba and Baudhâyana). In the above list, we get two different cases of such approximate constructions, 40, 40, 56; and 4, 4, $5\frac{2}{3}$; leading to two approximations to the value of the square root of 2, which are of course less accurate than that given in the Âpastamba and Baudhâyana Śulba Sûtras. Even in the case of exact rational right-angled triangles, the sides given by the Mânava Śulba Sûtra are not always integers, which is never the case with the other Śulba Sûtras.

Before I conclude I must express my indebtedness to Pundit Babuya Misra, Lecturer, Calcutta University, for the valuable assistance he rendered me in reading the manuscripts.

A brief account of the Contents is given below.

Section I.—Paribhâsâ Khaṇḍa.

1. Description of "Rajju."
2. Description of "Śaṅku."

3. Four methods of determining the East-West line, one of which is thus stated—"Draw a circle on the horizontal plane, and fix a gnomon vertically at the centre; make a mark A on the circumference where the shadow of the gnomon falls when the sun rises, and another mark B where the shadow falls when the sun sets; then AB gives the East-West direction."

4. Measures.—1 Puruṣa=120 Aṅgulas, 1 Puruṣa=5 Śayas, 1 Śaya=24 Angulas.
1 Aṅgula=8 Yavas (breadth-wise), 1 Prâdeśa=12 Aṅgulas, 1 Pada=10 Aṅgulas.
1 Pada=15 Aṅgulas, 1 Prakrama=2 Padas (in Iṣṭi-yâga), 3 Padas (in Paśu-yâga), $2\frac{1}{2}$ Padas (in Soma-yâga), 5 Padas (in Sâgnika Yajña).

5. Method of constructing a square.

Section II.—Páka-yâjñikî Vedi.

1. Construction of Pâka-yâjñikî Vedi, by means of the approximate rational right-angled triangle 36, 90, 97.

East Side=$2\frac{1}{2}$ Śayas (hands), Prâci=1 Śayas less 6 Aṅgulas (90 Aṅgulas), and West Side=3 Śayas.

Incidentally, $36^2+90^2=97^2$ approximately.

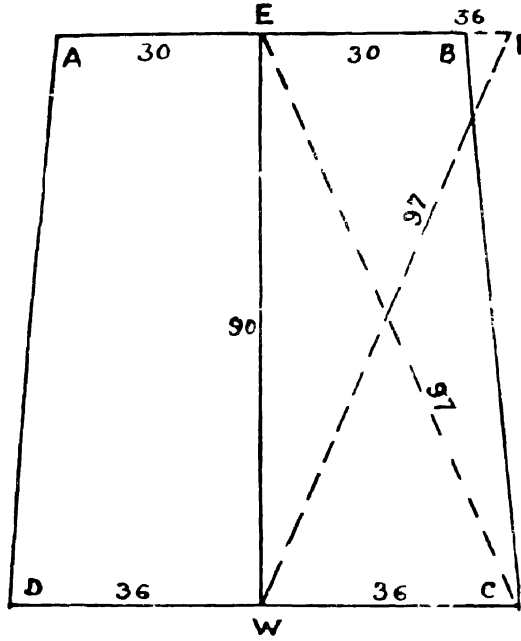
2. Curvature in the middle.

3. Kuṇḍam, a circle of radius 14 angulas less 1 Yava in the middle of the Vedi.

4. Utkaram, a circle of radius 6 aṅgulas, 2 padas to the north and 1 pada to the east of the Vedi.

5. Measures for a lakṣa-homa vedi—East Side=5 Śayas, Prâci=$7\frac{1}{2}$, West Side=6.

Measures for a Koṭi-homa vedi—East side=$12\frac{1}{2}$ Śayas, Prâci=$18\frac{3}{4}$, West Side=15.



PÂKA-YÂJÑIKÌ VEDI

EW = Prâcî = East-West Line = 90 Aṅgulis.
EA = EB = 30 Aṅgulis, WC = WD = 36 Aṅgulis.
EF = 36 Aṅgulis, EC = WF = 97 Aṅgulis.

6. In these cases, kuṇḍam is a circle of radius 27 aṅgulas.

Section III.—Darśa-paurṇamâsikî Vedi, etc.

1. Construction of Darśa-paurṇa-mâsikî Vedi.

(*a*) *First Method.*—By a uniform string, 96 aṅgulis long, by the approximate rational right-angled triangle 40, 40, 56.

Incidentally we find that $40^2+40^2=(96-40)^2$, *i.e.*, $\sqrt{2}=\frac{56}{40}$ approximately, which is equal to the third convergent of $\sqrt{2}$ expressed as a continued fraction.

(*b*) *Second Method.*—By a uniform string $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as long, *i.e.*, 144 aṅgulis.

The rational right-angled triangle 40, 96, 104 (*i.e.*, 8 times 5, 12, 13) is made use of.

(*c*) *Third Method.*—By a uniform string twice as long as that of the first case (192 ang.).

The rational right-angled triangle 72, 96, 120 (*i.e.*, 24 times 3, 4, 5) is used.

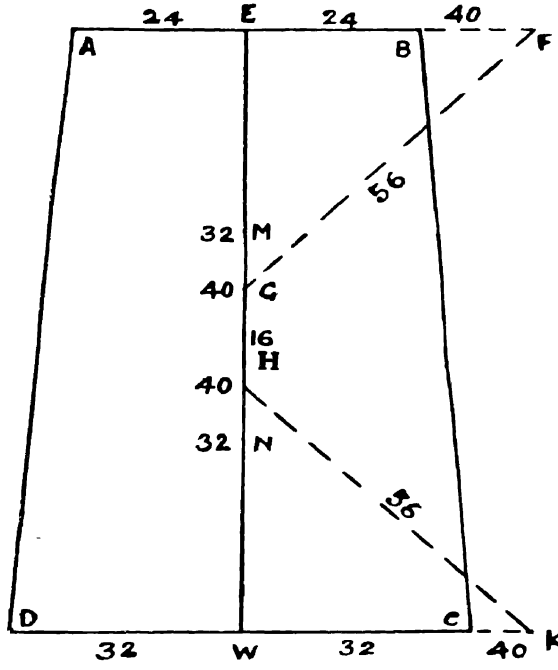
Next is described the method of bending the sides of the vedi.

2. The position and measure of the "Gârhapatya," "Âhavanîya," "Dakṣiṇâgni," "Utkara," etc.

(*a*) Gârhapatya-kuṇḍam is a circle of radius 14 aṅgulis less 1 yava, between the two Śroṇîs and just to the west of the curved line joining the śroṇîs.

(*b*) Âhavanîya—is a square of 1 aratni, midway between the two aṁsas, just to the east of the curved line joining them.

(*c*) Dakṣiṇâgni—is a semi-circle of radius $19\frac{1}{2}$ aṅgulis, the circular portion being to the south of the diameter, which runs due east and west.



DÂRŚA-PAURṆAMÂSIKÎ VEDI

EW = Prâcî = 96 Aṅgulis.
EA = EB = 24 Aṅgulis ; WC = WD = 32 Aṅgulis.
EF = EG = WH = WK = 40 Aṅgulis ;
FG = HK = 56 Aṅgulis.
EM = MN = NW = 32 Aṅgulis.
GH = 16 Aṅgulis.

(*d*) Utkara.
(*e*) Sabhya agni.
(*f*) Âvasathya agni.

Section IV,—Mârutî, Vârunî, Pitreṣṭi and Pâśukî Vedis.

1. Mârutî and Vârunî Vedis, one to the south of the other.

Measures—(*a*) East Side of the North Vedi=3 Śayas, Prâchi=6, West Side=4;
(*b*) East Side of the South Vedi=$1\frac{1}{2}$ Śayas, Prâci=6, West Side=2.

Method of construction—by a uniform string, 12 śayas 20 ang. long (wrongly given as 12 śayas 18 aṅg. by the commentator).

The rational right-angled triangle with sides 5, 6, $7\frac{1}{2}$ is used.

Measurement of the Uttara-vedi in connection with the above. It is a square on 1 aratni.

2. Pitreṣṭi Vedi, square-shaped, each side 4 aratnis, corners pointing to East, West. North, South.

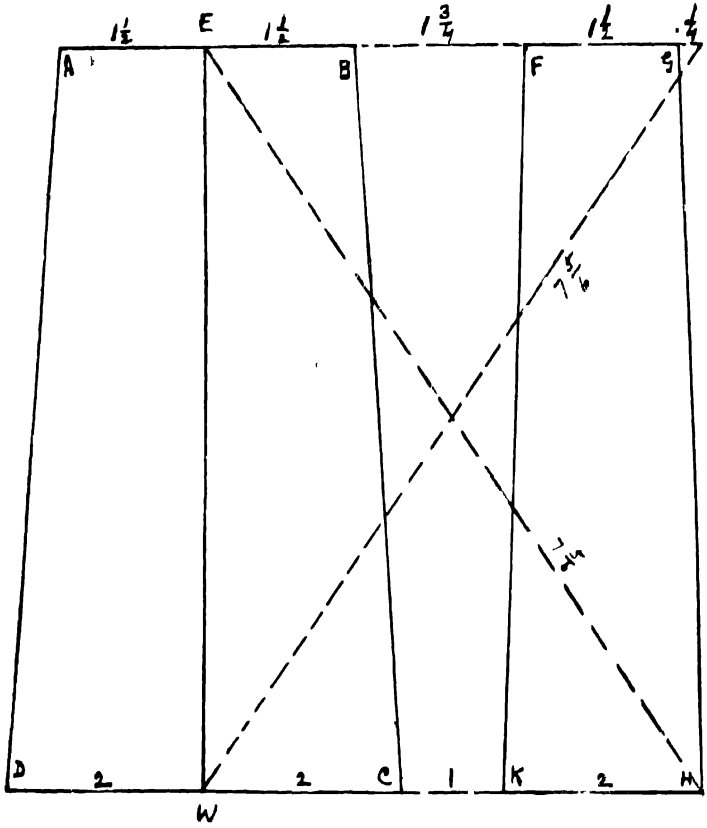
Incidentally we find $4\sqrt{2}=5\frac{3}{5}$, *i.e.* $\sqrt{2}=\frac{17}{12}$, fourth convergent of $\sqrt{2}$ expressed as a continued fraction.

3. Pâśukî Vedi.

Measures—East Side=3 aratnis, Prâci=6 aratnis, West Side=4 aratnis.

Four methods of construction are given, the last really referring to the construction of the Uttaravedi in connection with this Vedi, the first two are exactly alike, the third slightly differing from the first two.

The construction is by means of a uniform string 9 aratnis long, making use of the rational right-angled triangle with sides $2\frac{1}{2}$, 6 and $6\frac{1}{2}$ aratnis, *i.e.*, half of 5, 12, 13.



MÂRUTI AND VÂRUṆI VEDIS

EW = Prâcî = 6 Hands. EA = EB = 1½ Hands; WC = WD = 2 Hands.
BF = 1¾ Hands; CK = 1 Hand; FG = 1½ Hands; HK = 2 Hands.
GM = ¼ Hand. EH = WM = 7⅚ Hands.

Section V.—Agniṣṭoma.

1. Description of certain vessels used in the "Soma Yajña."

2. Construction of Maṇḍapa, Vedi, Dhiṣṇyas, etc., for Agniṣṭoma Yajña.

Total area = 60 prakramas square.

(*a*) Vali-śâlam, 4 aratnis square, with a door in the East.

(*b*) Prâgvaṁśam, to the East of Valiśâlam. It is a square on 10 aratnis, with four passages on the four sides.

(*c*) Mahâvedi, 3 prakramas to the East of Prâgvaṁśam.

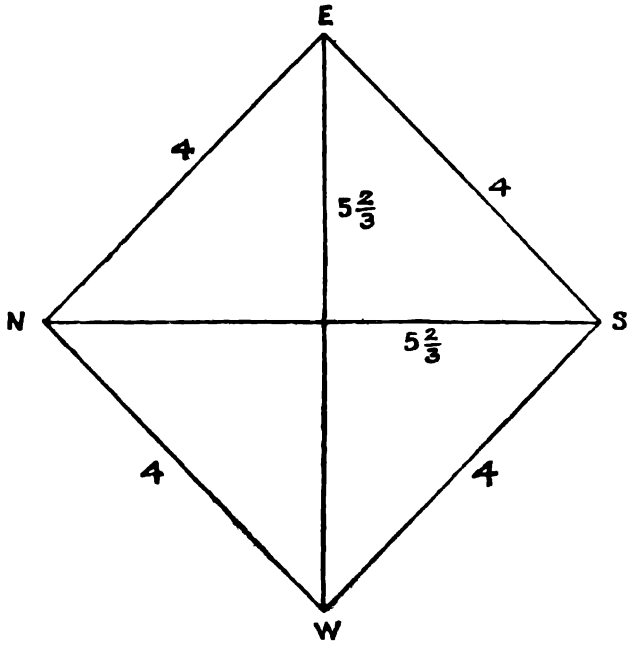
Measures—Prâci = 36 prakramas, East Side = 24, West Side = 30.

Construction is by means of a uniform string, 54 prakramas long, making use of the rational right-angled triangle 15, 36, 39.

(*d*) Uttaravedi, measuring 10 square aratnis, in the Mahâvedi, on the East Side, one pada to the West of "yupâvati-śaṅku."

3. Measure of "prakrama" in Yupaikâdaśinî Vedi, which requires more space.

In this case, Prakrama = one-twenty-fourth part of 10 rathâkṣas (40 aratnis) and 7 aratnis less 3 aṅgulis, and thus a prakrama is equal to 47 aṅgulis less 1 yava. The object is this. The East side of the Mahâvedi in this case should be equal in length to that occupied by the 11 yupâvatis, each a circle of 15 aṅgulis in diameter, and 4 aratnis distant from one another. As the East side is to measure 24 prakramas, each prakrama is $\frac{1}{24}$th part of this length. If the total length is expressed in aratnis, the prakrama is expressed



PITREṢṬI VEDI

EW = Prâcî = $5\frac{2}{3}$ Aratnis (Hands).

ESWN = Square on 4 Aratnis, EW and NS being Diagonals, each $5\frac{2}{3}$ Aratnis.

by the same number in aṅgulis. The whole Mahâvedi is to be measured out with this unit.

Rathâkṣa=Vyâyâma=Yuga=4 aratnis=1 puruṣa (in "anagnika" yajñas).

Alternatively, a Prakrama may be taken equal to 48 aṅgulis. Method of placing the yupâvatas in this case.

Description of "prâk yupaikâdaśinî." And circumference of Yupâvatas.

4. Measure of a "prakrama" for Aśvamedha and Sarvamedha Vedis.

Section VI.—Sadas, Havirdhâna, etc., in Saumikî and other Vedis.

1. *Sadas.*—It is a rectangle measuring 9 aratnis, east to west, and 27 aratnis, north to south, situated in the Mahâvedi, 3 Prakramas to the east of its western side. It is constructed by a uniform string 18 aratnis long. Passages are provided for in the East and the West.

2. Measurement of the "Dhiṣṇyas" in the Sadas. The 6 "dhiṣṇyas" are placed in a line running north and south, one pada to the east of the middle north-south line of the sadas. The hotrîyam (dhiṣṇya No. 5) is just to the north of the pṛṣṭhyâ, 4 other dhiṣṇyas are placed to the north of this; they are all 28 aṅgulis in diameter, and 42 aṅgulis distant from one another; the 6th dhiṣṇya, "maitrâvaruṇîyam," is two prakramasto the south of the 5th "hotrîyam." From the north to the south we have 6 dhiṣṇyas—(1) Acchâvâk, (2) Neṣṭâ, (3) Potâ, (4) Brâhmanâcchaṁsî, (5) Hotâ, (6) Maitrâvaruṇa.

3. Havirdhâna.—It is, like Prâgvaṁśam, 10 aratnis square, 3 prakramas to the west of the Uttaravedi. The construction is by means of a uniform string, 20 aratnis long, making use of the rational right-angled triangle—$7\frac{1}{2}$, 10, $12\frac{1}{2}$.

4. The position and measurement of "Khara" in Havirdhâna.

5. The position of "Methî" in Havirdhâna. (See Aitar. Brah., Sec. 3, Ch. 5.)

6. "Uparavas"—four in number, at the four corners of a square on 1 aratni, are circles with a radius of half a prâdeśa, and 1 prâdeśa distant from one another.

7. Mudgara.

8. Âgnidhra Dhiṣṇya, a square of side 6 aratnis, with passage on the south, placed at the middle of the northern side of the Mahâvedi. Its prâchî is parallel to that of the Mahâvedi, $1\frac{1}{2}$ prakramas to the north of the northern aṁsa, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ prakramas to the south of the northern śroṇî. The centre of the Dhiṣṇya is the intersection of this prâcî and the north side of the Mahâvedi.

Section VII—Dakṣiṇâ Vicâra and Suparṇa Citi.

1. Dakṣiṇâ Vicâra. Certain measures connected with the payment of Dakṣiṇâ.

3 Valas=1 Sarṣapa, 3 Sarṣapas=1 Yava, 3 Yavas=1 Kṛṣṇalam, 3 Kṛṣṇalam=1 Mâna, 64 Kṛṣṇalam=1 Suvarṇa-Mâna, 49 Mânas=1 Niṣka.

Niṣka is also a species of Necklace.

2. Description and measurement of Suparṇa-citi.

Suparṇa-citi consists of (1) the *Âtmâ*, measuring 4 square puruṣas, (2) and (3) *the northern and southern wings*, 1 puruṣa by 1 puruṣa and 1 aratni each, (4) *the Puccha*, 1 puruṣ by 1 puruṣa and 1 prâdeśa, and, according to the Mânava School of the Maitrâyaṇîya Śâkhâ, (5) *the Head*, $\frac{1}{2}$ puruṣa by $\frac{1}{2}$ puruṣa to the East of the Âtmâ.

According to other schools of the Maitrâyaṇîya Śâkhâ, the *Citi* is without Head.

Position of the *Citi*—the western boundary of the *Puccha* is 3 prakramas (=15 padas) to the East of "Havirdhâna," the *Citi* thus overlapping the *Uttaravedi*.

পঞ্চম অধ্যায়।

অদ্বৈত-বাদের মূল—ঋগ্বেদে।

১। পাঠক দেখিয়াছেন—অদ্বৈতবাদের সিদ্ধান্ত এই যে, জগতে যাহা কিছু বিকাশিত হইয়া রহিয়াছে, তৎসমস্তেরই মূলে এক মহীয়সী চেতন-সত্তা বিদ্যমান। এই চেতন-সত্তা আপনাকে না হারাইয়া,—আপন স্বরূপে ঠিক্ থাকিয়াই—জগতের অসংখ্য নাম-রূপাদির আকারে বিকাশিত হইয়াছেন। জগতের নাম-রূপাদি—সেই সত্তারই আংশিক বিকাশ বা অভিব্যক্তি। ইহারা তাঁহারই অনন্ত ঐশ্বর্য্যের পরিচায়ক। নীলকণ্ঠ ব্যাখ্যা করিয়াছেন—

"নিত্যসিদ্ধ আত্মা আনন্দাখ্যঃ।
আনন্দস্যৈব নিত্যমৈশ্বর্য্যং
মায়য়া অভিব্যজ্যতে"
মহাভারত বনপর্ব্ব, ২১৩ অঃ।

আমরা দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি, ভারতীয় অদ্বৈত-বাদের ইহাই মৌলিক তত্ত্ব।

ঋগ্বেদে যে সকল দেবতা—ইন্দ্র, চন্দ্র, সবিতা, দ্যৌঃ প্রভৃতি—উল্লিখিত আছে, এই দেবতাবর্গ, সেই চৈতন্য-শক্তিরই 'অধিদৈবিক' বিকাশ। সেই চৈতন্য-সত্তাই ইহাদিগের প্রবর্ত্তক—প্রেরক।—

"তত্রৈব মুখ্যং প্রবর্ত্তকত্বং দর্শয়তি।"

তিনিই আপনাকে এই সকল দেবতার মধ্যে বিকাশিত করিতেছেন। দেবতাবর্গের মূলে এই চৈতন্য-সত্তাই অবস্থান করিতেছেন। আমরা ঋগ্বেদের

সর্ব্বত্র এই মহান্ অদ্বৈতবাদের সমাচার প্রাপ্ত হই। ঋগ্বেদ যে—প্রাকৃতিক জড়ীয় পদার্থের বিবরণ দেয় না; ঋগ্বেদের দেবতাবর্গ যে ভয়-বিস্ময়-বিহ্বল আদিম অর্দ্ধ-সভ্য কৃষকবর্গের ভীতি-বিমূঢ় চিত্তের গীতি প্রকাশক গ্রন্থ নহে; —এই তত্ত্বটী আমরা এই অধ্যায়ে আলোচনা করিব। শঙ্করাচার্য্য, তাঁহার ব্যাখ্যাত অদ্বৈত-বাদটীকে যে এই ঋগ্বেদ হইতেই গ্রহণ করিয়াছিলেন, নূতন কিছু আবিষ্কার করেন নাই,—সে কথাও এই অধ্যায়ে পরিস্ফুট হইয়া পড়িবে। কথাটা আপাততঃ কিছু নূতন বলিয়া বোধ হইতে পারে; কিন্তু ইহাতে নূতনত্ব কিছুই নাই।

২। আমরা বেদান্ত-দর্শনের প্রথম অধ্যায়ের প্রথম পাদে, ২২ সূত্র হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া এই পাদের শেষ পর্য্যন্ত কতকগুলি সূত্র দেখিতে পাই। এই সূত্র-গুলি রচিত হইবার কারণ কি? এই সূত্র-গুলিতে কি মীমাংসাই বা প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে? এই মীমাংসার উল্লেখ করা এস্থলে নিতান্তই আবশ্যক।

আকাশ, প্রাণ, আদিত্য, জ্যোতিঃ (সূর্য্য ও অগ্নি), গায়ত্রী ছন্দ—এই সকল শব্দ প্রায় প্রত্যেক উপনিষদেই প্রচুর-রূপে ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে। সকলেই জানেন যে, এই শব্দগুলি জড় ভৌতিক সূর্য্য প্রভৃতি পদার্থকেই বুঝাইয়া থাকে। কিন্তু উপনিষদের নানাস্থানে, এই সকল শব্দের সহিত এমন কতকগুলি বিশেষণ প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে যে, সেই সকল বিশেষণ একমাত্র ব্রহ্ম-চৈতন্যের প্রতিই প্রয়োগ করা যাইতে পারে; কোন ভৌতিক জড়-পদার্থে ঐ সকল বিশেষণ ব্যবহার করা যাইতে পারে না। শ্রুতির অনেক স্থলে এইরূপ বর্ণনা দৃষ্ট হয়ঃ—

"আকাশ হইতেই ভূত সকল উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে, আকাশেই অবস্থান করিতেছে, আবার (প্রলয়ে) আকাশেই অস্তমিত হইবে—বিলয় প্রাপ্ত হইবে।" "পৃথিবী, দেহ, বাক্য, মন প্রভৃতি সকলই—গায়ত্রীরই পাদ বা অংশ, গায়ত্রীই এই জগৎ"। "এই সকল পরিদৃশ্যমান স্থূলভূতগুলি—প্রাণেই বিলীন হইয়া যায় এবং উৎপত্তি-কালে প্রাণ হইতেই উৎপন্ন হইয়া থাকে"। "এই যে আকাশে একটী প্রদীপ্ত জ্যোতি দেখা যাইতেছে, এই জ্যোতিঃ সকল প্রাণীর উপরে অবস্থিত এবং উহা ভূরাদি লোক গুলিরও অতীত"। "আকাশই তাবৎ নাম-রূপের অভিব্যক্তি-কর্ত্তা; ইহাই ব্রহ্ম"।—ইত্যাদি।

এখন কথা হইতেছে এই যে, এই প্রকার বর্ণনা বা বিশেষণ কি প্রকারে জড় আকাশ, জড় সূর্য্য প্রভৃতি পদার্থের প্রতি প্রযুক্ত হইল? তবে কি শ্রুতির আকাশ, প্রাণ, সূর্য্য প্রভৃতি শব্দ,—সকলের পরিচিত ভৌতিক পদার্থ গুলিকে বুঝাইতেছে না? এই সন্দেহের একটা মীমাংসা আবশ্যক। এই মীমাংসার জন্যই বেদান্ত-দর্শনে অতগুলি সূত্র রচিত হইয়াছে। ভাষ্যকার এই সকল সূত্রের ভাষ্যে যে মীমাংসায় উপনীত হইয়াছেন, তাহা এস্থলে সংক্ষেপে উল্লিখিত হইতেছে। তিনি বলিয়াছেন যে—আকাশ, সূর্য্য প্রভৃতি শব্দ অবশ্যই সকলের সুপরিচিত ভৌতিক আকাশাদি পদার্থকেই বুঝাইতেছে; উহারা অপর কোন বস্তুকে বুঝাইতেছে না। কিন্তু একটী কথা আছে। উহাদিগের প্রতি যে সকল বিশেষণ প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে, তদ্দ্বারা—আকাশ, সূর্য্য-জ্যোতিঃ, প্রাণ প্রভৃতি জড়বর্গের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাকেই বুঝিতে হইবে। সকল কার্য্যের মধ্যেই কারণ-সত্তা অনুপ্রবিষ্ট রহিয়াছেন। কেন না, কারণ-সত্তা হইতে কার্য্য-বর্গের স্বতন্ত্র সত্তা থাকিতে পারে না*।

কিন্তু কথা এই যে, যদি অনুপ্রবিষ্ট কারণ-সত্তাকে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই ঐ বিশেষণ-গুলি প্রযুক্ত হইয়া থাকে, তবে তাহা স্পষ্ট না বলিয়া,—আকাশ, সূর্য্য প্রভৃতি জড়-বস্তুই বা উল্লিখিত হইল কেন? ভাষ্যকার ইহার উত্তরে বলিয়াছেন যে,—'কোন কার্য্যেরই কারণ-সত্তা হইতে স্বতন্ত্র সত্তা নাই'। তত্ত্বদর্শীর নিকটে, কার্য্যবর্গ—উহার কারণ হইতে স্বতন্ত্র কোন বস্তু নহে। সুতরাং স্বতন্ত্র নহে বলিয়াই, ঐ সকল শব্দ দ্বারা কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাই বুঝিতে হইবে। কিন্তু এ প্রকার সিদ্ধান্তেরই বা কারণ কি? কারণ এই যে, আকাশাদি শব্দে প্রচুর পরিমাণে "ব্রহ্ম-লিঙ্গ" বা ব্রহ্মের পরিচায়ক চিহ্ন বর্ত্তমান আছে। যে সকল পদার্থে 'ব্রহ্ম-লিঙ্গ' বা ব্রহ্মের পরিচায়ক চিহ্ন থাকে, সেই সকল শব্দ দ্বারা সেই পদার্থ-গুলিকে না বুঝাইয়া, সেই সকল পদার্থে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাকেই বুঝিতে হইবে। ভাষ্যকারের এই মন্তব্যটী বিশেষরূপে মনে রাখা আবশ্যক।

* "বিকারে ঽনুগতং জগৎ-কারণং ব্রহ্ম নির্দ্দিষ্টং—'তদিদং সর্ব্বং' মিত্যুচ্যতে, যথা 'সর্ব্বং খল্বিদং ব্রহ্মেতি। কার্য্যঞ্চ কারণাদব্যতিরিক্ত মিতি বক্ষ্যামঃ"—১।১।২৫

"আকাশ হইতে ভূতসকল উৎপন্ন হয়, আকাশেই লীন হইয়া যায়"—এ সকল কথা ত 'ব্রহ্ম-লিঙ্গ' বা ব্রহ্মেরই পরিচায়ক চিহ্ন। সুতরাং আকাশাদি শব্দ কোন ভৌতিক পদার্থকে বুঝাইতেছে না। ঐ সকল শব্দ, প্রকৃত পক্ষে আকাশাদির মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তাকে বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাকেই নির্দ্দেশ করিতেছে। ইহাই বেদান্ত-দর্শনের মীমাংসা। কিন্তু বেদান্তের এই মীমাংসার মূল, ঋগ্বেদের মধ্যেই নিহিত আছে। আমরা ঋগ্বেদের দেবতাবর্গে প্রচুর "ব্রহ্মলিঙ্গ" বা ব্রহ্মের পরিচায়ক চিহ্ন দেখিতে পাই।

৩। বেদান্ত-দর্শনে দুইটা দৃষ্টির কথা আমরা উল্লিখিত দেখিতে পাই। এক—পরমার্থ দৃষ্টি; অপর—ব্যবহারিক দৃষ্টি। দুই প্রকার অনুভব হইতে এই দুই প্রকার দৃষ্টির কথা বলা হইয়াছে। সুতরাং এই দুই প্রকার দৃষ্টির মধ্যে প্রকৃত কোন বিরোধ নাই*। অজ্ঞ সাধারণ লোক যে ভাবে এই জগৎকে অনুভব করিয়া থাকে, তাহার নাম 'ব্যবহারিক দৃষ্টি'। আর, তত্ত্বজ্ঞ দার্শনিক যে ভাবে এই জগৎকে দেখিয়া থাকেন, তাহার নাম 'পরমার্থ দৃষ্টি'।

তত্ত্বজ্ঞ ব্যক্তি—এই নাম-রূপাত্মক জগতে কেবল এক ব্রহ্ম সত্তাকেই অনুস্যূত দেখিতে পান। তত্ত্বদর্শিগণ, নাম-রূপাদি বস্তুর কাহারই 'স্বতন্ত্র,' স্বাধীন সত্তা অনুভব করিতে পারেন না। তাঁহারা ভাবেন যে, সকল পদার্থের মধ্যেই এক কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা অনুপ্রবিষ্ট রহিয়াছেন। এই কারণ-সত্তাতেই কার্য্য-বর্গের সত্তা,—ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাতেই নাম-রূপগুলির সত্তা। উহাদের কাহারই নিজের কোন স্বতন্ত্র স্বাধীন সত্তা নাই।

কিন্তু সাধারণ অজ্ঞ লোক, এ ভাবে জগৎকে অনুভব করিতে সমর্থ হয় না। তাহারা প্রত্যেক পদার্থকে স্বতন্ত্র স্বতন্ত্র স্বাধীন সত্তা-বিশিষ্ট বলিয়া মনে করিয়া লয়। ইহারা কারণ-সত্তার কোন খবর রাখে না। কার্য্যবর্গ লইয়াই, নাম-রূপাত্মক অংশ লইয়াই—ইহারা যাবজ্জীবন মহাব্যস্ত থাকে।

---

* "ভ্রান্তস্তু স্বকীয়া পরাধাদেব ভুজঙ্গং পরিকল্প্য ভীতঃ সন্ পলায়তে। ন চ তত্র বিবেকিনো বচনং মৃঢ়দৃষ্ট্যা বিরুধ্যতে। তথা পরমার্থ-কূটস্থাত্মদর্শনং ব্যবহারিকজনাদিবচনেন অবিরুদ্ধং"—মাং ভাং আনন্দ-গিরি।

"তৈঃ দ্বৈতৈঃ সর্ব্বানন্তত্বাৎ আত্মৈকত্বদর্শনপক্ষো ন বিরুধ্যতে"—মাং কাং শঙ্কর ভাষ্য, ৩।১৭-১৮

বেদান্ত-কথিত একটা দৃষ্টান্ত গ্রহণ করুন।—

(১) অজ্ঞ সাধারণ লোক মনে করে যে, স্বর্ণ ইত হার, বলয়, কুণ্ডলাদি পদার্থে পরিণত হইয়াছে। সুতরাং হার, বলয়, কুণ্ডলাদি পদার্থ প্রত্যেকেই এক একটা স্বতন্ত্র, স্বাধীন পদার্থ। স্বর্ণ-সত্তাই যে হারাদির মধ্যে অনুপ্রবিষ্ট; হারাদি আকার ধারণ করাতেও, স্বর্ণ-সত্তার প্রকৃতরূপে যে ক্ষতি-বৃদ্ধি হয় নাই,—এ তত্ত্বটী ইহারা ধারণা করিতে পারে না। ইহাই ব্যবহারিক দৃষ্টি।

(২) তত্ত্বজ্ঞ, পরমার্থদর্শী যাঁহারা, তাঁহারা এরূপ ভ্রমে পড়েন না। হার, বলয়, কুণ্ডলাদিকে স্বতন্ত্র, স্বাধীন বস্তু বলিয়া তাঁহারা অনুভব করিতে পারেন না। স্বর্ণ-সত্তাকে তুলিয়া লইলে, হার বলয় কুণ্ডলাদি থাকে না। সুতরাং স্বর্ণ-সত্তাতেই উহাদের সত্তা। স্বর্ণসত্তাই প্রকৃত সত্তা; হারাদি আকারগুলি সেই সত্তারই পরিচায়ক মাত্র; কোন স্বতন্ত্র বস্তু নহে। হারাদি আকারের ভেদে, অবস্থার পরিবর্ত্তনে, অনুপ্রবিষ্ট স্বর্ণ-সত্তার কোন পরিবর্ত্তন হয় না। ইহাই পরমার্থ দৃষ্টি।

সুতরাং অজ্ঞের দৃষ্টিতে ও তত্ত্বজ্ঞের দৃষ্টিতে আকাশ পাতাল প্রভেদ। কারণ-সত্তা ব্যতীত কাহারই স্বতন্ত্র সত্তা নাই। ইহাই অদ্বৈতবাদের সিদ্ধান্ত। শঙ্কর মীমাংসা করিয়াছেন যে—"নাম-রূপের দ্বারা, আকারের দ্বারাই, জগৎ 'অসত্য'; কিন্তু ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা দ্বারা জগৎ 'সত্য'*। জগতের ক্রমোচ্চ বিকাশের —জগতের প্রত্যেক পদার্থের অন্তরালে—যে কারণ-সত্তা অনুস্যূত হইয়া আসিতেছেন,—উহা চির-সিদ্ধ, উহা পরমার্থতঃ সত্য†। কেবল নাম-রূপ গুলিই অস্থির, পরিবর্ত্তনশীল—অসত্য। নামরূপগুলিকে, উহাদের অন্তরাল-বর্ত্তী সত্তা হইতে স্বতন্ত্র করিয়া লইয়া যদি ঐ গুলিকে লইয়াই কেবল ব্যস্ত থাক; অনুপ্রবিষ্ট কারণ-সত্তাটীকে ভুলিয়া যাও;—তবেই তুমি ভুল

---

* "সর্ব্বত্র যে বুদ্ধী সর্ব্বৈরুপলভ্যেতে সমানাধিকরণে। সন্ ঘটঃ, সন্ পটঃ…ইত্যেবং সর্ব্বত্র। তয়ো র্বুদ্ধ্যোঃ ঘটাদিবুদ্ধি র্ব্যভিচরতি…নতু সদ্বুদ্ধিঃ" গী° ভা°, ২।১৬।

"বিশেষাকারমাত্রন্তু সর্ব্বেষাং মিথ্যা; স্বতঃ সন্মাত্র-রূপতয়াচ সত্যং"—ছা° ভা°, ৮।৫।৪

"পরমাত্মতত্ত্বাৎ…'অন্যৎ'…'বস্তুন্তরং'… সর্ব্বং স্বপ্ন-মায়া-মরীচ্যাদিকাদিসম মসারং"—বৃ° ভা°।

† "স্থাবরত্বাদারভ্য 'উপর্য্যুপরি' আবিস্তরত্ব মাত্মনঃ…আত্ম-প্রকাশনায়"—ঐ° আ° ভাষ্য।

‡ "যৎ প্রাগেব সিদ্ধং, পশ্চাদপি অবশিষ্যমাণং…তত্র কল্পিতং, কিন্তু স্বতঃসিদ্ধং।…স্বরূপেণ অকল্পিতস্য 'সংসৃষ্টরূপেণ' কল্পিতত্বমিষ্টং" (মা° কা° ভাষ্য আনন্দগিরি)।

করিলে। ভ্রমের প্রকৃত বীজ এই খানে।* নাম-রূপাকারে অভিব্যক্ত হইলেও,—অন্তরালবর্ত্তী ব্রহ্মসত্তা কোন 'স্বতন্ত্র' বস্তু হইয়া উঠিলেন না;—উহার আপন স্বরূপের কোন ক্ষতি বা পরিবর্ত্তন হইল না। উহা পূর্ব্বেও যে ব্রহ্মবস্তু, এখনও সেই ব্রহ্মবস্তু। কেন না, অভিব্যক্ত নাম-রূপাদি—তাঁহার স্বরূপেরই পরিচায়ক মাত্র, কোন স্বতন্ত্র বস্তু নহে।

ইহাই শঙ্করের সিদ্ধান্ত; ইহাই বৈদান্তিক অদ্বৈত-বাদ। পাঠক এ তত্ত্ব এই গ্রন্থে দেখিয়া আসিয়াছেন।

৪। কিন্তু এই অদ্বৈতবাদ, ভারতের অতি প্রাচীন সম্পত্তি। ইহা শঙ্করের নিজের আবিষ্কার নহে। ঋগ্বেদের মধ্যেই এই অদ্বৈত-বাদ অতীব পরিস্ফুট। ঋগ্বেদে যে সাধন-প্রণালী আছে, ঋগ্বেদে যে দেবতাবর্গের উপাসনা-কাণ্ড গ্রথিত রহিয়াছে,—তাহার মধ্যেই অতি সুস্পষ্ট-রূপে এই অদ্বৈত-বাদ নিহিত আছে। ঋগ্বেদের প্রথম মণ্ডল হইতে দশম মণ্ডল পর্য্যন্ত, একটা বিশাল একত্বের সমাচার, একটা প্রকাণ্ড অদ্বৈত-বাদ—সুস্পষ্ট-রূপে প্রকটিত রহিয়াছে। সর্ব্বাত্মক, সর্ব্ব-ব্যাপী ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাই ঋগ্বেদের মুখ্য উপাস্য বস্তু। কার্য্যবর্গের মধ্যে অনুপ্রবিষ্ট 'কারণ-সত্তার' অনুসন্ধানই ঋগ্বেদের চরম লক্ষ্য। বর্ত্তমান-কালে ঋগ্বেদের পঠন-পাঠনা দেশ হইতে প্রায় উঠিয়া গিয়াছে। তাই, অনেকের নিকটে এ সকল কথা ভিত্তি-হীন বলিয়া বিবেচিত হইতে পারে, সন্দেহ নাই। কিন্তু আমরা কোন্ প্রমাণের বলে এরূপ কথা বলিতে সাহসী হইতেছি, পাঠকবর্গকে আমরা তাহার উপহার দিব। পাঠক ক্রমে তাহা দেখিতে পাইবেন।

বেদান্ত-ভাষ্যের প্রথম পাদে শঙ্করাচার্য্য—আকাশ, সূর্য্য, প্রাণ, প্রভৃতি শব্দ-গুলি যে জড়ীয় ভৌতিক পদার্থকেই কেবল বুঝায় না; উহাদের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তাই যে ঐ সকল শব্দের প্রকৃত লক্ষ্য—এই সিদ্ধান্ত করিয়া দিয়া, ১।১।২৫ সূত্রের ভাষ্যে, তিনি একটী নিজের প্রাণের কথা লিপিবদ্ধ করিয়াছেন। সেই মন্তব্যটীর অর্থ এই ঃ—

"যাঁহারা ঋগ্বেদী—ঋগ্বেদানুসারে যজ্ঞকারী, তাঁহারা তাঁহাদের শাস্ত্রে সকল বিকারে অনুস্যূত, জগৎ-কারণ ব্রহ্মেরই উপাসনা করিয়া থাকেন। যাঁহারা যজুর্ব্বেদী, তাঁহারা

* "অতএব দ্বৈতভেদেন 'অন্যথা' গৃহ্যমানত্বাৎ, নাসত্যং কস্যচিদ্বস্তুনো বয়ং ক্রমঃ" (ছা° ভা°, ৬।২।১)। "নহি কারণব্যতিরেকেণ কার্য্যং নাম বস্তুতোঽস্তি, যতঃ কারণবুদ্ধির্বিনিবর্ত্তেত"।

যজ্ঞীয় অগ্নির মধ্যে এই ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাকেই উপাসনা করেন। যাঁহারা সামবেদী, তাঁহারাও মহাব্রত নামক যজ্ঞে এই ব্রহ্মেরই উপাসনা করেন*।

শঙ্করাচার্য্যের এই উদ্ধৃত মন্তব্যটী অনিবার্য্যরূপে এই তত্ত্বই প্রকাশ করিতেছে যে,—যাঁহারা তত্ত্বদর্শী উন্নত সাধক, তাঁহারা যজ্ঞে ও যজ্ঞীয় অগ্ন্যাদিতে এক জগৎ-কারণ ব্রহ্ম-সত্তারই ভাবনা করেন—ব্রহ্মকেই অনুসন্ধান করেন। এই মন্তব্য হইতেই শঙ্করের হৃদয়-গত বিশ্বাস বুঝা যাইতেছে। কিন্তু শঙ্করাচার্য্য কেবল যে এইরূপ বিশ্বাস পোষণ করিয়াই নীরব ছিলেন তাহা নহে। তিনি উপনিষদের শ্লোক-ব্যাখ্যায় স্থানে স্থানে, একই শ্লোকের, কর্ম্ম-পক্ষে ও ব্রহ্ম-পক্ষে—উভয়পক্ষেই ব্যাখ্যা করিয়াছেন। পাঠক কঠোপনিষদের দ্বিতীয় অধ্যায়ের, চতুর্থবল্লীর ৮ম শ্লোকটীর ব্যাখ্যা দৃষ্টান্তরূপে, গ্রহণ করিয়া দেখুন্। এই শ্লোকটী প্রকৃতপক্ষে ঋগ্বেদেরই একটী শ্লোক। একই উপাস্য অগ্নিকে সাধকেরা অধিকার-ভেদে দুই প্রকারে অনুভব করেন, শঙ্কর তাহাই বলিয়া দিয়াছেন। কর্ম্মীগণ যজ্ঞীয় অগ্নিকে ঘৃতাদি দ্বারা উপাসনা করেন। কিন্তু জাগরণশীল, তত্ত্বদর্শীগণ সেই অগ্নিকেই 'হৃদয়ে' হিরণ্যগর্ভরূপে ভাবনা করেন—সেই অগ্নিতেই কারণ-সত্তার ধ্যান করেন। এই শ্লোকটীর মধ্যে যে সকল শব্দ আছে, সেই শব্দগুলিই দুই প্রকার সাধককে লক্ষ্য করে। "হবিষ্যন্তিঃ" শব্দদ্বারা কেবল কর্ম্মীকে বুঝাইতেছে। আর, "জাগৃবদ্ভিঃ" শব্দদ্বারা মনন-পরায়ণ, জাগরণ-শীল, তত্ত্বদর্শীকে বুঝাইতেছে। আমরা, তাহা হইলেই, দেখিতেছি যে ঋগ্বেদের মন্ত্রের মধ্যেই স্পষ্ট করিয়া, দুই শ্রেণীর সাধক ও সাধনের কথা উল্লিখিত রহিয়াছে। শঙ্করও ঋগ্বেদের এই রহস্যই গ্রহণ করিয়াছেন। অগ্নি যে কর্ম্মীগণের উপাস্য কেবলমাত্র ভৌতিক অগ্নি তাহা নহে; এই অগ্নির মধ্যে যে কারণ-সত্তা অবস্থান করিতেছেন, ভাষ্যকার তাহাই বলিয়া দিলেন। শঙ্কর, উপনিষদের অন্যস্থলেও, একই শ্লোকের দুইপক্ষে—ব্যাখ্যা করিয়াছেন। বাহুল্য-ভয়ে উদ্ধৃত হইল না। শঙ্কর বিশ্বাস করিতেন যে, কেবল-কর্ম্মীগণ অগ্ন্যাদি উপাস্য বস্তুকে স্বতন্ত্র স্বতন্ত্র দেবতাবোধে ঘৃতাদি দ্বারা উপাসনা করেন; কিন্তু

* "এতং হ্যেব বহ্বৃচঃ মহত্যুক্থে মীমাংসতে, এতমগ্না বধ্বর্য্যবঃ, এতং মহাব্রতে ছন্দোগা" —ইত্যাদি।

তত্ত্বদর্শীগণ অগ্ন্যাদি দেবতার স্বতন্ত্র সত্তা অনুভব করেন না;—তাঁহারা অগ্ন্যাদির মধ্যে অনুপ্রবিষ্ট কারণ-সত্তাকেই উপাসনা করিয়া থাকেন। ভাষ্যকারের এই বিশ্বাসের মূলে গভীর সত্য নিহিত আছে। ঋগ্বেদের সকল মণ্ডল হইতেই প্রচুর শ্লোক উদ্ধৃত করিয়া দেখান যাইতে পারে যে, ঋগ্বেদে পাশাপাশি দ্রব্যাত্মক ও জ্ঞানাত্মক উভয়বিধ যজ্ঞই উপদিষ্ট হইয়াছে। কেবল-কর্ম্মীগণ দেবতার প্রকৃত স্বরূপটী বুঝিতে পারে না; ইহারা দেবতাবর্গকে স্বতন্ত্র, স্বাধীন বস্তুরূপেই গ্রহণ করিয়া থাকে। দেবতাবর্গে-অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তার অনুভব ইহারা করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু যাঁহারা পরমার্থদর্শী, তাঁহারা দেবতাবর্গকে স্বতন্ত্র, স্বাধীন বস্তু বলিয়া মনে করেন না; উঁহারা সর্ব্বত্র এক কারণ-সত্তার অনুভব করিয়া থাকেন।

ঋগ্বেদকথিত দেবতাবর্গ সেই কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তারই বিকাশ মাত্র, কোন স্বতন্ত্র স্বাধীন বস্তু নহে। এক বিশ্বব্যাপিনী মহাচৈতন্যশক্তি—প্রধানতঃ আকাশে, অন্তরীক্ষে, পৃথিবীতে, জলে অভিব্যক্ত হইয়া, নানা আকারে ক্রিয়া করিতেছেন। জলে, স্থলে, আকাশে, কিরণে, জীবহৃদয়ে—সর্ব্বত্রই বিশ্ব-ব্যাপিনী শক্তির লীলা-খেলা—

"সমুদ্রজলে বড়বাগ্নিরূপে, হে বরুণ! তোমারই তেজঃশক্তি (ধামন্) অবস্থান করিতেছে। উহাই অন্তরীক্ষে সূর্য্যমণ্ডল-মধ্যে ক্রিয়াশীল। ঐ তেজই আবার জীব-গণের উদরে জঠরাগ্নিরূপে এবং হৃদয়ে জীবন-স্বরূপিণী আয়ুঃশক্তিরূপে বিরাজিত রহিয়াছে। উহাই বিদ্যুদগ্নিরূপে মেঘ-মণ্ডলে যেমন সতত সঞ্চরণ-শীল; সংগ্রামভূমিতে যোদ্ধৃ-পুরুষ-গণের হৃদয়ে তদ্রূপ শৌর্য্যাগ্নি-রূপে উদ্যমশীল রহিয়াছে। একই বস্তু নানাভাবে আপনার স্বরূপের মধু-ধারা বর্ষণ করিতেছে।" *

সকল দেবতা যে মূলে এক অবিনাশী মহাশক্তির বিকাশ, তাহা নানাভাবে ঋগ্বেদে বলিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে।

"ধামং তে বিশ্বং ভুবনমধিশ্রিতং,
'অন্তঃ সমুদ্রে, হৃদ্যন্তরায়ুষি।
অপামনীকে, সমিথে য আভৃথঃ,
তমশ্যাম মধুমন্তং ত ঊর্ম্মিং" (৪।৩।১১),

৫। প্রথমতঃ আমরা দেখাইব যে, ঋগ্বেদের দেবতাবর্গ—অবিনশ্বর শক্তিমাত্র। দেবতারা—

"আতস্থিবাংসঃ অমৃতস্য নাভিং..
অনন্তাসঃ, অজিবাসঃ, উরবঃ
বিশ্বতস্পরি" (৫।৪৭।২)।
"অস্রিধঃ (নাশরহিতাঃ) এহিমায়াসঃ
(সদাতনাঃ)" (১।৩।৯)।

—দেবতারা অনন্ত, অজর, সর্ব্বব্যাপক এবং বিশ্বের তাবৎ বস্তুকে ব্যাপিয়া বর্ত্তমান। ত্রয়স্ত্রিংশৎ দেবতাবর্গ, বল হইতে জাত এবং দেবতাদের সকলেরই সমান রূপ ও সমান ক্রিয়া। ইহাঁরা বলের দ্বারা সমগ্র ভুবনকে নিয়মিত করিয়া রাখিয়াছেন।* দেবতাবর্গ—'অমৃতের নাভি'কে আশ্রয় করিয়া অবস্থান করিতেছেন।

(ক) এই দেবতাবর্গ আয়ুস্বরূপ।—

এই জন্যই দেবতাবর্গকে 'আয়ু' শব্দ দ্বারা নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে। চেষ্টাত্মক ক্রিয়ার নাম আয়ু; প্রাণশক্তিরই অপর নাম আয়ু।† অগ্নিও আয়ুঃ; ইন্দ্রও আয়ুঃ; উষাও আয়ুঃধারিণী; বরুণও বিশ্বায়ুঃ।—

তে 'আয়ু' বজবং যদগ্নে (১০।৫১।৭);
'আয়ু' ন 'প্রাণো' নিত্যঃ (১।৬৬।১);
ইন্দ্রো 'বিশ্বায়ুঃ' (৬।৩৪।৫; ৮।৭০।৭);
এষা (উষা) স্যা নব্য 'মায়ু' দধানা (৭।৮০।২,
বিশ্বস্তহি প্রাণনং জীবনং তে (১।৪৮।১০)
বাজা (বরুণ) ক্ষত্রং 'বিশ্বায়ুঃ' (৭।৩৪।১১)।

---

* "চত্তস্ত্রিংশতা পুরুধাবিচষ্টে, সকপেণ জ্যোতিষা বিব্রতেন" (১০।৫।৩)। তনূষু বিশ্বাভুবনা নিষেমিরে" (১০।৫৬।৫)।

† একথাও আছে—অগ্নি 'আয়ুঃ' দ্বারা প্রজাবর্গকে উৎপন্ন করিয়াছেন—"আ যো রিমাঃ প্রজাঃ অজনযন্ মনুনাং" (১।৯৬।২)। আয়ুঃ শব্দের অর্থ—'দেহে চেষ্টাত্মকজীবনহেতুত্বাৎ প্রাণস্য আয়ুষ্ট্বনির্দ্দেশঃ (বেদান্ত ভাষ্য, রত্নপ্রভা, (১।১।৩১)।

(খ) দেবতাবর্গ 'অসু' স্বরূপ।—

অসু শব্দও—আয়ু বা প্রাণশক্তিকে বুঝায়। ঋগ্বেদের সর্ব্বত্র দেবতা-বর্গকে 'অসুর' বা প্রাণবিশিষ্ট বলা হইয়াছে। ইন্দ্রও অসুর; সবিতাও অসুর; উষাও অসুর এবং জীবের অসু-স্বরূপিণী; মরুৎও অসুর; বরুণও অসুর; পর্য্যন্যও অসুর। আবার, সকল দেবতাকে একত্রেও অসুর শব্দ দ্বারা নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে।—

মহত্তদ্বিষ্ণোঃ (ইন্দ্রস্য) 'অসুরস্য' নাম (৩।৩৮।৪)।
সবিতুঃ 'অসুরস্য' প্রচেতসঃ (৪।৫৩।১)।
মহন্মহত্যা (উষায়াঃ) 'অসুরত্ব' মেকং (১০।৫৫।৪)।
'অসুরা' অবেপসঃ (মরুতঃ) (১।৬৪।২)।
'অসুরস্য'...মহীংমায়াংবরুণস্য (৫।৮৫।৫)।
পর্য্যন্যঃ...অসুবঃ পিতানঃ (৫।৮৩।৬)।
মহৎ দেবানা 'মসুরত্ব' মেকং (৩।৫৫।১—২১)।

(গ) দেবতাবর্গকে 'বলস্বরূপ' বলিয়াও নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে। সুস্পষ্ট ভাবে অন্যপ্রকারেও দেবতাবর্গকে বল-স্বরূপ বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ আছে।—

ইন্দ্র ও বরুণের বল নিত্য সত্বাস্পদীভূত। মরুৎ বলস্বরূপ। অগ্নি—মরুৎসম্বন্ধীয় বল-স্বরূপ। ইন্দ্র এবং অগ্নি—বলের পুত্র এবং বলই। সোম বলেব দ্বাবা জাত, সোম—'অক্ষয়ং' বল ধাবণ করেন। সূর্য্যরশ্মি অনন্ত বলস্বরূপ। ইন্দ্র মরুত্বান্; অগ্নি মরুত্বান্ রুদ্র মরুত্বান্; সোম মরুত্বান্।*

(ঘ) দেবতাবর্গ 'কম্পন' স্বরূপ।—

পাঠক দেখিতে পাইতেছেন যে, ঋগ্বেদের দেবতাবর্গ সকলেই—শক্তি-স্বরূপ, ক্রিয়া-স্বরূপ, বল-স্বরূপ। বল বা শক্তি যে কম্পনাত্মক—স্পন্দনাত্মক—ঋগ্বেদ তাহাও জানিতেন। অসু বা আয়ুঃ শব্দ দ্বারাই তাহা সূচিত

* বরুণস্য তু 'দ্বিষ' 'ওজো'...ধ্রুবমস্য যৎ স্বং (৭।৮২।৬)। স হি 'শর্ধো ন মারুতং (অগ্নি)—১।১২৭।১৩ সহসঃ পুত্রঃ (৩।১৬।৫)। ত্বমিন্দ্র বলাদধি জায়সে। শক্তীবঃ ইন্দ্রঃ (৫।১৩।৩ এবং ৬।৪৪।২॥ 'অক্ষিতং পাজঃ (সোমঃ)—৯।৬৮।৩।

হইয়াছে।* কিন্তু ইহা অপেক্ষাও, সুস্পষ্টরূপে দেবতাবর্গকে কম্পনাত্মক বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে।--

ঋগ্বেদের সর্ব্বত্র মরুদ্গণকে 'ধৃতি' বলা হইয়াছে (১।৩৯।১০)। ধৃতি শব্দের অর্থ—কম্পন বা বেগ। ইতঃপূর্ব্বে আমরা দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি যে, ইন্দ্র, অগ্নি, সোম ও রুদ্র—ইঁহাদের বিশেষণরূপে 'মরুত্বান' শব্দ ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে। সুতরাং ইন্দ্র, অগ্নি, সোম ও রুদ্র—ইঁহারা সকলেই কম্পনাত্মক বেগ হইতেছেন। আবার, বায়ু বা মরুৎকে 'বরুণের আত্মা' বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে (৭।৮৭।২)। সুতরাং বরুণও—কম্পনাত্মক বেগই হইতেছেন।

আবার বলা হইয়াছে যে,—"মরুদ্গণ স্বীয় বল দ্বারা সূর্য্য রশ্মির সৃষ্টি করিয়াছেন।" (৮।৭।৮)। সুতরাং সূর্য্য-রশ্মিও—কম্পনাত্মক বেগ হইতেছে।

দ্যাবা-পৃথিবীকেও প্রকারান্তরে কম্পনাত্মক বেগ-বিশিষ্ট বলা হইয়াছে। বলা হইয়াছে যে—'দ্যাবা-পৃথিবী তন্তু-বিস্তার করিয়া থাকে' (১।১৫৯।৪)। তন্তু-বিস্তার ও রশ্মি-বিকীর্ণ করা—একই কথা। কিন্তু রশ্মি-সকল যে বেগমাত্র, তাহা আমরা উপরে দেখিলাম। সুতরাং দ্যাবাপৃথিবীকেও কম্পনাত্মক বেগ-বিশিষ্টই বলা হইল। আবার, সোমও—ত্রিগুণ-তন্তুকে বিস্তার করিয়া থাকেন'।† সুতরাং সোমকেও এইভাবে কম্পনাত্মক বেগ বলিয়াই সিদ্ধান্ত করা হইয়াছে। এমন কি, স্থূল জলও যে কম্পনাত্মক শক্তি হইতে উদ্ভূত, তাহাও আমরা প্রকারান্তরে দেখিতে পাই। "জল—ত্রিতন্তু উৎসের দিকে ঊর্দ্ধে উত্থিত হয়" (১০।৩০।৯)—এই কথা আমরা দেখিতে পাই।‡

---

* চেষ্টাত্মক প্রাণশক্তিকেই (Pulsation) অসু বা আয়ুঃ বলা যায় (বেদান্ত দর্শন)।

সর্ব্বত্রই সকল দেবতাকে শক্তি বা বলরূপে বর্ণনা আছে। "সোমের দিব্য 'বেতঃ, (শক্তি) দ্বারা ভুবন সৃষ্ট হইয়াছে (৯।৮৬।২৮)। মিত্র ও বরুণের অমূঢ় বল আছে (৬।৬৬)। সকল দেবতাকে 'সুক্ষত্রাসঃ, বলা হইয়াছে। ক্ষত্রশব্দের অর্থ—প্রতাপ, বীর্য্য বা বল॥

† "তন্তং তন্বান ত্রিবৃতং"—৯।৮৬।৩২

‡ 'পরি ত্রিতন্তং বিচরন্ত যুৎসং" (১০।৩০।৯)। অন্যত্র বলা হইয়াছে—'জল কম্পনরূপে অন্তরীক্ষে সঞ্চালিত হয়। "অধুক্ষৎ 'ধুনি' মন্তরীক্ষং" (১০।১৪৯।১)।

(ঙ) কম্পনাত্মক বেগের ধ্বংস নাই—উহা অজর।—

পাঠক তাহা হইলেই দেখিতেছেন যে, ঋগ্বেদের ইন্দ্র, অগ্নি, রুদ্র, মরুৎ, বরুণ, সোম প্রভৃতি দেবতা-বর্গ সকলেই—কম্পনাত্মক বল বা বেগ স্বরূপ। এই বল যে অজর, অমর; ইহার যে ক্ষয় নাই, নাশ নাই,—তাহাও ঋগ্বেদে সর্ব্বত্র নির্দ্দেশিত হইয়াছে।—

মরুদ্‌গণ কম্পন-স্বরূপ, তাহা আমরা পূর্ব্বেই দেখিয়াছি। এই কম্পন বা বলকে আমরা কেহই ধ্বংস করিতে পারি না। এই বলের কেহ জ্যেষ্ঠ নাই, কেহ কনিষ্ঠ নাই; এ বলের কোন ব্যথা নাই, ক্ষয় নাই, নাশ নাই; ইহা অমিতশক্তিবিশিষ্ট।—

'তে অজ্যেষ্ঠা অকনিষ্ঠাসঃ উদ্ভিদঃ
অমধ্যমাসঃ (৫।৫৯।৬)।
ন স জীয়তে, মরুতো ন হন্যতে,
ন ব্যথতে, ন বিষ্যতি, (৫।৫৪।৭)।

ইন্দ্রের শক্তিকে কেহ দুর্ব্বল করিতে পারে না; মাস, ঋতু, বৎসর—কেহই ইন্দ্রের বার্দ্ধক্য জন্মাইতে পারে না। এ বলের কেহ কৃশতা সম্পাদন করিতে পারে না —

ন যংজবন্তি শবদোন মাসা, ন দ্যাবমিন্দ্র মবকর্ষয়ন্তি (৩।২৪।৭)।
অগ্নি ও অগ্নিব তেজ—অজর, অবিনাশী (৩।৩২।৭)।
রুদ্রও—অজব, অক্ষয় (৬।৪৯।১০)।*

(চ) দেবতাবর্গের বল—'সত্য' ও 'নিত্য'।—তবেই আমরা দেখিতে পাইতেছি যে, ঋগ্বেদের দেবতাবর্গ অক্ষয়, অবিনাশী 'শক্তিরই' রূপান্তর ব্যতীত অন্য কিছু নহে। এই শক্তি যে অবিনশ্বর, ঋগ্বেদ অন্যভাবেও তাহার

---

* অগ্নিকে বলা হইয়াছে—"অমতি র্ন সত্যঃ, আত্মেব শেবঃ।" সায়নের অর্থ এই—'সকল পবিবর্ত্তনের মধ্যে, বিশেষ বিশেষ আকার-গুলির মধ্যে—যেমন 'কারণ-সত্তা,' নিত্য ও অপরিবর্ত্তনীয়, অগ্নিও তদ্রূপ নিত্য এবং আত্মার ন্যায় মঙ্গলময় (১।৭৩।২)। "যথা পৃথিবাদেঃ স্বরূপং আগমাপায়িষু বিশেষেষু সৎস্বপি, স্বয় মৈক্য-রূপেণ নিত্যা ভবতি।"

নির্দ্দেশ করিয়াছেন। 'সত্য,' 'ধ্রুব', 'নিত্য' প্রভৃতি শব্দ তাহাই উদ্‌ঘোষিত করিতেছে।—

অগ্নি—নিত্য প্রাণস্বরূপ (১।৬৬।১)।
সোম—ধ্রুব সত্য (৯।৬৮।৬)
সূর্য্যরশ্মি—ধ্রুব (১।৫৯।৩)
বৃহস্পতি—সত্য (২।২৪।১৪)
সবিতা—সত্য-শব এবং মরুদ্গণ—সত্য-শবসঃ ৫।৮২।৮; ১।৮৬।০)
ঊষা—নিত্যবস্তুর প্রথমা ১।১১৩।৮)
ইন্দ্র—নিত্যবস্তুব সাধাবণ (৮।৬৫।৭)
পর্য্যন্য—নিত্যবস্তুব বর্ষক (৭।১০১।৬)

দেবতাবর্গ যে কম্পনাত্মক বেগ বা বলস্বরূপ, তাহা দেখা গেল। দেবতারা যে, অক্ষয়, অবিনাশী, ধ্রুব বলস্বরূপ, তাহাও প্রদর্শিত হইল। দেবতা-বর্গ যে মূল-সত্তা দ্বারা এক, তাহাও ঋগ্বেদ বলিয়া দিয়াছেন। মূল-সত্তা এক বলিয়াই ত দেবতাবর্গের কার্য্যের ও নামের স্বতন্ত্রতা স্বীকৃত হয় নাই।* যদি দেবতাবর্গ পরস্পর স্বতন্ত্র স্বতন্ত্র ভৌতিক বস্তুই হইত, তাহা হইলে একের 'কার্য্য' অপরে করিতে পারিত না; একের 'নাম' অপরে প্রদত্ত হইতে পারিত না। এক বিকাশ অপর বিকাশে পরিণত হইতে পারিত না। সুতরাং দেবতাবর্গের মূল-সত্তা—এক-ই।

৬। দেবতাবর্গে অনুস্যূত 'কারণ-সত্তা'র একত্ব। এই 'কারণ-সত্তাই'—ঋগ্বেদের লক্ষ্য।

ঋগ্বেদের দেবতাবর্গ—একই সত্তার বিবিধ বিকাশ, বিবিধ রূপ, বিবিধ আকার,—এ তত্ত্ব ঋগ্বেদে বড়ই স্পষ্ট। দেবতাবর্গ যে মূলে একই সত্তামাত্র

---

* দেবতাবর্গেব 'কার্য্যের,' ও 'নামেব,' কোন ভিন্নতা নাই। এক দেবতা যেসকল কার্য্য করিতে পারেন, অপর সকল দেবতাই তাহা করিতে পাবেন। আকাশ ও পৃথিবীকে স্তম্ভন করা, সূর্য্যকে উৎপন্ন করা, সূর্য্যের মধ্যে জ্যোতিঃ নিহিত কবা, গাভীর স্তন্যমণ্ডলে দুগ্ধ নিহিত করা—প্রভৃতি কার্য্য সকলদেবতাই করিতে সমর্থ এবং করিয়াছেন—বলা হইয়াছে। দেবতাদের 'নাম,'-গত ভেদও কথার কথা মাত্র। অগ্নিকে—ইন্দ্র, বিষ্ণু, বরুণ, মিত্র প্রভৃতি নামে সম্বোধন করা হইয়াছে। আবার ইন্দ্রকে বিষ্ণু নামে, বরুণ নামে ডাকা হইয়াছে। আমরা বাহুল্যভয়ে স্থলগুলি উদ্ধৃত করিলাম না।

এবং দেবতারা যে সেই সত্তারই বিকাশ—এই তত্ত্বই ঋগ্বেদে ঘোষিত হইয়াছে। দেবতারা যে একই সত্তার, একই সামর্থ্যের—ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রূপ বা ক্রিয়ানির্ব্বাহক মাত্র, তাহা কেমন সুন্দর করিয়া বলা হইয়াছে, পাঠক দেখুন:—

ঋগ্বেদের তৃতীয় মণ্ডলে একটী সূক্ত আছে। এটী এই মণ্ডলের ৫৫ সংখ্যক সূক্ত। এই সূক্তে ২২টী মন্ত্র বা শ্লোক আছে। প্রত্যেক মন্ত্রের শেষ চরণে, দেবতাদিগের মূলে যে এক সামর্থ্য আছে, তাহাই ঘোষণা করা হইয়াছে। শেষ চরণটী এই—

"মহৎ দেবানা মসুরত্বমেকং"।

ঋগ্বেদে অসুর শব্দের অর্থ—বল বা সামর্থ্য। ভিন্ন ভিন্ন দেবতাবর্গের মহৎ অসুরত্ব একই, স্বতন্ত্র স্বতন্ত্র নহে। এই প্রসিদ্ধ সূক্তের প্রত্যেক মন্ত্র আমাদিগকে অভ্রান্তরূপে এই মহাতত্ত্ব বলিয়া দেয় যে, দেবতাবর্গ মূলে ভিন্ন নহে; উহাদের মৌলিক সামর্থ্য একই। ভিন্ন ভিন্ন দেবতারা, সেই মৌলিক-সামর্থ্যেরই ভিন্ন ভিন্ন বিকাশ। আমরা সূক্তের প্রত্যেক মন্ত্রে কি কি কথা আছে, সংক্ষেপে তাহার উল্লেখ করিতেছি।

"একই বস্তু বহু প্রকাবে অবস্থান করেন। তিনি আকাশে, পৃথিবীতে, বনমধ্যে, ওষধির মধ্যে এবং যজ্ঞস্থানে নানা আকাবে বর্ত্তমান। আকাশে সূর্য্যরূপে, পৃথিবীতে অগ্নিরূপে, বনমধ্যে দাবাগ্নিরূপে, ওষধি-গর্ভে উষ্মারূপে, এবং যজ্ঞে হবির্বাহক অগ্নিরূপে ক্রিয়া কবেন। দেবতাবর্গেব মহৎ বল একই।

ওষধিবর্গেব সকলপ্রকাব অবস্থান্তবের মধ্যে একই বস্তু অবস্থান করেন। ওষধি সকল যখন নূতন উৎপন্ন হয়, তখনও তিনি তাহার মধ্যে; আবার উহারা যখন তরুণ অবস্থা প্রাপ্ত হয়, তখনও তিনি তাহাব মধ্যে অবস্থান কবিয়া থাকেন। যখন উহাবা নবকুসুম ও ফল ধাবণ কবিয়া সুশোভিত হয়, তখনও তিনি তাহাব মধ্যে। ওষধিদিগের গর্ভসঞ্চার ইঁহাবই সামর্থ্যে হয়, এবং ইঁহাবই সামর্থ্যে ইহাবা ফল প্রসব করে। আবার যখন ইহাবা জীর্ণ হইয়া বৃদ্ধাবস্থা প্রাপ্ত হয়, তখনও তিনি উহাদেব মধ্যে অবস্থান করেন। দেবতাবর্গের মহৎবল একই।

একই দেবতা সূর্য্যরূপে পশ্চিমে অস্ত যাইয়া আবার প্রভাতে পূর্ব্বদিকে উদিত হন। তিনিই আবার (মধ্যাহ্নে) আকাশে বিচরণ করিয়া বেড়ান। দেবতাবর্গের মহৎবল একই।

একই বস্তু শুক্লবর্ণ দিবারূপে এবং কৃষ্ণবর্ণ রাত্রিরূপে প্রকাশ পাইতেছে। দেবতাবর্গের মহৎবল একই।

একই দেবতার নিয়মে, আকাশ ও পৃথিবী—বৃষ্টিরূপে পরস্পরকে রস পান করাইয়া থাকে। আকাশ, পৃথিবীর বৎস-স্থানীয় অগ্নিকে জলধারা দ্বারা লেহন করে।* সেই সময়ে মেঘের শব্দ দ্বারা আবার শব্দ করিতে থাকে। উহাই আবার শস্য-রূপে বসন দ্বারা পৃথিবীকে সমাচ্ছাদিত করে। দেবতাবর্গের মহৎবল একই।

একই নির্ম্মাতা (ত্বষ্টা) মনুষ্য ও পশু ও পক্ষীকে উৎপাদন ও পালন করিয়া থাকেন। তিনি বিশ্ব-রূপ। তিনি বহু প্রজাকে বহুপ্রকারে উৎপাদন করিয়াছেন। এই বিশ্ব ভুবন তাঁহারই; তিনিই এই পৃথিবী ও অন্তরীক্ষে বাস করিতেছেন। দেবগণের মহৎবল একই।

তিনিই ওষধি (শস্য) উৎপাদন করেন ও পুষ্ট করেন। তিনিই বৃষ্টিদান করেন; আবার ধন-ধান্য প্রদান করিয়া থাকেন। দেবতাবর্গের মহৎবল একই।

এইরূপে, প্রকৃতির কার্য্যাবলীর মূলনিয়ন্তা যে এক, তাহা বৈদিক ঋষি সুস্পষ্ট অনুভব করিয়াছিলেন। প্রকৃতির সকল কার্য্যের মূলে একই সত্তা, একই নিয়ন্তা, একই দেবতা বর্ত্তমান; সকল দেবতা সেই মূল সত্তারই বিকাশ—এই মহাতত্ত্ব বৈদিক ঋষি অনুভব করিয়াছিলেন। বহুত্বের মূলে একত্বের ধারণা, ইহা অপেক্ষা স্পষ্টতররূপে আর কেমন করিয়া হইবে? মূল-গত সত্তার একত্বের দিকে লক্ষ্য রাখিয়াই, ঋগ্বেদে দেবতাবর্গের কার্য্যের ও নামের প্রকৃত স্বতন্ত্রতা রক্ষিত হয় নাই। ইহা আমরা উপরে বলিয়াছি। মূল-সত্তার এই একত্ব প্রস্ফুটিত করিয়া দিবার উদ্দেশ্যেই ঋগ্বেদ, দেবতাদের কার্য্য ও নাম ঐ ভাবে বর্ণনা করিয়াছেন।

৭। (ক) পাঠকবর্গ দেবতাদের মৌলিক একত্ব সম্বন্ধে সূক্তটী দেখিলেন। আমরা, এই সত্তার একত্ব-সম্বন্ধে ঋগ্বেদে ব্যবহৃত আর একটী শব্দের প্রতি পাঠকবর্গের মনোযোগ আকর্ষণ করিতেছি। ঋগ্বেদে সর্ব্বত্র "ঋত" শব্দটী ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে।† এই ঋত শব্দের অর্থ—সত্য, অবিনাশী সত্তা। এই

---

* আকাশকে ধেনুরূপে বর্ণনা করা হইয়াছে।

† শঙ্করাচার্য্য, ঐতরেয় আরণ্যক ভাষ্যের একস্থলে "ঋত" শব্দের অর্থ "প্রাণশক্তি" (কারণ-সং), বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করিয়াছেন। "ঋতং সত্যং—মূর্ত্তামূর্ত্তাখ্যং প্রাণঃ" (২।৩।৩।১৮)। "সত্যং—প্রাণাদিকারণং, অসদনৃতংবিকারজাতং" শঙ্কর, ঐ°, আ°, ২।৩

ঋত শব্দ দ্বারা গ্রথিত একটী মন্ত্র অত্যন্ত প্রসিদ্ধিলাভ করিয়াছে। ইহা "হংসবতী ঋক্" নামে প্রখ্যাত। এই মন্ত্রে এই মহৎ তত্ত্ব উদ্‌ঘোষিত হইয়াছে যে, এক ঋত বা অবিনাশী সত্তা সকল পদার্থের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত রহিয়াছেন। এই ঋত—আকাশে, অন্তরীক্ষে, পৃথিবীতে, জলে, অগ্নিতে, সমুদ্রে, সূর্য্যে, মনুষ্যে—অনুস্যূত রহিয়াছেন। সূর্য্যাদি সকলই, এই "ঋত-সত্তারই" বিকাশ।

সায়নাচার্য্য বলেন—আদিত্যমণ্ডলের মধ্যে যে পুরুষ-সত্তা রহিয়াছেন, সেই সত্তাই জীব-হৃদয়ে অনুস্যূত রহিয়াছেন। 'ঋত' বা নির্ব্বিশেষ ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাই ইহা। সূর্য্য-মণ্ডলস্থ সত্তা, জীব-হৃদয়ে অবস্থিত সত্তা এবং নিরুপাধিক ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা—একই বস্তু।*

এই 'ঋত' শব্দ সম্বন্ধে এই মণ্ডলেরই ২৩ সূক্তটীতে পাঠকের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করিতে চাই।—

ঋতস্তহি শুরুধঃ সন্তিপূর্ব্বীঃ, ঋতস্তধীতি বৃ জিনানি হন্তি।
ঋতস্ত দৃঢ়া ধরুণানি সন্তি, পুরূণি চন্দ্রা বপুষে বপুংষি।
ঋতায় পৃথ্বী বহুলে গভীরে, ঋতায় ধেনূ পরমে দুহাতে।"

—ঋতসত্যের আশ্রয়ে পুরাতন জল অবস্থিত। ঋত-সত্যের ধ্যান করিলে পাপনাশ হয়। ঋত-সত্যের বিবিধ আকার, বিবিধ মূর্ত্তি,—নানাস্থানে; এই আকারগুলিই বিশ্ব ধারণ করিয়া রহিয়াছে। জলের মধ্যে যে তেজঃশক্তি বাস করে, তাহা এই ঋতেরই প্রভাব বশতঃ। ঋত-সত্য হইতেই জল বর্ষিত হইয়া পৃথিবী সিক্তা হয়।

কার্য্যবর্গের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত যে কারণ-সত্তা বেদান্তে আলোচিত হইয়াছে;—ঋগ্বেদের এই "ঋত" সেই কারণ-সত্তা ব্যতীত অন্য কিছু নহে। এই ঋত বা কারণ-সত্তা যে সকল দেবতার মূলে, সকল দেবতা যে সেই ঋত হইতেই জাত, ঋত দ্বারা পুষ্ট এবং ঋতই উহাদের মধ্যে অনুপ্রবিষ্ট—একথা ঋগ্বেদে সর্ব্বত্র উল্লিখিত হইয়াছে। ঋত—দেবতাবর্গের নাভি, দেবতারা

---

* শঙ্কর বলেন "যেমন রসদ্বারা স্পৃষ্ট হইলে লৌহ সুবর্ণ হইয়া যায়, তদ্রূপ ঋতকে স্পর্শ করিলে, যাহা অসত্য, তাহাও সত্য হইয়া যায় (ঐ° আ° ভাষ্য ২।৩)।"

ঋতকে স্পর্শ করিয়া অবস্থিত এবং ঋত দ্বারা দেবতারা বৃদ্ধিপ্রাপ্ত ও পুষ্ট হয়। কেন এরূপ বর্ণনা করা হইয়াছে? সকল দেবতার মধ্যে—সকল কার্য্যের মধ্যে—যে ঋত বা কারণ সত্তা অনুপ্রবিষ্ট রহিয়াছেন; সেই সত্তাকে অবলম্বন করিয়াই যে কার্য্য-বর্গ অবস্থান করিতে পারিতেছে, ইহাই এই 'ঋত' শব্দ প্রয়োগের উদ্দেশ্য।

আমরা সকল মণ্ডল হইতেই, "ঋত" শব্দ প্রয়োগের এক আধটা দৃষ্টান্ত দেখাইতেছি। পাঠক দেখিবেন, ঋত শব্দটী কার্য্যবর্গে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তাকেই বুঝাইতেছে কি না!—

সোম—ঋত হইতে জাত, ঋতদ্বারা বর্দ্ধিত ও নিজেও ঋত-স্বরূপ (৯।১০৮।৮)
দ্যাবাপৃথিবী—ঋতেব যোনিতে বাস কবেন (১০।৬৫।৮)
মরুদ্গণ—ঋত হইতে জাত (৩।৫৪।১৩)। ঋত দ্বাবা পুষ্ট ও ঋত-বিশিষ্ট (৭।৬৬।১৩)।
অগ্নি—গূঢ়ভাবে ঋতের পদে অবস্থিত আছেন (৪।৫।৯)
বৃহস্পতি—ঋতের রথে আবোহিত আছেন (২।২৩।৩)।
সূর্য্য—ঋত দ্বারা আচ্ছাদিত এবং স্বয়ং ধ্রুব ঋত-স্বরূপ (৫।৬২।১২)।
উষা—ঋতদ্বারাই প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে (৭।৭৪।১)।
মিত্র ও বরুণ—ঋতের রক্ষক (৭।৬৪।২), ঋত-বিশিষ্ট (৭।৬১।২) ও ঋতদ্বারা বর্দ্ধিত এবং ঋতকে স্পর্শ করিয়া অবস্থিত (১।২।৮)।
বরুণ—ঋত-পেশা—অর্থাৎ বরুণের অঙ্গ ঋতদ্বারাই নির্ম্মিত (৫।৬৪।১)
সোমের—গর্ভে ঋত নিহিত আছেন (৯।৬৮।৫)
সূর্য্য—ঋতকেই বিস্তাবিত করিতেছেন এরং নদীসকল ঋতকেই বহন করে (১।১০৫।১৫)।

ঋগ্বেদের সর্ব্বত্রই এইরূপ উক্তি আছে। সকল দেবতাকে একসঙ্গেও বলা হইয়াছে যে—

"ঋতস্য যোনি মাসতে" এবং "বিশ্বে দেবা ঋতাবৃধঃ"।

(খ)। সর্ব্ব-পদার্থে অনুস্যূত 'কারণ-সত্তা'কে বুঝাইবার জন্য যেমন "ঋত" শব্দটী ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে, এইরূপ আরো দুই তিনটী শব্দ ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে। সেই শব্দ কয়েকটীও পাঠক লক্ষ্য করিবেন। "পরাবতঃ" শব্দ,

"সনাৎ" শব্দ এবং "প্রত্নংওকঃ" বা "পরমসদঃ"—এই কয়েকটী শব্দই প্রধান। পরাবতঃ শব্দের অর্থ দূর-প্রদেশ হইতে। সনাৎ শব্দের অর্থ সনাতন, নিত্য। প্রত্ন-ওকঃ শব্দের অর্থ পুরাতন স্থান। এই শব্দগুলি যেভাবে ঋগ্বেদে ব্যবহৃত হইয়াছে এবং দেবতাদের প্রতি প্রযুক্ত হইয়াছে, তাহাতে এই সকল শব্দ যে—কার্য্যবর্গের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত গূঢ় কারণ-সত্তা, তাহাই একমাত্র তাৎপর্য্য দাঁড়ায়। এতদ্ব্যতীত এ সকল শব্দের অন্য সঙ্গত অর্থ হয় না। আমরা কয়েকটী স্থল উদ্ধৃত করিয়া দেখাইতেছিঃ—

"স বৃত্রহা 'সনয়ো' বিশ্ববেদাঃ" (৩।২০।৪)

অগ্নি—বৃত্রহননকারী, বিশ্ববেদা ও সনাতন।

সনজা অপ্রতীতঃ (১০।১১১।৩)
সনায়তে গোতম ইন্দ্র (১।৬২।৩)

হে ইন্দ্র! তুমি সনাতন-সত্তা হইতে জাত।
হে ইন্দ্র! হে গৌতম! তুমি নিত্য, সনাতন।

ইন্দ্র! জন্মুষা 'সনাদ'সি (৮।২১।১৩)

ইন্দ্র! তুমি জন্মাবধি সনাতন সত্তা হইতে উৎপন্ন হইয়াছ।

সনাৎ সুজাতা ··ধৃতব্রতা (মিত্রাবরুণৌ)-৮।২৫।২

হে মিত্র ও বরুণ! তোমরা উভয়ে সনাতন-সত্তা হইতে জাত বা অভিব্যক্ত হইয়াছ।

সনাদেব তব রায়ো গভস্তৌ নক্ষীয়ন্তে (১।৬২।১২)

যে নিত্য-সত্তা হইতে তুমি, হস্তে করিয়া ধন আনিয়াছ, সে ধনের কদাপি ক্ষয় হয় না।

পাঠক, লক্ষ্য করুন্ 'সনাৎ' শব্দটী কারণ-সত্তাকে বুঝাইতেছে কি না।

প্রত্নস্য ওকসো হুবে (১।৩০।৯)

সেই প্রাচীন নিবাস-স্থান হইতে আমি ইন্দ্রকে আহ্বান করিতেছি।

আদিৎ প্রত্নস্য রেতসঃ জ্যোতিঃ পশ্যন্তি (৮।৬।৩০)

অতি প্রাচীন রেতঃ (জন্মস্থান) হইতে উদিত সূর্য্যের জ্যোতিকে, লোক-সকল দর্শন করিতেছে।

বিধেম তে পরমে জন্মন্নগ্নে
বিধেম স্তোমৈ ববরে সধস্থে (২।৯।৩)

হে অগ্নি! দুই স্থানে তোমার জন্ম। একটী পরম-স্থান বা কারণ-সত্তা, অপরটী অবর বা স্থূল স্থান।

ধ্রুবে সদসি সীদতি (৯।৪০।৩)
সীদন্ ঋতস্য যোনি মা (৯।৩২।৪)
প্রত্নং সধস্থ মাসদৎ (৯।১০৭।৫)

সোম—ধ্রুব, নিত্য-স্থানে বাস করেন।

সোম—ঋতের (কারণ-সত্তার) বীজস্থানে অবস্থান করেন। সোম—অতি প্রাচীন-স্থানে বাস করেন।

বরুণস্য·· ধ্রুবংসদঃ (৮।৪১।৯)

আকাশ, অন্তরীক্ষ ও পৃথিবী ব্যতীতও, বরুণের একটী গূঢ় নিত্য-স্থান আছে।

ত্রীণি পদা বিচক্রমে—
বিষ্ণো র্যৎ পরমং পদং (১।২২।২১)।

আকাশ, অন্তরীক্ষ, পৃথিবী—এই তিন পদ ব্যতীতও, বিষ্ণুর একটী পরম-পদ আছে। এই পরম-পদটীকে কেবল মননশীল ব্যক্তিরাই দেখিতে পান।

পাঠক দেখিতেছেন যে, এই 'প্রাচীন-স্থান', 'পরম-পদ' প্রভৃতি শব্দ দ্বারা দেবতাবর্গে অনুস্যূত 'কারণ-সত্তাই' লক্ষিত হইতেছে।

আয়াতি সবিতা 'পরাবতঃ' (১।৩৫।৩)

সূর্য্য—'পরাবৎ' অর্থাৎ অতিদূর-স্থান হইতে আসিয়াছেন। (অতিদূর-স্থান—অর্থাৎ কার্য্যবর্গের অতীত স্থান হইতে)।

য একএব আয়থ পরমস্যাঃ 'পরাবতঃ' (৫।৬১।১)
প্রযদ্বহধ্বে মরুতঃ 'পরাকাৎ' (১০।৭৭।৬)।

হে মরুদ্গণ! তোমরা একে একে পরম 'পরাবৎ'-স্থান হইতে আসিতেছ।

যন্নাসত্যা 'পরাকে' অর্ব্বাকে
অস্তি ভেষজং (৮।৯।১৫)।

হে অশ্বিদ্বয়! দূর-স্থানে তোমাদের যে ঔষধ আছে, আর স্থূল-স্থানে যে ঔষধ আছে,—উভয়কেই দাও।

এই সকল স্থলে 'পরাবতঃ' শব্দ দ্বারা, কার্য্যবর্গের অতীত 'কারণ-সত্তাই যে বুঝাইতেছে, তাহাতে কোন সন্দেহ নাই।

আতস্থিবাংসঃ 'অমৃতস্য' নাভিং (৫।৪৭।২)

দেবতাবর্গ সকলেই—অমৃতের নাভিতে অবস্থান করে। রথ-চক্রের অর-গুলি যেমন চক্রের নাভিতে গ্রথিত থাকে, সকল দেবতাই তদ্রূপ 'অমৃতের নাভিকে' আশ্রয় করিয়া রহিয়াছে।

আর অধিক উদ্ধৃত করিবার আবশ্যক নাই। দেবতাবর্গ যে 'কারণ-সত্তা' হইতে অভিব্যক্ত, এবং দেবতাবর্গের মধ্যে অনুসূত 'কারণ-সত্তাই' যে ঋগ্বেদের লক্ষ্য, তাহা আমরা এই সকল শব্দের প্রয়োগ হইতেও সহজে বুঝিতে পারিতেছি। ষষ্ঠমণ্ডলের নবম-সূক্তের শেষ কয়েকটী মন্ত্রে, ঋষি বারংবার নির্দ্দেশ করিতেছেন যে—"আমার মন, আমার বুদ্ধি, 'অতি দূর-স্থানে' চলিয়া যাইতেছে।" ঋষি কেবলমাত্র কার্য্যবর্গ লইয়াই তৃপ্তিলাভ করিতে পারিতেছেন না। কার্য্য-বর্গ দ্বারা সমাচ্ছাদিত 'কারণ-সত্তা'র অনুসন্ধানের জন্য, তাঁহার মন

ব্যাকুল হইয়া উঠিয়াছে। এতদ্দ্বারাও আমরা, দেবতাবর্গে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তার জন্য ব্যাকুলতাই অনুভব করিতেছি।*

৮। প্রত্যেক দেবতার দুইরূপ। সূক্ষ্ম-রূপটীর দ্বারা দেবতাদের মৌলিক একত্বই নির্দ্দেশিত হইয়াছে।

দেবতাবর্গের মধ্যে অনুপ্রবিষ্ট এই কারণ-সত্তাটীকে বুঝাইয়া দিবার জন্য, ঋগ্বেদে আর একটী প্রণালী অবলম্বিত হইয়াছে। এখন সেই কথাটী বলিব।

দেবতাবর্গের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত এই কারণ-সত্তাটীকে বুঝাইয়া দিবার উদ্দেশ্যে, ঋগ্বেদে আর একটী প্রণালী অবলম্বিত হইয়াছে। প্রত্যেক দেবতারই একটী স্থূল, দৃশ্য রূপ আছে; এবং আর একটী অদৃশ্য, সূক্ষ্ম, গূঢ়রূপ আছে।—একথা বারংবার বলিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে। এরূপ বলিবার উদ্দেশ্য কি? উদ্দেশ্য এই যে, দেবতাবর্গের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত গূঢ় কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাই ইহা দ্বারা সুস্পষ্ট লক্ষিত হইতেছে। দেবতাবর্গের যেটী সূক্ষ্ম গূঢ়-রূপ, সেইটীই—কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা।

কি উপায়ে ঋগ্বেদ এই প্রণালীটী বলিয়া দিয়াছেন, এ স্থলে তাহা দেখাইতেছি।—

(ক) সূর্য্যের দুইরূপ।

ঋগ্বেদ আমাদিগকে বলিয়া দিয়াছেন যে,—"সূর্য্যের দুইটী চক্র আছে। একটী স্থূল চক্র; অপরটী গূঢ় চক্র। সতত মনন-পরায়ণ ধ্যানশীল ব্যক্তি সূর্য্যের এই গূঢ়-চক্রটীকে জানিতে পারেন; সকলে ইহাকে জানে না"†। অপর একটী ঋকে আছে যে,—"অনন্ত আকাশে সূর্য্য গূঢ়ভাবে অবস্থিত;

---

* বি মে কর্ণা পতয়তো বি চক্ষু,
বীদং জ্যোতি হৃদয়ে আহিতং যৎ।
বি মে মনশ্চরতি দূর আধীঃ
কিং স্বিদ্বক্ষ্যামি, কিমু নূ মনিষ্যে॥" (৬।৯।১)।

হৃদয়-নিহিত এই অমৃত-জ্যোতির নিকটেই, চক্ষুঃ-কর্ণাদি ইন্দ্রিয়বর্গ, স্ব স্ব বিজ্ঞান গুলিকে সংহরণ করিয়া থাকে, একথাও বলা হইয়াছে। (৬।৯।৫ দেখুন)।

† দ্বেতে চক্রে সূর্য্যো ব্রহ্মাণ ঋতু থা বিদুঃ। অথৈক চক্রং যদ গুহা, তদধ্যাতয় ইদ্বিদুঃ—১০।৮৫।৬। সূর্য্যের এই গূঢ় চক্রটীকে কেবল ধ্যানপরায়ণ ব্যক্তিরাই বুঝিতে পারেন।

‡ যদ্দেবা যতয়ো যথা ভুবনানি অপিন্বত। অত্রা সমুদ্রে আগূঢ় মাসূর্য্যা মজভর্ত্তন—১০।৭২।৭॥ দেবতারা সমস্ত ভুবন আচ্ছাদন করিলেন। এই সমুদ্রবৎ বিস্তীর্ণ আকাশে যে সূর্য্য গূঢ় ছিলেন দেবতারা

ছিলেন ; দেবতারা এই গূঢ় সূর্য্যকে প্রকাশ করিয়াছিলেন"। আমরা এই দুই স্থলেই সূর্য্যের একটী স্থূলরূপ এবং একটী সূক্ষ্মরূপের কথা পাইতেছি। সূর্য্যের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তাকে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই সূর্য্যের এই গূঢ় রূপের কথা বলা হইয়াছে। উপনিষদে যেমন সকলের অধিষ্ঠানস্বরূপ কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাকে 'মনের মন', 'প্রাণের প্রাণ', 'চক্ষুর চক্ষুঃ'—প্রভৃতি বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে ; ঋগ্বেদও স্থূলরূপের মধ্যে আর একটী সূক্ষরূপের কথা বলিয়া, সেই কারণ-সত্তারই নির্দ্দেশ করিয়াছেন। আমরা অন্য ভাবেও সূর্য্যের মধ্যে অনুপ্রবিষ্ট এই কারণ-সত্তার উল্লেখ দেখিতে পাই। প্রথম মণ্ডলের ৫০ সূক্তের একটী মন্ত্রে এইরূপ বর্ণনা আছে—

"সূর্য্যের তিন প্রকার অবস্থা বা রূপ। একটী 'উৎ'; অপরটী 'উৎ+তর'; অপরটী 'উৎ+তম'। যে সূর্য্যের জ্যোতিঃ এই ভূলোকে আইসে, তাহা 'উৎ' সূর্য্য। যে সূর্য্য আকাশে ঊর্দ্ধে বিকীর্ণ হয়, তাহা 'উত্তর' সূর্য্য। এতদ্ব্যতীত একটী 'উত্তম' সূর্য্য আছেন, যাঁহার উদয়ও নাই, অস্তও নাই"।*

এই বর্ণনাদ্বারা আমরা একই সূর্য্যের কার্য্যাত্মক, কারণাত্মক এবং কার্য্য-কারণের অতীত অবস্থার কথা পাইতেছি। বেদান্তদর্শনের ১।১।২৪ সূত্রেও ইহাই সিদ্ধান্ত করা হইয়াছে যে, যে সূর্য্য-জ্যোতিঃ আকাশে কিরণ বিকীর্ণ করিয়া থাকে, উহার মধ্যে অনুস্যূত ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাই "জ্যোতিঃ" শব্দের লক্ষ্য। শ্রুতিতে যে জ্যোতিঃ শব্দ আছে, তদ্দ্বারা সেই জ্যোতিতে অনুগত কারণ-সত্তা

সেই সূর্য্যকে প্রকাশ করিলেন। অর্থাৎ কারণ-সত্তা হইতে সূর্য্য অভিব্যক্ত হইল। ১।১৬৪।৬—৭ মন্ত্রে সূর্য্যের গূঢ় স্বরূপের কথা আছে।

* 'উৎ' বয়ং তমসঃ পরি জ্যোতিঃ পশ্যন্ত 'উত্তর'। দেবং দেবত্রা সূর্য্য মগন্ম জ্যোতি 'রুত্তমং'। —১।৫০।১০ যে জ্যোতিঃ পৃথিবীর অন্ধকার নাশ করে তাহা 'উৎ' (ইহা সূর্য্যের স্থূলরূপ)। যে জ্যোতিঃ দেবতাগণের মধ্যে দেবতা, তাহা 'উত্তর' (এটী সূর্য্যের সূক্ষ্মরূপ বা কারণ-সত্তা)। এতদ্ব্যতীত, সূর্য্যের যাহা 'উত্তম' জ্যোতিঃ তাহা নিরুপাধিক ব্রহ্ম ব্যতীত অন্য কিছু নহে। আমরা এ স্থলে ইহাও পাইতেছি যে, যাহাকে "দেবতা" বলা যায় তাহা কারণ-সত্তা, তাহা স্থূল-রূপ নহে। এই মন্ত্রটী ছান্দোগ্য উপনিষদেও দৃষ্ট হয়। ছান্দোগ্যে সূর্য্য মধু-চক্র রূপেও বর্ণিত আছে। সে স্থলে আছে যে প্রকৃত সূর্য্য—"ন নিম্লোচ, নোদিয়ায অস্তও যায না, উদিতও হয না। পাঠক দেখুন, সূর্য্য বলিতে কেবল জড়বস্তু বুঝায় না।

বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাই বুঝিতে হইবে। আমরা ঋগ্বেদেও সূর্য্যের সূক্ষ্ম-রূপের উল্লেখের দ্বারা সেই কারণ-সত্তাই বুঝিতে পারিতেছি।

(খ) অগ্নির দুই রূপ।—

এখন অগ্নি সম্বন্ধে ঋগ্বেদের সিদ্ধান্ত প্রদর্শিত হইতেছে, পাঠক তাহাও দেখুন। অগ্নিকে বলা হইয়াছে।—

"হে অগ্নি! দুই স্থানে তোমার জন্ম বা অভিব্যক্তি। একটী পরম উৎকৃষ্ট স্থান, অপরটী নিকৃষ্ট স্থূল স্থান। আমরা তোমার দুই স্থানেরই স্তুতি করিতেছি। যে "যোনি" হইতে—যে কারণ-সত্তা হইতে—তুমি উৎপন্ন হইয়াছ, আমরা তাহারই যজ্ঞ করিব"।* এস্থলে অতীব স্পষ্টভাষায় অগ্নির মধ্যগত কারণ-সত্তার কথা উল্লিখিত হইযাছে। অপর এক মন্ত্রেও ইহারই উল্লেখ আছে।—"হে অগ্নি! তোমার যে একটী অতি নিগূঢ় নাম আছে, তাহা জানিতে পারিয়াছি, তুমি যে উৎস হইতে—যে কারণ-সত্তা হইতে—উদ্ভূত হইয়াছ, আমরা তাহাও জানিতে পারিয়াছি"।† অন্যভাবেও এই মহাতত্ত্ব বলিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে। শ্মশানাগ্নিকে সম্বোধন করিয়া বলা হইয়াছে যে—

"অগ্নির যেটী স্থূলাংশ,—অগ্নির যে অংশ মৃতদেহের মাংস ভক্ষণ করিতেছে,—সেই অংশটী দূরে যাউক। এই অগ্নিরই মধ্যে আর একটী অগ্নি আছে, সেই অগ্নিই দেবতাদিগের নিকটে যজ্ঞ বহন করিয়া থাকেন, সেই অগ্নিই বিশ্বের তাবৎ বস্তুকে জানেন"‡।

---

* বিধেম তে পরমে জন্মন্ অগ্নে, বিধেম স্তোমৈ রবরে সধস্থে। যস্মাদ যোনে কদাবিথা যজে তম —২।৯।৩ এই জন্য অনেক স্থলে অগ্নিকে "দ্বিজন্মা" বলা হইযাছে।

† বিদ্মা তে নাম পরমং গুহাযং। বিদ্মা 'তমুৎসং' যত আজগন্থ।—১০।৪৪।২। এমন কি জল সকল যে এক "উৎস" বা কারণ সত্তা হইতে উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে, তাহাও ঋগ্বেদে স্পষ্ট। "পরি ত্রিতস্তং বিচরন্ত মুৎসং" (১০।৩০।৯১)। এই 'উৎস' কে "ত্রিতস্থ" বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হইযাছে।

‡ ক্রব্যাদ মগ্নিং প্রহিনোমি দূরং, যমরাজ্যং গচ্ছতু রিপ্রবাহঃ। ইহৈবাযমিতরো জাতবেদা, দেবেভ্যো হব্যং বহতু প্রজানন্—১০।১৬।৯।

আমরা আরো দেখি যে, অগ্নিকে বলা হইয়াছে "হে অগ্নি। এই স্থূল শরীর ব্যতীত তোমার যে পরমকল্যাণময় শরীর আছে, তদ্দ্বারা এই মৃত জীবকে স্বর্গে লইয়া যাও" (১০।১৬।৪)। আমরা ঈশোপনিষদেও এই প্রকার প্রার্থনা দেখিতে পাই। "হে সূর্য্য! তোমার ঐ স্থূল রূপ বা রশ্মিগুলি সংযত কর। ঐ স্থূলরশ্মি দ্বারা আবৃত তোমার যে একটী কল্যাণময় রূপ আছে, আমি সেই রূপটী দেখিতে চাই।

পাঠক দেখিতেছেন, অত্যন্ত স্পষ্টরূপে অগ্নির দুইটী রূপের কথা বলা হইয়াছে। যেটী অগ্নির সূক্ষ্ম-রূপ, সেটী অগ্নির মধ্যে অনুস্যূত 'কারণ-সত্তা' ব্যতীত আর কিছুই হইতে পারে না। পাঠক, বোধ করি, আর একটী প্রয়োজনীয় তাৎপর্য্যও লক্ষ্য করিতেছেন। দেবতাদিগের উদ্দেশ্যে যে যজ্ঞ করা হয়, যজ্ঞের উপাস্য "দেবতা" স্থূল ভৌতিক অগ্ন্যাদি বস্তু নহে।—তাহাও ঋগ্বেদ কৌশলে আমাদিগকে বলিয়া দিতেছেন। আমরা উপরে সূর্য্য সম্বন্ধে যাহা বলিয়াছি, তাহাতে দেখিয়াছি যে, যে সূর্য্যকে "দেবতা" বলা হয়, সে সূর্য্য কারণ-সত্তা মাত্র; স্থূল ভৌতিক সূর্য্য নহে। এস্থলেও বলা হইতেছে যে, অগ্নির যেটী সূক্ষ্ম-রূপ, সেইটীই দেবতাবর্গের নিকটে যজ্ঞীয় হবিঃ বহন করে। আমরা এই অংশগুলি হইতেই যজ্ঞের এবং যজ্ঞীয় 'দেবতা'র গূঢ় রহস্য ও বুঝিতে পারিতেছি। পাঠক এই রহস্যটীও ভুলিয়া যাইবেন না।

(গ) সোমের দুই রূপ।—

এখন সোম দেবতার কথা বলিব। সোম-সম্বন্ধে এইরূপ বর্ণনা দেখিতে পাওয়া যায় যে—

"সোমলতাকে নিপীড়িত করিয়া যখন তাহার রস বাহির করিয়া পান করা হয়, তখন লোকে মনে করে বটে যে সোমকে পান করা হইল; কিন্তু যাঁহারা মননশীল, তাঁহারা জানেন যে প্রকৃত যাহা সোম তাহাকে কেহ পান করিতে পারে না। পৃথিবীর কেহই প্রকৃত সোমকে পান করিতে সমর্থ হয় না" *।

এস্থলে আমরা দুইটী সোমের উল্লেখ পাইতেছি। সোমের যেটী স্থূলাংশ তাহাকেই লোকে পেষণ করে ও পান করে; কিন্তু সোমের যাহা সূক্ষ্ম-রূপ—সোমের মধ্যগত গূঢ় কারণ-সত্তা—তাহাকে পান করিবে কে? এই জন্যই অন্যত্র সোমের উদ্দেশ্যে বলা হইয়াছে—

"ধ্রুব সত্য সোমের দুই প্রকার জ্যোতিঃ আছে" † এবং "অমৃতের আধার স্বরূপ সোমের অংশ, তেজঃ দ্বারা সমাচ্ছাদিত হইতেছে" ‡। এই

* সোমং মন্যতে পপিব যৎ সংপিষন্তি ওষধিং।
সোমং যং ব্রহ্মাণো বিদুঃ, ন তস্যাশ্নাতি কশ্চন।
.....ন তে অশ্নাতি পার্থিবঃ।—১০।৮৫।৩-৪

† "উভয়তঃ পবমানস্য (সোমস্য) রশ্ময়ঃ, ধ্রুবস্য সতঃ পরিযন্তি কেতবঃ"—৯।৮৬।৬

‡ দ্বিতা বুর্ণন্ অমৃতস্য ধাম, স্বর্বিদে ভুবনানি প্রথন্ত—৯।৯৪।২

সকল স্থলেও, সোমের দুইটী অংশের কথা বলা হইয়াছে। সোমের সূক্ষ্মাংশ যে কারণ-সত্তা ব্যতীত অন্য কিছুই হইতে পারে না, তাহা আমরা অল্প আয়াসেই বুঝিতে পারি। কারণ-সত্তা না হইলে এই সকল উক্তি কদাপি সঙ্গত হইতে পারে না—

"হে সোম! তোমার নিগূঢ় ও লোক-লোচনের অতীত স্থানে তেত্রিশ কোটী দেবতা অবস্থান করেন" * এবং—"তোমার এই সত্য স্থানেই স্তবকারী গণের স্তুতি সকল কেন্দ্রীভূত হয়" †। সোম যদি কেবলমাত্র স্থূল উদ্ভিজ্জই হইবে, তবে সে সোমকে কেমন করিয়া বলা যাইবে যে—"হে সোম! তুমিই পৃথিবীর অব্যয় 'নাভিস্বরূপ' এবং তোমারই দিব্য 'রেতঃ' হইতে বিশ্বের তাবৎ প্রজা উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে এবং তুমিই এই বিশ্ব-ভুবনেব একমাত্র 'রেতোধা'—অর্থাৎ উৎপাদক-বীজ" ‡।

এই সকল কথাই, সোমের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তাকেই লক্ষ্য করিতেছে।

এতদ্ব্যতীত, সোমের একটী "তৃতীয়" স্থানের কথাও উল্লিখিত হইয়াছে।§ তাহা হইলেই আমরা সোমের—কার্য্যাবস্থা, কারণাবস্থা এবং কার্য্য-কারণাতীত তুরীয়াবস্থা বর্ণিত দেখিতে পাইতেছি।

(ঘ) ইন্দ্রের দুইরূপ।—

ইন্দ্র-সম্বন্ধেও ঠিক এইরূপ বর্ণনা নানাস্থানে নানাভাবে বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। ইন্দ্রের একটী স্থূল দৃশ্যরূপ এবং তন্মধ্যে অনুস্যূত একটী কারণ-সত্তা ;—ইহাই ইন্দ্রের সূক্ষ্ম-রূপ।—

---

* তব ত্যে সোম। পবমান। নিণ্যে, বিশ্বে দেবাস্ত্রয় একাদশাসঃ—৯।৯২।৪

† তন্ন সত্যং পবমানস্য অস্তু, যত্র বিশ্বে কারবঃ সন্নসন্ত—৯।৯২।৫

‡ পবমানো অব্যয়ং নাভা পৃথিব্যাঃ (৯।৮৬।৮) তবেমাঃ প্রজাঃ দিব্যস্য রেতসঃ—৯।৮৬।২৮। রেতোধাইন্দো। ভুবনেষু অর্পিতঃ (৯।৮৬।১০৯। পিতা দেবানাং 'জনিতা' (৯।৮৭।২)॥

§ ঋষিমনা য ঋষিকৃৎ স্বর্ষাঃ, সহস্রনীথঃ পদবীঃ কবীনাং। তৃতীয়ং ধাম মহিষঃ সিষাসন্, সোমো বিরাজন্ রাজতি ষ্টুপ্ (৯।৯৬।১৮,)। সোমের মন ঋষি অর্থাৎ সোম সকল বস্তুই জানিতে পারেন,—সর্ব্বজ্ঞ। বিদ্বান্‌ব্যক্তির পদঅনুসরণ হইলে, সোম তাহাও জানিতে পারেন। সোমের যেটী তৃতীয় ধাম, তথায় তিনি বিবাট্ পুরুষের অনুগামী হইয়া দীপ্তি পান। ইহা বলিয়া, সোমের "তুরীয়" ধাম এই ভাবে কথিত হইয়াছে—"তুরীয়ং ধাম মহিষো বিবক্তি" (৯।৯৬।১৯,)।

"হে ইন্দ্র! তুমি দুইস্থানে বাস কর। একটি নিম্নস্থান, অপরটী অতি ঊর্দ্ধস্থান"।* ইহা দ্বারা আমরা কারণ-সত্তার কথাই পাইতেছি। এই কথাই অন্যত্র অন্যভাবে উক্ত হইয়াছে। বলা হইয়াছে—

"হে ইন্দ্র তোমার দুইটী শরীর। একটী শরীর অতি গোপনীয়,—অতি নিগূঢ়। এই গূঢ় শরীরটী অতি প্রকাণ্ড এবং ইহা বিস্তর স্থান ব্যাপিয়া রহিয়াছে। এই শরীরের দ্বারাই তুমি ভূত, ভবিষ্যৎ সৃষ্টি করিয়াছ এবং যে যে জ্যোতির্ম্ময় পদার্থ উৎপন্ন করিতে ইচ্ছা করিয়াছিলে, তাহা উৎপাদন করিয়াছ"।† এই কারণ-সত্তাকে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই, পঞ্চম মণ্ডলে, বলা হইয়াছে যে—"আমরা ইন্দ্রের সেই পরম-নিগূঢ় পদটীকে জানিতে পারিয়াছি"।‡ ইন্দ্রের স্থূলরূপের অন্তরালে যে সূক্ষ্ম কারণ-সত্তা অনুস্যূত আছে; এই জন্যই যে সকল মন্ত্রে এপ্রকার বর্ণনা আছে যে, ইন্দ্রই দ্যাবা-পৃথিবীকে সৃষ্টি করিয়াছেন, ইন্দ্রই গো-স্তনে ক্ষীর অর্পণ করিয়াছেন;—এসকল বর্ণনা অত্যন্ত সঙ্গত হয়। নতুবা ইন্দ্রকে কেবলমাত্র ভৌতিক পদার্থ বলিয়া যাঁহারা ধরিয়া লন, তাঁহারা কোন প্রকারেই ঐ সকল বর্ণনার সামঞ্জস্য ও সঙ্গতি দেখাইতে পারিবেন না।

সূর্য্য, সোম ও অগ্নির যেমন তিন অবস্থার বর্ণনা ঋগ্বেদে দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়, ইন্দ্রেরও আমরা তিন অবস্থা বর্ণিত দেখি। অষ্টম মণ্ডলের ৫২ সূক্তের ৭ম মন্ত্রে আমরা দেখি যে—"ইন্দ্র তাঁহার দুই প্রকার জন্ম বা

---

* যৎ শক্রাসি পরাবতি, যদর্ব্বাবতি বৃত্রহন্। (৮।৯৭।৪)।

† দ্বে তন্নাম (শরীরং) গুহ্যং পরাচৈঃ। .....মহত্তন্নাম গুহ্যং পুরুস্পৃক্, যেন ভূতং জনযো যেন ভব্যং। প্রত্নং জাতং জ্যোতি র্যদস্য প্রিয়ং (১০।৫৫।২)। ইন্দ্রের এই গূঢ় শরীরটীকে "প্রত্নং জ্যোতিঃ" এবং "পুরু-স্পৃক্" বলা হইয়াছে। ইহা অতি প্রাচীন জ্যোতিঃ স্বরূপ; এবং ইহা সকল বস্তুকে স্পর্শ করিয়া বর্ত্তমান আছে। পাঠক দেখুন—ইহা কার্য্য-বর্গে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তা কিনা।

‡ অবাচচক্ষং পদমস্য সস্য, রুগ্রং নিধাতু রষ্যায় মিচ্ছন্। অপৃচ্ছমন্যান উত তে মে আহুঃ, ইন্দ্রং নবো বুবুধানা অশেম (৫।৩০।২)। পাঠক এই মন্ত্রটী লক্ষ্য করিবেন। ইন্দ্রের এই গূঢ় পদকে নিজ আধার-ভূত বলা হইযাছে। এবং যাহাবা যজ্ঞকারীদিগের মধ্যে "বুবুধানাঃ"—প্রকৃত রহস্যজ্ঞ, তাঁহারাই ইন্দ্রের এই পদকে জানেন।

অভিব্যক্তি পরিপালন করিয়া থাকেন। কিন্তু এতদ্ব্যতীত, আকাশে ইন্দ্রের একটী "তুরীয়" পদ আছে। এই পদটী "অমৃত" পদ"।*

(ঙ) বিষ্ণুর দুইরূপ।—

আমরা বিষ্ণুর বর্ণনেও ঋগ্বেদে বিষ্ণুর একটী পরম-পদের উল্লেখ দেখিতে পাই। বিষ্ণুর তিনটী স্থূল পদ—আকাশ, অন্তরীক্ষ ও ভূলোককে ব্যাপিয়া অবস্থান করে। কিন্তু বিষ্ণুর যেটী গূঢ় অমৃত-পদ, তাহা কেহই দেখিতে পায় না। সেটী মধু-পূর্ণ।†—এই বর্ণনা দ্বারা, ইন্দ্র ও বিষ্ণু—উভয়েরই কার্য্যাবস্থা, কারণাবস্থা এবং কার্য্য-কারণের অতীতাবস্থা বা "তুরীয়" স্বরূপের কথা অত্যন্ত সুস্পষ্টভাবে নির্দ্দেশিত হইয়াছে। না বুঝিয়া লোকে মনে করে যে, ঋগ্বেদ কেবল ভৌতিক বস্তুর প্রতি বিস্ময়-সূচক স্তুতির গ্রন্থ !!

(চ) বায়ুর দুইরূপ।—

আমরা ঋগ্বেদ দুই প্রকার বায়ুর কথাও দেখিতে পাই। এ স্থলে, স্থূল বায়ু এবং বায়ুর মধ্যগত কারণ-সত্তা;—এই তত্ত্বই পাওয়া যায়। এই কারণ-সত্তার কথা কি প্রকারে বলা হইয়াছে, পাঠক তাহা দেখুন—

"বায়ু দুই প্রকার। এক বায়ু সাগর হইতে বহিয়া আইসে; অপর বায়ু অতিদূর স্থান হইতে (পরাবতঃ) বহিয়া আইসে। প্রথমটী সামর্থ্য প্রদান করুক; দ্বিতীয়টী পাপ-নাশ করুক্" ‡।

---

* ".....উভে নি পাসি জন্মনী। তুরীয়াদিত্য হবনং ত ইন্দ্রিয় মাতস্থা বমৃতং দিবি (৮।৫২।৭)॥ ৫১ সক্তের ৪ মন্ত্রে বলা হইয়াছে যে,—"ইন্দ্রের নিগূঢ় উত্তম পদকে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই ত্রিধাতুবিশিষ্ট স্তুতি, উচ্চারণ করিয়া যাজ্ঞিকগন স্তব করেন। সেই ইন্দ্রই "বিশ্বভুবন উৎপন্ন করিয়াছেন এবং ইন্দ্রের ইহাই পরম বল।" এ স্থলে কৌশলে 'জ্ঞান-যজ্ঞের' কথাও বলা হইয়াছে। [ত্রিধাতু স্তব অর্থ কি? কার্য্য কারণ ও কার্য্য-কারণাতীত অবস্থাসূচক স্তোত্র নহে কি?]

† "ত্রীনি পদা বিচক্রমে বিষ্ণু গোপা অদাভ্যঃ"। .....তদ্বিষ্ণোর্যৎ পরমং পদং সদা পশ্যন্তি সূরয়ঃ দিবীব চক্ষুরাততং (১।২২।১৮,২১)। "বিষ্ণোঃ পদে পরমে মধ্ব উৎসঃ" (১।১৫৪।৫)। যাঁহারা বিদ্বান্, যাঁহারা সতত জাগরণশীল, ঈদৃশ মনন-পরায়ণ সাধকই কেবল, বিষ্ণুর এই পরম পদটীকে দেখিতে পান। অন্যে পায় না। সুতরাং বিষ্ণুরও দুই অবস্থা বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। একটি স্থূল কার্য্যাত্মক অবস্থা। আর একটী সূক্ষ্ম কারণাত্মক অবস্থা। বরুণের দুইটী পদ বা স্থানের কথা আছে।

‡ দ্বাবিমৌ বাতৌ;—আবাত আসিন্ধো রা পরাবতঃ। দক্ষংতে অস্য আবাতু, পরাক্ষো বাতু যদ্রপঃ—১০।১৮৭।২ মরুতের বল দুই প্রকার—"দ্বিতা শবঃ—(১।৩৭।৯)।

যে বায়ু পাপ-নাশক বলিয়া উক্ত হইয়াছে, উহা নিশ্চয়ই ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা ব্যতীত কোন জড় বস্তু হইতে পারেনা। সুতরাং এতদ্দ্বারা আমরা স্থূল বায়ুর মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তাই পাইতেছি। এই সূক্ষ্মবায়ু ঋগ্বেদে "মাতরিশ্বা" নামে বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। মাতরিশ্বা—সকল ক্রিয়ার বীজশক্তি উহা হইতেই সর্ব্বপ্রথমে জড়ীয় বায়ু অভিব্যক্ত হয়।

প্রথম মণ্ডলের ১৬৮ সূক্তেও মরুতের দুইটী রূপের উল্লেখ আছে—"এই পৃথিব্যাদি মহান্ লোক সকল,—ইহাদের পর-পার হইতে কি বায়ু আসিয়াছে; না, অবর বা স্থূল প্রদেশ হইতে বায়ু আসিয়াছে?"* আমরা এই প্রশ্নের দ্বারাও স্থূল ও সূক্ষ্ম বায়ুর কথাই পাইতেছি। স্থূল-বায়ুর মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তাই—সূক্ষ্ম বায়ু। এই বায়ুকে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই, অষ্টম মণ্ডলের ৯৪ সূক্তে বলা হইয়াছে যে—"বায়ুরই ক্রোড়ে দেবতা-সকল স্ব স্ব বিবিধ ক্রিয়া নির্ব্বাহ করিয়া থাকে"† এবং এই বায়ুকেই বলা হইয়াছে যে "মরুদ্গণ সমস্ত পার্থিব বস্তুকে এবং আকাশের জ্যোতিষ্মান্ পদার্থ গুলিকে বিস্তারিত করিয়াছেন"‡। মরুদ্গণকে "ত্রিষধস্থ" বলিয়াও নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে। কার্য্যাত্মক, কারণাত্মক এবং কার্য্য-কারণের অতীত—এই তিন অবস্থাকে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই বায়ুকে "ত্রিষধস্থ" বলা হইয়া থাকে। এই জন্যই বলা হইয়াছে যে,—"কেহই মরুদ্গণের জন্ম জানে না। মরুদ্গণ নিজেরাই নিজের জন্ম অবগত আছেন। যাঁহারা ধীর, বিদ্বান্—কেবল তাঁহারাই মরুদ্গণের প্রকৃত স্বরূপ জানেন"§। এই কারণ-সত্তাকে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই মরুদ্গণকে "সনাভয়ঃ" বলা হইয়াছে¶। সকল মরুদ্গণেরই একটী মাত্র নাভি বা আশ্রয়। অর-গুলি যেমন রথ-চক্রের নাভিতে আশ্রিত থাকে, মরুদ্গণও তদ্রূপ এক কারণ-সত্তাকে আশ্রয় করিয়া রহিয়াছে। "হে

---

* ক স্বিদস্য রজসো মহস্পরং, কাবয়ং মরুতো? যস্মিন্নায়য়—১।১৬৮।৬

† যস্যা দেবা উপস্থে ব্রতা বিশ্বা ধারয়ন্তে-৮।৯৪।২।

‡ আ যে বিশ্বা পার্থিবানি পপ্রথন্ রোচনা দিবঃ—৮।৯৪।৯। "ত্রিষধস্থস্য জাবতঃ" (৮।৪৯।৫)।

§ ন কি হৈষাং জনুংষি বেদ তে, অঙ্গ। বিদ্রে মিথো জনিত্বম্—৭।৫৬।২॥ এতানি ধীরো নিণ্যা চিকেত—৭।৫৬।৪।

¶ রথানাং অরাঃ সনাভয়ঃ—১০।৭৮।৪ দশম মণ্ডলে, জল সকলকেও "সযোনিঃ বলা হইয়াছে।—অর্থাৎ জল সকল এক কারণ-সত্তা হইতেই উৎপন্ন হইয়াছে (১০,৩০।১০)।

বায়ু! তোমার গৃহে 'অমৃতের ভাণ্ড' নিহিত রহিয়াছে" *। এই অমৃতের ভাণ্ডটী কি কারণ-সত্তা নহে?

(ছ) আকাশের দুইরূপ।—

এই প্রকার, আমরা ঋগ্বেদে দুইটী আকাশেরও উল্লেখ দেখিতে পাই। পাঠক এই গ্রন্থের অনেক স্থলে দেখিয়াছেন যে, উপনিষদে দুই প্রকার আকাশের কথা দৃষ্ট হয়। একটী ভূতাকাশ, অপরটী পরম-ব্যোম। মহাকাশে প্রাণশক্তির ক্রিয়া অভিব্যক্ত হইলে, সেই ক্রিয়া-শক্তি-বিশিষ্ট রূপে যে আকাশ, তাহাই ভৌতিক আকাশ। কিন্তু এই ভৌতিক আকাশের মধ্যেই আর একটী আকাশ আছে, তাহাকে পরমব্যোম বলে। উপনিষদে এই পরম ব্যোম বা মহাকাশের নাম—"পুরাণং খং"। আর, ভৌতিক আকাশের নাম—"বায্বং খং"। ঋগ্বেদেও আমরা যেমন দ্যৌঃ শব্দ দেখি, তেম্‌নি 'পরম-ব্যোম' শব্দও দেখি। দ্যৌঃই—ভৌতিক আকাশ। আর, 'পরম-ব্যোম'ই—মহাকাশ। এই পরম-ব্যোমেই মাতরিশ্বা বা প্রাণ-শক্তির প্রথম বিকাশ হয় †।

(জ) সকল দেবতারই দুইরূপ—

এই প্রকারে আমরা প্রত্যেক দেবতারই—একটী কার্য্যাত্মক রূপ এবং একটী কারণাত্মক রূপ ঋগ্বেদে সর্ব্বত্র উল্লিখিত দেখিতে পাই। এই জন্যই সকল দেবতাকেই "দ্বিজন্মা" ‡ বলা হইয়াছে। এবং ইহাও আমরা পাই যে—

"অগ্নিই—দেবতাবর্গের নিগূঢ় জন্ম কথা অবগত আছেন। আবার—"সূর্য্যই দেবতাগণের নিগূঢ় জন্মকথা অবগত আছেন"। এবং—

---

* যদ্‌দো বাত। তে গৃহে অমৃতস্য নিধিহিতঃ—১০।১৮৬।৩॥

† (ইন্দ্রঃ) পবমে-ব্যোমন্ অধারয়ৎ বোদসী—১।৬২।৭॥ ইন্দ্র পবম ব্যোমে আত্মবল দ্বারা দ্যাবা-পৃথিবীকে ধারণ করিয়াছেন। "স জায়মানঃ পরমে ব্যোমন্, আবি রগ্নিরভবৎ মাতরিশ্বনে" (১।১৪৩।২)। পরম ব্যোমে, মাতরিশ্বার স্পন্দনবশতঃ প্রথমে অগ্নি অভিব্যক্ত হইলেন। "ঋচো অক্ষরে পরমে ব্যোমন, যস্মিন্ দেবা অধিবিশ্বে নিষেদুঃ"—১।১৬৪।৩৯॥ এরূপ কথাও আছে যে—'এই দ্যুলোক ও ভূলোকের উপরেও একজন আছেন, যিনি ইহাদিগকে ধারণ করিয়া রহিয়াছেন। "নৈতাবদেনা পরো অন্যো অস্তি, উক্ষাস দ্যাবা-পৃথিবী বিভস্তি" (১০.৩১।৮)।

‡ দ্বি-জন্মানো যেঽমৃতশাপঃ সন্ত্যাঃ—৮।৫০।১৯॥

"সকল দেবতারই যে এক একটী গূঢ় নাম আছে, সোমই তাহা জানেন"*।

"বরুণ—উপযুক্ত সাধককে একটী পরম-গূঢ় পদের কথা বলিয়া দিয়াছেন"†।

৯। প্রত্যেক দেবতারই একটী গূঢ়-পদ আছে। এই 'গূঢ়-পদ' দ্বারা দেবতাদের মৌলিক একত্ব সূচিত হইয়াছে।—

প্রিয় পাঠক আমরা আর অধিক উদ্ধৃত করিতে ইচ্ছা করি না। প্রত্যেক দেবতার মধ্যেই যে এক বিশাল কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা অনুস্যূত রহিয়াছেন, সেই কারণ-সত্তাটী বুঝাইয়া দিবার জন্যই ঋগ্বেদ.—দেবতাবর্গকে দুইরূপে বর্ণনা করিয়াছেন। সূর্য্যাদি দেবতাগণ যদি কেবলমাত্র পরিচ্ছিন্ন ভৌতিক জড়পদার্থ হইতেন, তাহা হইলে আমরা দেবতাদের দুইটী রূপের কথা ঋগ্বেদে দেখিতে পাইতাম না। আমরা উপরে যে প্রণালী দেখাইলাম, তাহারই একটুমাত্র বিভিন্নভাবে, অন্য এক প্রকারে, ঋগ্বেদ এই কারণ-সত্তার তত্ত্ব নির্দ্দেশ করিয়াছেন। প্রায় প্রত্যেক সূক্তেই, প্রত্যেক দেবতারই যে একটী করিয়া গূঢ় নাম আছে তাহা বলিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে ‡। দেবতাগণের এই গূঢ় পদ বা গূঢ় নাম কেন বলা হইল? দেবতাবর্গে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তাই কি এই সকল উক্তির লক্ষ্য নহে?

---

* বেদ য স্ত্রীণি বিদথানি এষাং দেবানাং জন্ম—৬।৫১।২। অগ্নি র্জাতা (জন্ম) দেবানাং…অপীচ্যম্—৮।৩৯।৬। দেবো দেবানাং গুহ্যানি নাম আবিষ্কৃণোতি—৯।৯৫।২॥ বিদ্বান্ পদস্য গুহ্যানবোচৎ (৭।৮৭।৪)। বরুণ সম্বন্ধেও এই কথা আছে যে, বরুণ—দর্শনীয় পদ্ এবং প্রাচীন পদ উভয়ই জানেন (৮।৪১।৪)॥

+ অশ্বিদ্বয়েরও, স্থূলরূপ ও কারণ-রূপ (ও কার্য্য-কারণের অতীত রূপের কথা) আছে। এবং ইহাও আছে যে, অশ্বি-দ্বয়ের দৃশ্যরূপ ব্যতীতও একটী নিগূঢ়রূপ আছে। "ত্রীনি পদানি অশ্বিনোঃ আবিঃ সন্তি গুহা পরঃ" (৮।৮।২৩)। বরুণের—একটী পরম-স্থান বা পদ এবং একটী নিকৃষ্ট পদেরও উল্লেখ আছে (৮।৪১।৪)। উষাও—'দ্বিবর্হা' (৫।৮০।৫) রুদ্রও—'দ্বিবর্হা' (১।১১৪।১০)। এমন কি, জলেরও দুইটী রূপের কথা বলা হইয়াছে। "যে জল ইহলোক ও পরলোক—উভয় লোকে গমন করে, তাহাকে প্রেরণ কর। একপ তরঙ্গ প্রেরণ কর, যাহার উৎপত্তি আকাশে এবং যাহা 'ত্রিতস্ত' উৎসের প্রতি উঠিয়া যায়। "প্রহেত য উভে ইয়র্ত্তি।……নভোজাঃ, পরি "ত্রিতস্তং বিচরন্ত মুৎসং' ১০।৩০।৯)। ত্রিতস্ত উৎস=সত্ত্ব-রজ-স্তমঃ—এই ত্রিগুণাত্মক কারণ-সত্তা নহে কি? এই জলকে—'ভূবনস্য জনিত্রী' বলা হইয়াছে।

‡ সকল দেবতার গূঢ়পদ ও গূঢ়নাম সম্বন্ধে প্রধানতঃ এই সকল স্থান দ্রষ্টব্য:—১।৬৫।১, ১।৭২।২; ৪।৭।৬; ৫।১১।৬, ৫।১৫।৫, ৫।৪৩।১৪, ৮।৮০।৯; ৯।৯৫।৩, ৫।৩০।৩ প্রভৃতি।

সকল দেবতার মধ্যে অনুস্যূত এই কারণ-সত্তা যে শক্তি-স্বরূপ—বল-স্বরূপ—তাহা আমরা পূর্ব্বেই একরূপ দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি। দেবতাদিগকে যখন কম্পন-স্বরূপ, বল-স্বরূপ, শক্তি-স্বরূপ বলা হইয়াছে, তখন দেবতারা যে কারণ-সত্তার বিকাশ, সেই কারণ-সত্তাও অবশ্যই শক্তি-স্বরূপ, বল-স্বরূপ।

১০। প্রত্যেক দেবতার মধ্যেই অপর সকল দেবতা আশ্রিত।—ইহা দ্বারাও দেবতাবর্গের মৌলিক একত্ব সূচিত হইতেছে।—

অগ্ন্যাদি দেবতাবর্গ যে কোন জড়পদার্থ নহে, অগ্ন্যাদি দেবতা যে কারণ-সত্তা ব্যতীত অন্য কোন বস্তু নহে, তাহা বুঝাইবার জন্য ঋগ্বেদে আর একটী প্রণালী অবলম্বিত হইয়াছে। আমরা পাঠকবর্গকে সেই প্রণালীটীও দেখাইব। ঋগ্বেদের অনেক স্থলে এরূপ দেখিতে পাওয়া যায় যে, যখনই সেই স্থল-গুলিতে কোন একটী দেবতার উল্লেখ করা হইয়াছে, তখনই এই প্রকার কথা বলা হইয়াছে যে—অন্যান্য দেবতারা সেই সেই দেবতাকেই ধারণ করেন; সেই সেই দেবতারই ব্রত পালন করেন; সেই দেবতাকেই স্তব করিয়া থাকেন। বৈদিক ঋষিগণের চিত্তে যদি অগ্ন্যাদি দেবতাকে 'কারণ-সত্তা' বলিয়াই বোধ না থাকিত, তাহা হইলে আমরা ঋগ্বেদে এ প্রকার উক্তি দেখিতে পাইতাম না। অগ্নি যদি স্বতন্ত্র কোন জড়পদার্থই হয়, তাহা হইলে অন্যান্য দেবতারা কি প্রকারে সেই অগ্নিকে আপনাদের মধ্যে ধারণ করিবেন? কি প্রকারেই বা অন্যান্য দেবতারা সেই অগ্নিরই ব্রত বা কার্য্য পালন করিবেন? কিরূপেই বা সেই অগ্নিকে অন্যান্য দেবতারা স্তব-স্তুতি করিবেন? ঋগ্বেদের অগ্ন্যাদি দেবতা যে কার্য্য-বর্গে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা ব্যতীত স্বতন্ত্র কোন বস্তু নহেন,—ঐ সকল উক্তি অনিবার্য্য-রূপে তাহাই প্রমাণ করিতেছে। পাঠকবর্গকে আমরা নানাস্থান হইতে সেই সকল উক্তি উদ্ধৃত করিয়া দেখাইতেছি।—

(I) অগ্নি—

"সবিতা, মিত্র, বরুণ প্রভৃতি সকল দেবতাই ধন-প্রদাতা 'অগ্নিকে' ধারণ করিয়া রহিয়াছেন" *।

---

* "দেবা অগ্নিং ধারয়ন্ দ্রবিণোদাং।" কেবল ইহাই নহে। দেবতারা সকলেই যে অগ্নিরই যাগ করেন—অগ্নিতেই হোম করেন, তাহাও বলা হইয়াছে।—'অগ্নিং দেবাস ইন্ধতে" (৬।১৬।৪৮)।

পাঠক, বিবেচনা করিয়া দেখুন—এস্থলে 'অগ্নি' শব্দ দ্বারা, সকল দেবতায় অনুস্যূত 'কারণ-সত্তা' বুঝাইতেছে কিনা। কারণ-সত্তা না হইলে, 'দেবতারা সকলেই অগ্নিকে ধারণ করিয়া আছেন'—এই উক্তির কোনই অর্থ থাকে না।

আরো দেখুন—

"রথচক্রের নেমি যেমন অর-গুলিকে ব্যাপ্ত করিয়া থাকে, হে অগ্নি! তুমিও তদ্রূপ, সকলকে সর্ব্বতোভাবে ব্যাপ্ত করিয়া রাখিয়াছ। তোমারি সাহায্যে বরুণ স্বীয় ব্রত ধারণ করিতেছেন, মিত্র অন্ধকার নাশ করিতেছেন এবং অর্য্যমা মনুষ্যের কামনার সামগ্রী দান করিতেছেন" *।

"হে অগ্নি। অপর সকল অমর-দেববর্গ তোমাতেই অবস্থিত রহিয়াছেন; দেবতারা সকলেই তোমাতেই আশ্রিত" †।

"হে অগ্নি! তোমারই ঐশ্বর্য্যে দেবতাবর্গের ঐশ্বর্য্য" ‡।

"অর-সমূহ যেমন রথ-চক্রের নেমিতে প্রবিষ্ট হইয়া অবস্থান করে, অন্যান্য সকল দেবতাই তদ্রূপ অগ্নিতে প্রবিষ্ট হইয়া রহিয়াছেন" §।

পাঠক দেখুন্ এই সকল স্থলে অগ্নি, দেবতাবর্গে অনুপ্রবিষ্ট 'কারণ-সত্তাকেই' বুঝাইতেছে।

আমরা পাঠকবর্গকে আর একটী মন্ত্র শুনাইব।—

"প্রাণি-বর্গের হৃদয়ে অগ্নি, অচল ধ্রুব জ্যোতি-রূপে প্রবিষ্ট রহিয়াছেন। তাবৎ ইন্দ্রিয় গুলি—এই নিত্য অগ্নির নিকটেই শব্দ-স্পর্শাদি বিবিধ বিজ্ঞান-রূপ উপহার

---

* ত্বয়া হি অগ্নে বরুণো ধৃতব্রতো—
মিত্রঃ শাশদ্রে, অর্য্যমা সুদানবঃ।
যৎসীমনু ক্রতুনা বিশ্বথা বিভুঃ,
অরান্ন নেমিঃ পরিভূরজায়থা।

† ত্বে অগ্নে। বিশ্বে অমৃতাস অদ্রুহঃ।—(১।১৪১।৯)

‡ তব শ্রিয়া সুযশো দেব। দেবাঃ।—৫।৩।৪

§ অগ্নে। নেমিবরান্ ইব, দেবান্ ত্বং পরিভূবসি।—৫।১৩।৬

প্রদান করিয়া থাকে। সকল ইন্দ্রিয়ই, এই অগ্নির একমাত্র ক্রিয়ার অনুবর্ত্তন করিয়া থাকে" *।

পাঠক দেখিবেন, অগ্নি—এস্থলে ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা রূপেই বর্ণিত হইয়াছেন।

(II) মরুৎ নামক দেবতার কথা শুনুন্—

"যস্যা দেবা উপস্থে ব্রতা বিশ্বে ধাবয়ন্তে" (৮।৯৪।২)।

মরুতেরই ক্রোড়দেশে আশ্রিত রহিয়া, দেবতাবর্গ স্ব স্ব ব্রত বা ক্রিয়া নির্ব্বাহ করিয়া থাকে।

পাঠক দেখুন্, এস্থলে 'মরুৎ' কে 'কারণ-সত্তা' রূপেই অনুভব করা হইয়াছে। এই জন্যই—ইন্দ্রকে 'মরুত্বান্', অগ্নিকে 'মরুত্বান্', রুদ্রকে 'মরুত্বান্'—বলিয়াও নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে। এক স্থলে এই উদ্দেশ্যেই বায়ুকে—

দেবতাদিগের আত্মা বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে—

"আত্মা দেবানাং ভুবনস্য গর্ভঃ (১০।১৬৮।৪)।

(III) এইরূপ, বরুণকে বলা হইয়াছে—

"বরুণস্য ধ্রুবং·· বিশ্বেদেবা অনুব্রতং"-৮।৪১।৭

বরুণেরই সম্মুখে সকল দেবতা স্ব স্ব ক্রিয়া সম্পাদন করিয়া থাকেন।

---

* ধ্রুবং জ্যোতি নিহিতং দৃশয়েকং
মনোজবিষ্টং পতয়ৎসু অন্তঃ।
বিশ্বেদেবাঃ সমনসঃ সকেতাঃ
একং ক্রতু মভিবিয়ন্তি সাধু।—৬।৯।৫

ব্রহ্মের স্বরূপ বর্ণনা করিতে গিয়া কঠোপনিষদ ও, আত্মা সম্বন্ধে অবিকল এই প্রকার কথা বলিয়াছেন—"হৃদয়পুণ্ডরীকে।আসীনং বৃদ্ধা বভিব্যক্ত·····সর্ব্বে দেবা শ্চক্ষুরাদয়ঃ রূপাদি বিজ্ঞানং বলি মুপাহরন্তো বিশ ইব রাজানং·····তাদর্থ্যেন অনুপরত-ব্যাপারা ভবন্তীত্যর্থঃ (শঙ্করভাষ্য)"। পাঠক দেখিবেন, ঋগ্বেদের অগ্নির বর্ণনাও অবিকল এইরূপ। অন্যস্থানেও আছে—"ক্রতুং হৃস্য বসবো জুষন্তঃ (৭।২১।৪) [ক্রতু=জ্ঞান এবং শক্তি]

পাঠক, আরো শুনুন—

"রথ-চক্রের নাভিতে যেমন অর-গুলি গ্রথিত থাকে, বরুণের মধ্যেও তদ্রূপ এই বিশ্ব-ভুবন গ্রথিত রহিয়াছে" *।

"হে মিত্রা-বরুণ! কোন দেবতাই তোমার কর্ম্মের পরিমাণ বা ইয়ত্তা করিতে পারেন না" †।

এই স্থল-গুলির সর্ব্বত্রই 'বরুণ' শব্দ, সেই 'কারণ-সত্তাকেই' লক্ষ্য করিতেছে।

(IV) সবিতা সম্বন্ধেও অবিকল এইরূপ উক্তি আছে—

"সূর্য্যের গতিরই অনুগত হইয়া অন্যান্য দেবতারা গমন করিয়া থাকেন। সূর্য্যের গতি হইতে স্বতন্ত্র ভাবে কোন দেবতারই গমন সিদ্ধ হয় না" ‡।

"ইন্দ্র, বরুণ, মিত্র, অর্য্যমা ও রুদ্র—ইহারা কেহই সবিতার ব্রত বা কর্ম্মের পরিমাণ করিতে সমর্থ হয় না" §।

আবার আমরা এরূপ কথাও দেখিতে পাই যে—

"সবিতা দ্বারা প্রেরিত হইয়াই অদিতি, বরুণ, মিত্র, অর্য্যমা প্রভৃতি দেবতাবর্গ সবিতার স্তুতি করিয়া থাকেন। সেই এক সূর্য্য—সকল দেবতার মধ্যে সর্ব্ব-শ্রেষ্ঠ" ¶।

আবার, সবিতাকে সকল দেবতার চক্ষুঃস্বরূপ বলিয়াও নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে—

"চক্ষুর্মিত্রস্য বরুণস্য অগ্নেঃ"। "দেবানা মজনিষ্ট চক্ষুঃ"।-৭।৭।৬১

---

* যস্মিন্ বিশ্বানি কাব্যা, চক্রে নাভিরিব শ্রিতং ৮।৪১।৬

† ন বাং দেবা অমৃত। আমিনন্তি,
ব্রতানি মিত্রা বরুণ। ধ্রুবাণি।—৫।৬৯।৪

‡ যস্য প্রয়াণমনু অন্য ইৎ যযুঃ দেবাঃ—৫।৮১।৩। উপনিষদেও এই প্রকার কথাই আছে—
"তস্য ভাসা সর্ব্ব মিদং বিভাতি"।
[বেদান্ত দর্শনের ১।৩।২২ সূত্র দেখুন]

§ ন যস্যেন্দ্রো বরুণো ন মিত্রো,
ব্রতং মর্য্যমা ন মিনন্তি রুদ্রঃ।...২।৩৮।৯

¶ অভি যং দেবী অদিতি র্গৃণাতি, সবং দেবস্য সবিতুর্জুষাণা।
অভি সম্রাজো বরুণোগৃণন্তি, অভিমিত্রাসো অর্য্যমা সজোষাঃ।—৭।৩৮।৪।
তদেকং দেবানাং শ্রেষ্ঠং বপুষামপশ্যং।—৫।৬২।২

পাঠকবর্গ এ সকল স্থল হইতে অবশ্যই দেখিতেছেন যে, 'সবিতা' শব্দ সকলদেবতায় অনুপ্রবিষ্ট 'কারণ-সত্তাকেই' বুঝাইতেছে *।

(V) সোম শব্দও 'কারণ-সত্তা'কে নির্দ্দেশ করে। পাঠক দুই একটী স্থল দেখুন—

"সোমেরই ব্রতে বা কর্ম্মে, অপর সকল দেবতা অবস্থিত"। "বিশ্বের সকল প্রাণীই সোমেরই মহিমায় অবস্থিত"। 'সোমই বিশ্ব-ভুবনকে বহন করিতেছেন"। "এই বিশ্ব-ভুবন সোমেরই মহিমায় অবস্থিত" †। আবার বলা হইয়াছে "সোম তাবৎ দেবতারই জনক" ‡।

এই সকল স্থলেই সোম—'কারণ-সত্তা' মাত্র।

"হে সোম! তেত্রিশ-সংখ্যক দেবতাবর্গ সকলেই তোমাতেই—তোমারি মধ্যে—অবস্থিত রহিয়াছেন" §।

"সোমই, সকল দেবতারই যে গূঢ় নাম আছে তাহা প্রকাশিত করেন" ¶।

সোম-সম্বন্ধে এই সকল উক্তি দ্বারা সোম যে কারণ-সত্তা মাত্র, তাহাই অনিবার্য্যরূপে প্রমাণিত হইতেছে।

(VI) ইন্দ্রকে লক্ষ্য করিয়া যাহা বলা হইয়াছে, তাহাও এই তত্ত্বই প্রমাণিত করে।—

"হে ইন্দ্র! তোমারই বল এবং প্রজ্ঞার অনুসরণ করিয়া, অপর সকল দেবতা প্রজ্ঞাবান্ ও বলবান্"।

---

* আবার বলা হইয়াছে 'সবিতাই দেবতাদের জন্মের তত্ত্ব অবগত আছেন'। "বেদ যো দেবানাং জন্ম" (৬।৫১।২।)। "প্রাসাবীৎ দেবঃ সবিতা জগৎ"(১।১৫৭।১১)

† অস্য ব্রতে সজোষসো বিশ্বে দেবাসঃ (৯,১০২।৫,)।
বিশ্বস্য উত ক্ষিতয়ো হস্তে অস্য (৯।৮৬।৬)
বিশ্বা সম্পশ্যন্ ভুবনানি বিবক্ষসে (১০।২৫।৬)।
তুভ্যেমা ভুবনা কবে। মহিম্নে সোম। তস্থিরে ৯।৯২।২৭)

‡ জনিতা দিবো, জনিতা পৃথিব্যাঃ, জনিতাগ্নেঃ জনিতা সূর্য্যস্য, জনিতা ইন্দ্রস্য, জনিতোষা বিষেস্যাঃ (৯।৯৬।৫) পিতা দেবানাং (৯।১০৯।৪।)।

§ তব তো সোম। পবমান। নিণো, বিশ্বে দেবাসস্ত্রয় একাদশাসঃ (৯।৯২।৪)।

¶ দেবো দেবানাং গুহ্যানি নাম আবিষ্কৃণোতি (৯।৯৫।২।)।

"দেবতাদিগের মধ্যে কোন দেবতাই ইন্দ্রের বলের অন্ত পায় না"।

"সূর্য্য ও বরুণ প্রভৃতি দেবতাবর্গ, ইন্দ্রেরই ব্রতে বা কর্ম্মে অবস্থিত; অর্থাৎ ইন্দ্রেরই কর্ম্মের অনুসরণ করিয়া, সূর্য্য-বরুণাদি দেবতাগণ স্ব স্ব ক্রিয়াসম্পাদনে সমর্থ হয়" *।

আবার দেখিতে পাওয়া যায় যে—

"ইন্দ্রই দ্যাবা-পৃথিবীকে স্বকার্য্যে প্রেরণ করিয়া থাকেন এবং ইন্দ্রই সূর্য্যকে প্রেরণ করিতেছেন" †।

আবার এরূপ উক্তি ও আছে যে—

"রথ-চক্রের নাভিতে যেমন অর-গুলি গ্রথিত থাকে, ইন্দ্রেও তদ্রূপ সকল বিশ্ব-ভুবন গ্রথিত রহিয়াছে" ‡।

(VII) বিষ্ণুকে বলা হইয়াছে যে—

"বিষ্ণুই—সূর্য্য, উষা ও অগ্নিকে উৎপন্ন করিয়াছেন"॥

"হে বিষ্ণো! কেহই—মনুষ্যই হউক্ বা দেবতাই হউক্—তোমার মহিমার অন্ত পায় না" §।

পাঠক! অগ্নি, সোম, ইন্দ্র, সবিতা, বিষ্ণু সম্বন্ধে উপরে উদ্ধৃত উক্তি-গুলি অনিবার্য্য-রূপে, সকলদেবতায় অনুস্যূত 'কারণ-সত্তা'কেই লক্ষ্য করিতেছে। নতুবা, ঐ সকল উক্তি অর্থ-শূন্য হইয়া পড়ে।

(VIII) জল—

আমরা এই উপলক্ষে পাঠক-বর্গকে আর একটী কথা বলিব। অদ্যাপি দৈনন্দিন উপাসনা ও সন্ধ্যা-বন্দনের সময়ে হিন্দুগণ, 'জলের' নিকটে

---

* বিশ্বে ত ইন্দ্র। বীর্য্যং দেবা অনুক্রতুং দদুঃ (৮।৬২।৭)। ন যস্য দেবা দেবতা ন মর্ত্ত্যাঃ, আপশ্চ ন শবসো অন্তমাপুঃ (১।১০০।১৫)।

যস্য ব্রতে বরুণো, যস্য সূর্য্যঃ (১।১০১।৩)।

N. B দেবতাদের যে স্ব স্ব সামর্থ্য আছে, সে সামর্থ্য—ইন্দ্রই দেবতাদের মধ্যে নিহিত করিয়াছেন—

"যদ্দেবেষু ধারয়থা অসুর্য্যং (বলং)—৬।৩৬।১।

+ সমিন্দ্রো……অধুনীত সংক্ষোণী সমু সূর্য্যং (৮।৫২।১০)।

‡ অরায় নেমিঃ পরিতা বভূব (১।৩২।১৫)।

§ জনয়ন্তা সূর্য্যমুষাস মগ্নিং (৭।৯৯।৪। ন তে বিষ্ণো। জায়মানো ন জাতো, দেব! মহিম্নঃ পরমন্ত মাপ—৭।৯৯।২।

প্রার্থনা করিয়া থাকেন। এই জল যে জড় জল নহে, ঋগ্বেদ স্পষ্টই তাহা বলিয়া দিয়াছেন। জলের নিকটে যখন প্রার্থনা করা হইয়া থাকে, তখন জড় জল সে প্রার্থনার লক্ষ্য হইতে পারে না। জলের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাই উহার লক্ষ্য। ঋগ্বেদ আমাদিগকে জানাইয়াছেন যে—

"বরুণ-দেব, মনুষ্যের পাপ-পুণ্য অবলোকন করিতে করিতে, জলের মধ্যে সঞ্চরণ করেন" *।

আবার, ঋগ্বেদ হইতে এই উপদেশও আমরা পাই যে—

"অগ্নিই জলের গর্ভস্বরূপ। জলের মধ্যে অগ্নিই নিয়ত অবস্থান করেন" †।

আবার, "সোমই জলের গর্ভ-স্বরূপ"—তাহাও আছে ‡।

কিন্তু আমরা উপরে আলোচনা করিয়া আসিলাম যে, ঋগ্বেদের 'অগ্নি,' 'বরুণ,' 'সোম' প্রভৃতি শব্দদ্বারা, কার্য্য-বর্গে অনুস্যূত 'কারণ-সত্তা' বা চৈতন্য-সত্তাই নির্দ্দেশিত হইয়াছে। সুতরাং পাঠকবর্গ সহজেই দেখিতে পাইতেছেন যে, ঋগ্বেদ যখনই জলের নিকটে কোন প্রার্থনা করিয়াছেন, তখনই তদ্দ্বারা ভৌতিক জলকে লক্ষ্য করা হয় নাই; জল-মধ্যে অনুস্যূত 'কারণ-সত্তা'কে লক্ষ্য করিয়াই প্রার্থনা ও উপাসনা করা হইয়াছে।

সুতরাং আমরা এ ভাবেও দেখিতেছি যে, ঋগ্বেদের দেবতাবর্গ জড়ীয় পদার্থ নহে। ঋগ্বেদের উপাস্য-বস্তু—দেবতাবর্গের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা।

১১। একই মূল শক্তি যে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন দেবতার নামে অভিব্যক্ত, তাহার সুস্পষ্ট নির্দ্দেশ।—

আমরা এতক্ষণ, কি কি প্রণালী দ্বারা ঋগ্বেদে 'কারণ-সত্তা' নির্দ্দেশিত হইয়াছে, তাহার আলোচনা করিলাম। কিন্তু এতদ্ব্যতীতও, ঋগ্বেদ

---

* রাজা বরুণো যাতি মধ্যে, সত্যানৃতে অবপশ্যন্ জনানাং। ৭।৪৯।৩)।

† বহ্নীনাং গর্ভো অপসা মুপস্থাৎ (১।৯৫।৪)।
গুহ্যং গূঢ় মপ্সু (৩।৩৯।৬)। ত্রৈস্থানবো যাস্থ অগ্নিঃ প্রবিষ্টঃ (৭।৪৯।৪, ৩।১।১৩)।

‡ সোমঃ অপাং যদ্গর্ভোঽবৃণীত দেবান্ (৯।৯৭।৪১)।

আমাদিগকে এই কারণ-সত্তার কথা অতি স্পষ্ট স্বরেই বলিয়া দিয়াছেন। একই 'কারণ-সত্তা' যে অগ্নি, রুদ্র, ইন্দ্র, বরুণাদি ভিন্ন-ভিন্ন দেবতার নামে আহূত হইয়াছেন, ঋগ্বেদ নানাস্থানে তাহা অতি স্পষ্ট-ভাবে উল্লেখ করিয়াছেন। দুই চারিটী স্থল দেখান যাইতেছে—

ইন্দ্রং মিত্রং বরুণ মগ্নি মাহু
রথো দিব্যঃ স সুপর্ণো * গরুত্মান্।
একং 'সৎ' বিপ্রা বহুধা বদন্তি
অগ্নিং যমং মাতরিশ্বান মাহুঃ" (১।১৬৪।৪৬॥)

"যাঁহারা তত্ত্বদর্শী, তাঁহারা একই 'সত্তা'কে বিবিধনামে নির্দ্দেশ করিয়া থাকেন। একই সদ্বস্তু—ইন্দ্রনামে, মিত্রনামে, বরুণনামে, অগ্নিনামে পরিচিত। শোভন-পক্ষ-বিশিষ্ট গরুত্মান্ নামেও তাঁহাকে পণ্ডিতেরা ডাকিয়া থাকেন। সেই সদ্বস্তুই—অগ্নি, যম ও মাতরিশ্বা নামেও পরিচিত।

পাঠক দেখিতেছেন,—অগ্নি, যম, মিত্র, বরুণাদি যে একই সদ্বস্তুর নামান্তর মাত্র, তাহা কেমন স্পষ্ট করিয়া বলিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে। আরো দেখুন—

"সুপর্ণং বিপ্রা কবয়ো বচোভি-
রেকং 'সন্তং' বহুধা কল্পয়ন্তি।"
—১০।১১৪।৫

"সুপর্ণ বা পরমাত্মা একই 'সত্তা'মাত্র। এই একই সত্তাকে তত্ত্বদর্শীগণ বিবিধনামে কল্পনা করিয়া থাকেন"। আরো দেখুন—

"যমৃত্বিজো বহুধা কল্পয়ন্তঃ,
সচেতসো যজ্ঞমিমং বহন্তি।"
—৮।৫৮।২

* সোমকে 'সুপর্ণ" বলা যায়। "দিবাঃ সুপর্ণো অবচক্ষত ক্ষ্মাং (৯।৭১।৯০*। প্রাণ-শক্তিকে ও 'সুপর্ণ' বলা হইয়াছে (অথর্ব্ববেদ দ্রষ্টব্য)। বিষ্ণুকেও 'সুপর্ণ' বলা হইয়াছে। সূর্য্যকেও সুপর্ণ বলা হয়। "সুপর্ণো অঙ্গ সবিতুর্গরুত্মান্ পূর্ব্বো জাতঃ" (১০।১৪৯।৩)॥

"বুদ্ধিমান্ ঋত্বিক্‌গণ, একই বস্তুকে বহুপ্রকারে—বহুনামে—কল্পনা করিয়া লইয়া, যজ্ঞ-সম্পাদন করিয়া থাকেন"। পাঠক, আরো দেখুন—

"এক এবাগ্নির্বহুধা সমিদ্ধঃ,
একঃ সূর্য্যো বিশ্বমনু প্রভূতঃ।
একৈবোষা সর্ব্বমিদং বিভাতি,
একং বা ইদং বিবভূব সর্ব্বং।"

—৮। ৫৮।২

"একই অগ্নি—বহুপ্রকারে বহুস্থানে প্রজ্বলিত হইয়া থাকেন। একই সূর্য্য সমগ্র বিশ্বে অনুগত হইয়া—অনুস্যূত হইয়া রহিয়াছেন। একই উষা সকলবস্তুকে বিবিধরূপে প্রকাশিত করিতেছেন। একই বস্তু—বিশ্বের বিবিধ-বস্তুর আকার ধারণ করিয়া রহিয়াছেন"।

প্রিয় পাঠক, অগ্নি সূর্য্য বরুণাদি দেবতারা যে একই সত্তার—একই বস্তুর—ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রূপ ও ভিন্ন ভিন্ন নাম মাত্র, এ তত্ত্ব ঋগ্বেদ উত্তমরূপে জানিতেন। আমরা অন্যভাবেও এই মহাতত্ত্বটী ঋগ্বেদে দেখিতে পাই। অগ্নিকে স্তব করিতে গিয়া ঋষি অনুভব করিতেছেন যে, ইন্দ্র, চন্দ্র, বরুণাদি দেবতাসকল অগ্নির মধ্যেই অন্তর্ভুক্ত,—ইহারা অগ্নিরই 'শাখা-স্বরূপ'। বিষ্ণুকে স্তুতি করিতে গিয়াও বলা হইয়াছে যে, অন্যান্য দেবতারা বিষ্ণুরই 'শাখা'-স্বরূপ *। প্রকাণ্ড মহীরুহের শাখা-প্রশাখাগুলি যেমন বৃক্ষেরই অঙ্গ-প্রত্যঙ্গস্বরূপ; বৃক্ষের সত্তাতেই যেমন শাখা-প্রশাখার সত্তা;—সেইরূপ, দেবতারা সকলেই একই পরম-দেবতার অঙ্গপ্রত্যঙ্গ স্বরূপ; সেই পরম দেবতার সত্তাতেই ইহাদের সত্তা; সেই মহা-সত্তা ব্যতীত দেবতাবর্গের 'স্বতন্ত্র' সত্তা নাই। "যো দেবানা মধিদেব একঃ" (১০।১২১।৭)।

এই জন্যই বেদের নিরুক্ত-কার যাস্ক—দেবতাবর্গকে একই পরমাত্মার অঙ্গ-প্রত্যঙ্গ-রূপে স্পষ্ট নির্দ্দেশ করিয়াছেন †। অথর্ব্ববেদেও স্পষ্ট

---

* বয়াঃ (১৩ শাখাঃ) ইদন্যা ভূতানি অস্য (২।৫৩।৮)। অস্য দেবস্য বয়াঃ .....বিষ্ণোঃ (৭।৪০।৫)।

† একস্য আত্মনঃ অন্যে দেবাঃ প্রত্যঙ্গানি ভবন্তি, কর্ম্ম-জন্মানঃ আত্মজন্মান;—ইত্যাদি 'নিরুক্ত ৭।৪)। ঋগ্বেদের "পুরুষ-সূক্তে" ও—সূর্য্য, অগ্নি প্রভৃতি দেবতাবর্গকে পুরুষের প্রত্যঙ্গরূপে বর্ণনা করা হইয়াছে।

নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে যে, একই বস্তু অবস্থা-ভেদে ভিন্নভিন্ন নাম গ্রহণ করিয়া থাকে—

"স 'বরুণঃ' সায়ং ভবতি,
স 'মিত্রো' ভবতি প্রাতরুত্থান্।
স 'সবিতা' ভূত্বা অন্তরীক্ষেণ যাতি,
স 'ইন্দ্রো' ভূত্বা তপতি মধ্যতো দিবং"।

—১৩।৩।১৩

১২। দেবতাবর্গে জ্ঞানের আরোপ।—

ঋগ্বেদের দেবতাবর্গ যে কারণ-সত্তা বা কারণ-শক্তি হইতে উদ্ভূত তাহা আলোচিত হইল। দেবতাবা কোন স্বতন্ত্র জড়ীয় পদার্থ নহে। একই ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা যে জগতে বিবিধ ক্রিয়া নির্ব্বাহ করিতেছেন, সেই ক্রিয়া-গুলির নাম 'দেবতা'। একই মাঙ্গল্য চেতন-সত্তা দেবতানামে পরিচিত। ইহারা সেই সত্তারই বিবিধ আকার মাত্র। ব্রহ্মসত্তা ভিন্ন ইঁহাদের স্বতন্ত্র অস্তিত্ব নাই। সুতরাং, ঋগ্বেদের দেবতা, অন্ধ জড়-শক্তি নহে। যাহা মূলে চৈতন্য-সত্তা, সেই চৈতন্য-সত্তার বিকাশের নামই যখন "দেবতা," তখন শক্তির প্রত্যেক বিকাশের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে চৈতন্য বর্ত্তমান। যাহারা চৈতন্য-সত্তার বিকাশ, তাহারা কদাপি অচেতন, জড় হইতে পারেনা। এই জন্যই দেবতাবর্গে সর্ব্বত্রই 'জ্ঞানের' আরোপ করা হইয়াছে।

(ক)। অগ্নিকে লক্ষ্য করিয়া বলা হইয়াছে যে—

"যে দেবতা সর্ব্বদা জাগরিত থাকেন, ঋক্‌মন্ত্রসকল তাঁহাকেই কামনা করে। যে দেবতা সর্ব্বদা জাগরিত থাকেন, সাম-গান-সকল তাঁহাকেই প্রাপ্ত হয়। যে দেবতা সর্ব্বদা জাগরিত থাকেন, সোম তাঁহাকে এই কথা বলেন যে—'আমি যেন নিয়ত তোমার সহবাসে থাকি'।*

অগ্নিকে জাগরণ-শীল ও বিনিদ্র বলা হইয়াছে। অগ্নি—সৃষ্টবস্তুমাত্র-কেই জানেন; সুতরাং অগ্নি—'জাতবেদাঃ'। ইন্দ্র এই বিশ্বকে দর্শন করেন ও শ্রবণ করেন (৮।৭৮।৫)। সোমকে বিপশ্চিৎ (৯।৮৬।৪৪) এবং বিচক্ষণ (৯।৬৬।২৩) বলা হইয়াছে। অগ্নিও কবি (৩।১৪।৭); সোমও কবি

* অগ্নি জাগার তমৃচঃ কামযন্তে—ইত্যাদি (৫।৮৪।১৪। দেখুন।

(৯।৬২।১৩)। বরুণ—সহস্র চক্ষুঃ (৭।৩৪।১০); সোম ও—নৃচক্ষাঃ (৮।৪৮।৯)। অগ্নি—প্রচেতা (৬।৫।৫)। দ্যাবা-পৃথিবী—সুপ্রচেতা (১।১৭৯।৪)। অগ্নি—চেকিতান্ (৩।৫।১) *।

এই প্রকারে সর্ব্বত্র দেবতাবর্গে জ্ঞানের আরোপ করা হইয়াছে। সকল দেবতাকেই আবার—সমান মনবিশিষ্ট, সমানপ্রাতিবিশিষ্ট, সমান ক্রিয়া-বিশিষ্ট ও সমান জ্ঞান-বিশিষ্ট বলা হইয়াছে †।

(খ) অন্য প্রকারেও দেবতাবর্গের উপরে জ্ঞানের আরোপ করা হইয়াছে। সকল দেবতাই—'বুদ্ধির প্রেরক', 'সুমতির পোষক' এবং 'বুদ্ধির বৃত্তিতে প্রবিষ্ট' ‡। দেবতাদিগের নিকটে প্রার্থনা করা হইয়াছে—'আমাদিগকে সুমতি প্রদান কর,' 'আমাদিগের দুষ্মতি দূর কর,' 'পাপ নাশ কর'—ইত্যাদি। 'দেবতারা যে মনুষ্যের নিভৃত-হৃদয়ে পাপ-পুণ্য দর্শন করেন' তাহাও বলা হইয়াছে। জড় কি পাপ-পুণ্য দেখিতে পারে?

এইরূপ সর্ব্বত্রই, দেবতারা যে জ্ঞানবিশিষ্ট, চেতন—তাহা আমরা দেখিতে পাই।

(গ)। দেবতাবর্গকে যেমন জ্ঞানবিশিষ্ট বলা হইয়াছে, তদ্রূপ আবার ঋগ্বেদে দেবতাবর্গকে মঙ্গলময় বলিয়াও নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে। সুতরাং ঋগ্বেদের দেবতা, জড় ভৌতিক পদার্থ মাত্র—হইতে পারে না। ঋগ্বেদের সর্ব্বত্রই বলা হইয়াছে যে—দেবতারা সকলেই জীবের ও জগতের কল্যাণ-কারী। দেবতারা জননীর ন্যায় হিতকারী। প্রত্যেক দেবতা ভব-রোগ-নাশক ঔষধ ধারণ করেন। সংসারের শোক-দুঃখ, পাপ-তাপের উপশম-কারক ভেষজ—সকলদেবতাই ধারণ করেন ও জীবকে তাহা বিতরণ করেন।

---

* বিপশ্চিৎ, বিচক্ষণ কবি—প্রভৃতি শব্দের অর্থ 'সর্ব্বজ্ঞ'। প্রচেতা, চেকিতান—প্রভৃতির অর্থও 'প্রকৃষ্ট জ্ঞানবিশিষ্ট'। সকল দেবতাই উত্তম জ্ঞানবিশিষ্ট ও উত্তম বুদ্ধিবিশিষ্ট।

† সমনসঃ (৭।৪৩।৪), (৭।৭৪।২) প্রভৃতি দ্রষ্টব্য। সজোষসঃ (৭।৫।৯), (৮।৫৩।১), (৮।২৭।১৭) প্রভৃতি দ্রষ্টব্য। সমান-ক্রতু, সমানবিদ্ (৩।৫৬।৬ প্রভৃতি দেখুন।

‡ মিত্রো বরুণ—'অবিষ্টং ধিয়ঃ' (বুদ্ধিতে প্রবিষ্ট)—৭।৬৫।৫। সবিতা—'বুদ্ধি বৃত্তির প্রেরণ করে—৩।৬২।১৯॥ অশ্বি দ্বয়—অবিষ্টং ধীষু অশ্বিনা—৭।৬৭।৬॥ বরুণ বুদ্ধির শিক্ষক—৮।৪২ ৩॥ ইন্দ্র—বুদ্ধির প্রেরক (৬।৪৭।১০)। বিষ্ণু সুমতি দেও (৭।১০০।২। উষা—বুদ্ধির প্রেরণা কারিণী (৭।৭১।৫) অগ্নি···বুদ্ধির প্রেরক (৮।৬০।১২)—ইত্যাদি॥

এই সংসার-মরুর উপরে দেবতারা অনবরত মধুর উৎস, অমৃতের ধারা, ক্ষরণ করিয়া থাকেন। বিষ্ণুর পরম-পদ—মধুপূর্ণ। অশ্বিদ্বয়—মধুর ভাণ্ডার-স্বরূপ, তাঁহারা জীবকে মধু-পূর্ণ করেন। অগ্নির জিহ্বা মধুময়ী। সোমের মধ্যে মধু নিহিত আছে। বরুণ—অমৃতের রক্ষাকারী। উষা—মধু ধারণ করিয়া, মধুময় আস্যে নিতাই হাসিতে হাসিতে, জীবের দুঃখ-দুর্গতি, তন্দ্রা-আলস্য তিরোহিত এবং পাপান্ধকার অপসারিত করেন। মেঘ, ওষধি ও জল—ইহারা সর্ব্বদাই মধু ও মঙ্গল বিতরণ করিতেছে। বায়ুর গৃহে মধুর কলস সংস্থাপিত আছে। পুষার ধন-ভাণ্ড কদাপি ক্ষয় পায় না *। ঋগ্বেদ এই প্রকারে দেবতাবর্গের অশেষ কল্যাণময় মূর্ত্তির বর্ণনা করিয়াছেন। সকল দেবতাই এক অমৃতের উৎস হইতে উদ্ভূত হইয়াছেন। ইঁহারা নিয়তই জগতের ও জীবের কল্যাণ বিধানে নিযুক্ত রহিয়াছেন। পাঠক দেখিবেন, যে দেবতাবর্গ এই প্রকারে স্তুত ও বর্ণিত, তাহারা কেবলমাত্র অন্ধ ভৌতিক জড় বস্তু হইতে পারে না। ইহারা কখনই স্বতন্ত্র, স্বতন্ত্র জড়ীয় পদার্থ মাত্র হইতে পারে না।

১৩। সাধনের চরমাবস্থা।—

(ক)। পূর্ণ অদ্বৈত-বোধ—

'সর্ব্বং খল্বিদং ব্রহ্ম'।—

যখন সাধকের চিত্তে দেবতাদিগের স্বাতন্ত্র্য-বোধ তিরোহিত হইয়া, দেবতাবর্গে অনুস্যূত কারণ-সত্তা বা ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা জাগরিত হইয়া উঠে, তখন আর কোন বস্তুই 'স্বতন্ত্র' বস্তু বলিয়া অনুভূত হয় না। পাঠক এই গ্রন্থে দেখিয়া আসিয়াছেন যে, ভারতীয় 'অদ্বৈত-বাদের' ইহাই প্রকৃত স্বরূপ। তখন সর্ব্বত্র এক ব্রহ্ম-সত্তাই অনুভূত হইতে থাকেন। ইহাই সাধনের শেষ অবস্থা।

এইরূপে যখন অদ্বৈত-বোধ পরিপক্ক হইয়া উঠে, এবং "সর্ব্বং খল্বিদং ব্রহ্ম"—এই ধারণা দৃঢ় হইয়া পড়ে, তখন আর বিশ্বের কোন বস্তুই স্বতন্ত্র বলিয়া অনুভূত হয় না। যে কোন দেবতাকেই আহ্বান করা যাউক, বিশ্বের যে কোন বস্তুর প্রতি দৃষ্টি নিক্ষিপ্ত হউক,—সেই দেবতা, সেই বস্তুই, ব্রহ্ম

* আমরা এই সকল উক্তি ঋগ্বেদের নানা স্থল হইতে একত্র সংগ্রহ করিয়া লইয়াছি।

বলিয়া অনুভূত হইতে থাকে। এই জন্যই, এই অবস্থার উপযোগী বহু মন্ত্রে আমরা দেখি যে, যখনই কোন দেবতা উল্লিখিত বা স্তুত হইয়াছেন, তখনই—অন্যান্য দেবতারা যে সেই দেবতাদ্বারা ক্রিয়াবান্ এবং সেই দেবতারই অন্তর্ভূত তাহা বলা হইয়াছে। অন্য দেবতার স্বাতন্ত্র্য-বোধ তিরোহিত হইয়া, কেবল যখন উপাস্য দেবতাটীই সর্ব্বতোভাবে অন্তরে জাগিতে থাকেন, কেবল তখনই এই প্রকার উক্তি সম্ভব পর হয়। এই জন্যই আমাদের বোধ হয় যে, এই জাতীয় মন্ত্র বা উক্তি গুলি, সাধনের পরিপক্কাবস্থারই পরিচায়ক।

"হে ইন্দ্র! তোমারি বীর্য্য ও প্রজ্ঞাব অনুসবণ কবিয়া, অন্য সকল দেবতা বীর্য্য ও প্রজ্ঞা ধারণ কবেন"।

"হে সবিতঃ! তোমারি প্রেবণাব অনুসবণ কবিয়া, দেবী অদিতি ও সম্রাট্ বৰুণ এবং অর্য্যমা ও মিত্র—ইঁহাবা সকলেই তোমাব স্তব কবিয়া থাকে"।

"সোম-দেবতাব ক্রিয়াতেই, অন্যান্য সকল দেবতাব ক্রিয়া নির্ব্বাহ হয়"।*—ইত্যাদি।

প্রিয় পাঠক, আপনারা সুস্পষ্ট দেখিতেছেন যে, দেবতাদের স্বাতন্ত্র্য-বোধ যখন একেবারেই তিরোহিত হয়, কেবল তখনই উপাস্য বস্তুর প্রতি এ প্রকারের উক্তি প্রযুক্ত হইতে পারে। যে দেবতাকে উপাসনা করিতে আরম্ভ করা হইয়াছে, তখন সেই দেবতাকেই সর্ব্বে-সর্ব্বা বলিয়া মনে হইয়াছে। স্বাতন্ত্র্য-বোধ একেবারে তিরোহিত। অদ্বৈত-বোধ পূর্ণ প্রতিষ্ঠিত।

(খ)। দেবতাবর্গের সত্তা ও আত্মা-সত্তায় কোন প্রভেদ নাই —"সোঽহং-ব্রহ্ম" এই বোধ।—

বেদান্ত-দর্শন এবং উপনিষদ্ আমাদিগকে বলিয়া দিয়াছেন যে—প্রকৃত অদ্বৈত-বোধ তখন উৎপন্ন হয়, যখন কোন পদার্থকেই ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা হইতে 'স্বতন্ত্র' বলিয়া প্রতীতি থাকে না। কিন্তু আর একটী কথা আছে। যেমন

---

* বিশ্বে ত ইন্দ্র। বীর্য্যং দেবা অনুব্রতুং দদুঃ। —৮।৬২।৭)

অভি যং দেবী অদিতিঃ গৃণাতি,
শবং দেবস্য সবিতু র্জুষাণা।
অভি সম্রাজো বরুণো গৃণন্তি= ৭।৩৮।৪
যস্য ব্রতে সজোষসো,
বিশ্বে দেবাস আদ্রুহঃ—৯।১৩২।৫

সকল পদার্থের মধ্যে ব্রহ্ম-সত্তার অনুভব করিতে হইবে, আবার পদার্থের মধ্যে অনুস্যূত সত্তা এবং আত্মার মধ্যে অনুস্যূত সত্তার মধ্যেও কোন স্বতন্ত্রতা অনুভূত হইবে না। উভয় সত্তাই এক,- এই বোধ দৃঢ় হওয়া আবশ্যক। আপনার সত্তার মধ্যেই সকল বস্তুকে অভিন্ন ভাবে বোধ করিতে হইবে। সকল ভূতের ভিতরে যেমন ব্রহ্ম-সত্তার অনুভব করিতে হয়, আপন আত্ম-সত্তাতে ও তদ্রূপ সকল ভূতকে অনুভব করিতে হয়। অদ্বৈত-বাদের প্রকৃতিই এই।

এখন আমরা দেখিব যে, আপন আত্ম-সত্তাতে সকল ভূতের অনুভব করিবার উপদেশ ঋগ্বেদে আছে কি না। এইটী প্রদর্শন করিতে পারিলেই বুঝা যাইবে যে, উপনিষদ্ ও বেদান্ত-দর্শন যে অদ্বৈত-বাদের শিক্ষা দিয়াছেন, তাহাই অবিকল ঋগ্বেদে উপদিষ্ট আছে। বেদান্ত-দর্শনে ব্যাখ্যাত অদ্বৈতবাদ —ঋগ্বেদ হইতেই গৃহীত।

দশম-মণ্ডলে "বাক্-সূক্ত" নামে অতি প্রসিদ্ধ একটী সূক্ত আছে। এখনও এই সূক্তটী হিন্দু-গৃহে অত্যন্ত শ্রদ্ধা এবং ভক্তির সহিত উচ্চারিত হইয়া থাকে। এই সূক্তে ঋষি-কন্যা আপন আত্মায় সমুদায় দেবতাকে, সমুদায় জগৎকে, অন্তর্ভুক্ত করিয়া লইয়া অনুভব করিয়াছেন। আমরা এই সূক্ত হইতে কয়েকটী ঋক্ অনুদিত করিতেছি। পাঠক দেখিবেন, আত্ম-সত্তাই যে বিশ্বের বিবিধ পদার্থাকারে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ক্রিয়া করিতেছেন, ইহা কেমন স্পষ্ট করিয়া বলা হইয়াছে। --

"আমিই রুদ্রগণ ও বসুগণের সহিত বিচরণ করি। আমিই আদিত্যগণের সহিত এবং তাবৎ দেবতার সঙ্গে থাকি। আমিই মিত্র, বরুণ, ইন্দ্র, অগ্নি এবং অশ্বিদ্বয়কে ধারণ করিয়া রহিয়াছি"।

"এই বিশ্ব-রাজ্যের আমিই অধীশ্বরী। যাঁহারা যজ্ঞানুষ্ঠানকারী, তাঁহাদিগের মধ্যে আমিই সর্ব্বপ্রথমে জ্ঞান-যজ্ঞের তত্ত্ব বুঝিতে পারিয়াছিলাম। দেবতাগণ আমাকেই বিবিধ স্থানে বিবিধরূপে স্থাপন করিয়াছেন। আমার আশ্রয়-স্থান বিস্তর এবং আমিই একাকী বিস্তর স্থানে আবিষ্ট রহিয়াছি"।

"দর্শন, শ্রবণ, প্রাণন, শব্দ উচ্চারণ এবং অন্ন-ভোজন—এই সকল ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ক্রিয়া আমারি সহায়তায় সম্পন্ন হইয়া থাকে। যাহারা আমার বাক্যে শ্রদ্ধা করে না, তাহারা বিনাশ প্রাপ্ত হয়"।

"রুদ্রদেব যখন শত্রু-নাশে উদ্যত হন, তখন আমিই তাঁহাকে আয়ুধ প্রদান করিয়া থাকি। দ্যুলোকে এবং ভূলোকে আমিই প্রবিষ্ট রহিয়াছি"।

"আমিই বায়ু বা স্পন্দন-শক্তিরূপে অভিব্যক্ত হইয়া, বিশ্বের আরম্ভ করিয়াছিলাম। আকাশকে আমিই প্রসব করিয়াছি। সমুদ্রজলের* মধ্যে আমার যোনি নিহিত আছে"। "সেই যোনি বা মূলস্থান হইতেই সমস্ত বিশ্ব বিস্তারিত হইয়াছে। আমি আত্ম-দেহ দ্বারা দ্যুলোককে স্পর্শ করিয়া রহিয়াছি"।

"আমার মহিমা দ্যুলোককেও অতিক্রম করিয়াছে এবং পৃথিবীকেও অতিক্রম করিয়াছে" †।

পাঠক দেখিতেছেন,—ইন্দ্র, বায়ু, অগ্নি, সূর্য্য প্রভৃতিতে যে ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা অনুস্যূত—রহিয়াছেন এবং আপনার মধ্যে যে আত্ম-সত্তা রহিয়াছেন,—এই উভয় সত্তার একত্ব-বোধ এই বিখ্যাত সূক্তে কেমন পরিস্ফুট।

চতুর্থ-মণ্ডলে, "বামদেবীয় সূক্তের" ২৬ ও ২৭ মন্ত্রেও, এই আত্ম-বোধ পরিস্ফুট দেখিতে পাওয়া যায়। সে স্থলে বামদেব ঋষি বলিতেছেন—

"আমিই মনু, আমিই সূর্য্য হইয়াছি॥ কক্ষবান নামক ঋষিও আমাকেই জানিবে। আমিই কবি উশনা, আমাকে দর্শন কর।"

"আমিই ইন্দ্র। আমিই সোমপানে মত্ত হইয়া, শম্বরের নব-নবতিসংখ্যক নগর এককালে ধ্বংস করিয়াছি"।

---

* এখানে 'সমুদ্র' শব্দ দ্বারা, সৃষ্টির প্রথমে অভিব্যক্ত লঘু তরল অসীম বাষ্পরাশিই (Nebular matter) —নীহারিকা পুঞ্জ—নির্দ্দিষ্ট হইয়াছে। এই বাষ্পপুঞ্জ হইতে বিশ্ব নির্ম্মিত হইয়াছে। ঋষি-কন্যা অনুভব করিতেছেন যে, আত্ম-সত্তাই সেই নীহারিকা-পুঞ্জে অনুস্যূত, উহাই তাহার কারণ-সত্তা। সুতরাং বহিঃস্থ সত্তা এবং আত্ম-সত্তায় কোন ভেদ নাই।

† বাক্ সূক্তের মূল শ্লোক গুলি এই—

"অহং রুদ্রেভির্ বসুভিশ্চরাম্যহমাদিত্যৈরুত বিশ্বদেবৈঃ। অহং মিত্রা-বরুণোভা বিভর্ম্যহমিন্দ্রাগ্নী অহমশ্বিনোভা॥ অহং রাষ্ট্রী সঙ্গমনী বসূনাং চিকিতুষী প্রথমা যজ্ঞিয়ানাং। তাং মা দেবাঃ ব্যদধুঃ পুরত্রা, ভূরিস্থাত্রাং ভূর্যাবেশয়ন্তীং॥ ময়া সোঽন্নমত্তি যো বিপশ্যতি, যঃ প্রাণিতি য ঈং শৃণোত্যুক্তং। অমন্তবো মাং ত উপ ক্ষয়ন্তি, শ্রুধি শ্রুত। শ্রদ্ধিবং তে বদামি॥ অহং রুদ্রায় ধনু রাতনোমি, ব্রহ্মদ্বিষে শরবে হন্তবা উ। .....অহংদ্যাবা-পৃথিবী আবিবেশ॥ অহমেব বাত ইব প্রবাম্যারভমানা ভুবনানি বিশ্বা। ...অহং সুবে পিতরমস্য মূর্দ্ধন্, মম যোনি রপ্স্বন্তঃ সমুদ্রে।

.....ততো বিতিষ্ঠে ভুবনানি বিশ্বা, উতামুং দ্যাং বর্ষ্মণোপস্পৃশামি॥

...পরো দিবো পর এনা পৃথিব্যাঃ

এতাবতী মহিনা সংবভুব॥—ইত্যাদি। ১০।১২৫।১।৮

"আমি গর্ভ-মধ্যে থাকিয়াই, দেবতাগণের জন্ম-তত্ত্ব অবগত হইয়াছিলাম। গর্ভে শত লৌহময় শরীর আমাকে আচ্ছাদন করিয়াছিল; অধুনা আমি দেহ হইতে বেগে বহির্গত হইয়াছি" *।

পাঠক, দেবতাবর্গ যদি স্বতন্ত্র স্বতন্ত্র জড়পদার্থই হয়, তাহা হইলে 'আমিই মনু, আমিই সূর্য্য'—এপ্রকার উক্তি কদাপি সম্ভব হইতে পারিত না। ইন্দ্রাদিতে যে সত্তা অনুস্যূত আছেন, সেই সত্তা ও আত্ম-সত্তা এক ও অভিন্ন না হইলে, এ প্রকার উক্তি অসম্ভব হইয়া উঠে। —সুতরাং আমরা দেখিতেছি যে, বহিঃস্থ পদার্থ মধ্যগত সত্তা ও আত্ম-সত্তায় অভেদের অনুভূতিই ঋগ্বেদের চরম লক্ষ্য।

ইহাই অদ্বৈত-বাদের একমাত্র লক্ষ্য। ঋগ্বেদের অন্যান্য মণ্ডলেও বিক্ষিপ্ত-রূপে এই আত্ম-বোধের বিবরণ রহিয়াছে। আমরা দৃষ্টান্ত স্বরূপে দুই চারিটী স্থল গ্রহণ করিতেছি—

চতুর্থ মণ্ডলের ৪২ সূক্তের প্রথম কয়েকটী মন্ত্রেও মন্ত্র-দ্রষ্টা ঋষি, আপন আত্ম-সত্তার মধ্যেই ইন্দ্রাদি সমুদয় দেবগণকে অনুভব করিয়াছেন এবং এইরূপে সেই অনুভব প্রকাশ করিতেছেন—

"আমি সমগ্র বিশ্বের অধিপতি। সমস্ত দেবগণ আমার। আমিই বরুণ; সকল দেবতা বরুণের ক্রিয়ারই অনুসরণ করেন। দেবগণ সুতরাং আমারি ক্রিয়ার অনুগত। মনুষ্যগণেরও রাজা আমিই।"

"আমিই ইন্দ্র ও বরুণ। মহিমায় দুরবগাহা ও বিস্তীর্ণা এই দ্যাবা-পৃথিবীও আমিই। আমিই 'ত্বষ্টার' ন্যায় সমস্ত ভূতজাতকে চৈতন্য প্রদান করিয়া, দ্যাবা-পৃথিবীকে ধারণ করিয়া রাখিয়াছি"।

"আমিই জলসেচন করিয়া থাকি এবং আমিই 'ঋতের' স্থানে আকাশকে ধারণ করিয়াছি"।

---

* অহং মনু রভবং সূর্য্যশ্চাহং, কক্ষীবান্ ঋষিরস্মি বিপ্রঃ। ...অহং কবি রুশনা পশ্যতা মা॥
অহং পুরো মন্দসানো বৈরং, নব সাকং নবতীঃ শম্বরস্য॥
গর্ভেষু সন্নন্বেষামবেদং, দেবানাং জনিমানি বিশ্বা। শতং মা পুর আয়সী রক্ষন্,
অধ শ্যেনো জবসা নিরদীয়ং॥ ৪।২৭।১-৩। সায়ন বলেন "যখন বামদেব বুঝিলেন যে আত্মবস্তু দেহাদি জড়বর্গ হইতে স্বতন্ত্র, তখনই গর্ভ হইতে তিনি বহির্গত হইলেন।" ঐতরেয় উপনিষদেও এই মন্ত্র দৃষ্ট হয়। গ্রন্থের কলেবর বৃদ্ধির ভয়ে আর অধিক মন্ত্র অনুবাদ করা হইল না।

"আমিই সমস্ত ক্রিয়া করিতেছি। আমি অপ্রতিহত দৈববল-বিশিষ্ট; কেহই আমাকে প্রতিরোধ করিতে পারে না *" ইত্যাদি।

ঋগ্বেদ এই প্রকারেই আমাদিগকে অদ্বৈত-বাদ শিক্ষা দিয়াছেন। আমরা না বুঝিয়া মনে করি যে, ঋগ্বেদ কেবল জড়ীয় বস্তুর কথায় পরিপূর্ণ গ্রন্থ!!

১৪। ঋগ্বেদের এই সকল আলোচনা হইতে আমরা এই সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হইতেছি যে, অদ্বৈত-বাদই ঋগ্বেদের একমাত্র লক্ষ্য। উপনিষদে আমরা যে অদ্বৈত-বাদ দেখিতে পাই, বেদান্তদর্শনে আমরা যে অদ্বৈত-বাদের বিস্তৃত ব্যাখা দেখিতে পাই, সেই অদ্বৈত-বাদ ঋগ্বেদেরই সম্পত্তি এবং উহা ঋগ্বেদ হইতেই গৃহীত।

পাশ্চাত্ত্য পণ্ডিতবর্গ বলিয়া থাকেন যে, অদ্বৈতবাদের অতি অস্ফুট অঙ্কুর এবং ব্রহ্মের একত্বের ধারণা, ঋগ্বেদের দশম-মণ্ডলেই কিছু কিছু পাওয়া যায়। কিন্তু পাঠক-বর্গ আমাদের এই আলোচনা হইতে বুঝিতে পারিতেছেন যে, ঋগ্বেদের সকল মণ্ডলেই অদ্বৈত-বাদের পরিস্ফুট ধারণা ও আলোচনা রহিয়াছে। ঋগ্বেদের প্রথম মণ্ডলই ঋগ্বেদের দ্বার। এই প্রথম মণ্ডলেই অদ্বৈত-বাদের ভিত্তি দৃঢ়ভাবে প্রতিষ্ঠিত রহিয়াছে †। এমন কি প্রথম-মণ্ডলের প্রথম মন্ত্রটীতেই অদ্বৈত-বাদের মৌলিক তত্ত্ব অতীব সুস্পষ্ট-ভাবে এবং আশ্চর্য্য কৌশলে নিহিত করিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে। আমরা পাঠকবর্গকে প্রথম মন্ত্রটী ব্যাখ্যা করিয়া শুনাইব। মন্ত্রটী এই—

"অগ্নি মীলে পুরোহিতং।
যজ্ঞস্য দেব মৃত্বিজং
হোতারং রত্নধাতমং"॥

* মম দ্বিতা রাষ্ট্রং ক্ষত্রিয়স্য বিশ্বায়োঃ, বিশ্বে অমৃতা যথানঃ। ক্রতুং সচন্তে বরুণস্য দেবাঃ, রাজামি ক্রষ্টে রূপমস্য বব্রেঃ॥১॥···অহমিন্দ্রো বরুণস্তে মহিত্বা, উর্ব্বী গভীরে রজসী সুমেকে। ত্বষ্টেব বিশ্বা ভুবনানি বিদ্বান্, সমৈরয়ং দ্যাবাপৃথিবী ধারয়ংচ॥৩॥ অহমপো অপিন্বং মৃক্ষমানা, ধারয়ং দিবং সদনে ঋতস্য॥ ৪॥ অহং তা বিশ্বা চকরং ন কি মা, দৈব্যঃ সহো বরতে প্রতীতং॥ ৬॥

১০ম মণ্ডলের ৬১ সূক্তের "ইয়ংমে নাভিরিহ মে সধস্থং, ইমে মে দেবা অয়মস্মি সর্ব্বঃ" ইত্যাদি মন্ত্রেও "সোহং ব্রহ্ম"-বোধ দেদীপ্যমান। গ্রন্থবাহুল্যভয়ে অন্যান্য স্থল উদ্ধৃত হইলনা।

† প্রথম মণ্ডলের ১৬৩।১৬৪ প্রভৃতি সূক্ত বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখ যোগ্য। সূক্তের মধ্যে জগতের মূল কারণ সত্তার অনুভব, এই সূক্তগুলিতে দেদীপ্যমান। এতদ্ব্যতীত, আর কতগুলি সূক্ত-শ্রেণী আছে, সে গুলিও ব্রহ্ম সত্তার বর্ণনায় পূর্ণ।

অগ্নিই যজ্ঞের উপাস্য দেবতা। যিনি উপাসক, যিনি যজ্ঞ করিতে বসিয়াছেন—সেই পুরোহিত, হোতা এবং ঋত্বিক্—ইহাঁরা সকলেই সেই অগ্নি। আবার অগ্নিই—পৃথিবীর রত্ন, ধন, মানিকা-রূপে পরিণত হইয়া রহিয়াছেন। ঈদৃশ অগ্নিকে আমরা পূজা করি।

প্রিয় পাঠক, এই মন্ত্রটীর অর্থ বিশেষ প্রকারে লক্ষ্য করিয়া দেখুন। আমরা উপনিষদ্ ও বেদান্ত-দর্শনের অদ্বৈত-বাদের প্রকৃতি যাহা দেখিয়া আসিয়াছি, তাহাতে আমরা ইহাই পাইয়াছি যে, আধিদৈবিক, আধিভৌতিক এবং আধ্যাত্মিক—এই তিন প্রকার পদার্থের মৌলিক একত্ব বা অভেদ-বোধ হইলেই অদ্বৈত-বাদ সুসম্পূর্ণ হয়। আধিদৈবিক, আধিভৌতিক ও আধ্যাত্মিক পদার্থ-সকলের মধ্যগত সত্তা—এক ও অভিন্ন, এই বোধ দৃঢ়ীভূত হওয়ার নামই অদ্বৈত-বাদ। আমরা ঋগ্বেদের এই প্রথম মন্ত্রেও সেই মহাতত্ত্বই—সেই মহান্ একত্ব-বোধই—উত্তম-রূপে উপদিষ্ট দেখিতেছি। পাঠক জানেন, আধিভৌতিক সুবর্ণ, হিরণ্য, মণি, রত্নাদি পদার্থ—তৈজসিক। তেজই উহাদিগের উপাদান। পার্থিব পরমাণুরই যোগে, রাসায়ণিক বিকার হইয়া, সুবর্ণাদি উৎপন্ন হয়। সুতরাং অগ্নিই—সুবর্ণাদি পদার্থাকারে পরিণত হইয়া রহিয়াছেন। পুরোহিত, ঋত্বিক্ ও হোতা—ইঁহারা যজ্ঞকারীর শ্রেণী-বিভাগ মাত্র। একটী যজ্ঞ নিষ্পন্ন করিতে হইলে, একজন হোতা আবশ্যক এবং তাঁহার সহায়কারী-স্বরূপে আরো পুরোহিত এবং ঋত্বিক্ আবশ্যক হয় *। যিনি যজ্ঞ করিতে বসিয়াছেন তাঁহার সত্তায় এবং উপাস্য দেবতার সত্তায় কোন ভেদ নাই। উপাস্য অগ্নিতে যে ব্রহ্ম-সত্তা অনুস্যূত, উপাসকের মধ্যেও সেই সত্তাই অনুস্যূত। আবার, সেই উপাসককে যাঁহারা সাহায্য করিতে আসিয়াছেন, তাঁহাদের মধ্যেও সেই সত্তাই অনুস্যূত। এইজন্যই, অগ্নিকেই —পুরোহিত, হোতা ও ঋত্বিক্ বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে। আর একটী কথা আছে। যজ্ঞে দক্ষিণা-স্বরূপ রত্ন ও ধনাদি প্রদান করা হইয়া থাকে। সুতরাং রত্নাদি বস্তু, যজ্ঞের উপকরণ মাত্র। অতএব আমরা দেখিতেছি যে—যজ্ঞের উপাস্য, যজ্ঞের উপাসক এবং যজ্ঞের উপকরণ-সামগ্রী—এ

* ত্বমধ্বর্য্যু কত হোতাসি পূর্ব্যঃ। প্রশাস্তা পোতা জনুষা পুরোহিতঃ। ১।৯৪।৬।
অধ্বর্য্যু, হোতা, পোতা, পুরোহিতঃ—এ গুলি পুরোহিতেরই ভিন্ন ভিন্ন সংজ্ঞা।

সকলের মধ্যে কোন ভেদ নাই ; ইহাদের সকলের মধ্যেই একই সত্তা অনুপ্রবিষ্ট ;—এই মহান্ অদ্বৈত-বাদই প্রথম মন্ত্রে স্পষ্টতঃ উপদিষ্ট হইয়াছে। আমরা দশম মণ্ডলের ২০ সূক্তের ৬ মন্ত্রে দেখিতে পাই—

"স (অগ্নিঃ) হি ক্ষেমো হবির্যজ্ঞঃ "।

অগ্নিই হবিঃ (যজ্ঞের উপকরণ) এবং অগ্নিই যজ্ঞ। পাঠক, তাহা হইলেই দেখিতে পাইতেছেন যে, ঋগ্বেদ আমাদিগকে ইহাই তার-স্বরে উদ্‌ঘোষিত করিয়া দিতেছেন যে—যজ্ঞের উপকরণে, যজ্ঞে, যজ্ঞের উপাস্য-দেবতাতে এবং যজ্ঞের উপাসকে—একই সত্তা অনুপ্রবিষ্ট ; ইহাদের স্বরূপতঃ কোন ভেদ নাই। আমরা গীতাতেও অবিকল এই ভাবের একটী শ্লোক পাই—

"ব্রহ্মার্পণং ব্রহ্ম হবিঃ ব্রহ্মাগ্নৌ ব্রহ্মণাহুতং"।

ঋগ্বেদ এই প্রকারে গ্রন্থারম্ভে, সর্ব্বপ্রথম শ্লোকে, অদ্বৈত-বাদের মূল-তত্ত্ব আশ্চর্য্য কৌশলে গ্রথিত করিয়া দিয়াছেন। না বুঝিয়া লোকে বলে যে, ঋগ্বেদ জড়োপাসনার গ্রন্থ ! !

আমরা এই উপলক্ষে পাঠকবর্গকে আর একটী কথা বলিতে ইচ্ছা করি। ঋগ্বেদের সর্ব্বত্রই অগ্নিকে দেবতাবর্গের "দূত" বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে। অগ্নি দেবতাবর্গের নিকটে হবিঃ বহন করিয়া থাকেন ; সুতরাং অগ্নি দেবতাবর্গের "দূত"। কেন অগ্নিকে দূত বলা হইয়াছে ? দশম মণ্ডলের একটী সূক্তে ঋগ্বেদ স্বয়ংই আমাদিগকে এ প্রশ্নের উত্তর দিয়াছেন। সেখানে বলা হইয়াছে যে,—"যে মানব কেবলমাত্র 'অমৃত' প্রাপ্তির উদ্দেশ্য করিয়া অগ্নিতে হবিঃ প্রক্ষেপ করে, কেবল সেই মনুষ্যেরই সম্বন্ধে অগ্নি "দূত" হন এবং "পুরোহিত" হন *। —অর্থাৎ, যে সকল সাধক অগ্নিতে অনুপ্রবিষ্ট 'অমৃত' বা অবিনাশী— 'কারণ-সত্তাকে' লক্ষ্য করিয়া যজ্ঞাচরণ করেন, তাঁহারাই এই মহাতত্ত্ব বুঝিতে পারেন যে, অগ্নিতে প্রবিষ্ট সত্তা ও দেবতাবর্গে প্রবিষ্ট

* 'যস্ত্বভ্যমগ্নে 'অমৃতায়' মর্ত্ত্যঃ
সমিধা দাশদ্দুত বা হবিষ্কৃতি।
তস্য হোতা ভবসি, যাসি, দূত্য'
উপক্রষে, যজসি, অধ্বরীয়সি (১০।৯১।১১)।

সত্তা উভয়ই এক (সুতরাং অগ্নি, দেবতাদের নিকট যজ্ঞ-বহনকারী 'দূত') * আবার সেই সাধক ইহাও বুঝিতে পারেন যে, অগ্নিতে প্রবিষ্ট সত্তা ও আপনাতে প্রবিষ্ট সত্তা উভয়ই এক (সুতরাং অগ্নি 'পুরোহিত')। এই উদ্দেশ্যেই অগ্নিকে "দূত" এবং "পুরোহিত" বলিয়া নির্দ্দেশ করা হইয়াছে।

এই প্রকারে ঋগ্বেদ প্রথম হইতেই মহান্ একত্বের--মহান্ অদ্বৈতবাদের তত্ত্ব নির্দ্দেশ করিয়া দিয়াছেন। ভারতীয় অদ্বৈত-বাদের যাহা মূল কথা—সর্ব্বত্র ব্রহ্ম সত্তার অনুভব—তাহাই ঋগ্বেদ সর্ব্ব-প্রথমেই নির্দ্দেশ করিলেন। কিন্তু দুর্ভাগ্যের বিষয় এই যে, এত স্পষ্ট নির্দ্দেশ সত্ত্বেও, আমরা ঋগ্বেদের অগ্ন্যাদিবস্তুকে কেবল জড়ীয় পদার্থ বলিয়াই ধরিয়া লইয়াছি। হা দুরদৃষ্ট! ঋগ্বেদ, সর্ব্বপ্রথমশ্লোকে এই অভেদ-বোধের কথা বলিয়া দিয়া, সর্ব্ব-শেষ-শ্লোকেও সেই অভেদ-বোধ ও একত্বের অনুভব বলিয়া দিয়াই গ্রন্থশেষ করিয়াছেন —

"সমানীব আকূতিঃ, সমানা হৃদয়ানি বঃ।
সমানমস্তু বো মনো, যথা বঃ সুসহাসতি॥"

'হে মনুষ্যগণ! তোমাদের সকলের মনের অভিপ্রায় এক হউক। তোমাদের সকলেরই হৃদয় এক হউক' তোমাদের মন এক হউক্। তোমরা পরস্পরের বিভিন্নতা ভুলিয়া যাও। তোমরা যে সকলেই এক—তোমাদের এই আপাততঃ বহুত্বের মধ্যে যে একত্ব দেদীপ্যমান—তাহাই দৃঢ়-রূপে ধারণা কর। তোমরা সর্ব্বাংশে সম্পূর্ণরূপে একমত হও!' পাঠক দেখুন, একত্বের কি সুন্দর উপদেশ। এই চরম-সূক্তে ঋগ্বেদ বলিয়া দিয়াছেন যে—ঋগ্বেদের উপাস্য দেবতাদের মধ্যেও কোন ভেদ নাই—দেবতারা সকলেই এক—

"দেবা ভাগং যথা পূর্ব্বে সংজানানা উপাসতে।
সমানেন হবিষা জুহোমি॥

"প্রাচীন কালের ন্যায়, বর্ত্তমানকালেও দেবতারা একমত হইয়া যজ্ঞ-ভাগ গ্রহন করিতেছেন। আমরা যে পৃথক পৃথক্ যজ্ঞীয় হবিঃ দিতেছি,

* দূত—হবির বাহক, উপাসনার বাহক।

সেই হবিঃগুলি এক হউক"। যজ্ঞের উপকরণেও কোন ভেদ নাই; যজ্ঞের উপাস্যেও কোন ভেদ নাই।

প্রিয় পাঠক, লক্ষ্য করিবেন—ঋগ্বেদ সর্ব্বপ্রথমে, গ্রন্থারম্ভে, যে অদ্বৈত-বাদের—যে একত্বের—সূচনা করিয়াছিলেন; সর্ব্ব-শেষে গ্রন্থ-পরিসমাপ্তিতে, সেই একত্বেরই উপদেশ দিয়া বিদায় লইয়াছেন। চরম-শ্লোকেও, উপাস্য ও উপাসকের একত্ব * বা "সোঽহং ব্রহ্ম"—উপদিষ্ট হইয়াছে।

ঋগ্বেদ-কথিত এই অদ্বৈত-বাদই অবিকল উপনিষদে গৃহীত হইয়াছে। শ্রীমৎশঙ্করাচার্য্যও এই অদ্বৈত-বাদেরই ব্যাখ্যাতা।

ওঁ তৎসৎ॥

শ্রীকোকিলেশ্বর বিদ্যারত্ন, শাস্ত্রী, এম্-এ।

সমাপ্ত॥

---

* "তোমাদিগের মন এক হউক, হৃদয় এক হউক"—ইত্যাদি দ্বারা উপাসক-দিগের একত্ব-বোধ কথিত হইয়াছে। "দেবতারা একমত হইয়া উপাসনা গ্রহণ করুন"—এ কথাদ্বারা উপাস্য দেবতাদিগের একত্ব সূচিত হইয়াছে। অর্থাৎ আধ্যাত্মিক, আধিভৌতিক ও আধিদৈবিক বস্তু সকলের সুমহৎ একত্ব বা অদ্বৈত-বাদ উপদিষ্ট হইয়াছে।