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SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGITA.

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(Continued from page 105.)

There is still another point where there seems to me to exist a marked difference between the earlier and later part of the Gītā. It seems quite obvious that the later cantos in certain passages quote different systematic treatises on philosophy, which is scarcely the case with cantos II-XI. Thus in xv, 15

*Sarvasiṣṭa cāham hr̥di samavṛṣṭo
mattah sm̐tir jñānam apohanam ca
vedas ca sarevar aham eva vedyo
vedāntakid vedarud eva cāham || 15 ||*

We hear about the Vedānta, though it may be doubtful whether by that is meant the Upaniśads of the later Vedānta system. In xv, 20 and in xvi, 24, we hear about a *Saṣṭa* which can scarcely be anything but a *yogyaśāstra*, and that such is the case seems obvious from a comparison with xvii, 5 a b

*aśāstrachalam ghoram tapante ye tapo janāḥ |
. tām vddhy āsranāśrayān ||*

For what else could this mean but to denote those who practise austere and terrible penance—as, e.g., the Jains—for which rules are not laid down in the orthodox *yogyaśāstra*. Then in xviii, 13, we hear of *patna kṛtāyāni*, which are laid down *śiṅkhye kṛtānte*. This must needs mean in the Sāṅkhya system—and though it be quite true that the doctrine laid down here is not found in the existing handbooks of Sāṅkhya, this means nothing, seeing that they are all very late. There can be no doubt that an earlier exposition of that system is really meant here.

Finally we come upon a crucial point, viz., the mention of the *brahmasūtra* in xiii, 4

*śābhar bhakṣhā gītam chandobhir vṛddhabh pṛthak |
brahmasūtrapāṭyas eva hetumādibhu vṛtṣṭarab || 4 ||*

It has been emphatically stated by Professor Jacobi⁷⁰ that this verse must be an interpolation, and upon his authority the same opinion has been expressed also by other scholars.⁷¹ But Professor Jacobi's arguments seem to me scarcely valid. When he finds that the verse xiii, 4 destroys the connection between 3 and 5, this is a suggestion of entirely individual bearing as I cannot find any sign of such a discontinuation. Stronger is the other objection, viz., that Bādarāyana has in three passages quoted the present Bhagavadgītā. It is quite true that the commentaries on i, 3, 23 (*apu smaryate*), ii, 3, 45 (*apu smaryate*), and iv, 2, 21 (*yoginah prati ca smaryate smārte caite*) expressively point to the Gītā, xv, 6, 12 and xiv, 2, xv, 7 and viii, 23 *et*, as being those passages of the Smṛti alluded to by Bādarāyana. Such statements in commentaries much later than the text⁷² are, of course, not authoritative by themselves, and it should be distinctly proved that there exist no other passages in the literature regarded by Bādarāyana as Smṛti⁷³ than even those from the Gītā, to which he

⁷⁰ *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 717 f., 1922, 101 f.

⁷¹ Cf. Professors Winternitz, *Geschichte d. ind. Lit.*, iii, 429, n. 1, and Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 475, n. 1, as well as Dr. W. Ruben, *Festschrift Jacobi*, p. 351. Other, and more sensible, opinions are put forth by Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 16, and Dr. Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 52.

⁷² The exact date of the Brahmasūtras still remains unknown. It is, of course, far above my power to criticise the opinions of Professor Jacobi on the dates of the philosophical Sūtras (*JON*, xxxi, 1 f.). However, they appear to me inconclusive simply because I consider it impossible to date works, the internal history of which is entirely unknown to us, on purely internal grounds. That the Brahmasūtras should date from 200–150 A. D., is, of course, possible; but I should venture to think that an earlier date is not excluded by the arguments of Professor Jacobi.

⁷³ Under Smṛti word the *Mahābhārata* and insbesondere die Bhagavadgītā verstanden. Auch Sāṅkhya und Yoga werden als 'Smṛtis in Bezug auf die Yogins' bezeichnet. (Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.*, iii, 429 f.) However, it does not seem clear to me whether later and less authoritative works may not also have been looked upon by the commentators as belonging to Smṛti.

could have alluded here, before we take it for granted that the Brahmasūtras really quote the Gītā. However, I am fully prepared to admit that *Br. Sū.*, iv, 2, 21, is really a quotation from viii, 23 f., though the argument be not wholly conclusive, for this passage belongs to what I call the earlier Gītā, and that may certainly be older than the work of Bādarāyaṇa. The reference to xv, 7, in the commentaries on *Br. Sū.*, ii, 3, 45, is inconclusive as the same idea might easily be drawn from x, 41 f. As for i, 3, 23, Śāṅkara finds that it alludes to xv, 6, 12, while Rāmānuja quotes xiv, 2; and whatever Bādarāyaṇa meant by his *api smaryate* in this passage it is perfectly obvious that he could not at one time have in mind both these entirely different passages.

Thus I can find it in no way proved that the author of the Brahmasūtras did ever quote from the book xiv or xv of the Gītā, and I feel fairly sure he did not. Consequently, I cannot look upon xiii, 4, as an interpolation, and it seems to me fairly obvious that the *brahmasūtra* mentioned means nothing but the one known to us.

To sum up what has been said hitherto: I venture to think that the present text of the Bhagavadgītā does mainly consist of three different parts, viz. :—

1. Cantos i and ii, 1—11, 31—38, belonging to the original text of the Mahābhārata.

2. Cantos ii, 12—30, 39—72; iii, 1—xi, 50, and xviii, 74—78, being what I would call the earlier Gītā. Of this part, the *Triṣṭubh* verses in xi, 15—50, may probably be an earlier fragment which has been incorporated in the text.

3. Cantos xi, 51—55, and xii, 1—xviii, 73, forming what I would call the later Gītā.

Suggestions like these can, unfortunately, never be proved. To different minds they may possess a greater or lesser degree of verisimilitude.

II.

To try and form, with any degree of exactitude, an opinion on the date of the Bhagavadgītā—or rather of its different parts—will probably never be possible. However, a scholar who, like the present one, has tried to set forth his humble opinions on the original form and development of that text, will probably feel bound by duty to add a few suggestions also upon the problem of dates. This is perhaps the only excuse for the few modest remarks that follow below.

The Bhagavadgītā is insolubly joined with the names of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. Whether these two were originally historical persons—which according to my opinion is highly probable—may be left aside here as being fairly irrelevant. However, we must begin with a rapid glance at those passages of the literature that contain some sort of information regarding their history, be it originally real or mythical.

Kṛṣṇa is said to have been the son of a certain Vasudeva—whence his paternal name Vāsudeva⁷⁴—and Devakī, the cousin of Kāṁsa. His elder brother was Balarāma or Saṁkarṣaṇa, whose mother was Rohiṇī. Of this Kṛṣṇa we hear for the first time—this is at least

⁷⁴ Professor Jacobi, *EBE.*, vii, 185, and *Festschr. Striebery*, p. 162 f., has tried to prove that Vāsudeva is the old name of a tribal god from which was derived a name Vasudevas said to be that of his father. This is contrary to Patañjali on Pāp., iv, 1, 114, vārtt. 7, and can certainly not be upheld. That the form *vāsudhara*, used in the *Saundaryananda*, i, 23, and in the *Dātavākya*, v, 6, should be very old, seems at least doubtful; also that the father's name was originally *Anahadundubhi*, which sounds uncommonly like a nickname. Finally, an argument of Professor Jacobi's is completely unintelligible to me. It runs as follows: "In the Chānd. Up., ii, 17, 1, where we first hear of Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra*) only his mother, not his father, is mentioned. Now, if Vāsudeva was really a patronymic it ought to be applied first of all to Vāsudeva's eldest son Saṁkarṣaṇa. He, however, is never styled thus but only by his maternal name Raubhīṣya (from Rohiṇī)." With all due respect I should like to ask Professor Jacobi: what does this prove except that a tradition was preserved according to which Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarṣaṇa were the sons of one father but of different mothers, Devakī and Rohiṇī? In that case what could be more natural than that they should wear just these names, viz., Devakīputra and Raubhīṣya?

the general opinion—in the *Chānd. Up.*, iii, 17, 1 f., a passage which has been repeatedly translated but may still be given here *in extenso* :—

“When one craves for food and drink and finds no pleasure—that is one’s *dikṣā*. (1.)

“When one eats and drinks and finds all pleasure—then one takes part in the *upasadah*. (2.)

“When one laughs and feeds sumptuously and joins in sexual intercourse—then one takes part in *stotra* and *jastra*. (3.)

“Penance, almsgiving, upright behaviour, *ahimsā*, and truthfulness, these are the sacrificial gifts. (4.)

“That is why they say : ‘he will press Soma (procreate)—he has pressed Soma (pro-created)’—that is his rebirth, that is his death. The ceremonial ablution is death.” (5.)

Ghora Āṅgīrasa, having explained this to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, said—for he was free from thirst : “In his last hour he should take refuge in this *trivratna*⁷⁵ : ‘Thou art the indestructible ; Thou art the never reborn ; Thou art the sharpening of the vital spirits.’ ”⁷⁶ And here are these two Ṛk-verses : (6)

“Just then they see the early dawning light of the old kind⁷⁷ that gleameth beyond heaven’

“From out of surrounding darkness we, beholding the higher light, have come to Sūrya, god amongst the gods, the very highest light—yea, the very highest light.’ ”⁷⁸ (7.)

This Ghora Āṅgīrasa is mentioned in *Kaus. Br.*, xxx, 6, as being the Adhvaryu of the Ādityas which probably means as much as a sort of Sun-worshipper. This certainly tallies well with the importance evidently ascribed to that luminary in the passage translated above. Whether again Kṛṣṇa (Devakīputra) is identical with the Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa mentioned in *Kaus. Br.*, xxx, 9, seems highly doubtful. Kṛṣṇa is by itself not an uncommon name ; and though he may well have called himself Āṅgīrasa in imitation of his Guru, there is no necessity for an identification.

And now which is the doctrine that the otherwise unknown Ghora Āṅgīrasa preaches to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra ? The answer seems to be that he compares the phases of human life to the stages of the *dikṣā*⁷⁹ which may be said to be an adequate interpretation if these phases be taken to be successive and not contemporaneous. We must remember that the *dikṣā* is not inaptly compared with human embryoship and birth⁸⁰ ; but this probably is not enough. For what Ghora expresses in *Chānd. Up.*, iii, 17, 1, can scarcely be said about the human embryo. This, however, is a fairly fit description of the life of a *brahmācārīn* when the young student is bound to chastity (*na ramate*) and a very simple and austere life. Then in the two following paragraphs there is the description of the life of the newly married man, the *gṛhastha*, whose early domestic pastimes are compared to the *upasad* and the *stutāśāstra*. But even during a gay and pleasant life one is bound to practise virtues,⁸¹ and these are compared to the sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇā*), which, like good qualities, count as merit in a future life. But the height of earthly existence is the procreation of offspring, of sons who will be able to continue the family and feed the spirits of the forefathers ; and thus the procreative act is compared to the pressing of the Soma. When man is no longer able to procreate, then death is awaiting him, and the funeral ceremonies are aptly compared

⁷⁵ I have allowed myself to borrow this Buddhist expression, not being able to find a fit modern equivalent of *traya* in this passage.

⁷⁶ I feel somewhat baffled by the expression *prāṇasamhitam asi* ; however, *samhitā* must probably mean the same as *saṁhitā* in *Āit. Br.*, i, 26.

⁷⁷ *prāṇasya retasaḥ* is puzzling ; it probably means ‘(the light seen) by the old forefathers,’ cp. the use of the same expression in *RV.*, iii, 31, 10 (Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, i, 331).

⁷⁸ A curious parallel to some parts of Ghora’s teaching is found in *TS.*, vii, 4, 9, 1. But as that passage has probably got nothing to do with ours we shall not touch upon it further here.

⁷⁹ Cp. Dr. Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, 68 f. and 82 f. ⁸⁰ Cp. *Āit. Br.*, i, 3, etc.

⁸¹ With *Chānd. Up.*, iii, 17, 4, cp. the enumeration in *Bhagavadgītā*, x, 4-6.

to the *avabhītha* ablution. Thus there is a strict parallelism between human life and the successive stages of the sacrifice. And this human life contains only two of the regular four *āśramas*, viz., that of the *brahmācārīn* and the *gṛhastha*.⁸³ Now Professor Winternitz⁸³ has shown that the oldest Upaniṣads, viz., the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya*, know nothing of the later orthodox four *āśramas*, but that they make a difference between the life of the householder and that of the *muni* or *pravṛājīn*. Only the *Chānd. Up.*, viii, 15—almost certainly a late passage—knows the three successive stages, viz., *brahmācārīn*, *gṛhastha*, and *saṃnyāsīn*.

The life of two *āśramas*, however, which I venture to think Ghora has been comparing to the sacrifice, seems to be the most natural one for the *kaṭtriya*. For, even if great kings of yore have after the domestic life turned wandering ascetics—as, for instance, does Janaka in Jain and Buddhist lore—they undoubtedly were exceptions. The usual life of a *kaṭtriya* probably ended either on the battlefield or in his own house—though the latter mode of death is sometimes disapproved by the authors of lawbooks.⁸⁴ A possible way of ending one's life may also have been by suicide by fire—a sort of self-sacrifice which was held to lead to *brahmaloka*=*svarga*.⁸⁵

But there is something more still in the teaching of Ghora Āngirasa who was free from thirst (*pīpāsā*, the *trṣṇā* of the Buddhās).⁸⁶ In one's final hour one ought to take refuge in three precious thoughts, viz., that some being is the indestructible, the never reborn (i.e., the everlasting absolute), and the sharpening of the vital spirits. This being, as far as my understanding goes, is not *brahman* but even *Sūrya*, the Sun, or rather the radiant *brahmaloka* or *svarga* beyond the visible heaven to which pious men who fulfil their *svadharmā* may aspire. In so far the teaching of Ghora tallies with the promise of *svarga* held out by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna⁸⁷; but that is probably the common creed of the *kaṭtriya* caste.⁸⁸ How far we can otherwise hope to find in the *Gītā* a reflection of the doctrine of Ghora Āngirasa may be somewhat doubtful, though the efforts of a most eminent scholar⁸⁹ in that direction are worthy of every attention. Unfortunately, the material for comparison is scanty and vague.

Thus the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* tells us about a certain Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra—and there is to me not the slightest doubt that he is identical with the Kṛṣṇa of the Great Epic—who was no doubt a *kaṭtriya* and who was the pupil of Ghora Āngirasa. It is, of course, only natural to think that in some way or other he propagated these doctrines and perhaps others of his own, and thus perhaps became the founder of some sect—sects seem to have been numerous in India from time immemorial. The date of the *Chāndogya* is, unfortunately, just as unknown as that of nearly every important Sanskrit work. But upon the consensus of many leading authorities it is declared to be pre-Buddhist; and if that means anything

⁸³ Among recent literature on the problem of the *āśramas* cp. Professor Winternitz, *Festschr. Jacobi*, p. 216 f. (with literature); Dr. Eggers, *Das Dharmasūtra der Vaiṣṇānasas* (Goettingen, 1929), and Dr. Weirich, *Archiv für Relig. Wissenschaft*, xxvii, 77 f.

⁸⁴ *I.c.*, p. 216 f.

⁸⁵ Cp. *MBh.*, vi, 646; *Vīṣṇu-smṛti* 3, 44, etc.

⁸⁶ On suicide by fire, cp. a paper by the late Professor Hillebrandt called *Der freiwillige Feuertod in Indien und die Somaweihe in der Sitz. Ber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1917, 8. Cp. also *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act 1, v. 4 c-d: *rājānaṃ vīkṣya puttram paramasamulayenāśvamedhena ceṣṭed | labdhvā cāyūḥ śatābdam dakṣiṇasahitam śūdrako 'gnim pravistat ||*

⁸⁷ I am totally at a loss to understand the suggestion of Mr. Jainath Patil, *IHQ.*, v, 272, n. 2, that *Zarathustra* was known 'in Vedic times..... either as Jarūtha or Ghora Āngirasa.' But as the theories of Mr. Patil in general seem to run outside the pale of scientific method and criticism, I may perhaps be excused for not discussing them here.

⁸⁸ *Gītā*, ii, 37.

⁸⁹ It should be remembered in this connection that what Kṛṣṇa preaches to Arjuna in the *Gītā* is expressly called the *rājavidyā*, the *rājaguhyam* (= *rājopaniṣat*), *Gītā*, ix, 2, cp. the *maṅtāpālavādi* of *MBh.*, xii, 11876 (on which cp. Professor Edgerton, *AJPhil.*, xiv, 44 f.). And in iv, 1-2, we hear that the *yoga* has formerly been taught to a succession of *rājarsayah* (cp. *bhakti rājarsayah*, ix, 33). The *Gītā* is essentially not a friend of the Brāhmanas; the conclusion of Professor Ropkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 384, that it is a 'purely priestly product' is simply unintelligible.

⁸⁹ Cp. Dr. Barnett, *I.c.*, p. 82 f.

at all, it must probably mean that this Upaniṣad belongs to the time about 600—550 B.C. at the very lowest.⁹⁰

This Kṛṣṇa also, from the name of his father, became known as Vāsudeva, and as such he is undoubtedly mentioned by Pāṇini. I shall not venture to enter upon a renewed investigation of the rule iv, 3, 98 (*Vāsudevārjunābhyām vau*) which has up to a very recent date given rise to a somewhat spirited and partly most unfruitful discussion.⁹¹ I shall simply take it for granted that in iv, 3, 95, *bhakti* has its usual sense of 'adoration' or 'worship,' and that Vāsudeva and Arjuna—of whom Vāsudeva is obviously looked upon as being the chief person—are the well-known heroes of the Mahābhārata. The *sūtra* of Pāṇini proves nothing for the existence of the Bhagavadgītā—which at his time in all probability did not exist—as Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna certainly formed a pair already in the earliest nucleus of the Epic. However, Pāṇini apparently knew that these two were worshipped by certain sectarians, which is, after all, no more marvellous than his acquaintance with the followers of Pārāśarya and Śīlālin, Karmanda and Kṛṣṇaśva betrayed by *sūtras* iv, 3, 110—111—to mention only one single example. And these sectarians were according to him called *Vāsudevaka* and *Arjunaka*.⁹² That is all; and this need probably trouble us no further. That Arjuna should also have shared in some divine honours, or at least have been worshipped as a hero of yore—which in India is scarcely a very uncommon thing—is not so very shocking, seeing that in the *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣma himself proclaims the divine nature of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna,⁹³ and that they were probably at an early date identified with Nārāyaṇa and Nara.⁹⁴

Pāṇini's date, of course, remains somewhat of a puzzle. The one which has long been semi-traditional in European literature on the subject, viz., 350 B.C., lacks even the very slightest value. The present writer has, some years ago, given it as his humble opinion that some time about 500 B.C. would suit him better,⁹⁵ and he has so far found no reason to change his opinion.⁹⁶ If such be the case, then it would follow that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna were worshipped as heroes about the presupposed date of the Buddha. That this worship should have had any special connection with the North-Western Frontier, the home of Pāṇini, would be a precipitate conclusion. Still it may be well to remember that, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna conquers the North and North-West and performs his mighty penance in the far North. He also at the end, like his brothers, dies in the mountains of the North.

⁹⁰ The very wise words of the late Professor Rhys Davids (*CHI.*, i, 172 f.) ought to be taken more to heart by scholars than is perhaps generally done. The present writer willingly admits that he has at one time himself (ep. *JA.*, xliii, 118 f., 125 f., 167 f.) maintained, in the face of evidence perhaps just as valuable, that the year of Buddha's death was 477 B.C. This as well as other dates is, of course, mere guess-work. All we know is, unfortunately, that Aśoka (about 250 B.C.) knew of his (pretended or genuine) birth-place, and also that Aśoka called him *bhagavān*. It may have taken some considerable time ere such a title was applied to the founder of a sect that was at the beginning perhaps not very numerous. That time may have been two or three centuries, perhaps even more and certainly less. There would, of course, be a slightly older testimony for Buddha's existence if the fragment in Clem. Alex. Strom., i, xv, 71, 6, be really taken from Megasthenes; but this seems to me highly uncertain. However, the *Σαρπυδνι* may really have been Buddhist friars, and in that case such people would be proved to have existed before 300 B.C.; but that does not carry us very much further.

⁹¹ Cp. Kielhorn, *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 502 f.; Professor Keith, *ibid.*, 1908, p. 847 f.; Sir G. Grierson, *ibid.*, 1909, p. 1122; Bhandarkar, *ibid.*, 1910, p. 168 f.; *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 3; Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 305, n. 2; Garbe, *Bhagavadgītā*, p. 34 f.; Mr. Ramaprasad Chandra, *MAS.*, No. 5 (1919), etc.; and quite lately Mr. U. Ch. Bhattacharjee, *IHQ.*, i, 483 f., ii, 409 f., 865, and Mr. K. G. Subrahmanyam, *ibid.*, ii, 186 f., 864 f. The editor of the *IHQ.* is to be complimented upon having closed the last mentioned discussion at a fairly early date.

⁹² In *Mh.*, xiii, 1, 18 f., a hunter is introduced by the name of *Arjunaka*.

⁹³ Cp. Holtzmann, *Mahābhārata*, ii, 110; ep. also Dr. Barnett, *l.c.*, p. 87 sq., 92 f. The Gītā itself (x, 37) mentions Vāsudeva and Dhanañjaya in close connection.

⁹⁴ Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa are identified with each other (and with Viṣṇu) already in *Taitt. Ar.*, x, 1, 6.

⁹⁵ Cp. *Zeitschr. f. Indologie*, ii, 147 f.

⁹⁶ Cp. also *BSOS.*, iv, 343; *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 345 f.

If now we proceed further, we next meet with the testimony of Megasthenes. The value of his fragments has at times been somewhat overrated⁹⁷; however, we gather from him that about 300 B.C. Kṛṣṇa was a great god, the Indian Heracles, who was specially worshipped by the Śūrasenas around the towns Mathurā and Κλειροσόρξ. This is anyhow in perfect accordance with Hindu tradition.

To make a long story short, we have now only to turn to the well-known Besnagar inscription and to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali—other testimonies of a somewhat later date may well be left aside. The inscription on a column at Besnagar, which must probably be not much later than 200 B.C., tells us that a Garuda-column of Vāsudeva, the *deva-deva*, was erected by the *bhāgavata* Heliodorus, son of Dion, from Taxila, who came as an ambassador from the Great King Antialcidas (*Antalíkita*) to King Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra. And there are below it the two lines which tell us that :

*trini amutaṣpadāni (su)anuśīlāni
nayaṃtī svaga damacāga apramāda.*

And Patañjali, whose date must fall about 150 B.C.⁹⁸ in his commentary on iv, 3, 98, speaks of Vāsudeva as *bhagavān* and in that on ii, 2, 34, mentions temples of Rāma and Keśava.

Now, I venture to think that what the Besnagar inscription tells us is strongly reminiscent of what I have proposed to call the earlier *Gitā*, viz., cantos ii—xi. Heliodorus, son of Diya, calls himself a *bhāgavata*, a follower of Bhagavān; and he styles his god Vāsudeva the *deva-deva*, the 'god of gods,' an epithet which recurs in the *Gitā*, x, 15 and xi, 13, but is otherwise only used in a few passages of the *Mahābhārata* and in the late *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. And at the end of his inscription he refers to 'three immortal steps' that lead to heaven, *svarga*, the *svarga* promised by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna (ii, 37) and spoken of in still other passages of the earlier *Gitā*, the common goal of the brave warrior and the *bhakta*. And these three 'steps' are *dama*, 'self-control'; *tyāga*, which may well mean 'restraint' but also 'liberality,' 'almsgiving,' and *apramāda*, 'alertness': all these three are qualities specially characteristic of and laudable in a *kṣatriya*.⁹⁹

Such coincidences cannot, in my humble opinion, be quite fortuitous. And I should thus venture to conclude that if the earlier *Gitā* (ii—xi) be not exactly contemporaneous with the Besnagar column inscription, it still belongs to a period which falls somewhere about 200 B.C. or perhaps even slightly earlier. That such a conclusion is not wholly preposterous seems clear to me also because the late Professor Garbe arrived, for his purified *Gitā*, at a period about 200—150 B.C., though for reasons that are perhaps partly fallacious.¹⁰⁰ As for the later *Gitā* (xii—xviii) I can fix upon no definite period whatsoever that would particularly suit it. However, I should not feel astonished if there were an interval of several centuries between the two parts of the poem.

Such are the modest conclusions at which I have been able to arrive. It would be quite tempting to go into some other details connected with this extremely important text, but lack of time unfortunately prevents me from doing it.

⁹⁷ This seems to me to be the case in the otherwise very valuable work by Professor O. Stein, *Megasthenes and Kavṣilya* (1922).

⁹⁸ I still feel convinced that the Yavana king mentioned by Patañjali is really Menander. Professor Konow sometime ago (*Acta Orientalia*, i, 35) tried to prove that he was rather Demetrius but his arguments seem to me to carry little weight. Apparently he was not aware that such an idea had been forestalled by M. Lévi *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*, pp. 38, 63, and by R. O. Franke, *Goett. gel. Anzeiger*, 1891, p. 953.

⁹⁹ Dr. Bāyachandhuri, *JProcASB*, xviii (1922), 269 f., has very happily compared the final verse of the inscription with *MBh.*, xi, 7, 23 sq., where *dama*, *tyāga* and *apramāda* are said to be the three steeds of Brahman that lead to *brahmaloka*. We are well aware that *brahmaloka* here means the same as *svarga*. We are reminded again of the part played by *svarga* in the edicts of Aśoka, which are about half a century older than the Besnagar inscription.

¹⁰⁰ Cp. Garbe, *L.c.*, p. 75 f. Garbe thought that the grammarian Patañjali and the author of the *Yogasūtras* must be the same person, which, in spite of the high authority of Professor Liebh, is perhaps not the case. Otherwise dates suggested for the *Gitā* are very vague; cp., e.g., Holtzmann, *Mahābhārata*, i, 127, ii, 121; Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, pp. 205, 402; Professor Liebh, *Pāṇini*. (Cp. also Franke, *Goett. gel. Anzeiger*, 1891, p. 956.)

SOME ADDITIONS TO THE LALLA-VAKYANI.

(The Wise Sayings of Lal Ded.)

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.

(Continued from page 113.)

19

Laz kâsoy shît niwârey .

Tran zâl karey âhâr .

Yih kami opadesh kuruy, hûta Bhaññâ.

Atsitan watas sutsîtan kâth dyun âhâr !

It (the sheep) removeth shame and dispelleth cold (by clothing made of its wool),

It eateth (and) drinketh grass (and) water.

Who taught this doctrine to thee, O foolish Brâhman,

To give a living sheep to a lifeless stone to eat ?

20.

Loluk nâr Lallih lolih talanowum.

Maranay moyus tah rûzas nah zaray.

Rangah ratshih zâtsavi kyâh nah rang howum ?

Buh dapun tsolum ; kyâh sanah karay ?

Râvanah manzay râvun rovum.

Râvit athih âyas bhavasaray.

Asân gindân Sahazay provum.

Dapanuy karum pânas saray.

I, Lallâ, bore the fire of love in my bosom.

Before death I died and remained not in old age.

What form did I not show in my formless nature ?

I got rid of egotism. What shall I do ?

In the loss I lost the loss

After getting lost I got found in the lake of existence (i.e., this world).

Laughing (and) playing I found the True Nature (Sîva)

This matter I did ascertain for myself.

21.

Mandis vidar tay vidaris sakrey.

Sakrey karak marak nah zâh.

Sakrey trâvit karak kukrey,

Adah wakray gatshiy tah bhalak nah zâh.

Sickness (overtaketh) the weak and to the weak treatment (is necessary).

If thou undergoest treatment thou shalt never die.

If thou, having left treatment, wilt do ill deeds,

Then thou shalt get cramped and shalt never be cured.

22.

Muḍas prunun chhuy muivâl tsidun ;

Muḍas prunun chhuy muri dyun koḥ ;

Muḍas prunun chhuy samudur pûrun :

Muḍas prinân râvîy doh.

To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to splitting a hair ;

To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to piling up a hill as a screen ;

To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to filling in the sea,
In imparting instruction to a fool thou shalt lose the day (i.e., it will be a
useless labour).

23.

Muḍo kriy chhey nah dhārun tah pūrun.

Muḍo kriy chhey nah rachhin kāy.

Muḍo kriy chhey nah deh sandārun—

Sahaz vētsārun chhuy opadesh.

O fool it is not a pious deed to observe a fast and to eat after a fast.

O fool it is not a pious deed to preserve the body.

O fool it is not a pious deed to feed the body.

To comprehend the Supreme (Śiva) is the (true) doctrine.

24.

Nātho, buh no rāniy mangay :

Meh Rāvanun rāj karēm kyāh ?

Yih gom līkhit tih mā harēm ;

Harēm harēm tah harēm kyāh.

Lord, I shall not ask Thee for even a queen,

What will even Rāvan's kingdom avail me ?

Whatsoever (He) hath inscribed as my lot, that cannot be effaced.

Go off, go off from me, and what shall go off from me ?

25.

Parān parān zōv tāl phajim ;

Ts'ih yugi kriy tsajim nah zāh,

Sumran phirān nyōth tah anguj gajim ;

Manach duyī māli tsajim nah zāh.

By reciting (and) reciting my tongue and palate got worn away,

I could not do practice befitting Thee.

By telling the beads of the rosary my thumb and index-finger got worn
away ;

(But,) O Father, I never got rid of the inner duality of my heart.

26.

Parit tah būzit Brahman tshātan ;

Āgar ghaṭan tihindi Veda saty ;

Paṭṭanach san nit thāvan Maṭṭan ;

Mohit man gash'k ahankāriy.

After reading and hearing (what religion is) the Brāhman's will get
polluted,

The sources (of rivers) will shrink down by their (recitation of)
Vedas,

They shall carry to Maṭṭan property stolen from Paṭṭan.

Having committed robbery, their mind will become proud (instead of
being repentant).

Paṭṭan is a village in the Bangil *pargana*. Maṭṭan is a village near which are the magnificent ruins of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, or the Sun. This saying expresses remorse and agony at the prospect of the doom of degraded Brāhman's.

27.

*Par par karân zal do mandân ;**Badyok timany ahambhâv ;**Gita parân hetâ labhân.**Param Gita tah parân chhas.*

(They are) reading (and) re-reading, as if (they are) churning water
(i.e., doing useless work) ;

To them self-love hath increased,

(They are) reading (the *Bhagavad*) *Gîtâ* (and) finding a pretext (to do so).

I have read (the *Bhagavad*) *Gîtâ* and am still reading it (i.e., it is futile
to read it without profiting by its teachings).

The other version of this saying is given in No. 4 above.

28.

*Rangas manz chhuy byun byun, labhun.**Soruy tsâlak bharak sukh.**Tsak rashi tah vair ay gâlak ;**Adah deshak Shiva sund mukh.*

He is in different guises in the actor's show. Find Him.

If thou bearest everything, thou shalt enjoy peace.

If thou killest anger, envy and enmity,

Then thou shalt see the face of Śiva.

29.

*Samsâr ho mâlih yâriv jangul ;**Lâriv kâlam tah biyh budbûy.**Gharah¹ karun ho mâli pîthas pyun sangur ;**Nerak nangur tah darog-goy.*

The world is, O father, like a forest of pine trees ;

Thou shalt be stained with tar and get an evil smell (there).

To maintain a household (is a calamity as bad as) a mountain coming
crash down (upon you).

Thou shalt go out as a pauper and a liar.

30.

*Shayih âsas shayih chhas ;**Lay buh pânay pânas chhas.**Nîrit gatshân ; tîlit yiwân.**Mîlit pânah Dayê chhas.*

I was in the six (attributes of the Supreme Deity), I am in the six (the
same attributes),

I am absorbed within myself.

I go out (into the world) ; after an excursion I return (to the Supreme
Deity).

I am one with the Supreme Deity.

31.

*Shiv chhuy zavyul zâl wôharâvit ;**Kranzan manz chhuy tarit kyat.**Zindah nay wuchhîhan adah katih marit² ?**Pânah manz pân kaḍ vitârit kyat.*

¹ *Seil, garah.*—[EDITOR.]

Śiva is with a fine net spread out,
 He permeateth the mortal coils.
 If thou, whilst alive, canst not see Him, how canst thou when dead ?
 Take out Self from self, after pondering over it.

32.

Suyih kul no dudah sati sagizey.
Sarpinih-phulan dih zih nah phah.
Seki-shathas phal no wavizey.
Rāwarizih nah kum-yājan til.
Muḍas gnyānach kath no wanizey.
Kharas gor dinah rāviy doh.
Yus yuth kariy suh tyut surey.
Krerey karizih nah pananuy pān.
 Irrigate not the nettle with milk.
 Hatch not a snake's eggs.
 Sow not seeds on the sandy river bed.
 Waste not oil over bran-cakes.
 Tell not matters of religion to a fool.
 If thou givest molasses to an ass thou shalt lose the day (i.e., thou shalt
 lose thy labour),
 Whoever treateth thee in whatsoever manner, he will himself fare in the
 same way.
 Let not thyself fall into a well.

33.

Uchhān tah buh chhas sārīsāy andar ;
Uchhum prazalān sārīsāy manz.
Būzīt tah rūzīt, uchh Haras.
Garah chhuh tasanduy ; buh kusah, Lall ?
 I saw and (found) I am in everything ;
 I saw (God) effulgent in everything.
 After hearing and pausing, see Śiva.
 The house is His alone : who am I, Lallā ?

NATURE STUDY IN THE SANSKRIT POEM MEGHADUTA.

BY LILY DEXTER GREENE, Ph.D.

(Continued from page 117.)

In stanza 65, we have the wonderfully striking figure of the Ganges as a "costly train skirting the sacred hill" of Airavata, which is really the Elephant of Indra, or the Regent of the East. The Hindu idea is that each point of the compass has a presiding deity and each of these deities has a male and a female elephant attendant. This, too, with reference to her garments, is vividly realistic :—

"Where brilliant pearls descend in lucid showers,
And clouds like tresses clothe her lofty towers."

The description of the city of Alaka, the capital of Kuvera's kingdom, as the "city of the gods" is full of the extravagant imagery of Oriental writers. The toilet of the *Yakṣiṇīs*, whose only "care" is "dress" and "all their labour play," is minutely described with special reference to the flowers used for personal adornment. They are described as spending much of their time in elaborate toilet preparations, which deal chiefly with the adornment of their persons with flowers, at the special period when these flowers bloom. Stanza 67 gives the names of several of these.

1. Lotus.—The Lotus—*Nelumbium speciosum*—blossoms in *Sarad*, the sultry, moist, autumn season of August and September. At that time these *yakṣiṇīs* render the hot hours bearable by using great fragrant lotus blossoms as fluttering fans, and at the same time, no doubt, enhance their own personal charms. In some parts of India, as along the moist Coromandel coast, the lotus blooms all the year, but in Bengal in April, May and June, and in Kashmir in *Sarad*.

The plant derives its botanical name, *Nelumbium*, from two Sanskrit words नील (nīla) —blue, and अम्बुजा (ambuja) produced in water. The Sanskrit name is *padma*, the name so familiar in the Buddhist prayer, *Om mani padme hum*. The blossoms are frequently used in the sacrificial rites of the Hindus. The broad, oval-shaped leaves, often rest on the surface of the water. The edges are smooth and unbroken, except that the part which was topmost before the leaf began to expand is emarginate when fully opened.

The leaf's upper surface is a rich pea-green, soft and perfectly smooth, while the underside is of a vinaceous colour. Roxburgh says that when the blossoms open, they lift their heads a few inches above the surface of the water, but in the Dal Lake in Kashmir, the blossoms and leaves as well, are four feet or more above the surface of the water. The white, pink, and cream-coloured ones are the most common, but there is also a blue variety.

2. Kunda.—"Kunda topknots crown the jetty hair." Here we seem to have a reference to the *Jasminum pubescens*, Roxb., or to the *Jasminum grandiflorum*, for both of these have large, circular, snow-white blossoms, which are particularly effective as hair or ear ornaments, and both bloom during the rainy season.

3. Lodhra.—The custom of tinting the cheeks red is referred to in the following :

"Now o'er the cheek the Lodh's pale pollen shines."

The *lodhra* or *rodhra* in Sanskrit is a small-sized tree—*Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.,—commonly found in sub-Himalayan tracts and in Chota Nagpur. The bark of this tree is used to make a red dye with which cloth is coloured. Ground to powder, it is used by the Hindus to throw upon each other during the days of the Holi Festival. It flowers during *hemanta*—the winter season—and ripens its seeds in May. The seeds when ripe are strung like beads and hung round the necks of little children, with the superstitious belief that they will keep off evil or sickness.

4. Amaranth.—The passage, "Now 'midst their curls the Amaranth entwines," refers to the *kuravaka* or *kurabaka*, which is *Gomphrena globosa*. This is an annual, cultivated commonly in Indian gardens during *vasanta*, or spring. There are two varieties, one with

crimson flowers, the other with white, and both blossom during the rainy season and the winter. Some authorities consider the *kuravaka* a red variety of *Barleria*.

5. *Sirīṣa*.—"Sirīṣa blossoms deck the tender ear." The large, fluffy, ball-like flowers, with globular heads of greenish-white, fragrant corollets are often worn so as to droop gracefully from the ears, as though a jewel of some sort. This is the flower of the common tree, *Albizia Lebbeck*, the *Mimosa Sirīṣa* of Roxburgh, which flourishes all over India and is much valued in gardens because of its dense shade. It puts forth its blossom during *grīṣma*—the hot season.

6. *Kadamba*.—"Or new Cadambas, with thy coming born,
The parted locks and polished front adorn."

This points to the fact that the large tree known as *kadamba*, or *nipa*—the *Nauclea Cadamba* of Roxburgh—puts forth its blossoms at the coming of the refreshing rains. This tree is common in India, is very ornamental and furnishes dense, close shade. Its flowers are celebrated in Indian literature as among the beauties of the hot season, and as having a fragrance similar to that of new wine. No doubt the name *Haliṣriya*, by which it is known, refers to this fragrance, as Hali was the Bacchus of India. These fragrant blossoms are used by the women as graceful hair ornaments suspended down the central parted portion of the hair and allowed to rest on the forehead as indicated in the words "the parted locks and polished front," etc.

Stanza 73—

"The Lord of Love, remembering former woe,
Wields not in Alaca his bee-strung bow :
Yet still he triumphs, for each maid supplies
The fatal bow with love-inspiring eyes."

Here we have once more the idea of the bee-strung bow of Kāma, the god of love. Kāma of the Hindus is the Grecian Eros or the Roman Cupid. He was the son of Viṣṇu and Māyā, and his bosom friend was Vasanta. He is represented as a beautiful youth, spending much of his time in gardens or temples, with his mother, or his companions. Sometimes by moonlight he rides on a lory or a parrot, surrounded by dancing nymphs, one of whom, the leader, carries a banner, on which is a fish on a red ground. This refers to a marine monster called *makara*, which he is said to have subdued. His favorite haunt is near the region of Kṛṣṇa's loves with the *Gopīs*—the forest of brindavan, the modern Brindiban. Kāma is armed with a bow made of sugarcane. His bowstring is made of bees and his five arrows are pointed with flowers. According to Sāyana, the names of the five flowers are the lotus, *asoka*, *śirīṣa*, *āmra*, and the blue lotus, and each arrow has a name supposed to indicate the quality possessed by the flower. According to Sir William Jones, these flowers are *campaka*, *āmra*, *kesara*, *ketaka*, and *vilva*. Still other lists are given in the *Gitā-govinda*.

The "former woe" refers to the story of Kandarpa or Kāma, given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, L. 25, 10. There he is said to have sent one of his darts towards Siva, while the latter was practising austerities, whereupon the enraged deity cursed him with a terrible voice and, flashing his wrathful eye upon him, consumed his bodily nature. From that time on, he is said to have had power over the minds of mortals only and is called *Anaṅga* (bodiless). (See "Hymn to Kāma Deva" in the works of Sir William Jones.)

Stanza 74—

"Where on rich boughs the clustering flower depends,
And low to earth the tall *mandāra* bends."

The *mandāra* is a splendid and fairly lofty tree (*Erythrina indica*), commonly known as the Indian coral tree. The flowers are in clusters like great branches of coral, and each single flower has a peculiar arrangement of keels and wings which makes it bear a marked resemblance to the parrot, hence the Indian children call it the *tota*, or parrot, flower. The flowers bloom in great profusion in March and April, long before the leaves appear. In some parts of the East the tree is used to support the black pepper vines. See Marsden's *History of Sumatra* for the extensive use of the tree for that purpose. The rapid growth

of these trees makes them very suitable for this, and they are easily grown from cuttings. Their firm, strong, smooth bark, which never shales off, affords a strong hold for the vine, while the dense shade of its abundant leafage during the hottest months, not only affords protection from too much heat, but also keeps the ground moist. During the cold season, the leaves fall and expose the vines to the beneficial effects of the winter sun and rain, which renders them even more productive. For the purposes of this cultivation of the pepper vine, the young trees are topped, and the lateral branches trimmed so as to render pepper gathering easier. The tree is very ornamental and the flowers, being rich in nectar, attract many birds during florescence. The wood is valuable as it does not warp or split, and hence, is much used for fine lacquered work in various parts of India.

Stanza 77:—

1. Mādhavi.—“ See where the clustering *Mādhavi* entwines.” This is a creeper known as *Gaertnera racemosa* (Roxb.), or *Banisteria bengalensis* (Linn.). It is the *Hiptage Madablota* of Gaertner. It is referred to by Hindu poets because of the superior appearance of its rugged vine and leaf, and the remarkable beauty and fragrance of its rich white blossoms.

2. Kuruvaka.—This is probably the same as the *kuravaka* of stanza 67, the crimson Amaranth, though it is possible that this may refer to the *Barleria cristata*, with its purplish blue and white flowers, as this, too, is called *kuravaka*.

3. Aśoka.—“ Profuse, Aśoka sheds its radiant flower ” well expresses the wonderful beauty of the Aśoka blossom. The *Saraca indica* (*Jonesia Aśoka*, Roxb.) is a middle-sized tree with dense foliage and shapely form. The branches are very numerous and spread in all directions, so as to form a very large, symmetrical, compact tree head.

When fresh new leaves come out, they are tinted with a rich wine color, and the edges are slightly crinkled. The flowers, which are very numerous, appear at the beginning of the hot season, but the seeds do not ripen until the rains. When the flowers first open, they are of a beautiful, deep, orange-scarlet, striped with yellow. These gradually change from day to day, through a variety of rich shades, to deep red. The rare fragrance of these blossoms is given off at night, after sunset and before sunrise, when they are covered with the morning and evening dews. This tree, when in full bloom, with its rich leafy foliage, is one of the most beautiful objects in the plant world. A poetic thought of the Hindu mind is that the Aśoka tree blossoms at the touch of the face or the foot of a woman who is in love.

Stanza 82—“ And budding *Cesara* adorns the bower.”—The plant called *kesara*, or *vakula*, in Sanskrit is a large tree (*Mimusops Elangi*, Linn.), commonly cultivated in the parks and gardens of India. The flowers, neither very large nor very small, droop on the tree and are very fragrant, pure white, blossoms. When the flowering season is over, the fruit appears as an oval, smooth, yellow berry, with a central seed, and is eaten by man.

Stanza 83—

“ These are my rivals ; for the one would greet,
As I would willingly, my charmer's feet,
And with my fondness, would the other sip,
The grateful nectar of her honey'd lip.”

This refers to the belief of the Hindus that the *kesara* tree blossoms at the touch of a woman's lips, and the *aśoka* at the touch of her foot or her lips.

Stanza 98—

“ For when the Sun withdraws his cheering rays,
Faint are the charms the *Kamala* displays.”

The *kamala* is the lotus, which opens at the touch of the rising sun and closes again at sunset. Here the Yakṣa's separation from his wife is likened to the separation of the sun from the lotus,

A HEBREW INSCRIPTION FROM CHENNAMANGALAM.

By P. ANÚJAN ACEAN, STATE ARCHEOLOGIST, COCHIN.

DURING my inspection work last year, I happened to come across a very important Hebrew inscription of the thirteenth century A.D. in the possession of the Black Jews residing at the eastern end of the island of Chennamangalam, in Cochin State. It is neatly engraved on a piece of polished granite measuring about 14' by 8' and is complete in nine lines. Though the subject matter of the inscription may not be of any great interest, in that it merely records the day of the burial of one Sarah, daughter of Israel, the facts that it was engraved so many centuries ago, and that it was, and is still, so carefully preserved by a small colony of Jews residing in a remote corner of the country, invest it with considerable interest.

The inscription is dated "in the year 1581, of the era of contracts, on the tenth day of the month of Kislew," which corresponds to 1269 A.D. It is said that there once took place at Cranganore—a place hardly two miles and a half down the Periyar river, to the west of the Jewish settlement at Chennamangalam—a great feud between the reigning head of the Jews and his brother, in which the White Jews sided with the former and the Black Jews with the latter. But, in the end, the elder brother with the help of the local Rája was able to drive out of Cranganore the younger brother and his comrades, the Black Jews, who fled to Chennamangalam, Parur and other neighbouring places and settled down under the protection of the respective local chiefs. The inscription under reference was, according to tradition, brought with the Jews from Kottappuram—a locality in Cranganore—when they first migrated to Chennamangalam from that place.

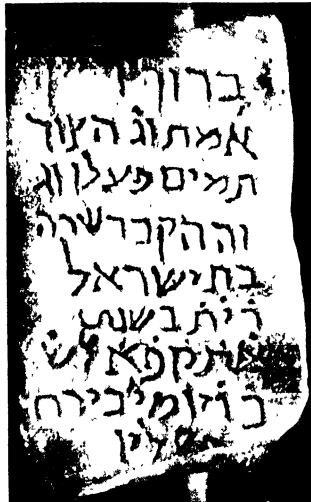
Cranganore had been the first place of settlement of the Jews on the west coast. "According to their own account the Jews made their way to this coast soon after the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. They appear to have been well received in their adopted country and to have enjoyed a degree of toleration to which they were strangers in Europe. In course of time they evidently attained a considerable amount of material prosperity, which is evidenced by the copper-plate charter granted to them by king Bháakara Ravi Varman. The charter (which is now in the possession of the White Jews at Cochin) conferred valuable privileges upon them, and raised the head of the Jewish community virtually to a position of equality with the *Náduváli* chiefs. They continued in the enjoyment of this high standing till the arrival of the Portuguese, who not only persecuted them, but compelled them to leave their ancient settlement at Cranganore in 1565."¹ The Cochin State Manual evidently omits to mention the feud that took place at Cranganore between the White and the Black Jews, and the consequent dispersal of the latter to other places. In the *Malabar Quarterly Review* for June 1902 (vol. I, No. 2, p. 131), Mr. C. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, who has contributed an article on *The Jews of Cochin*, writes: "In the middle of the fourteenth century two brothers of a noble family quarrelled for the chieftainship of the principality [of Anjuvannam] which fell vacant when the line of Joseph Rabban became extinct."² The younger brother who was backed up by his converted slaves, slaughtered the White Jews, who enlisted themselves under the banner of the elder brother. They sought the help of the neighbouring Rájás who planted themselves in the principality and dispossessed the Jews of Anjuvannam. The younger brother fled to Cochin (Chennamangalam and other places) with some of his followers, and the elder brother had to follow suit (after two centuries) on account of the persecution to which he and his followers were subjected by the Portuguese."³

The point at issue now is as regards the probable date of the first dispersal of the Jews from their ancient and foremost settlement at Anjuvannam³ in Cranganore. According to

¹ The *Cochin State Manual* by C. P. Achyuta Menon, pp. 129-30.

² This is only another version of the story.

³ In the copperplate charter granted by Bháakara Ravi Varman it is stated that the village of Anjuvannam was given to Joseph Rabban, the head of the Jews, with all its proprietary rights.



A HEBREW INSCRIPTION OF 1260 A. D. FROM CHENNAMANGALAM

tradition two things have to be accepted —(1) the quarrel between the White and the Black Jews over the disputed succession to the chieftainship of the principality of Anjuvannam, and (2) the victory of the White Jews over the Black Jews. That the defeat of the Black Jews was followed by their subsequent dispersal to other more peaceful centres, where they could exercise better freedom, is undisputed. That one of the centres in which they found it convenient to settle was the nearest island of Chennamangalam is also confirmed by tradition. What now remains to be decided is when were the Black Jews forced to leave their chief settlement at Cranganore, and when did they first come to colonize Chennamangalam. The fact that the tombstone, with its inscription in the Hebrew script dated 1269 A.D., was brought with the Jews from Cranganore when they first left that place precludes us from assuming an earlier date for their advent to Chennamangalam. Ibn Batuta, the famous Arab traveller (1342-47 A.D.), who makes mention of a prosperous colony of Jews at the eastern end of this island, throws definite light on the point. Speaking of his journey by the back-water in 1342 A.D. from Calicut to Quilon, he says: "It (Quilon) is situated at the distance of ten days from Calicut. After five days I came to Kanjirakkara which stands on the top of a hill, is inhabited by Jews, and governed by an Emir, who pays tribute to the king of Kawlam (*sic*)."⁴ Mr. C. P. Achyuta Menon, commenting upon this passage, writes:—"This Emir was evidently the Villārvaṭṭat Chief. The river hereabouts used to be known as Kanjirappuzha, and the palace of the chief, the site of which is still pointed out, was on the top of the hill⁵ at the eastern end of the island of Chennamangalam. At the foot of the hill is a Jewish settlement, one of the oldest in Cochin."⁶

Thus, while the tradition helps us to assume a date near about 1269 A.D. for the first dispersal of the Black Jews from Cranganore, the interesting account left behind by Ibn Batuta definitely suggests a date much earlier than 1342 A.D., by which time one section of the Black Jews had stably settled down at Chennamangalam. "If the statement that some of the tombstones of the Black Jews are said to be six hundred years old is a fact," writes Mr. C. V. Subrahmanya Iyer in the *Malabar Quarterly Review* (vol. I, No. 2, p. 133), "then the Jews must have migrated to Cochin from Cranganore about the year 1200." We do not know to which tombstone reference has been made here, but the tombstone that we now edit is nearly 660 years old. It is impossible to say whether this latter is that of a Black Jewess or a White Jewess. Mr. E. I. Hallegue of Cochin, himself a White Jew and a Hebrew scholar, holds the opinion that the feud between the reigning head of the Jews and his brother, which caused the dispersal and the consequent advent of the Black Jews to Mattancheri (Cochin), Parur and Chennamangalam, had taken place about the date of the inscription or soon after it. This view, I think, is more plausible.

I am indebted to Professor M. Winternitz, of Prague University, for the English translation of the inscription which I give below. The era of contracts is the so-called Seleucidan era, which dates from the battle of Gaza in 312 B.C. "It is called 'era of contracts,'" remarks the Professor, "because it was used by the Jews in legal documents. It was used by the Jews as early as the Book of Maccabees, and it was likewise used by the Oriental Jews and Syrians until late in the Middle Ages and is still occasionally employed by Jews in the East." The word "Rock" in the inscription means God. "He is the Rock, his work is perfect." (The Bible, Book of Deuteronomy, ch. 32, verse 4.)

TRANSLATION.

"Praised be the true Judge, the Rock; perfect is his doing. And there was buried Sarah, daughter of Israel, in the year 1581 of the era of contracts, on the tenth day of the month of Kislev."

⁴ The *Cochin State Manual*, p. 96, f.n.

⁵ Vide the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State* (1926-27), plate I (a).

⁶ The *Cochin State Manual*, p. 96, f.n.

RUSTAMJI MANAK : A NOTABLE PARSİ BROKER.

By HARIHAR DAS, B.Litt. (Oxon.), F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S.

(Continued from page 108.)

It was not possible to obtain at Surat a more reliable and experienced interpreter than Rustamji to accompany the ambassador on his mission to Aurangzeb, and Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council were therefore quite justified in the choice they made. Sir William's prejudice against Rustamji may perhaps have been due to the influence of his secretary, Mr. Mills. Sir Nicholas strongly advised the ambassador to avoid giving occasion for misunderstanding to arise between Mr. Mills and Rustamji, and also urged him to take the latter into his confidence because he was "well-versed in ye misterious intreigues of the Durbars may probably place money that will have it's operation sooner than greater sums all delays and formalitys being dangerous at this juncture when our rivals are for dividinge your Excy etc from your [sic] and the most apt of your retinue, and so aged an Emperor and all the European Comp^{as} in combination for oposing any Phirmaund [*farmān*] . . . if Rustum's found unfaithful to your interest please to return him imediately that regards your honor equally with his owne."⁶ Sir Nicholas Waite and his council had such great confidence in Rustamji that they repeatedly impressed upon the ambassador their firm belief that the broker was "unspotted in your interest (however his other natural man may be inclined) for managing matters with those great men and their durbars in w^{ch} he is esteemed here a proficient master of those misteries."⁷ There was, therefore, no doubt in the minds of the Surat authorities concerning Rustamji's fitness for they wrote again to the Court of Directors on the 27th October 1701, complaining that the ambassador, not having sufficient confidence in Rustamji, had entrusted the management of affairs to Mr. Mills.

Throughout the difficult negotiations conducted by Sir William Norris with the Mughal officials Rustamji's help proved invaluable. He thoroughly understood the intricacies of such transactions at Court as would involve the distribution of presents, or in other words diplomatic bribery necessary to enable him to effect the object of the mission. He was constantly in attendance upon the ambassador and was in fact the sole intermediary between him and the Court officials. He was thus entrusted with considerable responsibility and it is necessary to judge how far he honestly served his master and the Company during the negotiations.

In Sir William's journal glimpses can be obtained of Rustamji's own transactions, but these were of an unimportant nature. The latter, in the diary written in the form of letters from the Mughal's *lashkar* at Burhānpur, describes the causes which led to Sir William Norris' sudden departure from the Court and its sequel. The letters are written in "Gentu" script and were afterwards translated into Portuguese. It is doubtful whether the translator has retained the dignity and colour of Rustamji's original letters, for the Portuguese version (now preserved at the India Office) does not appear to have been carefully executed. The first letter, dated 12th November 1701, is addressed to his son Framji at Surat, with the request that he would communicate its contents to Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council. It contains details which explain the enormous difficulties experienced in the endeavour to secure the necessary *farmāns* and the reasons for Sir William's detention on the way to Surat by the Mughal's general Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang. Rustamji's account is of great value as giving an exact description of what happened when Sir William Norris left the Camp without the Emperor's permission. Rustamji was always with the ambassador, and is therefore able to give first-hand information of all that occurred. In his letter he describes the negotiations between Nawāb Asad Khān and the ambassador regarding the security of the

⁶ See 7569, O. C., 67—I, India Office.⁷ *Ibid.*

port of Mocha and the particulars of privileges to be obtained from the Emperor, and also shows that when the business was transferred to the hands of Inayatullā Khān, the question of security again came into prominence. There seems to be no doubt that the intrigues engineered by the Vakil of the Old Company at the Court were particularly designed with the view of thwarting the plans of Sir William Norris. Rustamji comments on the attitude taken by the ambassador towards the Mughal officials, which in his opinion demonstrated a decided lack of diplomatic tact at the most critical phases of the negotiations. The impatience shown by the ambassador and his threat to return to England if the necessary *farmāns* were not granted, omitting the obligation of the security of the seas, caused, as Rustamji tells us, great annoyance to Nawāb Asad Khān. The fact that Sir William did not entrust the negotiations entirely to Asad Khān resulted in a breach between the latter and Inayatullā Khān. Rustamji vividly narrates the forcible detention of Sir William Norris by the Emperor's messenger Mu'tabar Khān, who endeavoured to persuade him to return to the Camp and made a great, if ineffectual, effort to induce him to refrain from returning to England without the Emperor's permission. As a result of his attempt to do so, the ambassador was detained by the Mughal's general and Rustamji acted as an intermediary between them. His account shows that the ambassador repeatedly refused to return to the Camp for the reconsideration of the privileges to be obtained by the New Company.

At this crisis the shrewd broker took immediate steps to communicate all the circumstances to Sir Nicholas Waite and further informed him that the Emperor had sent a command to the Mughal Governor at Surat to detain Sir William Norris in case he attempted to embark for England. He definitely states that the ambassador's own conduct was prejudicing the business; and that further complications were added by the moral support given him by the minister Yār 'Alī Beg, who had thereby incurred the Emperor's displeasure.⁸

On the 25th November 1701, Rustamji communicated again with Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council, informing them of an exchange of civilities which had taken place between the Nawāb Ghāzī'u'd-dīn Khān and the ambassador. In return for the Nawāb's present of fruit, Sir William had sent Rustamji and three other persons to present to him "100 gold mohurs, six scarlet pieces, four big muskets, two pistols, two large brass guns, two watches, and one hundred broadswords." Before taking leave they were regaled with a sumptuous banquet and presented with "serpaws"⁹ [*sar u pā*] by the Nawāb. The latter took the opportunity of sending a message to the ambassador to the effect that the Emperor would be annoyed if Sir William did not refrain from going to Surat until all his business had been satisfactorily settled. He also emphasized the fact that he would do everything in his power to further the granting of the *farmāns*. As a mark of friendship and courtesy the Nawāb sent him a magnificent dinner, which was conveyed to the ambassador's Camp in "18 dishes of gold, with covers of the same; seven silver dishes, with covers of the same; and seven gold dishes with bread."

Sir William, in recognition of the Nawāb's kindness, sent Rustamji and three Englishmen to present to him a gift of 101 gold mohurs, which were all accepted and, in return, "serpaws"⁹ [*sar u pā*] were again bestowed upon them. Before taking their leave they were assured by the Nawāb that he had written to the Emperor on behalf of Sir William Norris and that the *pattamars*¹⁰ would convey the letter immediately. Rustamji alludes to the visit of the Nawāb's chief physician to the ambassador and to the long conversation which took place between them. This is followed by a detailed description from his pen of further communications between the ambassador and the Nawāb. He tells us that Sir William persisted in his refusal to visit the Nawāb, in spite of the great courtesy shown him and of the

⁸ See 7757, O. C., 57—II.

⁹ Robe of honour.

¹⁰ Foot messengers—Ovington.

fact that the latter was desirous of personally giving him the presents from the Emperor to the King of England as well as those for the ambassador himself. Ghāziu'd-din Khān gave him emphatic warning of the consequences which would ensue if he did not return to the Court, telling him that he had received orders from the Emperor to detain him by force if necessary. Rustamji is no less emphatic in declaring that Sir William continued to slight the request of Ghāziu'd-din Khān, notwithstanding that it was impressed upon him that the Nawāb occupied an exalted position, being considered as a "second king" in the Empire. The remonstrance had no effect upon Sir William, who in an angry outburst declared that if the Nawāb were "to give me the whole of Hindustan I would not go to take it." Rustamji's account proves that if the ambassador had shown due courtesy to the Nawāb in receiving at his hands the presents intended for the King of England he might have avoided giving needless offence to him. Sir William Norris lacked the qualities of a shrewd diplomat in his dealings with Nawāb Ghāziu'd-din Khān, who had not only shown great courtesy to him, but had also offered in every way to expedite his journey to Surat. The ambassador went so far as to reply to those overtures in more haughty terms than before, going, according to Rustamji, so far as to say: "Though you were to assemble all the Umaras of Hindustan to guard me more closely, yet I will not stay."

Rustamji explains that on account of the obstinacy shown by Sir William the long drawn out interviews between him and the messengers from Ghāziu'd-din Khān had ended in a deadlock. Sir William's attitude greatly annoyed the Nawāb, who, when he next summoned Rustamji, told him of the indignities offered to his messengers and asked why the ambassador had appeared so alarmed by the prospect of the proposed visit. The Nawāb therefore put Rustamji in prison as a hostage pending the safe return of the messengers and also threatened if any harm befell them to cut off his head. The poor broker suffered greatly during the few hours he was kept in the prison. Meanwhile the ambassador made one mere attempt to effect his departure, and actually rode away. But being pursued by a large Mughal force, described by Rustamji as consisting of "from 1,500 to 2,000 horsemen, 1,500 to 2,000 gunners; 20 gun carriages," which followed him for "three leagues begging the ambassador to return." Sir William was compelled to retrace his steps and return to the Camp. Rustamji's detailed account of this episode is corroborated by Sir William's own version of his arrest. Rustamji writes that he was entrusted by Sir William with a petition to the Nawāb in which he protested against his detention. Not without some justification, the Nawāb in his reply pointed out to Sir William that he had been kindly received at the Emperor's Court as the representative of the King of England, and that his actions had been unworthy of the position he occupied. He reiterated his great regret that he had been compelled to detain him because he had not taken formal leave of the Emperor. At the same time he gave him an assurance that no further harm would be done to him, but that he must remain at the Camp till the Emperor's pleasure became known. According to Rustamji, a long discussion between him, Mr. Mills and the Nawāb's brother followed, concerning the time when the ambassador might be allowed to take his leave, whether that would be permitted in two or four days. They debated whether the *farmāns* should be given now or within forty days at Surat. It was also decided that if the *farmāns* contained no promises regarding the security of the seas, a lakh of rupees should be given to the Emperor and to Ghāziu'd-din Khān and Rs. 20,000 to Jamid Khān. Rustamji was also commissioned to give a written guarantee that these promises would be carried out.¹¹

The last phase of the negotiations between Nawāb Ghāziu'd-din Khān and the ambassador is revealed in a letter written by Rustamji from Burhānpur to Framji at Surat on December 1, 1701. From this it is evident that the Agent of the Old Company was still actively engaged

¹¹ See 7754, O. C., 57—II.

in placing impediments in the way of the ambassador and that he was endeavouring to persuade the Nawáb not to grant the *farmáns*. It was reported that the Nawáb's messengers, when they failed to persuade Sir William to visit him, threatened that the Nawáb would agree with the proposal of the Old Company's Procurator not to grant the *farmáns*, and that the ambassador might return to England. In this letter Rustamji expresses his disgust at the nature of the proceedings generally. The ambassador had not yet received any *farmán* and as Rustamji was not sure whether he should take leave of the Nawáb, he solicited the advice of the Consul as to the best course to be pursued under the circumstances, and further suggested that Sir Nicholas Waite himself might be willing to come to receive the *farmáns* from the Nawáb and in case he decided to the contrary, that Mr. Bonnell might be sent as his representative. In either case Rustamji expressed the hope that the Consul would communicate with him as to the procedure to be adopted with the Nawáb. He warned the Consul that no communication as to the above proposal could be conveyed to the ambassador on account of the strained relations between him and Sir Nicholas Waite, and also informed Framji that the ambassador would quickly repair to Surat if no further obstacles were placed in his way.¹²

After the ambassador had finally taken leave of the Nawáb and had received from him the letter and presents for the King of England, it was decided that Rustamji should remain at Burhánpur in the hope of obtaining the three *farmáns*. Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council also directed him not to advance or pay any of the sums promised till he had obtained them. Rustamji was so hopeful of obtaining the *farmáns* that he informed the President that they would be forwarded to Surat within a few days. But this hope was doomed to disappointment.¹³

The charges incurred by Rustamji's residence at the *lashkar* became so great that the President and Council wrote to him on the 9th December 1702, revoking their former order and instructing him to make no further demand for the grant of the three *farmáns* nor to pay any money towards securing them, but to return to Surat with all convenient speed and to resume his former employments.¹⁴ Rustamji on his part represented to the President that he had already been compelled to disburse considerable sums for the purpose of securing the ambassador's pardon. This protest was only an excuse for prolonging his stay at the Court and for procuring payment of a still larger amount for his expenses. Sir Nicholas Waite however did not accept those excuses and insisted on seeing for himself the various items of the expenses incurred. Rustamji was finally permitted to return to Surat on the 26th February 1702-3.

When the two Companies were united, Rustamji, on the nomination of Sir Nicholas, was continued in office as their broker; but his position with the Company's authorities gradually became insecure, partly owing to his own conduct and practices, and partly also to the rivalry and jealousies existing amongst his employers. In a letter dated the 25th April 1706, Sir John Gayer and his Council stated that Rustamji's corrupt practices in connection with private shipping were very prejudicial to the interests of the Company and that it was doubtful whether they would continue to employ him. This accusation was endorsed by Sir Nicholas Waite in a letter to the Court of Directors written in the following year.¹⁵

It was unfortunate that Rustamji, who had been enjoying the entire confidence of Sir Nicholas Waite for the last few years, should have now incurred his displeasure, which culminated in his dismissal from the service of the Company in 1706. It was alleged that Sir Nicholas Waite on his transfer to Bombay evaded the payment of Rs. 50,000 claimed by

¹² See 7786, O. C., 57—11.

¹³ See vol. VII, pp. 172, 286, of *Surat Factory Records*.

¹⁴ See O. C., 58—II.

¹⁵ See p. CV, vol. III, of *Hedges' Diary*.

Rustamji as a reward for using his influence with the Mughal Governor to keep Sir John Gayer in prison. Rustamji circulated his grievances amongst the servants of the English Company at Surat, and this action greatly annoyed Sir Nicholas. At the time of his dismissal the Parsi broker also claimed a large sum from the Company for various transactions. The representatives of the English Company at Surat, who were hostile to Sir Nicholas Waite, took the opportunity to conspire with Rustamji and reported against the former to the Court of Directors, bringing various charges against him, some of which were based on information from Rustamji. They rightly maintained that great loss would accrue to the Company's trade and business at Surat if Rustamji were not restored to his former position, seeing how great was his influence with the merchants and local Mughal officials, while they also called attention to the irregularities practised by Sir Nicholas Waite in defiance of the rules laid down by the Court of Directors.¹⁶

Rustamji was perfectly justified in claiming the sum promised him by Sir Nicholas Waite, and there is no room for doubt that the latter used him as an instrument for keeping Sir John Gayer in prison. If Rustamji was dismissed on that ground alone, his dismissal was undoubtedly an unjustifiable act on the part of Sir Nicholas Waite and the betrayal of a trust reposed on him. There is no doubt that the Company was indebted to Rustamji for a very large sum at the time of his dismissal, and that the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay tried their utmost to secure the rejection of the broker's claim. But the latter's claim for sums expended by him in securing Sir William Norris' pardon from the Mughal may well be considered to have been an afterthought. He did not, however, live to see his claims admitted by the Company, dying in 1721, but the three sons—Framji, Bomanji and Nauroji—who succeeded him as brokers in the Company's service, fought hard to substantiate their father's claims.

Nauroji was deputed by his brothers to proceed to England to state a case before the Court of Directors. Accordingly he presented a petition in May 1724 on behalf of himself and his brothers, praying that justice might be done them in relation to the demands made by them on the Company. The case was referred to the Committee of Correspondence for the purpose of being examined with regard to the allegations contained therein. The Committee, after carefully considering the demands made by Nauroji, and having examined the accounts contained in the Company's books, decided that the matter should be submitted to arbitration. After nine months, the arbitrators gave their award in favour of Nauroji, his two brothers, and of their deceased father Rustamji Mának with regard to the sum of money due to them from the Company "in their own right or as representatives of their said father five hundred forty six thousand three hundred and ninety rupees which the Company are to pay." The whole sum was ordered to be paid to them by instalments within the next two years. His other complaints against the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay were also placed before the Directors, and were all satisfactorily settled by the Court. His business now being concluded, Nauroji returned to India in the *Wyndham*, taking with him ten brass guns and provisions for himself and his twelve servants free of freight.¹⁷

The decision of the Court in favour of Nauroji was received by the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay with some dismay, but they had no choice but to carry out the orders of the Court. The three brothers each received a *sar u pá*, and in addition a horse was given to Nauroji. In a despatch sent to the Court of Directors, the Company's servants pointed out that Rustamji Mának and his family were considered as of no importance at Surat before they joined the Company's service, but that thereafter their fortunes were assured. Though some wrong, they admitted, had been done to Rustamji's family and the decision had been

¹⁶ See vol. III, pp. 595-6, 619 of *Bruce's Annals*.

¹⁷ See *Court Book* 51, I. O.

given in favour of the latter by the Court of Directors, they nevertheless maintained that they had acted in the Company's interest. In despair the factors complained that their point of view had received very little consideration from the Court and that it would reflect on their reputation.¹⁸

In reviewing Rustamji's connection with the Company it is difficult to agree with Mr. George Briggs, who in his book, *The Parsis*, tentatively described the broker as "the quintessence of mischief." There are also other writers whose estimate of Rustamji's character is not altogether fair and accurate. They based their statements only on despatches sent by the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay. The latter were Rustamji's enemies and they misrepresented his actions to the Court of Directors. The position occupied by Rustamji proved a difficult one, for the factors were unable to dispense with his services and he had therefore unlimited power over the entire trade of the Company, which led at times to abuses of his responsibility. On the other hand the circumstances and environment of that period must be taken into account. Rustamji had dealings with the local merchants and Mughal officials who were in the habit of giving presents in money for services rendered. He was a shrewd and hard-headed man of business, who thoroughly understood how to deal with his clients and how to profit from opportunities of increasing his own assets. He, therefore, indulged at times in practices which practically amounted to bribery and corruption. Perhaps the best summary of his character and business acumen may be found in an unsigned document, entitled "Observations on Surat," without date or year, preserved in the India Office. It was written by an unknown writer, evidently after the termination of Sir William Norris' Embassy, who compared the Old Company's broker Venwallidas with Rustamji and considered the former to be "a sorry lying flatering dissembling pittyfull covetous fearful person," whereas the latter seemed to him "a bold spirited person, hath abundance of friends at Court, a great many he made when he went with the Ambassador and I believe served the New Company with all his might and seldom or never undertook anything but performed"¹⁹ He also alludes to the fact that Rustamji had considerable influence with the Mughal Governor at Surat and that the Old and New Company's servants from various settlements were obliged to employ him as their broker, otherwise their trading would be obstructed. The writer further adds that it was "believed by all that the last embargo laid upon all merchandize of both Old and New Comp^{ys} goods in Suratt was occasioned by him."²⁰ In the same writer's opinion Rustamji's services were indispensable on account of his ability to get any business entrusted to him speedily accomplished

Note.—A complete account of Rustamji Manak's connection with the New English East India Company is under preparation by the present writer.

¹⁸ See *Bombay Letters*, vol I-A

¹⁹ See O. C. 56—IV, pp. 406-7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

BHĀMAHA AND DIĀNĀGA.

BY PROFESSOR GIUSEPPE TUCCI, Ph.D.

THE date of Bhāmaha has been the subject of long discussions among scholars, which have been recently summarized by Professors Batuk Nāth Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya in their learned and diligent introduction to the new edition of the *Kāvyaśālikāra*.¹ It is not my purpose to study here all the various questions connected with the solution of this problem, but only to point out some facts, which have, I think, their weight.

I.

As it has clearly been seen by Professor Jacobi² and the Benares Professors, in the fifth chapter of *Kāvyaśālikāra*, containing a brief allusion to logical theories, we are confronted with some data, the value of which cannot be sufficiently emphasized when we want to fix the approximate time of the completion of the book.

The views held by scholars are two : according to Jacobi, followed by Professor S. K. De,³ Bhāmaha was influenced by Dharmakīrti, and therefore must come after him. But Professors Śarmā and Upādhyāya are against this theory and try to show that no influence of Dharmakīrti can be traced in the *Kāvyaśālikāra*. I quite agree with their views. But since this is a fundamental point for fixing the chronology of our text it is worth while to examine thoroughly the logical theories as expounded by Bhāmaha, and then to find, if possible, their exact correlation in the Buddhist *Nyāya-śāstras*. We shall then be able to ascertain whether this view can be accepted as a well established fact rather than as a probable hypothesis.

(a) *Pramāṇas*.—According to our author they are only two, that is : *pratyakṣa*, direct perception, and *ānumāna*, inference. So far as our present knowledge goes, we can safely assume that the doctrine maintaining the existence of two *pramāṇas* only represents an innovation due to Diānāga ; though it was not accepted by all Buddhist schools as is generally believed. The followers of the ancient Yogācāra system, as expounded by Maitreya and Asaṅga, insisted upon maintaining three *pramāṇas*, viz., *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āgama*. Such a view was accepted by Sthiramati and continued even by relatively later authors, such as Haribhadra (ninth century A.D.), the commentator of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*.⁴ On the other hand, the Mādhyamikas (*prāsaṅgikas*) were ready to accept the four traditional *pramāṇas*, but of course in the mere plan of contingent experience, *saṃvṛtīyatya* ; because *paramārthatah* *pramāṇas*, as well as any other notion, or *dharma* (*prameya*) are antinomical, contradictory, and therefore *śūnya*, as was expounded in great detail by Nāgārjuna in his *Vigrahavyāvartanī*.

But according to Diānāga and his followers, such as Śāṅkarasvāmin, Dharmakīrti, Dharmottara, etc., the *pramāṇas* are certainly two.

Now the definition of these two *pramāṇas*, as given by Bhāmaha, "*asādhāraṇasāmānya-viśayatvaṃ tayoh kīla*" (v. 5), though finding its parallel even in the *Nyāyabindu*, is really that already given by Diānāga in his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* as well as in his *Nyāyamukha*.⁵

¹ Kāśī Sanskrit Series, n. 61, 1928. Cf. also the article of Mr. Diwokar in *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 825, where a relation between Bhāmaha and *Nyāyapraveśa* is stated.

² *Sitz. d. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, XXIV, 1922, p. 211.

³ *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, p. 50.

⁴ So also by his master Vimuktisena in his *Abhisamayālaṅkāraśālikāvyākhyā*. Both works are being edited by me. For the various theories on *pramāṇas* before Diānāga I must refer to my *Buddhist Logic before Diānāga*, *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 451, and to the Introduction of my book, *Pre-Diānāga Buddhist Logic*. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

⁵ And not *Nyāyadvāra*. See *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 8. This book has been translated into English by me and will appear shortly in Heidelberg in the Bulletin published by the Buddhist Institute of Prof. Walleser.

where we read : " Thus there are only two *pramāṇas* by which we can apprehend [respectively] the thing in itself (*svataḥkṣaṇa*) and its universal character (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). There is no other knowable besides these two, which could be apprehended by a *pramāṇa* other than these two."

(b) *Pratyakṣa*.—Of direct perception we find in our text two definitions—(1) *kalpanāpoḍha*. (2) *tato 'rīhāt*. The paternity of these two definitions can easily be traced. Chronologically the second must come first, and the first second ; in fact we know that *tato 'rīhāt* (*rūpādes tata eveti nānyataḥ*, v. 10) was the definition of *pratyakṣa* given by Vasubandhu, or rather by the author of the *Vādavidhi*, whoever he may have been. The passage quoted by Uddyotakara⁶ has been identified by me in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, where Dinnāga attributes this definition to the *Vādavidhi*,⁷ and refutes it.

The second definition *kalpanāpoḍha* is, as already noted by the Benares professors, quite peculiar to Dinnāga, he suppressed the word *abhrānta* or *avyabhicārin* contained in the definition of *pratyakṣa*, as already given by Maitreya and Aśaṅga, but, as is known, *abhrānta* was again added by Dharmakīrti, for reasons expounded by Mallivādin in his *Ṭippaṇī* (p. 19) on *Nyāyabinduṭṭhā*.⁸ It is almost certain that the word *abhrānta* was again added to *kalpanāpoḍha* by Dharmakīrti, because Śaṅkarasvāmin, who lived between Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti,⁹ still strictly follows *Dinnāga*, in his definition of *pratyakṣa*.¹⁰

(c) The definition of *kalpanā* as *nāmajātyādyojanā*.—This is the doctrine of Dinnāga : *kalpanā* is joined with *nāma* and *jāti*, etc., and it is just this doctrine which was criticised by Uddyotakara in his famous passage (p. 41) : " *apare tu manyante pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham iti, aha keyam kalpanā ? nāmajātyojanā*."¹¹ But on this point, as on many others, Dharmakīrti held a different view: for him *kalpanā* or *vikalpa* is *nāmasaṃśraya* (*abhilāpinī pratīti* according to Śāntirakṣita, *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 366).

*pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham pratyakṣenaiva sidhyati
pratyātmavedyaḥ sarveṣāṃ vikalpo nāmasaṃśrayaḥ*¹²

or, as said in *Nyāyabindu* : *abhilāpasamsargayogyapratibhā-apratītiḥ*. This discrepancy is not of mere words, but involves also difference of views, upon which we have not to insist now, especially because all this point has been so well illustrated by Śāntirakṣita and Kamalāśīla (*Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 398).

We must only remember that the definition of *kalpanā*, as known to Bhāmaha, is that of Dinnāga, but it has no relation whatsoever with that propounded by Dharmakīrti.

(d) *apoha*.—This is quite peculiar to Dinnāga's teaching (though it was also continued long after him—cf. the *Apohasiddhi* by Ratnākaraśanti) : it was refuted, as is known, by Uddyotakara. *Nyāyavārtika*, 328 f.

⁶ *Nyāyavārtika*, p. 40 ; cf. *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 473.

⁷ On this book cf. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 631, and vol. V, p. 81.

⁸ Cf. *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 472.

⁹ And was known to Yuan Chwang, while no mention of Dharmakīrti is to be found in the Memoirs of the great Chinese pilgrim.

¹⁰ *Pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham jñaj jñānam rūpādaṃ nāmajātyādikalpanādhāritam tad akṣam akṣam prati vartata iti pratyakṣam*. Cf. the definition of *pratyakṣa* contained in *Nyāyamulha*, and the Sanskrit original of which has been preserved in the *pañjikā* of Kamalāśīla to *Tattvasaṅgraha* (p. 372, l. 23) : *Yaj jñānam artharūpādaṃ vīśānābhīdāyākābhredopcedrendrikalpakam tad akṣam akṣam prati vartata iti pratyakṣam*.

¹¹ This is the right reading, instead of *kalpanā nāmajātyādy* of the printed text of *Kāvyātānkāra* as well as of *Nyāyavārtika*.

¹² So Dharmakīrti in his metrical commentary of *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, called *Pramāṇavārtika*. See my note, *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 378 and 906.

(e) *anumāna*.—Here also, as noted by the editors, two definitions of inference are referred to by Bhāmaha—(1) *trirūpaliṅgato jñāna* and (2) *tadvido nāntaryārthadarsana*. This second definition is quoted by Uddyotakara. I have found in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* the corresponding translation of this passage, which is quoted by Diñnāga as being taken from *Vādaividhi* and refuted by him.¹³

As to the first definition we cannot be so precise as regards its identification; in fact we know that the definition of the *anumāna* as given by Diñnāga in *Pramāṇasamuccaya* was: *anumeyetha tattulye sabbhāvo nāstīdā 'sati*.¹⁴

But it is quite evident that here the essential and fundamental aspect of the *anumāna* is contained, viz., its *trairūpya*: *pakṣadharmatā, sapakṣasattva, vipakṣāsattva*. This theory of the *trairūpya*, as I have shown elsewhere,¹⁵ does not represent an innovation due to Diñnāga, since it was certainly pre-existent, as is sufficiently proved by the fragments of the *Tarukāśāstra* preserved in Chinese.

Therefore, even in this case, the facts alluded to seem to point to an analogy with Diñnāga more than with Dharmakīrti.

(f) *pratiñādoṣas* or *pratiñābhāsas*, viz., thesis or proposition vitiated by errors. The definition of *pakṣa* and that of *pratiñā* imply that Bhāmaha considers *pakṣa* as different from *pratiñā*, viz., *pakṣa* is the formulation of the *probandum*, quite independent of the *sādhana*, and *pratiñā* is this very *pakṣa* enunciated as the first member of a *sādhana*. This doctrine (on which see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 632) was accepted by Aśaṅga and the *Vādaividhi*, but Diñnāga suppresses the *pratiñā* and substitutes for it the very *pakṣa*. Bhāmaha in this place also seems, therefore, to follow doctrines anterior to Diñnāga. Bhāmaha knows only six *pakṣābhāsas*:—

- (a) *tadārvaviruddha*.
- (b) *hetuviruddha*.
- (c) *svasiddhāntaviruddha*.
- (d) *sarvāgamaviruddha*.
- (e) *prasiddhadharma*.
- (f) *pratyakṣaviruddha*.

Diñnāga also knew five *pakṣābhāsas* only, as is evidenced by his *Nyāyamukha* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*; while in the *Nyāyapraveśa* by his pupil or follower, Śaṅkarasvāmin, we have a list of nine *pakṣābhāsas*,¹⁶ which again Dharmakīrti reduces to four (*anumānanirākṛta*, *pratyakṣanirākṛta*, *prāṭhinirākṛta*, *svavacanānirākṛta*). For Diñnāga the five *pakṣābhāsas* are as follows:—

- (1) *svavacanaviruddha*: *mātvī me bandhyā, sarvaṃ vacanaṃ mithyā*,
- (2) *pratyakṣaviruddha*: *anuṣo 'gnih*.
- (3) *anumānaviruddha*: *nityo ghaṭah*.
- (4) *lokaviruddha*: *śaśī na candrah*.
- (5) *āgamaviruddha*.

Now it is evident that of the six *pakṣābhāsas* quoted by Bhāmaha, (a)=(1), (c)=(5), (d)=(4), (f)=(2). The second—(b)—cannot be so easily identified; but from the example given it seems that it consists in the assumption of a *dharmīn anyatarāsidhā*, that is, a subject not proved for one of the opponents; e.g., when a Śāṅkhya discusses with a Buddhist he cannot state this proposition: "the *ātman* is existent," or "prakṛti is existent," because the *prativādin* does not admit of any *ātman* or *prakṛti*: so that the thesis would in fact ignore one of the

¹³ *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 474-475.

¹⁴ *Nyāyavārtika*, p. 55.

¹⁵ *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 479.

¹⁶ Cf. *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 12.

fundamental aspects of *pakṣa*, viz. *prāsādhikadharmin*. This kind of *pakṣa* is not in Dinnāga, but is to be found in Śaṅkarasvāmin, and, as is evidenced by the commentary of K'wei-chi on the *Nyāyapraveśa*, was largely discussed in logical schools after the great logician. One of the possible ways to avoid this fallacy was found in the theory of the *avadhāraṇa* or specification viz., the *ātman*, in which we believe, or in which you believe etc.

Anyhow it is worth mentioning that the example given by Bhāmaha as the second case of *pakṣābhāsa* clearly shows that it was taken from some Buddhist *vade mecum*.

(g) *Trairūpya* of the *hetu*.—I have shown elsewhere¹⁷ that Dinnāga cannot be considered as the author of this theory, which we meet also in the *Tarka-sūtras* certainly anterior to him, and was perhaps contained also in the *Vādavidhi*. Anyhow the definition of *vipakṣa* as *sādhyaavyāvṛtti* was not of Dinnāga, who in *Nyāyamukha* as well as in *Pramāṇasamuccaya* contests the validity of such definition. We find *vipakṣavyāvṛtti* in *Tarka-sūtra*.

(h) *Drṣṭānta*.—The first definition, *sādhyaśādhanadharmābhyām*, may be compared with that given by the author of *Vādavidhi*: *taṣoḥ sambandhanidarśanam drṣṭānta* quoted by Uddyotakara (*NV.*, p. 137, l. 3). The second is beyond any doubt of Dinnāga, and it is reproduced almost literally by Bhāmaha. He says :

(v. 27) *Sādhyaena līngānuḡatis tadābhāve ca nāstītā sthāpyate yena drṣṭāntaḥ*—and the definition of Dinnāga, in *Nyāyamukha* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, quoted and refuted by Uddyotakara (*NV.*, p. 137) in its Sanskrit original, runs thus :—

sādhyaenānuḡamo hetuḥ sādhyaābhāve ca nāstītā.

(i) *Jātis*.—The *Jātis* were reduced by Dinnāga to 14 only in *Nyāyamukha* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. According to Śaṅkarasvāmin they are considered as *sādhanadoṣodbhāvānāni*; and *sādhanadoṣa* is *nyūnatva*, etc., viz., *ādhiḡya*; this is just the theory that we find in Bhāmaha, though in his case mention of *sādharmyasamādāya*¹⁸ is still to be found, just as in Dinnāga's works.

II.

Now if we are to sum up the results of this comparison of Bhāmaha's logical chapter with Nyāya theories known to us, it appears evident that no trace of Dharmakīrti can be found in *Kāvyālaṅkāra*. All the doctrines upon which Jacobi founded his conclusions, viz., that Bhāmaha is dependent on *Nyāyabindu*, after closer examination prove to be not peculiar to Dharmakīrti but anterior to him. We may add that not a single theory, proper to Dharmakīrti, can be traced in *Kāvyālaṅkāra*. On the other hand, Bhāmaha refers twice quite unmistakably to Vasubandhu, or better, to the author of *Vādavidhi*, whose doctrines are so often alluded to and refuted in *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. And it is known that the *Vādavidhi* was completely superseded by the big work of Dinnāga and the logical activity of his followers, so that after Dinnāga it is only occasionally alluded to for polemical purposes, e.g., by Uddyotakara, but it did not influence in any way the *Nyāya* theories of post-Dinnāga time. On the other hand, Dharmakīrti, with his *Pramāṇavārttika*, *Pramāṇavinīścaya* and *Nyāyabindu*, very soon took the prominent part, and after him *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and its author were left in oblivion. Vācaspati and Jayanta as well as the Jaina logicians are always engaged in refuting Dharmakīrti's views, and only occasionally refer to Dinnāga's doctrines. But from the comparison that we made in the first part of this paper it appears that Bhāmaha's views reflect chiefly the older *Nyāya* theories, such as those expounded by the *Vādavidhi* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya* or *Nyāyamukha*, from which texts he seems to differ in a few points only. The fact that he still quotes from *Vādavidhi* and ignores the nine *pakṣābhāsas* of Śaṅkarasvāmin

¹⁷ Cf. *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 479.

¹⁸ This must be the reading, and not *samādāyah* of the printed text.

seems to indicate that he was nearer in time to Dinnāga than to Dharmakīrti. The verbal quotations that have been noted in connection with the definition of the two *pramāṇas*, *pratyakṣa* and specially of *dṛṣṭānta* prove beyond any doubt that he had direct acquaintance with Dinnāga's works, and that he was strictly dependent on them.

For all these reasons I think that the priority of Bhāmaha to Dharmakīrti must be considered as a well established fact, and not as a debatable hypothesis. His theories as a whole are essentially pre-Dharmakīrti and show but very little influence of the progress which took place in *Nyāya* after the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Whatever the religious creed of Bhāmaha might have been, there is no doubt that in his work we find a new proof of the great influence exercised by Dinnāga and his logic not only upon Buddhist thinkers, but upon Indian philosophy in general. Unfortunately we do not know very much about the philosophical and, more particularly, *Nyāya* literature of the time which separates Dinnāga from Dharmakīrti. But from the scattered information at our disposal, we may gather that the theories of Dinnāga were largely discussed and developed. This is what we can deduce from the commentary of K'wei-chi upon the *Nyāyapraveśa*, which sheds much light upon the evolution of logical theories after Dinnāga and shows that many doctrines which appear now in the works of Dharmakīrti had been discussed and formulated before him. And it seems to me that not only Buddhist authors were taking an active part in these discussions, but that thinkers belonging to other currents also contributed to them. Difference of opinion was always possible as regards the metaphysical and ontological points of view, but as regards *Nyāya*, and chiefly *parārthānumāna*, viz., syllogism and its laws, as applied to dialectical discussions on philosophical topics, there was a general agreement.¹⁹ *Prāśastapāda* continues views that had been already elaborated by Buddhist *Tarka-sāstras*. Śaṅkarasvāmin, whom we have no arguments either for identifying or not with the philosopher of the same name quoted by Kamalaśīla, cannot perhaps be considered, at least if we are to judge from his name, as a Buddhist. The *Mātharavṛtti*, as I hope to show in a forthcoming paper, expounds logical theories similar, and therefore chronologically near, to those of Śaṅkarasvāmin, and so does the Jaina *Pramāṇanirṇaya*.²⁰

Thus, we are confronted, it seems, with a general predominance of formal logic as elaborated by the *Tarka-sāstras* and Dinnāga in his fundamental works, which influenced all the *vāda-sāstras* of the time. This is a fact which is perhaps alluded to by Uddyotakara in his *maṅgalācāra*: *kuṭārkkikājnānanivṛttihetuḥ*. Unfortunately, except the *Nyāyapraveśa*, no other work of this kind has been preserved, though the names at least of some other great logicians have come down to us. One of these, for instance, is *Īśvarasena*, well known from Tibetan sources.²¹ He was the teacher of Dharmakīrti and he seems to have held particular views as regards the interpretation of Dinnāga's works, which were not accepted by his great disciple. But his works are lost: only some few fragments have come down to us.

Quotations from *Īśvarasena* are, in fact, to be found in the following Sanskrit texts:—

- (1) Fragment of a Buddhist *Nyāya-sāstra*, preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The references to *Īśvarasena* have been given by MM. Haraprasāda Śāstri as follows²²:—

(a) *na tu yatheśvaraseno manyata upalabdhyabhāvamātram anupalabdhir iti*

(b) *[u]palabdhyabhāvamātram anupalabdhim abhāvasya prasahya [corr. prasajya-] prāṣedhātmanah pramāṇāntaratvena gamikāṁ icchanti Īśvarasenaprabhṛtayah.*

¹⁹ Practically no result is possible in dialectical debates if the opponents do not agree about the fundamental laws of the discussion itself.

²⁰ We must remember, in fact, that the logical classifications of *Nyāyapraveśa* are identical neither with Dinnāga's theories, nor with Dharmakīrti's. We must, therefore, deduce that they represent a particular moment in the evolution of logic between Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti.

²¹ Tārānātha, *History of Buddhism*, transl. by Schiefner, pp. 159, 176.

²² *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I, Buddhist MSS., p. 31.

In another fragment of a *Nyāya* treatise, which was kindly shown to me by His Holiness Śrī Hemarāja Śarmā, guru of His Highness the Mahārāja of Nepal, mention of him is also found :—

.....cānayati tattvat. para.....vity abhiprāyaneśvarasena evāparo 'bhipretah.

These documents are few and quite inadequate to give an idea of the main features of the system of Śvarasena ; but considering that they are the only thing that time has left,²³ they are not without value. They also belong to that period of great philosophical elaboration which took place between Dīnāga and Dharmakīrti, and of which Bhāmaha also has preserved some not insignificant traces.

BOOK-NOTICES.

CEYLON JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, Section G. Archaeology, Ethnology, etc., vol. I, pls. 1 to 4; vol. II, pt. 1 : edited by A. M. HOCART, Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon. London, Dulau & Co., 1925-28.

EPIGRAPHA ZEYLANICA, vol. III, pt. 2 : edited by H. W. CODRINGTON and S. PARANAVITANA. Oxford University Press, 1929.

Scientific research in Ceylon has made a noteworthy advance in the last few years, thanks chiefly to the work of Messrs. H. W. Codrington, E. R. Ayrton and A. M. Hocart. The results are contained in a series of publications, including the above, the *Memoirs* of the Archaeological Department, Mr. Codrington's *Coins and Coinage of Ceylon* and his valuable *Short History of Ceylon*. The parts of the *Journal of Science* before us, besides the archaeological summaries, contain some striking articles by Mr. Hocart, e.g., on the Origin of the Stūpa, India and the Pacific, and the Indo-European Kinship System ; but perhaps the work of greatest value to which he has devoted his attention is the attempt to establish criteria by which the archaeological remains of Ceylon can be dated. Chronological data are peculiarly scanty in the epigraphical records of Ceylon, and the extant chronicles are also defective in this respect. By patient, methodical examination of the monuments, the materials employed and the methods of construction, the sculpture, balustrades, guardstones, 'moonstones,' etc., Mr. Hocart has been able to differentiate three main periods, which he calls (1) archaic, (2) classical and (3) archaistic. Though this nomenclature may not meet with universal approval, we must congratulate him upon the perseverance with which he has tackled this difficult subject and laid a reliable foundation, at least, for future work. He is being ably seconded on the epigraphical side by Mr. Parana vitana, who has also contributed a very interesting note on Mahāyānism in Ceylon.

The present part of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* contains readings of the texts, with translations and annotations, of the (1) Oruvela *sannasa* c.p. inscription, probably of the time of Parākrama Bāhu VIII, (2) the Badulla pillar inscription of about 942 A.D., and the Mannar Kacceri pillar inscription of about 900 A.D., the second of which contains matter of special interest in connexion with village organization, trading, fines and tolls, etc. The interpretation of many words and phrases in the latter inscriptions are admittedly yet doubtful.

C. E. A. W. O.

DU KUMARAPALAPRATIBODHA : *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Apabhramśa und der Erzählungs-Literatur der Jains.* Von Ludwig Alsdorf. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität. 2.) xii+227 pp. Hamburg : Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1928

Regions visited long ago remain alluring to the memory : and even he who will probably never be able to revisit them will sometimes think of them with a melancholic pleasure. Being some twenty years ago a pupil of Professor Jacobi the present writer made some little progress in the study of Jain narrative literature. And, though he will probably never find a real opportunity for resuming those researches, it is with a special pleasure that he studies the researches of other scholars upon this and cognate subjects.

Dr. Alsdorf, a pupil of Professor Schubring, one of the leading authorities on Jainism, has produced an extensive and solid work on the Kumārāpālapratibodha of Somaprabhā, or rather on those parts of it which are written in Apabhraṁśa. Literary Apabhraṁśa—apart from smaller contributions chiefly by Fischel—has become

²³ References to him are to be found in the commentary to *Pramāṇavārttika* by Devendraśodhi.

known by two masterly publications of Professor Jacobs; and there is scarcely any doubt that there is still in existence an extensive literature in that interesting, if monotonous, idiom. Dr. Alsdorf has used the edition of the *Kumārāpāratibodha* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. XIV. And, though he has not been able to avail himself of any manuscript materials, there can be no doubt that he has produced in the plurality of cases a sound and reliable text.

The Apabhraṃśa stanzas of the *Kumārāpāratibodha*, some 250 in number, make up an allegoric tale called the *Jivamaṅgalakāvya*. *lōpātāḥ*, a tale of the famous saint Śhūlabhadra, a hymn on Pārava, a small dogmatic text, four verses on the seasons, and 42 separate verses of different contents. Of all these, Dr. Alsdorf gives text and translation, as well as a list of words. In an extensive and well-written introduction he deals with his texts from a literary, grammatical and metrical point of view. And in five appendices we are able to study other texts dealing with the fortunes of Śhūlabhadra. The author, whose name we have probably not met with before, has produced an altogether learned, interesting, and excellent book.

Tempting though it be, we cannot here enter into details which would really lead too far. We shall only allow ourselves a few passing remarks which will at any rate prove that we have studied the work with attention and with profit.

On p. 112 (Śhūlabhadra, 102, 4-5) we read the following lines:—

*Kasana-vannu uppajai nah | bhanjay jar vi av'dhu
tata vi durehahā reha na hu | pāvai gōvarakhīdu.*

The text is undoubtedly in slight disorder, as the second half of the first line is untranslatable. In any case I suppose that we shall have to read *bhanjay* instead of *bhanjai*; unfortunately, however, I am completely unable to solve the riddle of the word *av'dhu*. The rhyme proves it to be fairly correct—the sense must be something in the way of Skt. *amṛta* or *madhu*. The translation would run somewhat like this: 'the black-coloured dung-beetle, even though he flies up to the sky and eats (honey?) will not attain the lustre of the bees.' The word *kaṇḍōḍya*, 'a porter' (p. 151), may possibly stand in some relation to (Skt.) *kaṇḍuta* in one of its different senses. For *yūjai paṇḍai* we miss a reference to Hemacandra's grammar, iv, 332, with Pischel's note, and the *Prakṛitgrammatik*, p. 173, § 246. *Shōṇṇa* (p. 159) seems to mean a sort of ghost; it would not be quite impossible to derive it from *dyotih*, 'light,' as I believe to have proved long ago that glow-worms, etc., are at times looked upon as ghostly apparitions, cf. *Kleine Beitr. - indovranischen Mythologie*, p. 11 (1911). The curious word *bhullaya*, quoted on p. 174, does not simply mean *viaticum*; Hemacandra explains

it by *prabandhapravṛttam pāṭhyam* (Dr. Alsdorf's quotation is not quite exact), and it is also explained by *adhikāra sambalam*. But I fail to make out the exact sense underlying those explanations.

We take leave of Dr. Alsdorf with expressions of gratitude for his able and interesting book, and hope soon to meet with new contributions from his pen.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

No 41 Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley, by RAI BAHADUR RAMPRASAD CHANDA, B.A. 13 x 10 in., pp. 40, with 2 plates. Calcutta, 1929.

In seeking to find a link between the Vedic traditions and the Chalcolithic civilization of the Indus basin, as disclosed from the remains found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, Mr. Chanda propounds his views upon certain subjects, which, though of wide interest, hardly fall within the scope of archaeology. For example, he would abandon what he calls the "orthodox view," that the upper Indus valley was wrested from Dāsas and Dasyus by a vigorous race of Aryan immigrants, and suggest, as better fitting the evidence, that "the Aryans, mainly represented by the Rishu clans, came to seek their fortunes in small numbers more or less as missionaries of the cults of Indra, Varuna, Agni and other gods of nature and settled in peace under the protection of the native rulers who readily appreciated their great merit as sorcerers and employed them to secure the assistance of the Aryan gods." We must point out, however, that Indian tradition would seem clearly to indicate that the earliest *ṛṣis* were established in the land before the so-called Aryan immigration. He would go further, and recognize in the warrior clans—the Bharatas, Pūrus, Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus, etc., of the Rig Veda—the representatives of the ruling class of the indigenous Chalcolithic population. Here again we are up against a mass of Indian tradition. Rather than attribute the rigidity of caste to the sharp distinction between the Arya and the Śūdra, he prefers to regard it as due to the wide gulf that separated the cultures of the "proto-Brahmans and the proto-Kshatriyas"—terms that seem to call for some definition. He proceeds to develop his view of a fundamental difference in the mentality of the Brāhman and Kṣatriya of ancient India by citing evidence to show that their attitude towards *pari-amedha* and *anamarana* were antagonistic. The theory elaborated by him, that certain statuettes found at Mohenjo-daro represent Yatis of the prehistoric and prehistoric Indus valley civilization seems somewhat premature. We feel, in fact, that the author attempts in this short *Memoir* to solve too many difficult problems, though his views, if not convincing, are in many respects suggestive.

C. E. A. W. O.

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