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EDUCATION
IN
ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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(Revised & Enlarged)

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Considerable changes have been made in *Education in Ancient India* while presenting its second edition to the public. The first edition was in the form of a research work primarily intended for the students of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The reception that was given to it, however, showed that the general public was also interested in the subject and would welcome its presentation in a less technical and more popular form. Several Universities prescribed the work as one of the text books for the paper dealing with the History of Indian Education at the B. T. examination, and it appeared that the teachers and students of the Training Colleges would welcome the treatment of the subject matter of the book, not only from the point of the orientalist but also from that of the educationalist. Further thought given to the subject also showed that a few more topics should be included in the book in order to make the treatment complete aud comprehensive.

A considerable portion of the book has, therefore, been entirely rewritten for the second edition. Technical and detailed discussions have been transferred to foot-notes and appendices. A new appendix (appendix V) has been added, which explains technical terms and gives the dates of authors, works, kings and travellers incidentally referred to in the work. It is hoped that this appendix will give a proper chronological background to readers not acquainted with ancient Indian political and cultural history.

While rewriting the book the view point of the educationalist has also been constantly kept before the mind. The treatment is more comparative than

was the case in the first edition; the views and theories of Greek and Roman thinkers and medieval and modern educationalists have been referred to, wherever necessary, for a comparative estimate. Particular attention has been given to the method of teaching and curricula that prevailed in the different periods of Ancient Indian History.

The first edition began with the chapter on Educational Rituals. As this topic is not of particular interest either to the educationalist or to the general reader, it has been transferred to the end of the book as Appendix I. The book now opens with a discussion of the Conception and Ideals of Education, the section on the Conception of Education being entirely new. The second chapter which deals with Some Educational Principles and Postulates is substantially new. It is hoped that students of Education will find it to be a very useful back-ground for the study of ancient Indian education. Its concluding section, dealing with the caste system and education, will give information about the social life in ancient India sufficient to understand the educational problems. The next chapter dealing with the Teacher and the Student presents in a succinct form the information given in chapters II and III of the first edition. Chapter IV dealing with Educational Organisation and Finance is to a great extent a new addition, and it is hoped that the educationalist as well as the orientalist will find here a good deal of new and interesting information on the subject. The concluding portion of this chapter dealing with the Educational Finance is based upon the chapter on Society, State and Education of the first edition. The next five chapters dealing with Some Educational Centres, Higher Education, Primary Education, Profes-

sional and Useful Education and Female Education occurred in the first edition, but they have been revised, rearranged and rewritten in a more succinct form for this edition.

Chapter X, which gives a General Resume of the subject, is a new addition. The line of treatment so far followed in the book isolated the different topics like Primary Education, Female Education, etc., and traced their history and development from age to age. This method of treatment no doubt enables the reader to get a clear idea of the development of each theme, but does not give him the picture of the educational condition as a whole of the different epochs of Indian History. The new chapter seeks to meet this need. In its first section it gives a resume of the contribution of the Buddhism to Ancient Indian Education and in its second section it gives a bird's-eye view of the general educational condition and achievements of each of the four succeeding epochs into which Ancient Indian History has been divided for this purpose. It is hoped that both the student and the general reader will find this chapter very useful. This edition like the first one concludes with a discussion of the achievements and failures of Ancient Indian Education.

Appendix I deals with different educational rituals discussed in Chapter I of the first edition. Appendices II and III are identical with Appendices A and B of the first edition. Appendices IV and V are practically speaking new. They explain some technical expressions and supply dates of kings, authors and travellers, referred to in the work.

It is hoped that the second edition of 'Education in Ancient India' will make a wide appeal not only to the resarch workers in Indology, but also to the general readers and the students of education, and succeed in familiarising them with the main features, ideals and achievements of the Ancient Indian Educational System.

Benares Hindu University.
10-8-1944. A. S. ALTEKAR.

inculcation of civic and social duties, promotion of social efficiency and the preservation and spread of national culture may be described as the chief aims and ideals of ancient Indian education. Let us now see what were the views of our educationalists about each of them.

Infusion of Piety and Religiousness: Religion played a large part in life in ancient India and teachers were usually priests. It is therefore no wonder that infusion of a spirit of piety and religiousness in the mind of the rising generation should have been regarded as the first and foremost aim of education. The rituals which were performed at the beginning of both the literary and professional education,—primary as well as higher,—the religious observances (*vratas*), which the student had to observe during the educational course, the daily prayers which he offered morning and evening, the religious festivals that were observed with eclat in the school or the preceptor's house almost every month,—all these tended to inspire piety and religiousness in the mind of the young student. It was the spiritual background that was thus provided which was expected to help the student to withstand the temptations of life. The very atmosphere, in which he lived and breathed, impressed upon him the reality of the spiritual world and made him realise that though his body may be a product of nature, his mind, intellect and soul belong to the world of spirit, the laws of which ought to govern his conduct, mould his character and determine the ideals of his life.

Limitations on Religiousness: Though the educational system thus provided the background of piety and religiousness, its aim was not to induce the student to renounce the world and become a wanderer in the quest of God like the Buddha or Tulsidas. Even in the case of Vedic students, who intended to follow a religious

career, only a microscopic minority used to remain life-long Brahmachārins, pursuing the spiritual quest: the vast majority was expected to become and did become householders. The direct aim of all education, whether literary or professional, was to make the student fit to become a useful and pious member of society.

Formation of Character: The illumination and power, which men and women received from education, was primarily intended to transform and ennoble their nature. The formation of character by the proper development of the moral feeling was therefore the second aim of education. Like Locke, ancient Indian thinkers held that mere intellectual attainments were of less consequence than the development of a proper moral feeling and character. The Vedas being held as revealed, educationalists naturally regarded their preservation as of utmost national importance; yet they unhesitatingly declare that a person of good character with a mere smattering of the Vedic knowledge is to be preferred to a scholar, who though well versed in the Vedas, is impure in his life, thoughts and habits.[1] Montaigne has observed, "Cry out, 'there is a learned man' and people will flock round him."; cry out 'there is a good man', and people will not look at him." Indian thinkers were aware of this natural human tendency and wanted to counteract it by pointing out that character was more important than learning. One thinker goes to the extent of saying that he alone is learned who is righteous.[2] This opinion tallies remarkably with that of Socrates, who held that virtue is knowledge. Evil effects of

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[1] सावित्रीमात्रसारोपि, वरं विप्रः सुयन्त्रितः ।
नायंत्रितस्त्रिवेदोपि सर्वाशी सर्वविक्रयी ॥ *Manu*, II. 118.

[2] धर्मं हि यो वर्धयते स पण्डितः । *Mbh.*, XII. 321.78.

divorcing power from virtue, intellectual and scientific progress from moral and spiritual values, which are being so vividly illustrated in the west in the modern age, were well realised by ancient Indians; they have therefore insisted that while a man is being educated, his regard for morality ought to be developed, his feeling of good will towards human beings ought to be strengthened and his control over his mind ought to be perfected, so that he can follow the beacon light of his conscience.[1] In other words, education ought to develop man's ideal nature by giving him a sure moral feeling and by enabling him to control his original animal nature. The tree of education ought to flower in wisdom as well as in virtue, in knowledge as well as in manners.

How Character was to be Formed: Direct injunctions to develop a sense of moral rectitude were scattered over almost every page of books intended for students; they were also orally given to them by their teachers every now and then. Apart from them, however, the very atmosphere in which students lived, was calculated to give a proper turn to their character. They were under the direct and personal supervision of their teacher, who was to watch not only over their intellectual progress but also over their moral behaviour. Ancient Indians held that good character cannot be divorced from good manners; the teacher was to see that in their every day life students followed the rules of etiquette and good manners towards their seniors, equals and inferiors. These rules afforded an imperceptible but effective help in the formation of character. The rituals

[1] Compare the view of Herbert: The aim of education should be to instill such ideas as will develop both the understanding of the moral order and a conscientious spirit in carrying it out. *Great Educationalists*, pp, 175-6.

which students occasionally performed and the prayers which they regularly offered every day were calculated to emphasise upon their mind the fact that the student-life was a consecrated one and that its ideals could be realised only by those who did not swerve from the strict and narrow path of duty. Examples of national heroes and heroines like Hariśchandra, Bhīshma, Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Hanumān, Sītā Sāvitrī and Draupadī, which were prominently placed before students, also served to mould their character in a powerful manner. Character was thus built up partly by the influence of direct injunctions, partly by the effect of continued discipline and partly by the glorification of national heroes, held in the highest reverence by society.

Personality not Repressed: There is a general impression that Hindu educationalists suppressed personality by prescribing a uniform course of education and enforcing it with an iron discipline. Such however was not the case. The caste system had not become hidebound down to *c.* 500 B.C. and till that time a free choice of profession or career was possible both in theory and practice. Later on when the system became rigid; the theory no doubt was that everybody should follow his hereditary profession, but the practice permitted considerable freedom to enterprising individuals, as will be shown in the following chapter. It is wrong to conclude from some stray passages that the whole of the Brahmana community, if not the whole of the Aryan community, was compelled to devote twelve years to the task of memorising the Vedic texts.[1] Kshatriyas and Vaishyas never took seriously to the Vedic learning; only a section of the Brahmanas dedicated themselves to the Vedic studies, while the rest of the community learnt only

[1] *E. g.*, *Manu*, III. 1; II. 168.

a few Vedic hymns necessary for their daily use, and devoted their main energy to the study of the subjects of their own choice like logic, philosophy, literature, poetics or law. The educational curriculum of the Smṛitis represents the Utopian idealism of the Brahmana theologian and not the actual reality in society.

Development of Personality: The development of personality was in fact the third aim of the educational system. This was sought to be realised by eulogising the feeling of self-respect, by encouraging the sense of self-confidence, by inculcating the virtue of self-restraint and by fostering the powers of discrimination and judgment. The student was always to remember that he was the custodian and the torch-bearer of the culture of the race. Its welfare depended upon his proper discharge of his duties. If the warrior shines on the battlefield, or if the king is successful as a governor, it is all due to their proper training and education (*A. V.*, XI. 15. 17.). To support the poor student was the sacred duty of society, the non-performance of which would lead to dire spiritual calamities. A well trained youth, who had finished his education, was to be honoured more than the king himself. It is but natural that such an atmosphere should develop the student's self-respect in a remarkable manner.

Influence of Self-confidence: Self-confidence was also fostered equally well. The Upanayana ritual, as we shall see in Appendix I. B, used to foster self-confidence by pointing out that divine powers would co-operate with the student and help him on to the achievement of his goal, if he on his part did his duty well. Poverty need not depress him; he was the ideal student who would subsist by begging his daily food. If he was willing to work in his spare time, he could demand and get free education from any teacher or institution. Self-

reliance is the mother of self-confidenoe, and the Hindu educational system seeks to develop it in a variety of ways, as we shall see in the following pages. Uncertainty of the future prospect did not damp the student's self-confidence. If he was following a professional course, his career was already determined. There was no overcrowding or cut-throat competition in professions. If he was taking religious and liberal education, poverty was to be the ideal of his life. His needs ought to be, and as a matter of fact were, few, and the state and society supplied them well.

Influence of Self-restraint: The element of self-restraint, that was emphasised by the educational system, further served to enrich the student's personality. Self-restraint that was emphasised was distinctly different from self-repression. Simplicity in life and habits was all that was insisted upon. The student was to have a full meal, only it was to be a simple one. The student was to have sufficient clothing, only it was not to be foppish. The student was to have his recreations, only they were not to be frivolous. He was to lead a life of perfect chastity, but that was only to enable him to be an efficient and healthy householder when he married. It will be thus seen that what the educationalists aimed at did not result in self-repression, but only promoted self-restraint that was so essential for the development of a proper personality. Nor was this self-restraint enforced by Spartan ways of correction and punishment. The teacher was required to use persuasion and spare the rod as far as possible. He was liable to be prosecuted if he used undue force. Self-discipline was developed mainly by the formation of proper habits during the educational course.

Discrimination and Judgment Developed: It may

be further pointed out that the powers of discrimination and judgment, so necessary for the development of proper personality, were well developed in students taking liberal education and specialising in logic, law, philosophy, poetics or literature. These branches of study bristled with controversies and the student had to understand both the sides, form his own judgment and defend his position in literary debates. It was only with the Vedic students that education became mechanical training of memory. This became inevitable in later times when the literature to be preserved became very extensive and the modern means for its preservation in the form of paper and printing were unavailable. In earlier days even Vedic students were trained in interpreting the hymns they used to commit to memory.

Stress on Social Duties: The inculcation of civic and social duties, which was the fourth aim of the educational system, was particularly emphasised. The graduate was not to lead a self-centred life. He must teach his lore to the rising generation even when there was no prospect of a fee. He was enjoined perpetuation of race and culture by raising and educating progeny. He was to perform his duties as a son, a husband, and a father conscientiously and efficiently. His wealth was not to be utilised solely for his own or his family's wants; he must be hospitable and charitable. Particularly emphatic are the words in the convocation address, emphasising these duties.[1] Professions had their own codes of honour. which laid stress on the civic responsibilities of their members. The physician was required to relieve disease and distress even at the cost of his life. The warrior had his own high code of honour, and could

[1] *Tai. Up.*, I. 11.

attack his opponent only when the latter was ready. Social structure in ancient India was to a great extent independent of government. Governments may come and go, but social and village life and national culture were not much affected by these changes. It was probably this circumstance that was responsible for the non-inclusion of patriotism among the civic duties, inculcated by the Educational System.

Promotion of Social Efficiency and Happiness: The promotion of social efficiency and happiness was the fifth aim of the educational system. It was sought to be realised by the proper training of the rising generation in the different branches of knowledge, professions and industries. Education was not imparted merely for the sake of culture or for the purpose of developing mental and intellectual powers and faculties. Indirectly, though effectively, it no doubt promoted these aims, but primarily it was imparted for the purpose of training every individual for the calling which he was expected to follow. Society had accepted the theory of division of work, which was mainly governed in later times by the principle of heredity. Exceptional talent could always select the profession it liked; Brahmanas and Vaishyas as kings and fighters, Kshatriyas and even Shudras as philosophers and religious teachers, make their appearance throughout the Indian history. It was however deemed to be in the interest of the average man that he should follow his family's calling. The educational system sought to qualify the members of the rising generation for their more or less pre-determined spheres of life. Each trade, guild and family trained its children in its own profession. This system may have sacrificed the individual inclinations of a few, but it was undoubtedly in the interest of many. Differentiation of functions and their specialisation in

hereditary families naturally heightened the efficiency of trades and professions, and thus contributed to social efficiency. By thus promoting the progress of the different branches of knowledge, arts and professions, and by emphasising civic duties and responsibilities on the mind of the rising generation, the educational system contributed materially to the general efficiency and happiness of society.

Preservation and Spread of Culture: The preservation and spread of national heritage and culture was the sixth and one of the most important aims of the Ancient Indian System of Education. It is well recognised that education is the chief means of social and cultural continuity and that it will fail in its purpose if it did not teach the rising generation to accept and maintain the best traditions of thought and action and transmit the heritage of the past to the future generations. Any one who takes even a cursory view of Hindu writings on the subject is impressed by the deep concern that was felt for the preservation and transmission of the entire literary, cultural and professional heritage of the race. Members of the professions were to train their children in their own lines, rendering available to the rising generation at the outset of its career all the skill and processess that were acquired after painful efforts of the bygone generations. The services of the whole Aryan community were conscripted for the purpose of the preservation of the Vedic literature. Every Aryan must learn at least a portion of his sacred literary heritage. It was an incumbent duty on the priestly class to commit the whole of the Vedic literature to memory in order to ensure its transmission to unborn generations. It is true that not all the Brahmanas obeyed this injunction, but that was because they had the commonsense to realise that

the services of their entire class were not necessary for the task. A section of the Brahmana community, however, was always available to sacrifice its life and talents in order to ensure the preservation of the sacred texts. Theirs was a life-long and almost a tragic devotion to the cause of learning. For, they consented to spend their life in committing to memory what others and not they could interpret. Secular benefits that they could expect were few and not at all commensurate with the labour involved. Remaining sections of the Brahmana community were fostering the studies of the different branches of liberal education, like grammar, literature, poetics, law, philosophy and logic. They were not only preserving the knowledge of the ancients in these branches, but constantly increasing its boundaries by their own contributions, which were being made down to the medieval times. Specialisation became a natural consequence of this tendency and it tended to make education deep rather than broad.

The Theory of Three Debts : The interesting theory of three debts, which has been advocated since the Vedic age, has effectively served the purpose of inducing the rising generation to accept and maintain the best traditions of thought and action of the past generations. The theory maintains that the moment an individual is born in this world, he incurs three debts, which he can discharge only by performing certain duties. First of all, he owes a debt to gods, and he can liquidate it only by learning how to perform proper sacrifices and by regularly offering them. Religious traditions of the race were thus preserved. Secondly, he owes a debt to the *rishis* or *savants* of the bygone ages and can discharge it only by studying their works and continuing their literary and professional traditions. The rising generation was

thus enabled to master and maintain the best literary and professional traditions. The third debt was the debt to the ancestors, which can be repaid only by raising progeny and by imparting proper education to it. Steps were thus take to see that the rising generation became an efficient torch-bearer of the culture and traditions of the past.

Other Methods to Preserve Cultural Traditions: The emphasis laid on obedience to parents, respect to elders and teachers and gratitude to *savants* of the bygone ages also helped to preserve the best traditions of the past. Especially significant in this connection are the rules about *svādhyāya* and *ṛishitarpaṇa*; the former enjoin a daily recapitulation of at least a portion of what was learnt during the student life and the latter require a daily tribute of gratitude to be paid to the literary giants of the past at the time of morning prayers. In later times, when archaic Sanskrit ceased to be understood and abstract and abstruse philosophy failed to appeal to masses, a new type of literature, the Purāṇas, was composed to popularise national culture and traditions among the masses. It was daily expounded to the masses in vernaculars, and as a consequence the best cultural traditions of the past filtered down to and were preserved by even illiterate population. Devotional literature in vernacular also served the same function.

Conclusion : Body, mind, intellect and spirit constitute a human being; the aims and ideals of ancient Indian education were to promote their simultaneous and harmonious development. Men are social beings; ancient Indian education not only emphasised social duties but also promoted social happiness. No nation can be called

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[1] जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणैर्ऋणवाञ्जायते ।
यज्ञेन देवेभ्यो ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः । *T.S.*, see also *S.Br.*, 1.5.5

educated which cannot preserve and expand its cultural heritage. Our education enabled us to do this for several centuries.

Aims of Education: Some Comparative Observations: It would be interesting to compare the aims and ideals of ancient Indian education with those of some other systems, both ancient and modern, both eastern and western. We therefore now proceed to do so. In ANCIENT CHINA, Confucian preached that the purpose of education should be to train each individual in his path of duty, wherein is to be prescribed most minutely every detail of life's occupations and relationships. If we understand duty in a sufficiently wide sense, this definition of the aim of education would appear to be very similar to that of ancient Indian educationalists. In ANCIENT GREECE as well as in REFORMATION EUROPE, the ideal of personal culture loomed large in the educational system. Ancient Indians held that the individual exists more for society than *vice versa;* it was therefore the function of education to acquaint the individual with the culture of the race. Personal culture was promoted by the educational system only to the extent it was possible to do so by imparting national culture. Music, painting and fine arts thus did not become subjects of general education in ancient India as they became in ancient Greece. THE SPARTAN EDUCATION aimed at providing the state with as many faithful and capable soldiers as possible, who would defend it with the armed hand. The existence of the Aryans in India was not a precarious one; they were not like the Spartans threatened with a slave population about ten times their own number; so their education was not naturally dominated by the military ideal in any degree. MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN EDUCATIONALISTS held that education should be primarily for piety and wisdom; some writers

like Montaigne also have advocated that it should develop virtue, wisdom, good manners and learning. Ancient Indians agree with this view but add that education must also fit an individual for a useful profession. JESUITICAL EDUCATION aimed at creating an army of faithful and resolute servants of the Catholic Church. Brahmana priests, who controlled and guided education in ancient India did not have so narrow an aim; the youths they trained very often questioned their traditional beliefs and started new theories of religion and philosophy. The system also provided for the needs of the laity. MILTON held that educational system should qualify a youth to perform skilfully, justly and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. Ancient Indians held that all persons are not versatile enough to be trained for this ideal; they believed in the differentiation of functions and trained different classes for their different duties. SOME MODERN AMERICAN EDUCATIONALISTS hold that moral character and social efficiency, and not mere erudition and culture, should be the aims of education. Ancient Indians accept this view, but add that the preservation of the ancient national culture, which naturally does not loom large before a young nation like America, must also figure prominently as an aim of education. SOVIET EDUCATION concentrates its activities on the training and upliftment of the proletariate. There was no class war in ancient India; educationalists therefore tried to provide education to each class, suitable for its own needs and traditions. MODERN INDIAN EDUCATION is dominated by the aim of passing examinations with highest honours; this aim was practically non-existent in ancient India. It will be shown in Chapter VI how examinations played quite a negligible part in ancient Indian education.

Chapter II.

SOME EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND POSTULATES.

Education for all—Education a serious proposition and marriage incompatible with it–Education to begin in childhood and not to stop with graduation–Student's cooperation important–Rod to be used very sparingly–Importance of habits, routine, association and imitation–The Gurukula system–The role and importance of the family–Various theories about Nature vs, Nurture–Influence of the caste system–The system once flexible, Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas teaching each others' subjects–Its influence on the curriculum of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras in later times–Caste system and Buddhism.

Introduction: It is desirable to discuss now important educational principles and postulates accepted and assumed by ancient Indian thinkers. This would facilitate the proper understanding of the evolution and history of the different aspects of education that would be described later on in the book. It has to be observed at the outset that principles and postulates have not been systematically and comprehensively discussed in any ancient work; they have to be gathered from diverse and scattered sources and inferred from educational practice.

Education should be thorough : We have seen already how education was regarded as a source of illumination and was expected to enable its recepients to meet successfully the difficulties and problems of life. It was therefore insisted that it should be thorough and efficient. The educational system did not aim at imparting a general knowledge of a number of subjects; its ideal was to train experts in different branches. Printing and paper being unknown, books were very costly and libraries

practically non-existent; the educational system therefore took particular care to train and develop memory in order to ensure that what students had learnt during their college days should stand them in good stead throughout their life. Personal attention to each student was insisted upon to ensure a high degree of proficiency. In professional education the necessity of practical training was emphasised for the same reason.

Education for all: Since education was regarded as the best agency for improving society, it was naturally insisted that it should be available to all those who were qualified to receive it. It was not regarded, as was the case in Ancient Greece, as the privilege of those lucky few who had the necessary leisure to devote to its acquisition. To ensure literary education to the largest possible number, Upanayana ritual, which marked the beginning of religious and literary education, was made obligatory for all the Aryans, both males and females. It was further declared that a man can discharge his debt to ancestors not merely by procreating sons but by providing for their proper education.[1] Every Aryan, i. e every Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya, thus received at least the rudiments of literary and religious education. Things however changed for the worse during the first millennium of the Christian era, when Kshatriyas and Vaishyas gradually ceased to perform Upanayana and sank to the level of the Shudras. This gave a great set back to their literary education. As far as the professional education was concerned, it was ensured to almost all persons anxious to receive it, when the caste system became hereditary; every family was expected to train its children and bring them up in the traditions of its profession.

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[1] तस्मात्पुत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्यमाहुस्तस्मादेनमनुशास्ति । *B. Up.*, 1.5.7.

Steps Taken to Realise the Ideal: Society also took several other important steps to realise this ideal. To ensure an adequate supply of teachers, it enjoined that teaching was a holy duty which a Brahmana was bound to discharge irrespective of the consideration as to whether any fee was likely to be received or not. It made education free and held to public opprobrium any teacher who would stipulate for fees. In order to bring education within the reach of the poorest, it not only permitted students to beg, but elevated begging into the highest duty of the student life. In order to ensure a reasonable maintenance to teachers, who were expected to devote their lives to the cause of teaching in the missionary spirit of self-sacrifice, society laid down that both the public and the state should help learned teachers and educational institutions very liberally. How these arrangements worked in practice will be explained in Chapter IV.

Education a serious Proposition: Though ancient Indians held that all should normally receive the benefits of education, they have also laid down that persons who were morally and intellectually unfit to receive it should be excluded from its benefit (*Nirukta,* II. 4); this was a necessary precaution to avoid waste. They further point out that real scholarship cannot be obtained by dilettanish or perfunctory studies; impatience is as great an enemy of learning as self-complaceney[1]. The rich and the poor have both to submit to stern discipline in order to become learned. Long continued and laborious preparation is necessary to aquire real grounding and efficiency in a subject. One who is lazy or anxious to dabble in several matters, or one who wants to have a merry time during

1. अशुश्रूषा त्वरा श्लाघा विद्यायाः शत्रवस्त्रयः। *Mbh.*, V. 40.4.

his school and college days, cannot become a good scholar[1].

Marriage Incompatible with Studentship: Naturally therefore ancient Indians held that a student ought not to marry during his course. The term *Brahmachāri*, which is used to denote a student, primarily refers to a person leading a celibate life in order to realise his educational ideals and ambitions. Our authorities insist that the student should observe celibacy both in thought and deed. He can marry only at the end of his course, when permitted by his preceptor to do so.

Lapse from this Ideal: Owing to several causes, which cannot be discussed here, the marriageable age of girls began to fall down gradually from *c.* 600 B. C. From 16 it came down to 14, then to 12 and then to 11 or 10. The last mentioned limit was reached during the early centuries of the Christian era. The lowering of the marriageable age of girls naturally brought down the marriageable age of boys to about 16 or 18; marriage thus became inevitable before the end of education. As early as the 3rd century B.C. we find occasional references to the cases of husbands staying away from their wives for some years during their educational course;[2] these cases later became common. We may safely conclude that from about the beginning of the Christian era, more than 50 percent students used to marry before their education was completed.

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[1] सुखार्थिनः कुतो विद्या नास्ति विद्यार्थिनः सुखम् ॥
नान्योद्योगवता न चाप्रवसता नात्मानमुत्कर्षता ।
नालस्योपहतेन नामयवता नाचार्यविद्वेषिणा ॥
लज्जाशीलविनम्रसुन्दरमुखीं सीमन्तिनीं नेच्छता ।
लोके ख्यातिकरः सतामभिमतो विद्यागुणः प्राप्यते ॥ Subhāshitas.

[2] ब्राह्मणमधीयानं दशवर्षाणि (प्रतीक्षेत) । *A. S.* III. 4.

Education to begin at Proper Time: Ancient Indians were convinced that no good results would follow if education is begun late in life. A boy who begins his education at 16 is not likely to bring any credit to his teachers[1]. During our childhood, mind is pliable, memory keen and intellect receptive; it is only at this period of life, that it is possible to form good habits that may be of life-long use to us. Ancient Indians have therefore insisted that education ought to commence in childhood. One thinker observes that parents themselves would become the greatest enemies of a child, whose education has been neglected during the childhood[2]. It was held that the 5th year and the 8th year would be the proper time for the beginning of the primary and the secondary education respectively. Our educationalists had however recognised that it would be necessary to vary these years in accordance with the cultural traditions of the family.[3]

Studies not to stop with the Course: Even in modern times, when books are cheap and library facilities fairly good, students forget a good deal of what they learn within a few years after leaving the school or the college. The danger was much greater in ancient times when books were rare, costly and fragile. Our educationalists therefore emphasise that every graduate should recapitulate daily a portion of what he had learnt in the school or the college. At the time of his convocation, the chancellor particularly exhorted him not to neglect his duty of daily revision[4]. To forget what had once been learnt was pronounced to be a sin as grave as the

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1 नातिषोडशवर्षमुपनयीत प्रसृष्टवृषणो ह्येष वृषत्वीभूतो भवति ॥ *J.Gr.S.*, I.12

2 माता शत्रुः पिता वैरी बालों येन न पाठितः । Subhāshita.

3 See Appendix I, sections A and B.

4 स्वाध्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् । *T.U.*, I.

murder of a friend or Brahmana (*Yáj.*, III. 228). During the rainy season, every graduate was expected to devote extra time to his studies 'in order to remove their staleness'. Some thinkers like Śvetaketu even recommended an annual stay of two months at the college for this purpose [*A. D. S.*, X. 1. 2. 12].

Importance of Student's Cooperation: Ancient Indians held that education was not a passive or one sided process and that it will be productive of the greatest results only when full and voluntary cooperation is coming forth from students. They must feel the urge to acquire more knowledge; then there would be pleasure in teaching them. If there is no real desire for learning and improvement, it would be useless to waste time and labour over the education of insincere students (Manu, II, 113-4, 191). But what was to be done if a student entrusted to the charge and care of a teacher begins to show a continuous indifference to duty ? How was he to be induced to do his work? Was the teacher merely to remonstrate, or was he to inflict physical punishment ?

Views about Physical Punishment: As may be expected, there was no unanimity of views among ancient Indian educationalists about the advisability of physical punishment. Āpastamba recommends that a teacher should try to improve refractory students by banishing them from his presence or by imposing a fast (1.2.8.30). He seems to be opposed to physical chastisement. Manu grows eloquent over the virtues of gentle persuasion (II. 159-61), but eventually permits the imposition of mild physical punishment by a thin rod or rope. Gautama agrees with him, but adds that a teacher giving a severer punishment would be liable for legal prosecution.[1] A

१ शिष्यशिष्टिरवधेन । अशक्तौ रज्जुवेणुविदलाभ्याम् । अन्येन घ्नन् राज्ञा शास्यः । I. 2.48.53

teacher in Taxila, when giving physical punishment to a royal student from Benares, who would not give up his stealing habits in spite of repeated exhortations, exclaims that the use of the rod cannot be altogether given up by a teacher (Jā., No. 252). He takes up the position of Manu and Gautama, which represents the *via media*, and seems to have been generally followed in ancient India.[1] The Taxila teacher seems to have held views similar to those of Locke, who permits corporal punishment for moral remissness.

Corporal Punishment Elsewhere: In ancient times corporal punishment was the order of the day. It was given in Sparta not only as a corrective, but also as a means of making students hardier. In the schools of this city, there were rather whipping exercises than the imposition of corporal punishment. Other schools in ancient times did not go to the extreme length of Sparta, but permitted a liberal use of the rod. The same was the case with the Europe of the Middle Ages and it was but natural. At a time when man was regarded as a vessel of sin, and when he hoped to become fit for heaven only through a bitter struggle with the flesh, extreme views about the place of punishment naturally prevailed among educationalists. The reaction started only with Rousseau.

Importance of Habits: One of the best ways to secure ready cooperation from students was to encourage proper habits; great importance was therefore attached to the formation of proper habits by the student during his education course. It was realised that habits constituted a second nature and those formed during the pliable

1. In Medieval India, as in Medieval Europe, corporal punishment was liberally administered in village schools. The old ideals were forgotten by this time.

and impressionable period of childhood would stand a person in good stead throughout his life. Rules of discipline, that are prescribed for the student, have been laid down not so much for the purpose of prohibiting him from doing undesirable acts as with the object of forming good and valuable habits. The habit of rising early was found to be good; it was therefore laid down that the student must daily get up at the dawn. Plain living and high thinking was recognised to be a desideratum; in order to develop a liking for it the use of costly food and gorgeous dress was prohibited. Life is a hard and long struggle against circumstances; in order to prepare students for it, rules were laid down calculated to develop them into strong and hardy men with determined will and great enduring power.

Importance of Routine: It was recognised that routine also will play a great part in the formation of habits. The daily routine was carefully determined with a view to enable students to form good habits and master their subjects at the end of their course. Students of poetics and literature were constantly engaged in practising composition and versification. Students of theology had to take part daily in the performance of sacrifices, which they would be called upon to conduct in their after life. Apprentices in sculpture and painting had to go through a long course of routine practice before they could finish their course. Students in primary and secondary schools went through the daily routine of recitation and recapitulation, which enabled them to master their subjects. The routine was made interesting by making several children take part in the recitation simultaneously.

Association and Imitation: Ancient Indians had realised that association and imitation play a great part

in moulding the character and improving the calibre of a student. Even a dull student, they point out, will improve his intellect if he is in close association with a brilliant boy and imitates his methods of study[1]. One should therefore be very careful in choosing one's company. One can now understand why our educationalists have attached a great importance to sending a student to live under the direct care of a teacher, or better still, in a *gurukula* (boarding) of established reputation.

The Gurukula System: The Gurukula system, which necessitated the stay of the student away from his home at the house of a teacher or in a boarding house of established reputation, was one of the most important features of ancient Indian education. Smritis recommend that the student should begin to live under the supervision of his teacher after his Upanayana; etymologically *antevāsin*[2], the word for the student, denotes one who stays near his teacher and *samāvartana*, the word for convocation, means the occasion of returning home from the boarding or the teacher's house. The rules which require the student to rise earlier and sleep later than his teacher, to show him alms gathered at midday and to attend to the night service of his Agnihotra (sacrificial fire) also show that the student was normally living at the house of his teacher[3]. Ancient literature contains several stories like

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[1] बुद्धिश्च हीयते पुंसां नीचैः सह समागमात् ।
मध्यमैर्मध्यतां याति श्रेष्ठतां याति चोत्तमैः ॥ *Mbh.*, VI.1.30

2 अन्तेवासी is an abbreviation of आचार्यकुलवासी *Ch. Up*, 11.23. uses this expression in the case of the general student; cf. द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचारी आचार्यकुलवासी ।

3 Stories like those of Upakoṣala, where we find the wife of the teacher coming forward to induce the student to give up his fast, also show incidentally that students must be living with their teachers; see *Ch. Up*, IV, 10 3. P.T.O.

those of Nābhānedishṭa and Kṛishṇa showing that students were being actually sent to reside with their preceptors. Of course this was recommended only in the case of students of higher education. The evidence of the Jātakas shows that they used to leave their homes, not perhaps immediately after their Upanayana, but at about the age of 14 or 15 when they were old enough to look after themselves in a distant place. It is also likely that parents living in the same locality with the teacher, or belonging to the same place where the educational institute was located, may not have always sent their wards to stay with their preceptors or in boarding houses. But such cases could not have been many. On the other hand there is evidence to show that rich persons used to deliberately send their children to distant places, even when there were famous teachers in their own towns, because they were anxious that they should reap the benefits of the Gurukula system.

Gurukula System why Recommended: The recognition of the importance of association and imitation was one of the main reasons for the great emphasis laid on the Gurukula system. Direct, personal and continuous contact with a teacher of noble character naturally produces great effect on the mind of the scholar during the pliable period of childhood and adolescence. The close association with elderly scholars, who had made progress in education and won the applause of their teachers, naturally

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(*Continued from the last page*)

It is interesting to note that the Law of Limitation was relaxed in favour of students staying away from their homes at Gurukulas; cf.

ब्रह्मचारी चरेत्कश्चिद्व्रतं षट्त्रिंशदाब्दिकम् ।
समावृत्तो व्रती कुर्यात्स्वधनान्वेषणं ततः ॥
पंचाशदाब्दिको भोगस्तद्धनस्यापहारकः ॥ Kātyāyana in *Pa. M.* Vol. III, i, p. 148.

induces the new entrants to imitate their example. The invisible yet all-pervading influence of established traditions of the institution naturally spurs the student to identify himself with them. The system eliminated the factors in home life prejudicial to the educational atmosphere and facilitated better studies; it however did not altogether eliminate the refining influence of the family life, because students used to come into indirect contact with it when living under the guardianship of their teachers, who were usually householders. It also served to tone down personal angularities of pampered children and made all students more resourceful and self-reliant and better acquainted with the ways of the world[1]. It was felt that students trained at home would lack the benefit of school discipline and suffer from desultoriness and want of application and would thus normally compare very unfavourably with those trained in a Gurukula.[2]

Gurukulas not always in Forests: The general belief that Gurukulas were located in forests away from the din of city life is but partly correct.[3] There is no doubt that the majority of the teachers of philosophy in ancient India lived, thought out and taught their spiritual theories in sylvan solitudes. The same was the case with celebrated teachers like Vālmīki, Kaṇva and Sāndīpani, who used to stay in forests, though they had made arrangements in their Āśramas (forest retreats) to teach

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[1] Cf. पोराणिकराजानो अत्तने पुत्ते 'एवं एते निहतमानदप्पा सीतण्हक्खमा लोकचरितञ्ञू भविस्संति' अत्तनो नगरे दीसापामोक्खे आचरिये विज्जमानेपि सिप्पुग्गहणत्थाय दूरे तिरोरट्ठं पेसंति। Jā. No. 252.

[2] अपि च ज्ञानसंपन्नः सर्वान्वेदान्पितुर्गृहे।
श्लाघमान इवाधीयाद्ग्राम्य इत्येव तं विदुः॥ *Mbh.*, XIII. 36.15

[3] Rules prescribing a holiday when there was a death or robbers' raid in the village (*Manu*, IV. 108, 113) presuppose that the school was not situated in a forest.

hundreds of students in subjects like philology, grammar, astronomy and civics, in addition to Veda, religion and philosophy (*Mbh.*, I. 91). In the Jātakas (*e.g.* No. 438) we sometimes come across the stories of teachers leaving cities like Benares and retreating to Himalayan forests with a view to be free from the disturbances from the city life. They were confident that the villagers around would supply their few and simple wants. But in the majority of cases Gurukulas were located in villages or towns. It will be seen that such was the case with most of the educational centres that would be described in Chapter V. This was but natural, for teachers were usually householders. Care however was taken to locate Gurukula in a secluded place or garden[1], and in holy surroundings. The case of Buddhist Universities like Nālandā or Vikramaśilā and of Hindu *agrahāra*[2] settlements was peculiar; they were like modern University towns of Oxford, Cambridge or Benares Hindu University, independent educational settlements, where arrangements were made for the lodging and boarding of students who flocked in hundreds and thousands. They combined the advantages both of the town and forest life.

The Importance of the Family, Pre-birth Period: Association and imitation begin to influence the student not only from the time of his joining a school or Guru-

1 At Benares during the 17th century, students and teachers used to repair to adjoining gardens and orchards for the purpose of study. This practice is presupposed by the *Go. Br.*, I. 2. 1-8 where it states that students should enter the village only for necessary work like begging alms, etc.

2 This word denotes village consisting only of Brahmana scholars, who were assigned its entire revenues for the purpose of their maintenance. It may therefore be compared to a settlement of teachers, each of them being engaged in teaching some students free of charge.

kula, but from his early childhood; ancient Indians therefore attached great importance to the family in their scheme of education. They held that the child begins to receive influences that mould its character and determine its efficiency right from the time of its conception. If Prahlāda became a deep devotee and Abhimanyu a skilful warrior, the reason was the influence indirectly exercised upon them by Nārada and Krishṇa respectively, when they were still to be heralded in this world. It was believed that the impressions, which would be conveyed on the mind of the expectant mother, would be automatically transmitted to the mind of the child to be born. The mother therefore was advised to devote herself to the study and contemplation of the achievements and biographies of great national heroes and heroines, so that she may herself get a child that may be a worthy successor of theirs.

Family and the Pre-School Period: We have seen already that the preservation of the national culture was one of the important aims of education and the family was expected to cooperate with the school in its realisation. The ambition of the child was first fired and its imagination set aglow not by the lessons it received in the school but by the stories it heard from its mother and grandmother. Well known is the part which the home influence played in shaping the career and firing the imagination of heroes and saints like Shivāji and Rāmadāsa. Multiplication tables, noun declensions and some metrical rules about grammar were taught at home to the child during its early childhood in all cultured families. The home thus not only prepared the child for the school, but also supplemented its work.

The Role of the Family in the Pre-Historic Times: In pre-historic times, i. e. before about 1000 B. C., the

family played a still greater part in the educational system. At that early period, the professional teacher was yet rather rare; so generally the father was the usual teacher and the home the usual school. Several examples are preserved in Vedic and Upanishadic literature of fathers themselves teaching their own sons.[1] Nay, the father himself was to begin the Vedic education, because it was he and he alone who was regarded as eligible for teaching the Gāyatrī Mantra to the boy; recourse was had to another teacher only if he was unavailable for the purpose. In course of time, owing to greater specialisation that became inevitable, home education became possible only in the case of a few cultured families. Remaining families were however expected to take prompt steps to send the children to a teacher or a school at the proper time and supervise their lessons at home if necessary. Supervision of the education of the family wards was one of the most important duties of its head.[2]

Family and the Female Education: In the case of the education of girls, the family played an important part. We do come across rare cases of girls being educated at boarding schools or colleges; for instance, we read in the drama *Mālatīmādhava* how Kāmandakī was educated at a college along with Bhūrivasu and Devarāta (Act I). These cases were however exceptional, for there was a general prejudice against sending girls outside for their education. Dharmasūtras insist that they should be taught at home by their male guardians like the father, the brother or the uncle. This was of course possible only in

1. Prajāpati was the teacher of his sons, Devas, Asuras and Men, *Br. Up.* V. 2.1. Āruni had initiated his son Śvetaketu in the study of philosophy. *Br. Up.*, VI. 2. 1; *Ch. Up.*, V. 3.

2. *Rv.*, I, 24

well-to-do and cultured families. Home, of course, was the main centre of the education of girls in the domestic science.

Nature vs. Nurture; some Western Views: What is the relative importance of nature and nurture in the scheme of education has been a question of great controversy since early times. Are human beings born with their mental, moral and intellectual characters and faculties rigidly predetermined, or can these be modified by education, and if so, to what extent? As is well known, different answers are given to this question by different educationalists in the west also. Plato, for instance, held that human mind is like a skein, that has to be only unravelled in this world; all knowledge is contained in a man, he has only to be reminded of it. Darwin, Galton and Ribot attach great importance to the role which heredity plays in our nature and Shopenhauer held that human character is inborn and unalterable. Herbert and Locke on the other hand maintain that it is not nature but nurture that determine our destiny. We come into this world with minds as empty as our bodies are naked; it is the training which we receive and the environments in which we live that determine our character and capacities.

Vedic Age believed more in Nurture: As may be expected, there is no unanimity of views among ancient Indian thinkers also about the relative importance of nature and nurture. A young people, fortunate to have a series of successes, naturally feel that there is nothing impossible or difficult for man. Vedic Aryans belonged to this category and their age therefore did not much believe in heredity or natural endowments. This is emphatically expressed in one of the hymns of the *Atharvaveda*, where we are told that given proper education, everything can be accomplished. Even Indra owes his

supremacy among the gods not to any penance or previous merit, but to his proper training during his studenthood.[1] A few centuries later we find a patriarch praying that some of his sons should become good priests, others brave warriors and the rest successful merchants (*S.Br.*, X.4.1.10). Obviously he did not much believe in heredity and held that a good deal depended upon proper training and education.

Karman Theory; Growing Faith in Nature: In the course of time, however, the supreme confidence that was placed in nurture began to weaken to a great extent. When the Aryans settled down in a less spectacular and more peaceful life and began to investigate more carefully the phenomena of life around them, they began to feel that man is not entirely an architect of his own fortune, and that the powers and capacities with which he is born determine the scope of his prospects and activity to a considerable extent. The doctrines of *Karman* and Rebirth, which were unknown in the Vedic age, became universally accepted in the course of time, swinging the pendulum considerably in favour of nature as against nurture. It began to be averred that the deeds *(Karman)* in previous lives, rather than the training in the present one, will determine whether our intellect is to be bright[2] and moral propensities strong. The development of the caste system on hereditary lines did not strengthen the hands of the advocates of nurture; it began to be argued that the efficiency of a person as a priest or a warrior does not so much depend upon the training he receives in this life as upon the inherent qualities with which he is born as a consequence of his *Karman* in

1. इन्द्रो ह ब्रह्मचर्येण देवेभ्यः स्वराभवत्। V. 1. 19.
2. बुद्धिः कर्मानुसारिणी।

previous births. The *Karman* determines the qualities and characteristics, and God assigns birth in that particular caste in which they would be most needed. As a natural consequence of these theories, educationalists began to aver that nature is more important than nurture; a bamboo tree cannot blossom into a sandal one simply because it is assiduously watered and manured and planted upon the Malaya mountain.[1] If you have no natural capacity, education cannot create it; a mirror can show reflection only to one who has the eyesight.[2] A conscientious teacher imparts education as assiduously to a brilliant as to a dull student; there is however a world of difference as to the results. One shines forth in the world of scholars, while the other hardly succeeds in making any appreciable progress. Glass alone can reflect solar rays, not a piece of earth, howsoever polished.[3] This view is similar to that of Plato who has pointed out that education is not like putting sight into blind eyes; it is only turning the eyes to light.

The Function of Nurture: Though natural endowments thus play a great part, it was realised that they exist only in a potential condition in our childhood and would not flower into perfection unless they are properly

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[1] अंतःसारविहीनस्य सहायः किं करिष्यति ।
मलयेपि स्थितो वेणुर्वेणुरेव न चंदनः । *S R.B*, p. 41.7.

[2] यस्य नास्ति स्वयं प्रज्ञा शास्त्रोक्तं किं करिष्यति ।
लोचनाभ्यां विहीनस्य दर्पणः किं करिष्यति । *Ibid*, p. 40.1.

[3] वितरति गुरुः प्राज्ञे विद्यां यथैव तथा जडे
न च खलु तयोर्ज्ञाने शक्तिं करोत्यपहन्ति वा ।
भवति च पुनर्भूयान्भेदः फलं प्रति तद्यथा
प्रभवति मणिर्विबोद्ग्राहे न चैव मृदां चयः ॥ II.
Uttararāmacharit, II. 4.

developed by training and education. One may be born in a Brahmana family on account of his past good *Karman*: one may be also endowed by nature with the qualities of a Brahmana like self-control and love of learning. Still he will be not a whit higher than a Shudra if he does not receive proper sacraments (*Sanskāras*) and gets the necessary education.[1] Past *Karman* may determine the mental and intellectual qualities of an individual. But they will deteriorate if he does not receive proper education, and improve, though within a limited degree, if he gets the benefit of good training under a competent teacher. That nature can thus be considerably modified by nurture seems to have been the considered opinion of ancient Indian educationalists from about the beginning of the Christian era. This view is similar to the theory of Stern who sought to effect a compromise between the extreme positions of Galton and Locke by maintaining that man is born with tendencies, which are conditioned by heredity but which are transformed into the qualities of human personality through a process of development and training.

The Influence of the Caste System: The caste system has been an important feature of Hindu society for a long time and has naturally exercised considerable influence on the theory and practice of education in ancient India. Let us try to find out its extent. It is usually held that it had rigidly determined the professions and made the teaching line a monopoly of the Brahmanas. We shall however find that Kshatriya teachers of Vedic and philosophical subjects existed down the 6th century B. C. and that the keen intellect of the Brahmana community was for a long time utilised to further the bounds

[1] जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद्द्विज उच्यते।
विद्यया याति विप्रत्वं त्रिभिः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते॥

of human knowledge in several branches of non-Vedic studies. It was only in later times that religious and literary education came to be confined to the Brahmanas and professional and industrial training to non-Brahmanas.

Caste System once Flexible: The caste system has got a long history and has undergone many changes and vicissitudes during the last three thousand years. It was formerly much less rigid than now. Interdining is an anathema to an orthodox Hindu today. Dharmaśāstra writers like Manu (IV. 253) and Āpastamba (II. 1.3-4) however permit a Brahmana to take his meals in the house of a barber, a milkman and a tenant and employ a Shudra cook even for preparing the sacred sacrificial food. Inter-caste marriages, which are still not permissible under the Hindu law, were allowed by the majority of Smritis, provided the bridegroom belonged to a higher caste. In the realm of educational theory and practice also, we should therefore not be surprised if we find that some of the later theories were not subscribed to or followed in earlier times.

Non-Brahmanas as Vedic Teachers: It is well-known that the Smritis have laid down that Brahmanas alone should impart Vedic education. In the earlier period however such was not the case. There is evidence to show that non-Brahmanas also sometimes used to become Vedic teachers; rituals have been prescribed to enable them to shine in that line.[1] This need not cause any surprise, for some Kshatriyas figure among the composers of Vedic hymns also; the whole of the third book of the *Rig-veda* is a composition of the various members of the

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[1] Cf. योऽब्राह्मणो विद्यामनूच्य नैव रोचेत स एतांश्चतुर्होतॄन् व्याचक्षीत ।
एतद्वै देवानां ब्रह्म निरुक्तं यच्चतुर्होतारस्तदेनं निरुच्यमानं प्रकाशं गमयति ॥
K S., IX. 16

Kshatriya Viśvāmitra family. In the Upanishadic period Kshatriyas took an important part in the development of philosophy and were the exclusive custodians of many esoteric doctrines, which Brahmanas could learn only from them and not without some difficulty.[1] There are several cases of Brahmanas approaching renowned Kshatriya teachers like Aśvapati, Janaka and Pravāhaṇa Jaivali as humble students of philosophy and religion.[2] We should therefore note that the caste system succeeded in making Vedic and religious education a monopoly for the Brahmanas only at about 300 B. C. Nor was it a lucrative monopoly in practice; it was a monopoly to beg. The income of even the most famous Vedic teachers was a precarious one and compared very poorly with the gains of a successful merchant or a captain.

Brahmanas as Teachers of Non-Vedic Subjects: Smritis lay down that Brahmanas should not follow the professions of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas except in times of difficulties. This would naturally imply that Brahmanas did not figure as teachers in military or commercial lines. How could one become a teacher in a profession which one was not expected to follow ? For a long time, however, Brahmanas were following a number of non-Vedic pursuits and professions and also figuring as their teachers. What can be more incompatible with the Brahmanical ideal of piety and religiousness than the military profession ? And yet we find Brahmanas figuring as teachers of the military science. The Pāṇḍava and Kaurava heroes, who fought so bravely in the Mahābhārata war, were not trained by any Kshatriya teacher; their preceptor, Droṇāchārya was a Brahmana. Brahmanas, who were trainers

1 *Ch. Up.*, V. 3. 7; *Br. Up.* II. 1.15
2 *Br. Up.* II. 1.14, IV.1.1, *Ch. Up.* IV. 4.1, etc

of horses and elephants, are mentioned in Smritis (*Manu*, III. 162). Jātakas also show that at Taxila, Brahmanas used to impart education in several practical professions like the military art, medicine and snake charming etc. both to Brahmanas and Kshatriyas.[1] Dhanurveda lays down that Brahmanas are as eligible to be the teachers of the military science as Kshatriyas (1.4). Being as a rule more intelligent than members of other castes, they must have shone in these lines also, as for instance was the case with Droṇāchārya. It was only in later times, from c. 500 A.D. onwards, that Brahmanas ceased to be teachers of useful arts and professions owing to the growing rigour of the caste system. This was rather unfortunate, for it prevented the utilisation of the intellect of one of the most intelligent classes in society for expanding the boundaries of knowledge in the domain of practical sciences.

Caste System and Curriculum, Domination of Vedic Studies: Let us now find out the influence the caste system exercised on the curriculum. A perusal of the relevant rules of the Smritis produces the impression that Vedic studies must have dominated the course prescribed for the Brahmanas. It has been emphatically laid down that all Brahmanas should devote twelve years to Vedic studies after their Upanayana. Such, however, was not the case in actual practice. Only a small section of the Brahmana community,—possibly not more than its one-fifth,—used to devote itself to Vedic studies, when new branches of knowledge like grammar, philosophy, law and classical Sanskrit literature came to be developed. For the preservation of the Vedic literature, the services of only a small section of the community were necessary; the rest

[1] खत्तियमानवा ब्राह्मणमानवा च तस्सेव संतिके सिप्पं उग्गण्हितुं गच्छंति। Asadisa J. No. 181; see also Thusa J. No 338.

were required to memorise the few Vedic *Mantras* necessary for daily religious purposes and encouraged to devote their main energy to the development of new branches of knowledge like philosophy, grammar, and classical Sanskrit literature, where they were able to make substantial contributions, which still continue to be highly valued both in India and abroad.

Vedic Studies of the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas: According to the Smriti rules, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas also had to pursue Vedic studies after their Upanayana. These however were never deep or prolonged. In some Jātaka stories, we no doubt read that some princes used to study all the three Vedas as well as eighteen practical sciences[1]; in the *Mahābhārata* also we find that the Kaurava princes are represented as experts in Veda, Vedānta and the various branches of the military science (I. 118 and 133). A perusal of the relevant passages shows that the writers of the above works were more anxious to enumerate all the known branches of knowledge and represent them as being mastered by their heroes, than in narrating the actual state of affairs in their contemporary times. We have seen already that the Brahmanas, who did not intend to follow the theological career, contented themselves with the knowledge of only a few Vedic hymns; Kshatriyas and Vaishyas must have done the same; in later life they had no prospect of becoming Vedic teachers, and for their military or commercial career Vedic education was not useful or necessary. Vedic and philosophical studies were included in early times in the curriculum of the prince, but they were left out in the course of time. From about the beginning of the Christian era, the

[1] Cf. सोलसवस्सपदेसिको हुत्वा तक्कसिलायां सिप्पं उग्गण्हित्वा तिण्णं वेदानं पारं गत्वा अट्ठारसानं विज्जट्ठानं निप्फत्तिं पापुनाति । Dummedha J. No. 50.

Upanayana ritual began to fall into disuse in the case of the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas and this naturally gave a great set back to their Vedic education.[1] Gradually they were reduced to the position of the Shudras and completely debarred from the Vedic education by about 1000 A. D. (Alberuni, II. p. 136)

Vedic Education and the Shudras: Sacred texts have laid down in very emphatic terms that the Shudra should be rigorously excluded from the Vedic education and rituals. This injunction has been always carried out in practice.[2] The carpenter no doubt is declared to be eligible for Upanayana and Vedic studies in some early texts. He however was at that early period a member of the Aryan and not the Shudra community. The exclusion of the Shudras from the Vedic studies undoubtedly appears as unjustifiable to us at present, but there were peculiar circumstances that necessitated this step in early times. The art of writing was not utilised for the purpose of preserving the Vedic texts for a long time. The Aryan theologians believed that if there was the slightest mistake in the accent or the pronunciation of the Vedic *Mantras*, a disaster would inevitably issue.[3] As the Vedic Sanskrit

1 Hence the observation of Dalhana, a medieval writer at, *Susruta, Sarira*, X, 52, यथावर्णमिति ब्राह्मणाक्षत्रियौ राजन्यो दण्डनीतिं वैश्यो वार्तामिति ।

2 यथेमां वाचं कल्याणीमावदानि जनेभ्यः । ब्रह्मराजन्याभ्यां शूद्राय चार्याय च स्वाय चारणाय च ॥ *Vaj. Sam.* XXVI, 2 is taken by some as referring to the admission of the Shudras to the Vedic education. This, however, is very questionable interpretation; कल्याणी वाक् refers to the preceding stanza, which it is prayed here, may be applicable to the whole of humanity.

3 Cf मंत्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥
Pāṇinisikshā, v. 52

was not the mother tongue of the Shudras, it was feared that Vedic hymns would be transformed out of recognition, if they were transmitted orally in Shudra families from generation to generation. In the eyes of the theologian, this would be a great disaster. Later on when female education began to lag behind, and women as a class ceased to be educated in Sanskrit, it is interesting to note that the Brahmana theologians did not flinch from placing their own mothers, wives and daughters in the category of the Shudras and declaring unhesitatingly that they also were unfit for Vedic studies. Theological animus or pride was thus not at the root of the exclusion of the Shudras and women from the Vedic education. Nor did it amount to a total denial of religious education; for women and Shudras were permitted to get religious enlightenment from the study of Smṛitis, Epics and Purāṇas.

Conclusion: It will be thus seen that with the exception of the exclusion of the Shudras from the Vedic education, the caste system for a long time did not result in restricting professions to particular castes. This was but natural. Teaching may be a fit profession for Brahmanas, but if some of them were intellectually inferior, their birth could not impart to them the necessary efficiency as teachers. Even a Brahmana writer therefore is constrained to observe that dull Brahmana children should follow the profession of the Kshatriya or the Vaishya.[1] Ambitious Brahmanas also could not be prevented from following the military profession, where glittering prizes awaited the successful adventurer. A Brahmana priest of holy Benares is to be seen sending his son to Taxila to learn archery, because it was predicted

1 राजन्यवैश्यकर्मा विद्याहीनः । G. D. S., 1. 6. 16.

that he was to be a king.[1] It was ambition alone that was responsible for sovereignty being vested in Brahmana families like those of the Śuṅgas, the Kaṇvas and the Kadambas. The recruitment to the army was not confined to the Kshatriya caste; inscriptions make it clear that it was very largely recruited from the agriculturists and Shudras. Dhanurveda also contemplates military education for all the four castes. It is interesting to note that when Yuan Chwang was in India in the second quarter of the 7th century A. D., the kings of Ujjain, Maheshvar and Assam were Brahmanas, those of Pariyātra and Kanauj, Vaishyas, and those of Matipura and Sindh, Shudras. If members of all classes could become kings, it follows that they must be all following the military profession. The commercial and industrial lines were also very often followed by many Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. The caste system therefore made education rigid only to a limited degree and that too from *c.* 800 A. D.

Caste System and Buddhist Education: The caste system did not at all influence the education imparted in Buddhist centres of learning. This was but natural, for the Buddha was against the system and argued that the worth of a man should be determined by his actual merit, and not by his descent or family status. Persons were admitted to the Order irrespective of their castes; Upāli, one of the favourite disciples of the Buddha, was a barber before he joined the Order.[2] But though it is true that everybody could become a preacher after a certain number of years, it is interesting to note that among famous Buddhist teachers and scholars, the vast majority consisted of

1. Sārabhanga J. No. 522.

2. Servants, slaves and debtors were refused admission to the Order because the Buddha did not desire to affect the rights of third parties by the admissions made into the Church.

those who had originally hailed from Brahmanical families. Thus Moggalāna, Sāariputta, Nāgasena, Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna were all Brahmanas before their conversion. As far as the curriculum is concerned, it was predominently religious and philosophical, as it was primarily intended for monks and nuns and not for the laity. We therefore need not consider whether the caste system in any way determined or affected the imparting of useful or professional education in Buddhist colleges.

Chapter III

THE TEACHER AND THE STUDENT.

Teacher deeply revered–His training–His qualifications–High code of his profession–Duties of the teacher–His income–Student's duties–Relations between teachers and students–Student's daily life–His duty to beg daily food–Rules of discipline–Were they unreasonable ?

Introduction : We have now seen what were the ideals, postulates and principles of the ancient Indian educational system. Now we propose to discuss the topics and problems connected with the qualifications of the teacher, the ideals which animated him, the position that was accorded to him in society, the nature of the relationship that existed between him and his students and the important features of the student life. These are important topics, as they have a vital bearing on the success or failure of the educational system.

Importance of the Teacher : The importance which in modern times is attached to the Institution or the *Alma Mater* was in ancient days attached to the teacher in India. This was but natural, for organised educational institutions came rather late into existence in this country, as was also the case in the West. The person who takes charge of immature children and makes them worthy and useful citizens in society was naturally held in high reverence. It was the function of the teacher to lead the student from the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge. The lamp of learning is concealed under a cover, says one thinker; the teacher removes it and lets out the light.[1] The student therefore must be very grateful

1. Cf. यथा घटप्रतिच्छन्ना रत्नराजा महाप्रभाः ।
अकिंचित्करतां प्राप्तास्तद्वद्विद्याश्चतुर्दश ॥
Quoted by Aparāka on *Yaj.* I, 212

to him and show him the highest possible reverence. He is to be revered even more than parents; to the latter, we owe our physical birth, to the former our intellectual regeneration. From the Vedic age downwards the teacher has been all along designated as the spiritual and intellectual father of the student.[1] Without his help and guidance, no education is possible. He is in fact indispensable. This is graphically illustrated by the story of Ekalavya, who when refused admission to his school by Droṇa, prepared an image of the teacher under whom he longed to learn, and successfully finished his studies in archery under the inspiration that he received from the inanimate representation of his animate preceptor. Buddhists and Jains also attached equally great importance to the teacher. This importance attached to the teacher need not surprise us, for it is now admitted on all hands that neither buildings nor equipment exercise such influence on students as is exercised by cultured and competent teachers, who instruct as well as inspire.

Why the Teacher was Revered: The great importance that was attached to the teacher in the ancient system of education and the high reverence that was shown to him in society are not difficult to understand. Since the earliest times the Vedic learning is being transmitted orally in India from one generation to another. This continued to be the case even when the art of writing came into general vogue. The *Mahābhārata* condemns to hell a person who commits the Vedas to writing. Great importance was attached to the proper

1 Cf. आचार्यं उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः । *A. V.* XI, 5, 3, See also *Va. Dh. S.*, 28,38-9; *Gau. Dh. S.*, I. I, 10; Manu, II, 170. *Bau. Dh. S.*, I. 2. 48 maintains that a *Śrotriya* can never be regarded as issueless, his students are his sons.

accent and pronunciation in the Vedic recitation, and these could be properly learnt only from the lips of a properly qualified teacher. The continuous transmission of the store of the Vedic knowledge, which society regarded as priceless, was possible only through the instrumentality of the teacher and his importance therefore could not be exaggerated. With the rise of the mystical systems of philosophy in the age of the Upanishads, the reverence for the Guru became still more intensified; for spiritual salvation depended almost entirely upon his proper guidance.[1] This deification of the philosophical Guru was not without its reaction in favour of the ordinary teacher who taught disinterestedly without stipulating for any fees. We should further remember that books being dear and rare, the student had generally to rely upon his teacher alone to a much greater degree than is the case now.[2] In the case of professions, even when books exist in plenty, a good deal more has to be learnt from the teacher. So a competent and sympathetic teacher, who would unreservedly place at the disposal of his pupil the essence of all his experience, could hardly be over-venerated by the artisan apprentice working under him. The glorification of the teacher must have produced great psychological influence on students, for childhood is the hey day of personal influence.

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1 नैषा मतिस्तर्केणापनेया प्रोक्तान्येनैव सुज्ञानाय प्रेष्ठ। *K. Up*, 11, 9.
तद्विज्ञानाय गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत्समित्पाणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम् ॥
Mun. Up, 1, 2, 3.

2 Mss. were often unreliable; so there was a prejudice against students, who had not read under a teacher; cf:—
पुस्तकप्रत्ययाधीतं नाधीतं गुरुसंनिधौ।
भ्राजते न सभामध्ये जारगर्भ इव स्त्रियः ॥
Nārada quoted by *Pa. Mā.*, at I, 38.

Teacher's Training:—Though the teacher was held in high reverence, it does not appear that any institutions like Teachers' Training Colleges of the modern times existed in the past. One of the hopes expressed at the convocation *(Samāvartana)* was that the graduate may have the good luck of attracting students from all quarters.[1] It is therefore clear that no further training was deemed necessary for the graduate in order to qualify him for the teaching profession. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Students received individual attention and lessons from their teachers, as will be shown in Chapter VI. During their educational course Vedic students could note how precisely teachers used to pronounce and intonate the Vedic *Mantras* when teaching them to their students. As far as the study of other branches like grammar, logic, rhetoric, philosophy etc. was concerned, no special training was necessary for fostering and developing the powers of exposition and elucidation of students specialising in them. In the modern system of education students can get their degrees by listening to their teachers in the class-rooms and answering the question papers in the examination halls. Such was not the case in ancient India. Several times during his course the student was called upon to pass through the fiery ordeal of learned debates *(Śāstrārtha)* when he was called upon to defend his own position and attack that of the opponent in heated discussions. Powers of debate and discussion were thus remarkably developed by the time the student finished his education. Advanced students were also given opportunities of teaching the beginners in most of the educational institutions.[2] The graduate therefore had a

1 *Bau. Gr. S.*, II, 6.

2 See *Suta-soma-jātaka* No. 537. Of the advanced scholars at

fairly good teaching experience to his credit by the time he left his *alma mater*. The absence of training colleges therefore did not materially tell upon the efficiency of the teachers at least as far as higher education was concerned.

Qualifications of the Teacher : Since the teacher was held in high veneration, he was naturally expected to possess several qualifications. The student was to look upon the teacher as the ideal person and regulate his own conduct by the example of his teacher. The latter therefore was expected to be a pious person of very high character. He was to be patient and treat his students impartially. Above all he was to be well grounded in his own branch of knowledge; he was to continue his reading throughout his life.[1] Profound scholarship however was not sufficient for the teacher. He must have a fluent delivery, readiness of wit, presence of mind, a great stock of interesting anecdotes and must be able to expound the most difficult texts without any difficulty or delay.[2] In a word, he should be not only a scholar but also an adept in teaching; then only he would be a great teacher, as pointed out by Kālidāsa.[3] The teacher must further be able to inspire as well as to instruct; his piety, character,

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(Continued from the last page)

Nālandā and Valabhi, I-tsing says that they passed two or three years in these Universities, *instructed by their teachers and instructing others*. I-tsing, p. 177

1 यावज्जीवमधीते विप्रः ।

2 प्रवृत्तवाक् चित्रकथः ऊहवान् प्रतिभानवान् ।
आशु ग्रन्थस्य वक्ता च यः स पण्डित उच्यते ॥
V. 33. 33

3 शिष्टा क्रिया कस्यचिदात्मसंस्था संक्रान्तिरन्यस्य विशेषरूपा ।
यस्योभयं साधु स शिक्षकाणां धुरि प्रतिष्ठापयितव्य एव ॥
Mālavikāgnimitram, Act I.

scholarship and cultured life should be able to exercise a subtle and permanent influence over the young students sitting at his feet for their lessons.

High Code of the Teaching Profession: The teaching profession had a very high code in ancient India. There was often competition for getting more students; but if one teacher was found to be less well grounded than his rival in his subject, he was expected to close down his school and become a disciple of his rival in order to get full knowledge.[1] The teacher was to begin the education of the student as soon as he was satisfied that the latter was sincere and possessed the necessary calibre; he was not to postpone instructions unnecessarily.[2]

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1 *G. Br.*, I. 1. 31 shows how on being defeated in debate with Maudgalya, Maitreya at once closed his school and became the pupil of his vanquisher in order to become better grounded in his subject. The debate between Śankara and Mandana Miśra was also held on the usual condition that the vanquished should become the disciple of the vanquisher.

2 Usually teachers were allowed to watch the conduct and calibre of the new entrants for about six months or a year; but after that period they were bound to start instructions. If they did not do so, they were saddled with all the sins of the students they were keeping in suspense; cf. संवत्सरोषिते शिष्ये गुरुर्शानमनिर्दिशन्। हरते दुष्कृतं तस्य शिष्यस्य वसतो गुरुः॥

Kūrma P. in *VMS.*, p. 515

Ashṭāṅga-hridaya, Sūtrāsthana, chap. 2, allows only a six months' period of waiting for medical students. Longer periods of waiting like 5 or 32 years that we sometimes come across in Tantras (e. g *Tantrarāja-tantra*, II. 37-8) and Upanishads (e. g. *Ch. Up.* VIII. 7. 2. 3.) were intended for those who aspired to be initiated in secret and esoteric philosophical doctrines, and not for ordinary students.

The duty to teach was imperative;[1] all students possessed of the necessary calibre and qualifications were to be taught, irrespective of the consideration as to whether they would be able to pay any honorarium or not. We have seen already that no regular fees were charged by ancient Indian teachers and institutions. The poorest of the poor could demand and get education from the teacher by merely agreeing to do household work in the teacher's house. Further, the teacher was required to teach every thing he knew to his disciple; he could withhold nothing under the apprehension that his pupil may one day outshine him in the profession.[2] How generous and largehearted teachers usually were in this connection can be judged from the conduct and exclamation of Alāra Kalama, when the future Buddha had finished his education under him:—

"Happy friend are we in that we look upon such a venerable one, such a fellow ascetic as you. The doctrine which I know, you too know, and the doctrine which you know, I too know. As I am, so you are, as you are so am I. Pray, sir, let us be joint wardens of this company".[3]

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1 The *Smritikaustubha* narrates how a teacher was condemned to be a mango tree in his next existence for his failure to impart Vedic knowledge; cf. स चूतवृक्षो विप्रोऽभूद्विद्वान्वै वेदपारगः। विद्या न दत्ता विप्रेभ्यस्तेनैव तरुतां गतः। There is an obvious subtle humour in the retribution imposed upon the teacher who would not give what he possessed to others; as a mango tree he would have to give all fruits to others and retain none for himself.

2 *Milinda-pañha*, I. p. 142

3 *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Ariyaparivesana-sutta, p. 116. Compare also the spirited protest of Bhāradvāja when he apprehended that his royal pupil was suspecting that he was not teaching him all that he knew; P. T. O.

Duties of the Teacher: The relationship between the teacher and the pupil[1] was regarded as filial in character both by Hindu and Buddhist thinkers; the teacher therefore had to discharge several duties in addition to imparting intellectual education and helping spiritual progress. He was the spiritual father of the pupil and was held as morally responsible for the drawbacks of his pupils.[2] His extra-academic duties were varied and numerous. He was always to keep a guard over the conduct of his pupil. He must let him know what to cultivate and what to avoid; about what he should be earnest and what he may neglect. He must instruct him as to sleep and as to keeping himself in health, and as to what food he may take and what he may reject. He should advise him as to the people whose company he should keep and as to the villages (and localities) he may frequent.[3] If he was poor, he was to help him in getting some financial help from people of influence and substance in the locality. He was to arrange for his food and clothing: the teachers of Sanskrit *Pāṭhasālās* in eastern India used to do this till quite recently. If the student was ill, the teacher was to nurse and serve him as a father would do his son.[4]

(Continued from the last page)

नाहमिदं वेद। यद्यवेदिषं कथं ते नावक्ष्यमिति।
समूलो वैष परिशुष्यति योऽनृतमभिवदति॥

Pr. Cp, VI. 1

1 Cf. पुत्रमिवैनमभिकांक्षन् *Ap. Dh., S*, 1. 2. 8. *M. V.* 1. 32

2 अतीत्य बंधूनवलंब्य शिष्यानाचार्यमागच्छति शिष्यदोषः॥

Pañchatra 1. 21

3 *Milinda-pañha*, Vol. I, p. 142

4 The testimony of I-tsing shows that this was also done in Buddhist monasteries; p. 120. The Buddha has left express injunctions on the point; *Mahāvagga*, I. 26. 1-6

Income of the Teacher; Early Period: We have no data to enable us to get a precise idea of the normal income of the teacher in the early period. In ancient days in India as in the West, there was no Education Department prescribing a scale of salaries, which was more or less followed in private institutions also. Educational institutions themselves came into existence only at about the 5th century A. D. We have already seen how the educational theory and practice prohibited the teacher from charging any fixed scale of fees from his students. The teacher in ancient India therefore had, as a general rule, no fixed income. We have seen already that usually he was also a priest. His income therefore consisted partly of offerings obtained by him on the occasions of rituals and sacrifices and partly of voluntary gifts given by his students either during or after their course. There was to be no stipulation for these presents; so they varied with the financial capacity of the guardians. At Taxila we learn that the 'world-renowned' teachers used to have 500 students reading under them, and that the rich ones among the latter used to offer a fee of a thousand coins.[1] This however does not enable us to get any accurate idea of the teacher's income. The number of students, 500, is conventional[2] and not real and we do not know whether the fee of 1000 coins offered was for one year or for the whole course, and whether it included the expenses of boarding and lodging also, which were normally offered by the Taxila teacher. We therefore can form no definite idea of the income of the teacher during the early period.

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1 The coins were probably silver *Kārshāpanas*, each weighing about one third of the modern rupee.

2 Usually each teacher had only about 15 to 20 students reading under him; see Chp. VI.

Income of the Teacher in Later Period: We however get more definite data about the teacher's income from the time educational institutions were evolved. Teachers at Buddhist Universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā were monks and so required no salaries; the administration had to spend for each monk-teacher just the amount necessary for the maintenance of only four students.[1] In south Indian colleges the annual salary of teachers varied according to their qualifications and subjects from 160 to 200 maunds of rice.[2] This income was about two and half times the income of the village accountant or the carpenter, and was equal to about four times the amount necessary for meeting the normal food expenses of a family of five persons. We would not be wrong in supposing that as a general rule in ancient India the Sanskrit teacher imparting higher education received a similar income. He was thus neither suffering from abject poverty nor rolling in superfluous wealth. Society enabled him to lead a life of moderate comforts according to the ideal of plain living and high thinking. We can now understand why learned teachers were exempted from taxation. The income of the primary teacher was naturally less than that of the Sanskrit teacher. In Bengal at the advent of the British rule, the income of the primary teacher was just equal to that of the

1 Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, p. 35.

2 *S. I. E. R.*, 1917, No. 333. The total cost of one good meal for one year was about 8 maunds of rice. The salaries above mentioned were given in the college at Ennayiram; in other institutions they were sometimes different. Sometimes inscriptions disclose that the Veda teachers used to get only 30 maunds of rice per annum; in such cases they were probably part-time teachers and were expected to supplement their income from the proceeds of the priestly profession.

patwari, who collected the village revenue or the *amin*, who settled village disputes on behalf of Zemindar.[1] Probably the same was the case during the ancient Indian period. This income however was not in the form of a fixed salary, but had to be collected in the form of voluntary and irregular subscriptions from the villagers and guardians.

Duties of Students: Let us now survey the duties of students towards their teachers. The student was to hold his teacher in deep reverence and honour him like the king, parents and god.[2] His outward behaviour must be in conformity with the rules of decorum and good manners, he ought to get up and salute his teacher in the proper way, he ought not to occupy a higher seat or wear a gaudier dress. Reviling and backbiting are severely condemned. It however did not follow that the student was to connive blindly at his teacher's misconduct. Both the Buddha[3] and Āpastamba,[4] who enjoin high reverence for the teacher, lay down that the student should draw his teacher's attention in private to his failings, and dissuade him from wrong views if he happened to be inclined towards them; the duty of obedience comes to an end if the teacher transgresses the limits of Dharma.[5] His commands were to be regarded as

1 Stark, *Vernacular Education* in *Bengal*, pp. 28—48.

2 I Manu, II, 200 ff. Cf. also *Charaka Saimhitā*, Vimāna-sthāna, VIII. 4, :-

तमग्निवच्च देववच्च राजवच्च पितृवच्च भर्तृवच्चाप्रमत्तः परिचरेत्।

3 MV,. 1. 25. 10. 20.

4 प्रमादाच्चाचार्यस्य बुद्धिपूर्वकं वानियमातिक्रमं रहसि बोधयेत्। 1. 2. 6, 13

5 आचार्याधीनो भवति अन्यत्राधर्माचरणात्। *G. D. S.* III. 1.15

गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः।
उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य न्याय्यं भवति शासनम्॥ *Mbh.*, 1. 140. 54

ultra vires, if they were likely to jeopordise the student's life or were against the law of the land.

Duty of Personal Service : Both in Buddhist monasteries and Hindu Gurukulas, the student was expected to do personal service to the teacher 'like a son, suppliant or slave.[1] He was to give him water and tooth stick, carry his seat and supply him bath water (*M. V.*. I. 25, 11-12). If necessary, he was to cleanse his utensils and wash his clothes.[2] He was further to do all sundry work in his monastery or his teacher's house, like cleansing the rooms etc., bringing fuel or guarding cattle. This custom existed in the Vedic age[3] and was widely prevalent in later times also. Tradition asserts that even great personages like Śri-Kṛishṇa had deemed it an honour to do all kind of menial work in their preceptor's house during their student days. It was held that no progress in knowledge was possible without service in the teacher's house.[4]

Limitation on this Duty : There were, however, limitations to this duty to work. The teacher was prohibited from assigning any work that was likely to interfere with the studies of the student. The duty was further more nominal than real in the case of paying scholars. We have seen already that the duty to teach was imperative and a teacher could not refuse a student merely because he was poor. Poor students were admitted if they were willing to help the teacher in his household or farm work; this duty to work was effectively operative only in their cases. At Taxila the students

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1 पुत्रवद्दासवदधिवच्चानुचरता त्वया....।

2 *Mahāvagga*, 1. 25-2

3 *G. Br.*, 1, 2, 1-8.

4 गुरुशुश्रूषया ज्ञानं शान्ति योगेन विन्दति । *Mbh*,, V. 36. 52

who used to pay their teachers honorarium in advance used to stay in their houses like eldest sons, doing no household work and spending all their time in study. Free students,—*dhammāntevāsikas*,—on the other hand used to do all kind of manual work for their teachers. They used to work by day, when paying scholars were receiving their lessons; teachers used to hold special classes for them at night with a view to see that their education did not suffer on account of their day's work on the farm or in the household.[1] At Nālandā also secular students who sought free boarding, lodging and education had to do some manual work for the monasteries.[2]

Mutual reltaions between Teachers and Students : Public educational institutions, where teachers used to teach students admitted by the managing body, were not many in ancient India. The relations between the teacher and the student were therefore direct and not through any institution. The student usually went to such a teacher as attracted his attention by his reputation for character and scholarship; the teacher selected such students as appeared to him sincere, zealous and well-behaved. The student usually lived either under the roof of the teacher or under his direct supervision. The teacher not only did not demand any fee but also helped the poor students in getting food or clothing. He nursed him if he was ill. The student naturally lived as a member of the household of the teacher and helped him in doing the household work if necessary. The teacher on the other hand would not

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1. Cf. धंमंतेवासिका आचरियस्स कम्मं कत्वा रत्तिं सिप्पमुग्गण्हन्ति आचरियभागदायका गेहे जेट्ठपुत्ता विय हुत्वा सिप्पमेव उग्गण्हन्ति।

Tilamuṭṭhijātaka, No. 252

2. Takakusu, I-tsing, P. 106.

expect this work if the student was a paying boarder and would limit it to the minimum in the case of poor students.[1] Under such circumstances the relations between the teacher and the student were naturally very cordial and intimate; they were united, to quote the words of the Buddha, 'by mutual reverence, confidence and communion of life'.[2] Students usually did not desert one teacher for another merely out of freakishness.[3] Teachers would often entertain genuine affection for their students and would sometimes select some of them as their sons-in-law. Later authorities have laid it down that a student cannot marry his teacher's daughter, because she stood in the relation of a sister to him; Kacha refused to marry Devayānī on that account. This rule seems to have been framed to prevent complications likely to arise in practice when young students used to live and board with their teachers. But earlier practice seems to have been different. In Jātakas we come across several cases of teachers marrying their daughters to their

1 Cf. न चैनमध्ययनविघ्नेन आत्मार्थेषूपरुन्ध्यादनापत्सु । *Ap Dh S.*, I 2. 8 The teacher was also responsible for the safety of students when he sent them out for his own work; if any mishap overtook them he was held guilty. Cf. गुरुप्रयुक्तश्चेन्म्रियेत (शिष्यः) त्रीन्कृच्छ्रांश्चरेत् । *Bau.* Dh. S., II. 1. 27

2 *M. V.*, I. 32. 1

3 Students deserting their teachers without any reason are ridiculed as crows by Patañjali, cf. यो गुरुकुलं गत्वा न चिरन्तिष्ठति स उच्यते तीर्थकाक इति । Vol. I. P. 391

In *Uttararamacharit*, II, we no doubt find Ātreyi leaving Vālmiki, and going to Agastya But the reason was that she was too dull to read along with Kuśa and Lava. Of course if a student wanted to learn a different branch of learning he would leave his old teacher and go to the expert in the particular branch.

most promising students; the custom was so deep rooted in certain teachers' families that students had often no option in the matter, even if they were not in favour of the match.[1]

Mutual Relations in After-life: The cordial relations that existed between the teacher and the student continued also in their after-life. Even when the student had returned home after his education, he was to call on his teacher frequently, bringing him some present, it may be even a tooth-stick.[2] Teachers also used to return these visits.[3] The teacher's visit was not without its benefit to the student; he used to utilise the occasion to ascertain how far the ex-student was keeping up his reading and studies. In the Anabhirati Jātaka[4] the ex-student informs his teacher that he was quite up-to-date in his studies for some time after he had left his school, but admits that he had forgotten some of his Vedic Mantras since the time he was married; he however promises to mend the matters without delay. The mutual contact between the teacher and the student thus continued in the after-life and was not without mutual benefit.

The Daily Life of the Student:—Let us now see what was the daily life of the student. Naturally it differed in different courses and we have detailed information only about the religious and literary education. The students taking these courses used to get up early in the morning before birds had begun to stir,[5] i. e. at

1 See Silavimansa Jātaka, No. 305. In Mahāmagga Jātaka, we find the student marrying his teacher's daughter because there was no option for him in the matter. He was against the match.

2 *Ap. Dh. S.*, 1, 2, 8,22.

3 Jātaka No. 130.

4 No. 185.

5 *T. S.*, VI. 4. 3. *A. Br.* II. 15

about 4-30 A. M. Then they used to attend to morning functions, take their bath and offer their prayers. Vedic students used to spend a good deal of the morning time in performing various morning rituals connected with fire sacrifices; this afforded them practical training in the rituals they were expected to perform in their after-life. Other students contented themselves with their prayers *(sandhyā)* and spent the rest of the morning either in learning new lessons or in revising old ones. At about 11. A. M. this work would come to an end and students used to break off for their meals. Those staying with their teachers or in boarding houses used to get ready meals served out for them; those who were poor used to go out to collect cooked food for their meals. After the noon meal there followed a period of rest of about an hour or so; and teaching started at about 2 P. M. and went on till the evening. We sometimes get references to students spending their evening in collecting sacred fuel for sacrifices (Jātaka No. 150); but this must have been true of Vedic students of the early period only. Evening was probably spent in physical exercises. At sunset they offered usual prayers, attended to fire sacrifices, and then took their supper. Poor students, who had to work by day in the teacher's house or elsewhere, used to spend a considerable part of the night in studies. We should not forget that paper and printing were unknown and books were rare and costly; so there was little of homework possible, except the revision and recapitulation of the lessons learnt in the teacher's presence. Students of sculpture, architecture, painting, smithy and carpentry etc. spent most of the day in the teacher's workshop, learning the details and the technique of the art and trade, and often accompanying and helping the teacher as apprentices in the professional work that he

may have undertaken in the town or city. It will be thus seen that the educational system tried to reproduce in the student life the atmosphere and the conditions existing outside in actual life both in the case of religious and industrial students.

The Student Life and the Duty to beg: The begging of the daily food has been enjoined on the student as a religious duty. This injunction occurs in sacred texts from the Vedic age downwards;[1] nay, some texts lay it down that the student must beg his food both morning and evening.[2] It has been declared that no food is so holy for the student as the food he obtains by begging at midday.[3]

Why begging food was prescribed : The rule of begging was laid down for the student in order to teach him humility and make him realise that it was due to the sympathy and help of society that he was learning the heritage of the race, and being enabled to follow a profession that would secure him a living. This rule further removed the distinction between the rich and the poor and brought education within the reach of the poorest. It was also useful in reminding society of its duty and responsibility about the education of the rising generation. Civilisation will not progress if each generation does not take proper steps to transmit its heritage to the next. Hindu thinkers therefore made it an incumbent duty for all householders to offer cooked food to the begging student; a householder refusing his request

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1 *A. V.*, XI. 5. 9.; *Go. Gr. S.*, II, 10; *Dr. Gr. S.* II. 5. 16 *Manu* II. 65

2 *Jai. Gr. S.*, I. 18; *Ap. Dh. S.* I. 1. 3. 24-5

3 शाकभक्षाः पयोभक्षा ये चान्ये यावशाकिनः ।
सर्वे ते भैक्षभिक्षस्य कलां नार्हन्ति षोडशीम् ॥ Atri in *SCS* P. 111.

was threatened with serious spiritual sanctions.[1] In medieval universities of Europe, a very large number of students used to maintain themselves by begging out of sheer necessity; in ancient India begging was elevated into a duty of the student life. It may however be pointed out that our educationalists have pointed out that a student can beg food just sufficient for his needs; if he collected more, he would be guilty of theft.[2] Similarly he could not have recourse to begging when his education was over.[3] Society was morally bound to support every poor student who was honestly struggling to educate himself; when however he was educated, he was expected to stand on his own legs.

How far was the Rule to Beg Followed: There is clear evidence to show that Smritis themselves did not expect the rule of begging to be literally followed by all students, both rich and poor. They have laid down a penance, only if the student did not beg at least once in the week.[4] This shows that the rule of begging was a mere formality in the case of rich students and a reality only in the case of the poor ones.[5] When circumstances

1 Cf. स्त्रीणां प्रत्याचक्षाणां समाहितो ब्रह्मचारी इष्टं दत्तं हुतं प्रजां पशुं ब्रह्मवर्चसमन्नाद्यं वृङ्क्ते। *Ap. Dh.* S. 1, 3, 24-25,

2 आहारादधिकं वर्णी न क्वचिद्भिक्षमाचरेत्।
युज्यते स्तेयदोषेण कामतोऽधिकमाहरन्॥ Manu in *VMS.* p. 486.

3 समावृत्तस्य भिक्षाऽशुचिकरा। *B. D. S.*, II. 1. 53; see also *S. Br.*, XI. 3. 3. 7.

4 न चैनं सप्तम्यभिक्षिता यायात्। *B. D. S.*, I. 2. 52.

5 There are also other indications in Smritis to show that begging was not a reality in the case of all. It has been laid down by Sumantu (quoted in *VMS.* p. 486) that students under 12 should take their food early in the morning; begging should be resorted only after 12. अश्नीयादष्टवर्षस्तु ब्रह्मचारी प्रगे सदा। तदूर्ध्वमाद्वादशाब्दादश्नीयात्संगवे सदा॥ तदूर्ध्वं गृहिवद्भिक्षां भोजनं च समाचरेत्। The view of Krishnājini is also the same, *Ibid.*

permitted, Smṛitis have allowed students to take their food in the house of their preceptors.[1] Well-to-do students at Taxila were generally living and boarding at their teachers' houses. In richly endowed colleges like those at Nālandā, Salotgi and Ennāyiram, arrangements were made by the college administration for the free boarding of students from generous endowments received for the purpose; begging food was not necessary at these places. Sometimes, as at Benares for instance, such arrangements were independently made by rich citizens of the locality.[2] Begging food was not necessary at such places. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang attributes the fame of Indian scholars for deep scholarship to the circumstance that students in India have not to worry about their food, clothing and medicines.[3] It will be thus seen that begging was elevated into a duty for the student, primarily for the purpose of bringing education within the reach of the poorest, and secondarily for removing the superiority complex from the mind of rich students: he was the ideal student who lived by begging and not he who lived on his family's support. The rule was not intended to be literally followed by all students every day.

Rules of Discipline: Let us now survey and comment upon the rules of discipline prescribed for students.[4] It was felt that student's life should be characterised by dignity, decorum and self-discipline and should be devoted to acquire a grounding not only in learning but also in the

1 भैक्षाचार्यवृत्तिः स्यात्। *M. Gr. S.*, 1 1. 3; see also *Manu*, II. 142.

2 Losaka Jātaka, No. 41 (*C.* 500 B. C.) and Bernier p. 335, (17th century A. D.) both refer to the arrangements made by the rich citizens of Benares for distributing *khichdi* to poor students.

3 Beal, *Life of Yuan Chwang*, p. 113.

4 For the rules of the student life, see *Manu*, II, 175ff.; *Yāj.* I. 28 ff.; *Gau. Dh. S.* I. 2; *Ās. Gr. S.* I. 22; *Dr. Gr. S.* II. 5 etc.

culture and religion of the race. In order to infuse piety, it was therefore laid down that they should regu- larly offer the prescribed prayers and sacrifices both morning and evening. In order to inculcate good etiquette and manners, it was insisted that they should show proper courtesy and respect to their elders and teachers. The duties towards the latter have been described already. In order to develop character, emphasis was given on moral earnestness; lying, slandering and backbiting were never to be indulged in. They were to observe strict celibacy even in thought and speech. Strength of mind and character is developed if we learn to deny to ourselves our natural desires and inclinations[1]; rules of discipline therefore laid down that articles like meat, sweetmeats, spices, ornaments and garlands, which have a natural attraction for the youth and tend to accentuate the sex impulse, should be tabooed to students. Even royal students, staying in a *Gurukula* were not allowed to have any private purse, lest they should secretly purchase prohibited articles.[2] Plain living and high thinking was to be the student's ideal: they were to shave their heads clean or keep matted hair: no time was to be wasted in oiling, combing and dressing the hair. Students must take the bath once in the day, but pleasure baths were forbidden. Shoes, umbrellas and cots were not to be used as a general rule. Food and dress were to be simple but sufficient. The aim in prescribing these rules was to enable students to form a number of useful habits during the formative period of

1 This was the view of Locke also; Graves, *Great Educationalists*, p. 61.

2 The prince in Junha Jātaka could only promise that he could compensate the poor Brahmana for the breakage of this bowl only when he later returned to Benares and became a king. Obviously he had no privy purse (V. p. 456).

childhood and adolescence, which were expected to be of good use to them throughout their life. And finally students were to attend their classes regularly, listen to lectures attentively and master and digest carefully all that was taught before the school met the next day.

How far Relaxation was Permitted: Of the above rules, those relating to religious duties and moral behaviour, were particularly emphasised and strictly enforced; modifications however were permitted in the case of the rest, if demanded by special circumstances. Thus the prohibition against the use of shoes and umbrellas was not rigorously enforced in ancient India as in ancient Sparta; the idea was that students should not be so soft as to require these articles when moving about on good roads in villages and towns[1] under normal circumstances. Students going to thorny forests in search of the sacred fuel (*samidhs*) or undertaking a long journey to distant places like Taxila over the burning plains of northern India[2], were permitted the use of both the shoes and umbrellas. Similarly occasional exceptions were permitted in the case of the use of sweetmeats, when students were invited to some religious function or feast like a Śrāddha. The use of oils was permitted in some localities once a week probably after the shave[3]. Cots also were probably permitted in swampy or snake-infested areas.

Were Rules of Discipline unreasonable?: The rules of discipline were on the whole reasonable for the age. They were intended to infuse piety, teach manners,

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1 Cf. **न ग्रामोपानहौ।** *Dr. G. S.* II. 5.

2 See Tilamutthi Jātaka, No. 252, where students coming to Taxila from Benares are seen to be equipped with shoes and umbrellas.

3 Such was the case in the college at Tirumukhudal in the 11th century A. D.; see *E. I*, XXI. p. 223.

promote self-control, discipline the will and facilitate the formation of good habits. The complaint that they were too ascetic is not true; students were required only to control their passions and desires and not to kill them, as was recommended in the case of ascetics. Strict celibacy was insisted upon, but that was for the purpose of promoting concentration in studies and the development of the body. At the end of the course, students were enjoined to marry. At Sparta students' food was both plain and scanty. In India it was only plain; the educationalists had realised that the body is developed and built up during the childhood and adolescence and have therefore permitted students to take as much food as was demanded by the needs of their developing constitution. In the light of these facts the observation of a recent writer that the student life in ancient India was very severe because it required a stay at a stranger's place, demanded a beggar's or a menial's life and denied all pleasures of life[1] will appear to be considerably wide of the mark. Society did not regard the student life as a proper period for enjoying the pleasures of life. Its standards of plain living also were naturally much different from those of the modern age, dominated by the novel, the drama and the cinema. Stay at a stranger's place was nothing else than the stay at a boarding house. The beggar's life was the mere ideal, recommended with a view to bring education within the reach of all; it was a reality only in the case of the poor and a mere formality in the case of the rest. Menial duties like personal service at the teacher's household were expected to be performed only by the poor students, who were given free tuition by the teacher; they were a mere formality in the case of the rest.

1 Bokil: The *History of Education in India*, Part I p. 151.

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATION & FINANCE.

Private teacher the pivot of the system–How organised institutions arose–Organisation of Buddhist universities and Hindu temple colleges–School and college buildings–Boardings for students–Payment of fees how far obligatory–Admission procedure–The size of classes–School hours–Duration of the college session–Holidays–Organisation and duration of courses–Longer courses for experts–Lifelong students

Educational finance–The quota of ordinary men–Of rich men–The example of the Punjab–Government contribution in direct and indirect forms–Government help without Government control–State help in other countries in contemporary time.

Introduction: The history of ancient Indian education extends over several centuries, and so we naturally come across different types of educational organisations in different ages. In the pre-historic period down to about 1000 B. C. the family was the only educational agency both for the literary and professional education; we have already shown in Chap. II how it used to discharge this function. As education began to become more and more complex and exacting, the specialist came into the field in the form of the private teacher. He continued to be in its sole and undisputed possession till about the early centuries of the Christian era, when organised educational institutions came into existence in connection with the Buddhist monasteries. In a few centuries, Hinduism copied the Buddhist example and organised its own temple colleges. Monastic universities and temple colleges were however confined to some famous centres of learning; private teachers still continued to be the main stay of the educational system throughout the moffusil. In medieval times the Maṭhas of the various religious pontiffs (*Āchāryas*) used to organise

small centres for higher education, which co-operated with the private teacher in rendering the valuable service of keeping the lamp of learning burning in a dark age, when society was often over-whelmed by anarchy, inter-neceine war and foreign rule.

Private teachers: Private teachers have all along been the sheet anchor of the educational system. In the prehistoric period, the followers of different Vedas had no doubt formed their own literary organisations like the *Parishads,* the *Śākhās,* and the *Charaṇas,* but curiously enough these do not seem to have ever made any concerted effort to form educational institutions, which would hand down to the next generation the literature of which they were the custodians. This need not cause any surprise. The sacred texts required each Brahmana to devote himself to the cause of teaching in his individual capacity, and the injunction was very largely followed. Each learned Brahmana was thus an educational institution by himself. The *Parishads* or councils of famous scholars of the different centres or tribes therefore did not feel it necessary to organise public educational institutions of the modern type, worked with the co-operation and assistance of a number of teachers. Famous capitals and holy places like Taxila and Benares were centres of a number of famous scholars, but they also imparted education in their individual capacity, and did not as a rule combine to form any colleges. If the number of pupils under any teacher happened to be large, he would either engage an assistant teacher, or assign part of the work to brilliant advanced students.[1] Neither step however would change the individual character of the

[1] See Anabhirati Jātaka (II p. 185) and Mahadhammapala Jātaka (IV. p. 447) for the appointments of *pittiacharayas* and *Jethantevasikas* respectively.

school. How private teachers organised and imparted education and how they were supported has already been described in Chap. III. It may be observed in passing that in ancient Athens also education was for a long time imparted by private teachers and not in public institutions. The first real founder of public schools in Europe is believed to be Charlmaigne the Great (800 A. D.); his death however completely frustrated his schemes.[1]

Rise of Organised Institutions : Corporate educational institutions were first evolved in ancient India in connection with Buddhist monasteries. The Buddha had emphasised the vital importance of imparting systematic instructions to novices, who were required to be educated for ten years, not only in spiritual practices, but also in the study of the sacred literature, which required a good grounding in Pali and Sanskrit, logic and metaphysics. When Buddhist monasteries developed into big establishments from the time of Aśoka onwards, they naturally developed into centres of education. They were the counter parts of Hindu Gurukulas, where the Guru was the head, not of a family but of a monastery. At first they were intended for monks and nuns only, but later on for the lay population as well; for it was soon discovered that the best way of getting a good supply of novices of the right type and of propagating the religion among the masses was to mould the pliant minds of the young generation by taking up its education. Hindu educational institutions, so far known, are all later than the time of the Nālandā University (*c.* 400 A.D.). It is probable that the starting of organised public institutions for education may have been suggested to Hindus by the

[1] Stawnton: *The Great Schools of England*, p. xv.

transformation of Buddhist monasteries into colleges and Universities. Temple colleges started by Hindus were a natural reaction to the Buddhist monastic Universities. The *Maṭhas* of the Āchāryas (religious teachers and recluses) of the medieval times continued the same tradition.[1]

Organisation of Buddhist Universities: We can get a fairly good idea of the organisation of Buddhist Universities from the accounts handed down to us about Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, which were typical of their class. The whole establishment used to be in charge of a famous abbot (*bhikshu*). He was usually elected by the members of the Saṅgha. Character, scholarship and seniority were the factors usually taken into consideration. In the 9th century, a monk-scholar from near Jalālābad, who was on a pilgrimage to Bihar, was elected to be the principal of the University[2]. This would show that local

1 It is interesting to note that in Europe also from about the 6th to the 11th century A. D. education was centered in monasteries. The causes were somewhat similar. Monks were required to read; so they had to be taught. They must have books and they must in turn teach novices to read and copy manuscripts. Hence arose monastic schools. After the closure of all the pagan schools by Justinian's decree in 529 A. D., monasteries became the sole schools for teaching. "They offered the only professional training, they were the only Universities of research ; they alone served as publishing houses for the multiplication of books ; they were the only libraries for the preservation of learning ; they produced the only scholars. It was not till the 11th century that there was any education to speak of outside monastic schools, and not till the 13th century that there occurred marked changes in the character of education given in any institution ; until then all these schools were taught by monks." Monroe, *A Text-Book*, pp. 255-261.

2 I. *A.*, XVII, p. 307.

or provincial jealousies did not influence the election in any way. The abbot-principal used to be assisted by two councils, one academic and the other administrative. The academic council used to regulate admissions, determine courses and assign work to different teachers. In later times when the granting of diplomas was introduced at Vikramaśilā, it must have arranged for the holding of examinations as well. It was also in charge of the liabrary and its duties in this connection were onerous. In the pre-press days, libraries were not only store houses of books but also their publishers. They had to take steps to renew their own worn out manuscripts and to meet the constant demand of the outside public for copies of books in their possession. The copying work was to some extent done by the monk teachers and pupils, but clerks also had to be engaged to cope with it. The administrative council was in charge of the general administration and finance. Construction and repairs of buildings, distribution of food, clothes and medicine, allotment of rooms in hostels, and assignment of monastic work fell within its purview. Above all, it was in charge of finances and used to take steps to realise the revenues of the estates given as endowments to the Institution. This work must have been fairly exacting and complicated in a big University like Nālandā, possessing a hundred or two hundred villages. Steps had to be taken to lease out the fields, to collect the corn due and to store and distribute it properly at the right time. Large staff must have been employed for the work.

Organisation of Temple Colleges: South Indian inscriptions give us a vivid picture about the functioning of the temple colleges flourishing there, but throw very little light on their internal organisation. It would appear that they were probably administered by the temple sub-

committee of the village council, within whose jurisdiction they fell. It was this sub-committee which administered the estates given as endowments and appointed the teachers of the institution. What subjects were to be taught and how many seats were to be reserved for each of them may have been settled by the temple committee in consultation with the views of the head of the institution. The latter was in charge of the internal administration. He supervised over the boarding houses, allotted seats to students, appointed servants for the messes and arranged for the supply of provisions. In some places even hospital arrangement was made for the need of students falling ill. The distribution of the teaching work, the supervision of the library and the maintenance of discipline also fell within the jurisdiction of the head of the Institution.

School and College Building: We have seen already in Chap. II (pp. 32-3) how only a few educational institutions were located in sylvan solitudes. There is however no information as to what arrangements were made in these institutions for the housing of classes and the lodging of students. In fair weather the classes must have been held under the shades of trees; in the rainy season, some kind of humble tenements must have been found indispensable both for teaching and residence. As far as organised educational institutions like the Buddhist Universities or Hindu temple colleges are concerned, we have definite evidence to show that they used to provide good, spacious and often imposing buildings for their class rooms and hostels. At Nālandā there were eight big lecture halls and as many as three hundred small class rooms. The college buildings were stately and several storeys in height. The university of Vikramaśilā also was provided with several lecture halls by the Pāla emperors. Similar arrangements must have existed at other famous

Buddhist centres of education. Military schools intended for aristocratic families were naturally housed in spacious and imposing buildings[1]. Temple colleges were usually located in spacious halls and apartments adjoining the temples, to which they were attached. As far as private teachers were concerned, they usually held their classes in their own houses. This was not difficult for a well-to-do teacher; for the class usually consisted, as we shall soon see, of not more than 10 to 15 students. Sanskrit teachers of even moderate reputation could however usually succeed in building a small unostentatious building for their school out of subscriptions collected for the purpose in their own Tehsil or Taluka. Teachers with small houses used to repair to an adjoining temple or garden to carry on their classes. This practice prevailed in Benares during the medieval times.

Lodging and Boarding Arrangements: Let us now survey the general features of the lodging and boarding arrangements made for students. It has been already shown in Chap. II how the ideal of the Gurukula required the student to stay under his teacher's roof or in a boarding house under his direct supervision. Well-to-do teachers in famous centres of education like Taxila used to arrange for the lodging and boarding of their students in their own houses.[2] It must be remembered in this connection that the number of students reading under one teacher was usually not more than 15 and he could thus arrange for their lodging and boarding. When public educational institutions came into existence, they used to invariably arrange for the lodging and boarding of students in hostels specially built for the purpose. Several

1 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. IV, part iii, p. 111.
2 Jātaka No. 252.

such hostels existed at Nālandā, Salotgi and Vikramaśilā. In these hostels, there were common messes run by the authorities through servants appointed for the purpose. Students' rooms were sometimes provided with a stone bench to sleep upon and nitches for keeping lamps and other sundry things; this arrangement prevailed at Nālandā as will become clear by a visit to its excavations. In some places, arrangements were also made to offer free clothing and medicines; some institutions like that at Nālandā in northern India and Malkapuram in southern India used to maintain hospitals for the needs of the 'sick students'[2]. In some places like Salotgi, light also was supplied to students out of special endowments received for the purpose. In Bengal, till quite recent times, teachers of *tols* or Sanskrit schools used to collect subscriptions from well-to-do people in their districts and build small unpretentious mud houses for the residence of students reading under them. It is quite possible that the same practice may have prevailed in ancient times in those localities which were carrying on the work of education in their own humble way, but had not become famous centres of education like Nālandā or Ennāyiram. These boarding houses were under the direct control and management of the teachers under whom the students were working. When however teachers were unable to make such arrangements, students had to shift for themselves. Rich students would often hire their own houses.[3] Poor students would often stay in temple out-houses and subsist by begging[4].

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1 See Chap. VI.

2 *S. I. E. R.* for 1917. pp. 122-4.

3 Jātaka No. 456

4 This arrangement prevailed in Vijayanagara.

Payment of Fees: No Stipulation:—Stipulation for fees was vehemently condemned in ancient India. No student could be refused admission even by a private teacher simply because he was too poor to pay any fees. A teacher guilty of this misdemeaner was declared to be unfit to officiate at religious ceremonies and was held to obloquy as a mere trafficker in learning.[1] It was held that the cause of education was a sacred one; every teacher qualified to teach must teach as a matter of duty. The relations between the teacher and the student should be based upon mutual affection and regard, and not on any mercenary consideration.[2] There is ample evidence to show that this theory was acted upon in all public educational institutions in ancient India. Evidence of indisputable character shows that the Buddhist Universities, temple colleges, Agrahāra institutions, and Maṭhas were all imparting free education to their students. When they used to receive sufficient endowments, they would also arrange to provide free boarding, lodging, clothing and medicine to the students admitted by them. Education therefore was free in a much wider sense in ancient India than is ever dreamt possible in modern times.

1 यस्यागमः केवलजीविकायै तं ज्ञानपण्यं वणिजं वदन्ति ।

Mālavikāgnimitra, 1. 17

The *Saura Purana*, X. 42, condemns such a teacher to hell. Such condemnation however may suggest that a small minority of teahers may have been following the objectionable practice.

2 It is interesting to note that there existed a similar prejudice against the charging of fees in ancient Greece for a long time. Neither Socrates nor Plato charged any fees. It was the Sophists who first introduced the custom of offering instructions to any person in any subject he chose, if he offered sufficient remuneration. The practice was despised by the public opinion in the beginning, but was soon adopted by all educational institutions before the 3rd century B. C. Spencippus, the successor of Plato at the Academy, charged fee from his students. *Monroe, A Text-book*, p. 112

Private Teachers and Fees: It is necessary to note that what has been condemned by the sacred texts is a *stipulation* for the payment of fees *as a condition precedent* to admission; they have no objection to teachers accepting voluntary gifts from the guardians of students reading under them. Just as the teacher was exhorted to remember that teaching was his sacred duty, the guardian also was asked to note that no object in the universe, howsoever precious it may be, can be regarded as an adequate fee for even that humble teacher, who teaches a single letter of the alphabet.[1] Smṛitis resort to this hyperbolic strain because they were anxious that the teacher, who was prevented from charging regular fees, should be in a position to get an adequate living. The exhortation to the guardians was not without its effect. For we find that though in theory the teacher's honorarium (*guru-dakshiṇā*) became payable only at the end of education[2], rich guardians used to pay the whole of it in advance according to their ability[3]. Guardians of ordinary means

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1 Cf एकमप्यक्षरं यस्तु गुरुः शिष्ये निवेदयेत्।
पृथिव्यां नास्ति तद् द्रव्यं यद्दत्वाऽनृणी भवेत्॥
Laghu-Hārita in Par. Mad., I, ii, p. 53
It is interesting to note that Lüther's view was similar. 'I tell you a teacher who faithfully trains and teaches boys can never receive an adequate reward, and no money is sufficient to pay the debt you owe him.' Monroe, *A Text-book*, p. 414

2 Yājnāvalkya repeatedly refused the offer of a handsome fee Janaka on the ground that he had not finished all what he had to teach. *Br. Up.* IV. 1.

3 Jātakas show that rich persons like merchants and princes used to send the whole amount of school fee in advance when they used to send their sons to Taxila. See Jātakas Nos. 55, 61, 445, 447, 522 etc. Bhishma also had paid Droṇa his honorarium

must have found this procedure impracticable and paid the fee by easy instalments, though we have so far got no evidence of this practice prevailing. None who could afford, was permitted to evade payment by the public opinion. It was regarded as a very great disgrace that one should not pay one's teacher though properly instructed, when one had the ability to pay. When Nāgasena, being a monk, naturally expressed his unwillingness to accept the rich and luxurious gifts of his royal pupil, Menander, the latter begged him to change his mind in order to save him from the scandal getting abroad that though properly instructed, he would give nothing in acknowledgment to his teacher (*Mil. pan.* I, pp. 134-5). Students whose guardians were really too poor to pay any honorarium were expected to help the teacher in his household work and pay him some honorarium at the end of the course by collecting subscriptions for the purpose.[1] We often come across such students in Jātakas. To refuse their request for subscription was regarded as highly disgraceful.[2]

Payment of fees: A Resume: There was no fixed scale of monthly or sessional fees prescribed in ancient

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in advance before he had started the education of the Kaurava princes; *Mbh.* 1. 142. 1. The same was done by the father of Nāgasena, the preceptor of Menander; *Milindapañha.* Vol. 1. 17

1 E, G. पच्चा धम्मेण भिक्खं चरित्वा आचारियधनं आहरिस्सामि । No. 478.

2 Cf. King Raghu's observation to Kautsa, who had come to him hoping to get the amount of his teacher's fee:—

गुर्वर्थमर्थी श्रुतपारदृश्वा रघोः सकाशादनवाप्य कामम् ।
गतो वदान्यान्तरमित्ययं मे माभूत्परीवादनवावतारः ॥ V. 24

King Uttaṅka gave his wife's earrings to a graduate, who was asked by his teacher to procure them as his fee. The latter's wife was desirous to wear them.

India. It was the duty of Brahmanas, who were the custodians of ancient culture and learning, to teach all qualified students free of any charge. If a student was poor, the teacher could not refuse him admission; he had to teach him in return for personal service and in expectation of some lump sum to be received later, when he had finished his education and was in a position to collect subscription for the purpose. As far as well-to-do persons were concerned, they were expected to pay the maximum they could do to the teacher. Government also was expected to enable the teachers to impart free education by giving them land grants and pensions. It was also expected to give rich endowments to public institutions in order to enable them to offer not only free instruction but also free boarding and lodging. The available evidence shows that this arrangement fostered a proper sense of responsibility and worked on the whole quite satisfactorily.

Admission Procedure: In ancient Indian educational system there were no examinations, diplomas and migration certificates; every student, therefore, who sought admission to a higher course, had to undergo a severe test to prove that he was fit for it. The duty to provide free education that was imposed upon teachers and institutions must also have naturally resulted in making the admission test a stiff one. The test was partly moral and partly intellectual. Morally disqualified students were summarily rejected (*Nirukta*, II. 4). In ordinary schools dullards were given a trial and advised discontinuance of studies, when it was discovered that they could not improve. In famous centres like Nālandā, where the rush was great, the admission test was very stiff; only two or three out of ten could succeed in getting admission[1]. Both at Nālandā and Vikramāśilā, there were special

1. Watters, II, p. 165; Beal, II. 170-1.

professors appointed to the task of regulating admission by testing the calibre, capacity and sincerity of the applicants for admission[1]. Probably similar arrangements existed also in other institutions of higher education. Private teachers would themselves test the capacity of students seeking admission to their schools. At the beginning of Vedic and professional education, some religious rituals also were performed, which will be described in Appendix I, A.

The Size of the Class: The income of the private teacher varied with the number of his students, and we sometimes come across rituals prescribed for getting more students. But the actual number of students reading under one teacher does not seem to have been large. The Jātakas no doubt very often state that the 'world-renowned' teachers of Taxila used to have 500 students reading under them; but this statement seems to be an exaggeration, suggested by the traditional number of disciples usually associated with the Buddha. For all available evidence shows that the strength of a class under one teacher was usually about 15. Nālandā used to have about a thousand teachers for its student population of not more than nine thousand. In the 11th century in the Vedic college at Ennāyiram, each teacher had only about 20 students under his charge[2]. At Benares during the 17th century, sometimes only four and usually about 12 to 15 students used to work under one teacher[3]. In the 19th century the number of students under one teacher in Sanskrit

1. These scholars bore the rather curious title of *Dvārapālas* or door-keepers. See Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddist Universities* pp. 47, 60.
2. *S. I. E. R.*, 1918, p. 145.
3. Bernier, p. 145.

schools at Nadia varied from 10 to 20[1]. It therefore seems to be almost certain that the Jātaka statement about the teachers at Taxila having 500 students each is an exaggeration. The normal strength of a class was never more than 20.

School Hours: Curiously enough there is very little information available about the school hours. Smṛitis are altogether silent upon the point. We should however note that in ancient time press, paper and cheap books were absent; so home work or home reading was practically impossible. All the work had to be done under the guidance of the teacher or the monitor. Literatur often describes the coardy morning time as resounding with the sound of the recitation of students[2]. So there is no doubt that there was a morning session, probably starting at about 7 A.M., when the daily religious duties were over. The morning session continued till about 11 A.M., when both the students and the teachers had to break off for their religious duties and meals. The noon meal was followed by a short rest and the school reassembled at about 2 P. M. and worked for three or four hours. The school period was spent partly in what may be called homework and partly in learning new lessons. The former consisted of committing to memory the texts expounded earlier with the help of one or two copies of the book existing in the school or under the direction of a senior monitor, who was well versed in it. The memorising and revision work was usually done in the morning, and new lessons were taught in the afternoon. Such at any rate was the tradition in the Sans-

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1. *Nadia Gazetteer*, p. 182.

2. शुश्राव ब्रह्मघोषान् स विरात्रे ब्रह्मरक्षसाम्। *Rāmāyana.*
बटुपटलसमारब्ध स्वाध्यायाध्ययनध्वानप्रबुद्धासु। *Vāsavadattā*

krit schools of Bengal and Bihar. We must remember in this connection that Brahman teachers were busy in the morning in performing their own religious duties or officiating at religious functions and ceremonies to which they were often invited. The noon session therefore must have been usually devoted to teach new lessons. It is however quite possible that there may have been no hard and fast rules in this connection. If the teachers were free, the morning session also may have been devoted to new lessons. In organised colleges which engaged full time teachers, this may have been generally the case.

No One Time School: It must have been noticed that there was no one time school in ancient India. One time school, either in the morning or in the afternoon, would not have suited the religious habits of the age, which necessitated the performance of religious duties both in the morning and the noon. It has to be noted that most of the teachers of higher education belonged to the priestly class. Students usually lived with their teachers or very near their houses or in small villages; so attendance at the school two times a day did not cause any physical inconvenience similar to what is felt by the children living in big cities and attending schools situated far off. Nor was it necessary to keep either morning or noon free to students for their home work; for no home work was possible. Even the richest student in ancient times could not afford to have about half the number of books and exercises, which the poorest student is compelled to procure in the modern age.

Night Classes: Poor students who could not pay any honorarium to the teacher had to do a good deal of the household work for him. They naturally could not be present throughout school hours during the day. Teachers used to hold night classes for their convenience.

There is definite evidence to show that this practice prevailed at Taxila[1]; probably it obtained in other places also.

College Session : Pre-historic Period : The Upākarma and Utsarjana rituals show that the college session could not have lasted for more than five or six months[2]. It began sometime in August and ended sometime in February. Such was the case in prehistoric times when Vedic hymns only formed the main subject of study. When however the sacred literature became more extensive and new branches of learning were developed like grammar, philology, astronomy, philosophy and sacred law (Dharmaśāstra), the short session of six months was found to be inadequate and studies began to be prosecuted throughout the year.

College Session : Later Times: There is ample evidence to show that in later times, though the Utsarjana ceremony, which marked the suspension of the Vedic studies, was performed in February, the college work went on uninterrupted. Manu, for instance, states that in spite of the Utsarjana ceremony, the study of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas should be continued throughout the year (IV.98). College terms followed by fairly long vacations, with which we are now familiar, seem to have been altogether unknown in ancient India since about the 7th century B.C. Transport difficulties were immense and students from Rājagṛiha (near Patna) and Benares going to distant places like Taxila used to return home only when the whole course was over[3] (Jā. No. 252). They therefore

1 धंमन्तेवासिका आचारियस्स कम्मं कत्वा रत्तिं सिप्पमुग्गह्णंति,
आचारियभागदायका गेहे जेट्ठ पुत्ता विय हुत्वा सिप्पमेव उग्गह्णंति।
Jātaka No. 252.

2. Appendix I, section C.

3. The rule in the *Arthāśastra* laying down that the wife of a Brahmana student should wait ten or twelve years before

continued their education throughout the year, and had no long vacations like those we have at present. The present day custodians of Sanskrit learning are unaware of any tradition about long vacations obtaining in the past. If a student had some urgent work, he could take leave and go home to attend to it. Those whose homes were very near may have occasionally gone home on some of the usual holidays. But the entire teaching work does not seem to have been suspended for any part of the year. Work also was not much disturbed by different students going home at different times; for generally speaking each student was taught separately.

The List of Holidays: We come across a systematic list of holidays only in post-Vedic[1] literature. But many of these go back to very early times. Regular holidays were four in the month at an interval of a week, the new and full moon days and the eighth day of each fortnight. Sympathetic interest with the inhabitants of the locality was also responsible for the stopping of the work sometimes, when the peace of the settlement was disturbed by an invasion or by incursions of robbers or cattle-lifters, or when the king or a Brahmana of the village had met with an accident or died. Arrival of distinguished guests led to the suspension of studies; for a good deal of the time and energy of both the teacher and the students had to be devoted to make the guests comfortable.

Holidays for Bad Weather, etc:—Abnormal weather conditions giving rise to unfimely clouds, thunder,

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remarrying or having recourse to Niyoga also suggests that there used to exist no long vacations when married students could go home and stay for sometime with their families. Cf. III. 4.

1. *G. D. S.*, II. 7; *B. Dh. S.* I. 11. *Manu*, IV. 100 ff.

heavy showers, frost, dust-storms etc. were also regarded as sufficient causes to suspend studies. Holidays for these causes seem to go back to hoary antiquity, when students and teachers lived in humble cottages and were engaged in agricultural pursuits. It must be further remembered that the teaching and learning of the Vedic hymns in the manner in which it is done traditionally was physically impossible when a storm or lightning was thundering abroad. In later times when teachers were well-to-do men living in towns and villages and not directly concerned with active agricultural pursuits, it is doubtful if studies were suspended when there was a dust-storm or frost. When the howling of jackals, crying of wolfs, screeching of owls, braying of donkeys or barking of dogs was heard, teaching was temporarily stopped, partly, on account of superstitious beliefs and partly due to the notion that the Vedic study was so sacred an affair that it could be prosecuted only under ideally pure circumstances. It was apprehended that gods would become angry if the sanctity of the Vedas was defiled by their being studied on such occasions.[1]

Curtailment of Holidays: In course of time most of the holidays mentioned in the last paragraph were abolished. Curriculum was getting heavier and some reasons had to be found for departing from the old tradition. Some authorities, therefore, started the theory that prohibition of studies under abnormal weather condition referred only to loud recitations; silent reading was

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1 Cf. छिद्राण्याहुर्द्विजातीनामनध्यायान्मनीषिणः ।
छिद्रेभ्यः स्रवति ब्रह्म ब्राह्मणेन यदर्जितम् ॥
आयुः प्रजां पशून्मेधां कृन्तामि सुकृतं च यत् ।
अनध्यायेष्वभ्यसतः ब्रह्म व्याहरतस्तथा ॥
Quoted by Aparārka on *Yāj.* I, 142-151.

not intended to be interdicted.[1] Others held that non-Vedic works could be studied on the official holidays.[2] It would appear that in later times discretion was given to different institutions as to what holidays should be permitted by them to their students. Holidays allowed to the youngsters were to be more numerous than those to be allowed to advanced students.[3] This was certainly a very sound educational principle. In the case of serious students, apart from the four monthly holidays, studies seem to have been suspended since early times only when they themselves or the place they were studying was impure.[4]

Organisation of Courses: The modern reader will be surprised to learn that in ancient India there were no central bodies like the senates or boards of studies to prescribe a clear cut course of a definite duration in different subjects. This was a natural consequence of the circumstance that education was mostly imparted by private teachers: they did not belong to any institution, nor were they controlled by any government. There was also another reason for this phenomenon. Ancient Indians regarded knowledge as unlimited and no period that one could spend for its acquisition was regarded as adequate for the purpose.[5] The duration and contents of the

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1 *B Dh.S*, I, 11, 40: मनसा चानध्याये । *A.D.S*, I. 3. 11 24

2 *Manu* II. 105.; cf. also, Kûrmapurāna;

नानध्यायोस्ति चांगेषु नेतिहासपुराणयोः ।
न धर्मशास्त्रेष्वन्येषु पर्वण्येतानि वर्जयेत् ॥

3 तत्र सर्वत्र प्राज्ञाप्राज्ञाध्येतृविषयेण गुरुलघुकालानां व्यवस्था ज्ञेया ।
V. M. S., p. 536.

4 *T. A.*, II. 15 ; Manu, IV. 127.

5 There is an interesting parable in this connection in Tai. Br., III. 10. 11. 3 A Brahmana named Bhāradvāja spent three

course were therefore largely determined by the will, capacity and convenience of the student. Some students who wanted to get an all-round mastery used to read for as many as 25 or 30 years. Others who were home sick or were content with a superficial knowledge, used to return home in six or even three years. Intelligent students, who could master the course in a shorter time, were allowed to return as soon as their studies were over.

Normal Duration of the Course: The course of higher education usually began with Upanayana at about the age of ten and extended over about 12 years. The tradition is quite definite about the Vedic course extending over that period. This period was necessary for the study of one Veda along with its subsidiary branches. The duration of the courses of non-Vedic studies like philology, logic, philosophy, poetics, Dharmaśāstra, etc. is not definitely known. The students of these subjects had to study a few Vedic hymns, necessary for their religious duties, and a good deal of grammar in order to get the facility for understanding works in advanced Sanskrit prescribed for their courses. The full grammar course extended over ten years in the 7th century A. D.; but the students of poetics, philosophy or sacred law

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successive lives in attempting to master all the Vedas. On learning that he proposed to spend his fourth life also for the same purpose, Indra appeared before him, shewed him three hillocks of corn, and taking a handful from each, told him that the three Vedas were infinite and what he had learnt of them in three lives bore the same proportion to what remained to be mastered as his three handfuls bore to the hills of corn lying in front.

Sanskrit literature is full of sayings to the effect that knowledge is infinite and cannot be mastered in one's life:—

अनन्तपारं खलु शब्दशास्त्रं स्वल्पं तथायुर्विपुलाश्च विघ्नाः ।

(Dharmaśāstra), may have finished their grammar course in five or six years and devoted about ten years for getting a mastery in the subject of their choice. A person who wanted to be regarded as cultured and well educated had thus to spend about 15 or 16 years for his education, subsequent to the time of his Upanayana at about the age of eight or nine.[1] Usually he could finish his education and become an expert in one particular branch at about the age of 24, which was regarded as the ideal age for marriage. It is interesting to note that in medieval Europe also, the complete course of Latin education covered a period of about 15 years (Raymond, *Principles*, p. 193).

Longer course for special experts: Those however who wanted to become special experts[2] or get the mastery of several Vedas or wanted to specialise in more than one branch of knowledge had to devote a much longer period for their studies. They had to spend another 10 or 12 years and their studentship continued to the age of 35 or 40. Megasthenes[3] and Colebrooke[4] refer to such students, when they both refer to scholars prosecuting their studies even at the age of 37. Society however did not approve of the devotion of so great a part of life to the cause of studies, if the person eventually intended to marry. One authority states that a person ought to be married in the prime of his life; to postpone marriage to the age of 35 or 40 would be a

1 I-tsing, pp. 170-77

2 Twenty years were required for mastering the Krishna Yajurveda and the enormous number of sacrifices and rituals connected with it. *Education Commission Report, Madras Prov. Committee*, 1882, p. 6.

3 Fragment No. 41,

4 *Nadia Gazetteer* p, 182,

folly.[1] Specialisation had come into field early; it was not necessary for a person to master several Vedas or several branches of knowledge. It was feared that if this was indiscriminately encouraged, some students would be tempted to prolong their education indefinitely, especially since society used to provide them with free boarding and lodging.[2] The case of teachers and professors was different; they had already become earning and useful members of society. They were expected to be life-long students and acquire efficiency in several branches.

Life-long studenthood: Actuated by spiritual motives, some persons in ancient India used to observe life-long celibacy and devote their time entirely to religion and education.[3] They were known as Naisṭhika Brahmachārins. Their primary motive was spiritual salvation, but it was to be achieved not by penance or meditation, but by the dedication of a life of chastity to the cause of the sacred lore. Unmoved by praise or reproach, they carried on their work, without mixing much with the mundane world and its affairs. Their sole concern was a thorough acquisition of knowledge.

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1 Cf. कृष्णकेशो ह्यग्नीनादधीतेतिश्रुतेः । *Bau. Dh. S.*, I, 2, 31.
Śabara thinks that only eunuchs can contemplate the postponement of marriage to the age of 48. Cf. अपुंस्त्वं प्रच्छादयन्तश्चाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः । On *P.M.*, 1, 3,

2 Cf. विना कुटुंबभरणात्तपोविद्याधिनः सदा ।
द्वीपे निवासितव्यास्ते बद्धा दुर्गोदरेऽथवा ॥ *Śukra*, IV. 1, 105.

3 Some of the medieval writers, who did not know the real object of Naishthika Brahmacharya, have recommended it to dumb, deaf and impotent persons, who could not marry. पंग्वादीनामनंशत्वादसामर्थ्याच्च शास्त्रतः।नियतं नैष्ठिकत्वं स्यात्कर्मस्वनधिकारतः ॥ *V M S.* p. 551. Aparārka, Madana and Mādhava have however pointed out how this view is wrong.

'Forgetting fatigue', says Yuan Chwang, 'they expatiate in arts and sciences; seeking for wisdom..they count not 1000 *li* (roughly equal to 200 miles) as a long journey. Though their family may be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like vagrants and get their food by begging, as they go about. With them there is honour in knowing the truth and there is no disgrace in being destitute' (I. 160-1). Smṛitis require a Naiṣṭhika Brahmachari to serve his teacher throughout his life; in actual practice however they used to establish new centres of education after some time. Famous teachers like Kaṇva and Divākarasena (of the *Harshacharit*) were such Naishṭhika Brahmachāris. This ideal of Naishṭhika Brahmacharya, which is peculiar to India, enabled her to make striking progress in learning and philosophy.

EDUCATIONAL FINANCE.

Introduction: We have seen already that the item of students' fees was a minor one in the income of the private teacher and did not figure at all in the budgets of public colleges and universities. The question therefore naturally arises as to how education was being financed in ancient India. Society, which had frowned upon the practice of charging regular fees as a mercenary and unworthy procedure, used to succeed in getting ample support for the cause of education by appealing to the religious and charitable instincts of the public. Vidyādāna or a gift in the cause of education was pronounced to be the best of gifts, possessing a higher religious efficacy than even the gift of land (*bhūmidāna*).[1] Religion had a

[1] सहस्रसंमिता धेनुरनड्वान्दशधेनवः। दशानुद्गुत्समं यानं दशयानसमं ह्ययः॥ दशवाजिसमा कन्या भूमिदानं च तत्समम्। भूमिदानात्परं नास्ति विद्यादानं ततोऽधिकम्। Bṛihaspati quoted in *SCS.*, p. 145.

great hold over the public mind in ancient times and this spiritual exaltation of Vidyādāna secured so wide and ample a response to the cause of education, both from the public and the government, that it used to become possible to impart free education at least to all poor students, wishing to derive its benefits.

Help by Society; the Quota of Ordinary Men: There is ample evidence to show that society was always anxious to help the cause of education in a variety of ways. Even the poorest family was required to support the cause of education by giving a morsel of food to the poor and hungry student coming to beg food at the door at midday; to turn away such a student was pronounced to be the gravest of sins.[1] Men of ordinary means used to support the cause of education in a variety of ways. They used to offer presents only to learned Brahmanas on the occasion of Śrāddha; these presents were fairly numerous and frequent for the Śrāddha was performed in ancient times once in a month and not once in a year, as is the case now. On the occasion of religious feasts as large a number of students and teachers as possible was invited: the citizens of Taxila, for instance, were particular to follow this practice (Jātaka No. 498). On auspicious occasions like Upanayana and marriage, families used to give donations in cash or kind to teachers and educational institutions.[2]

The Quota of Richer Citizens: Rich persons used to help the cause of education in more substantial ways. They would often engage the services of a teacher

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[1] स्त्रीणां प्रत्याचक्षाणां समाहितो ब्रह्मचारी इष्टं दत्तं हुतं प्रजां पशून्ब्रह्मवर्चस-मन्नाद्यं वृंक्ते । *Ap. Dh. S., I.* 1, 2, 24-25 *G. Br.*, 2. 5-7 has a similar warning.

2 The citizens of Salotgi, for instance, used to follow this practice; see *E. I.*, IV, p. 60.

for their children and permit the villagers also to send their wards to study under him. Sometimes they used to take the lion's share in meeting the expenses of the local school. They used to offer substantial help to graduates collecting subscription for paying honorarium to their teachers. Very often they used to defray the expenses of copying books with a view to present them to scholars or schools. In an age in which there existed neither press nor paper, gifts of books were very badly needed.[1] Very rich persons sometimes used to found free feeding houses for the poor in general and the students in particular;[2] sometimes they would construct college buildings either as a matter of charity[3] or in commemoration of some departed relation.[4] Others would often endow chairs[5]

1 These have been recommended by Purāṇas ; cf. शास्त्रे यस्माज्जगत्सर्वं संश्रितं च शुभाशुभम् । तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रयत्नेन दातव्यं शुभकर्मणा ॥ Quoted by Aparārka on Yāj I. 212. Both Nālandā and Valabhi used to get grants for books ; see Chap. VI.

2 These, for instance, existed at Kolagalli, Managoli, Nilgund, Nesrage, Bagewadi, Belgamve, Dambal, Gadag and Behati in Karnatak and at Kharepatan in Konkan during 1000-1400 A. D. See, *I. M. P.*, Bellary No. 82 ; *E. I.*, V. p. 22 ; *Ibid*, III, p. 208 ; *J. B. B. R. A, S.*, X, p. 256 ; *I. A* , VII, p. 307 ; *Ibid*, V, p. 49 ; *Ibid*, X, p. 188 ; *Ibid*, I, p. 30 ; *Ibid*, IV, p. 274 ; *E. I*, IV, p. 355 respectively.

3 Nārāyana, a Rāshtrakūṭa minister, had done this in 945 A. D for the college at Salotgi ; *E. I.* IV. p. 180.

4 For instance a Brahmana landlord at Kudarkot had erected a building for a Vedic school in memory of his son killed in war ; *E I.*, I. p. 180.

5 These were known as *Adhyayanavrittis* and *Vedavrittis* and their holders were also required to recite and expound Vedas and Purāṇas for the benefit of the public. At a single village named Kuttalam in Trichinopoly district sixteen endowments were made for this purpose within the short interval of 150 years during the Vijayanagara rule ; see *S. I. E. R.*, for 1917, nos. 481 and 487 of 1917.

or make grants of land to meet some recurring expenses. This was a combination of Vidyādāna and Bhumidāna, and was very popular.[1] Those who were extremely rich would often found and endow schools and colleges.[2] Sometimes village communities[3] and trade guilds[4] also would organise and finance educational institutions from their own resources.

The Example of the Punjab: That the tradition to help the cause of education was deep-rooted in society would become quite clear from what we know about the state of the Punjab on the eve of the British conquest. Dr. Leitner, its first Educational Commissioner, observes. "Respect for learning has always been the redeeming feature of the East. To this the Punjab formed no exception. Torn by invasions and civil war, it ever preserved and added to educational institutions. The most unscrupulous chief, the avaricious money-lender and even the free-booter vied with the small money-lender in making peace with his consciene by founding schools and rewarding the learned. There was not a

1 A local magnate had given a gift of 200 *nivartanas* of land to the college at Salotgi; *E. I.* IV, p. 60. See also *I. A.*, XII, p. 258 and XIII, p. 94 for similar gifts given at Soratur and Dharwar.

2 Chāngadeva, for instance, a grandson of Bhāskarāchārya, the famous astronomer, had founded a college at Pātan; see *E. I.*, I. p. 30; Perumal, a Hoysal minister, had founded a college at Metugi in Karnatak in 1290 A. D. where Vedas, Śāstras, Canarese and Marathi were taught; see *E. C* III, Tiru-Narspur, No. 27

3 The Sanskrit college at Ennayiram was endowed by the local village community; *S. I. E. R.*, 1918, p. 145; the village community at Belur had made a grant of land for meeting part of the expenses of a local institution; see *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 273.

4 A guild at Dambal in Dharwar district was maintaining a Sanskrit college in the 12th century; *I. A.*, VIII, p. 185.

5. *A History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, p. 1; Indian Education Commission, 1882.

mosque, a temple or a Dharmashālā that had not a school attached to it, to which the youths flocked chiefly for religious education. There were few wealthy men who did not entertain a Maulavi, a Pandit or a Guru to teach their sons, and along with them, the sons of their friends and dependents. There were hundreds of religious men who gratuitously taught their coreligionists, and sometimes all comers, for the sake of God. There was not a single villager who did not take pride in devoting a portion of his produce to a respected teacher." For obvious reasons the reverence for education in other parts of India in the ancient period could not have been less sincere and deep than it was in the Punjab at the advent of the British rule.

Government's Contribution, Direct Form : Let us now see how the governments used to help the cause of education in ancient India. Governments usually reflect the views of society and cannot much lag behind it in helping the causes cherished by it. This happened in ancient India also. There is no Smriti which does not recognise patronage of education as one of the most important duties of kings ;[1] and as a general rule, rulers in ancient times used to vie with one another in discharging it. This they did both directly and indirectly. Sometimes they used to found or endow colleges, as was, for instance, done by the Guptas at Nālandā. On auspicious occasions like coronation they used to invite learned

1 See *Manu*, VII, 82 ; *Yāj.* I, 130 ; *Sukra*, I, 369 ; *Arathasāstra*, II, 1 and 20. Bhishma pointedly draws the attention of Dharma to this duty ; see *Mbh.* XIII, chaps. 59 and 60.
Though extending patronage, kings were not to assume a patronising attitude to learned men. King Raghu treats Kautsa very courteously ; Dushyanta leaves behind his army when approaching the hermitage of Kanva.

Brahmanas and found a colony of theirs, endowing villages to meet the expenses of the new settlers. This was tantamount to founding a new college, for these Brahmana colonies used to develop into famous centres of education. Governments used also to grant lands or pensions to most of the learned Brahmanas that used to come to their courts. Liberality of kings like Kanishka, Chandragupta II, Harsha and Bhoja is well known to history and tradition[1]. Scores of copper-plate grants published so far show that kings were generally in the habit of giving land grants to learned and pious Brahmanas. These latter in their turn used to offer free tuition and thus help the cause of education. But for royal patronage poets and authors like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa Bhavabhūti, Vākpati, Rājaśekhara and Śrīharsha could not have done as much literary work as they did. The tradition of giving direct monetary help to learned Brahmanas promoting the cause of education continued down to

Some of the kings, who had extended patronage to famous scholars, may be mentioned here:—

1. Aśvaghosha and Charaka were the proteges of Kanishka. The Sātavāhanas of the Deccan were famous for their patronage of scholarship. Numerous are the stories still current of the liberality of Chandragupta Vikramāditya to men of letters. His successors Kumāragupta, Tathāgatagupta, Narasimhagupta and Budhagupta endowed a number of villages to Nālandā University. Emperor Harsha was not only a patron of letters, but himself a good poet and dramatist. Bhavabhūti and Vākapati belonged to the entourage of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj. King Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla of the same city were the patrons of the famous dramatist Rājaśekhara. Kings Muñja, Sindhurāja and Bhoja of the Paramāra dynasty are subjects of numerous anecdotes illustrative of their love of learning. The last mentioned one was himself a great author. Vikramāditya VI of the Chālukya dynasty invited poet Bilhaṇa to his court from Kashmir and extended his patronage to Vijñāneśvara, whose *Mitākṣarā* is still regarded as authoritative in law courts. Umāpatideva, Dhoi, Govardhana and Jayadeva were living at the court of king Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal, Hemachandra at the court of king Kumārapāla of Gujarat and Śrīharsha, the author of *Naishadhacharit*, at the court of kings Vijayachandra and Jayachandra of Kanauj.

the times of the Peshwas in the 19th century. Bajirao II, the last of the Peshwas, used to spend 5,00,000 of rupees in giving charity to learned Brahmanas. 'But' says Elphinstone, 'the Dakshiṇā formed only a small portion of his largesses to Brahmanas and the number of persons devoted to Hindu learning and religion who were supported by him exceeded what would be readily supposed'.[1]

Government help in indirect Forms : Governments used to help the cause of education in many indirect ways also. They used to offer scholarships to students to enable them to complete their education.[2] Often they used to hold literary tournaments and offer rich rewards to successful scholars.[3] In making appointments they used to show preference to men of learning; it is well known that many of the officers of the Guptas were good poets or students of politics.[4] Of course it was not possible for governments to absorb all graduates in their service; those who could not be employed in administrative posts used to get some monetary help to enable them to start their lives.[5]

1. Elphinstone's minute quoted at p. 5 of the *Report of the Bombay Provincial Committee*, Education Commission, 1882.

2. सर्वविद्याकलाभ्यासे शिक्षयेद्भृतिपोषितान् ।
समाप्तविद्यं तं दृष्ट्वा तत्कार्ये तं नियोजयेत् ॥ *Śukra*, I. 368

Some of the Taxila students were state scholars; J. No, 522

3. Kings Janaka of Mithilā and Ajātaśatru of Benares are, for instance, known to have done this; *Br. Up.* II. 1. 1 Vikramāditya and Harsha are also famous for inviting learned men for literary affrays.

4. Harisheṇa, the author of the Allahabad *praśasti* was holding the post of a judge; Śāba, a minister of Chandragupta, II, was a poet and an expert in Nītiśāstra. See Gupta Inscriptions, Nos. 1 and 5.

5. This practice, for instance, prevailed at the court of Valabhi in the 7th century A. D.; see I-tsing, p. 177-8

Failure to help liberally a student, collecting money to pay his teacher's honorarium was regarded as the greatest slur on a king's reputation.[1] Further indirect help to the cause of education was given by the state by exempting students and learned but poor Brahmanas from taxation.[2] The treasure trove laws were so framed as to help the cause of learning.[3] The law of limitation was relaxed in favour of the student engaged in prosecuting studies at a college (Gurukula).[4]

Government Help without Government Control: A recent Soviet writer on education has averred that schools and colleges can never be free from political control as long as the state exists. His statement appears to be perfectly true when we cast a glance at the educational organisations in modern times; for all states are at present very anxious to control educational institutions and curricula as soon as they proceed to give government grants. In totalitarian states, education has become a means of propaganda

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1. Cf. Raghu's remark to Kautsa when he wanted to go away, unsuccessful in his mission to get *Gurudakshinā*:—

गुर्वर्थमर्थी श्रुतपारदृश्वा रघोः सकाशादनवाप्य कामम् ।
गतो वदान्यान्तरमित्ययं मे मा भूत्परीवादनवावतारः ॥ V. 24

2. Cf. अकरः श्रोत्रियः ।.....ये च विद्यार्थिनः सन्ति । *Ā. D. S.* II. 10. 26. 14-17; see also *V. Dh. S.*, XIX. 15

3. If a king found a treasure trove, he was required to give half of it to learned Brahmanas; if the latter found it, they could retain the whole. Others had to refund 16 per cent to the state. *Manu*, VIII. 35-9; *Yāj.* II. 34-5

4. Cf:—ब्रह्मचारी चरेत्कश्चिद्व्रतं षट्त्रिंशदाब्दिकम् ।
समावृत्तो व्रती कुर्याद्धनस्यान्वेषणं ततः ।
पञ्चाशदाब्दिको भोगस्तद्धनस्यापहारकः ॥
Nārada in *SCS*, quoted at S. B. E., 33, pp. 248-4.

for government views and policies. The state in ancient India, however, did not attempt to control education, because it was liberally subsidising it. There were no Directors of Public Instruction and Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors of Schools to dictate and control educational policy. Even when grants were given to learned Brahmanas, there was no stipulation that they would be withdrawn if free education was not given by the donees. It was the king's duty to make such grants. It was the Brahmana's duty to teach, even when there were no grants. Each side was to perform its duty though there were no specific stipulations. Even when hundreds of villages were given to the Nālandā University by Hindu Gupta emperors, they did not stipulate that Buddhism should adopt a particular policy towards the religion of the donors. Monks at Nālandā declined to revise the traditional rules of seniority in order to show some courtesy concession to a royal donor, who desired to be regarded as the seniormost monk, when he had joined the church as a layman.[2] There was as perfect a toleration in education as there was in religion. Kings were giving grants to all institutions, without caring to control their policy or curricula. Of course this was not an unmixed blessing, as will be shown in the last chapter; but it cannot be denied that it helped the cause of free educational development.

Government Help elsewhere: The failure to organise an educational department might appear to the modern reader as a blemish in the ancient

1. Pinkewitch, *New Education in Soviet Russia.*

2. Narasimhagupta Bālāditya wanted this concession, but it was refused. He was regarded as the seniormost only among lay followers. Waters, II, pp. 164-5.

Indian state organisation. A glance at the contemporary history shows, however, that the states in the West also had not only no State Education Departments, but were not accustomed to give any substantial grants to educational institutions started by private individuals. Schools in the Middle Ages in Europe were dependent not on the State but on the Church; it was the latter which provided for the expenses, supplied teachers and moulded aims and ideals.[1] Famous English Universities like Oxford and Cambridge grew out of no Order of Government or Resolution of Parliament: they were originally centres of scholars united by their zeal and aptitude for learning, and anxious to hand down the torch of learning to the next generation. Their sincerity and scholarship attracted donors like Walter de Merton and Wykenham, who came forward to provide hostels and colleges for residence and study.[2] Down to the 19th century, education was financially dependent on the Church, private benefactors and corporations. In England, the state gave its first grant for primary education as late as 1832, and that was of £2000 only. In France the state took up the cause of education only after the great Revolution of 1788. It was in Germany that the state first began to zealously champion the cause of education; Martin Luther maintained that education ought to be supported by state and his advocacy proved effective. In India, however, the state recognised its responsibility to the cause of education since earliest times, as we have shown already. It believed in the spontaneous growth of education and so did not organise its own educational department.

1. Raymont, *Principles o Education*, p. 18.
2. Mayhew, p. 77.

A Resume: By making Upanayana obligatory and professions hereditary, by showing encouragement to learning in a variety of ways, by securing ample patronage from rulers and landlords, by penalising any stipulation for fees and by laying down a very high code of conduct for the teaching profession, Hindu society tried to make fairly efficient arrangement and provision for the education of the rising generation. The results show that before the decay set in, these measures for the spread of education proved to be fairly successful. As will be shown in the Chapter VII, literacy was spread fairly widely among the higher classes; its percentage among them was probably as high as 75% at the beginning of the Christian era. In contemporary times in no other country in the world was there so wide a spread of literacy. Hindu achievements in the realm of medicine, metallurgy, astronomy, chemistry, and spinning and weaving were also of a high order, if judged by contemporary standards. There was, undoubtedly a set back after about 800 A.D.; its causes will be discussed in the course of the concluding chapter.

Chapter V.

SOME EDUCATIONAL CENTRES AND INSTITUTIONS.

Different types of educational centres-Taxila-Effects of political vicissitudes on its educational system-Not a university of the modern type, but a cluster of private colleges-Strength of private colleges-Great fame of Taxila-Boarding and lodging arrangements-Subjects of study-Its later history and destruction-Benares-Its early educational activity-As a centre of Buddhist learning-As a centre of Hindu learning-Literary and educational activity under the Muslim rule-Nālandā University-Its rise in *c.* 400 A.D.-Lay-out of its campus-Buildings-Boarding and lodging arrangements-Number of scholars-High standard of scholarship and piety-Rush for admission from India and abroad-Library facilities-Lecture arrangements-Catholic and comprehensive curriculum-Administrative machinery-Work in Tibet-Destruction of the University-Valabhi University-Vikramaśilā University-Other Buddhist centres of learning-Hindu temple colleges-At Salotgi, Ennayiram, Tirumukkudal, Tiruvorriyur and Malkapuram-Some other temple schools and colleges-*Agrahāra* villages as centres of higher education-Tols.

Different Types of Educational Centres:—It has been already shown in the last chapter how educational institutions came into existence in ancient India rather late in her history. Education was for a long time imparted by private teachers on their own responsibility. These were no doubt scattered all over the country, but they used to congregate in large numbers in certain places on account of the facilities they received there in their work. Such places were usually capitals of kingdoms or famous holy places (*tīrthas*). Kings and feudal chiefs were as a rule patrons of learning, and so learned Brahmanas were naturally attracted to their courts. It was this circumstance that made cities like Taxila, Pāṭaliputra, Kanauj, Mithilā and Dhārā in northern India and Malkhed, Kalyāṇī and Tanjore in southern India famous centres of education. Holy places have

been since times immemorial famous centres of learning; the pilgrim traffic supplied a subsidiary source of income to the famous teachers residing there. It is this circumstance that made Benares, Kāñchī, Nasik, Karhāṭaka, etc. famous centres of learning. Sometimes kings used to found colonies of learned Brahmanas by inviting them to settle in a new village and providing for their maintenance. Such villages were known as *agrahāra* villages and they naturally became centres of learning. Causes that led to the development of centres of education in monasteries and temples have been already explained in Chap. IV. It is proposed to give a short and succinct account of important centres and institutions of education in this chapter. The places have been arranged from the point of their importance and antiquity.

(1) TAXILA[1]

Prehistoric Times:— Taxila, situated about 20 miles west of Rawalpindi, was undoubtedly the most important and ancient seat of learning in Ancient India. It was the capital of the important province of Gandhāra and its history goes back into hoary antiquity. It was founded by Bharata and named after his son Taksha, who was established there as its ruler[2]. Janamejaya's serpent sacrifice was perfomed at this very place.[3] Not much is known of its early educational activities; but by the 7th century B. C., it was a famous seat of learning, attracting scholars from distant cities like Rājagṛiha, Benares, and Mithilā. It was famous for its philosophers in the days of Alexander the Great.

1. The correct ancient spelling of the city's name is Takshaśīlā. The popular present-day spelling is used in the book.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa* VII, 101, 10-16
3. *Mbh.*, I, 3, 20

Unfortunately we know very little about its educational activities from non-Jātaka sources.

Political Vicissitudes:—Taxila was conquered and occupied by the Persians in the 6th century B. C., by the Indo-Baktrians in the 2nd century B. C. by the Scythians in the 1st century B. C., by the Kushāṇas in the 1st century A. D. and by the Hūṇas in the 5th century A. D. We do not know what effects these political vicissitudes had over educational activity of the place. The ruins give traces of three different city sites occupied at the beginning of the Baktrian, Scythian and Kushāṇa periods. It is quite possible that these political vicissitudes may have told upon the city's prosperity, which may in turn have affected the cause of education. Every successive power, however, continued to maintain its provincial headquarters at Taxila; this circumstance must have soon obliterated the ravages of war.

Their Effects on Education: The Persian and Greek occupation must have affected the curricula of schools and colleges; we have, however, only circumstantial evidence on the point. Epigraphical testimony shows conclusively that the Persian occupation resulted in the replacement of the national Brāhmī script by the foreign Kharoshṭrī alphabet. The Scythian and Kushāṇa conquerors had no culture or civilisation of their own, but the Indo-Baktrian rulers were the inheritors of the rich Greek civilisation. Their rule in Taxila extended over a century and a quarter, and must have made some impression on the educational system of the place. It is quite possible that a few of the 'world renowned' teachers of Taxila may have learnt and opened classes in Greek language and literature in order to facilitate the appointment of their students in government services under the Greek administration.

Among the *'sippas'* taught at Taxila may have been included a training in Greek processes of coinage and sculpture. There was as yet no prejudice against foreign culture. It is quite possible that Greek dramas may have been performed in the courts of some of the numerous Greek princes and princelings. Some Indians also may have read and appreciated Sophocles and Eurepedes. The working knowlege of Greek language may have been possessed by several classes of society, as it was the language of the conqueror.[1] Greek orientation in Taxila studies could not however have been considerable. Indo-Greek rulers themselves were cut off from their mother country, and many of the conquerors soon succumbed to the culture and religion of the conquered. It is, however, a great pity that the historian of ancient Indian education should still be unable to supply authentic information about the precise extent of Greek influence on the system of education at Taxila.

No organised Institutions:—It may be observed at the outset that Taxila did not possess any college or university in the modern sense of the term. It was simply a centre of education. It had many famous teachers to whom hundreds of students flocked for higher education from all parts of northern India. But these teachers were not members of any insti-

1. From the romantic history of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus we learn that in the 1st century A.D. Indians and Greeks at Taxila knew each other's philosophy and that the villagers around the Gandhāra capital could understand and speak Greek. There may be some exaggeration in this picture, but recent excavations at Taxila have confirmed some of the topographical details given by Philostratus (*Guide to Taxila* by Sir John Marshal, pp. 15 & 97). We may, therefore, conclude that his information about Indians' acquaintance with Greek language and literature may be at least partly true. Greek studies, therefore, must have figured in Taxila curriculum during the Greek rule.

tutions like professors in a modern college, nor were they teaching any courses prescribed by any central body like a modern university. Every teacher, assisted by his advanced students, formed an institution by himself. He admitted as many students as he liked. He taught what his students were anxious to learn. Students terminated their courses according to their individual convenience. There were no degree examinations, and therefore no degrees or diplomas.

Strength of private Schools: Jātakas usually state that the 'world renowned' teachers of Taxila used to have five hundred students under their charge. This figure seems to be more conventional than real, as has been shown at pp. 82-3. We get only one instance in the Sutasoma Jātaka[1] of what appears to be a real number of students reading under one teacher. Under the 'world renowned' teacher of this Jātaka, we are told that 103 princes from different parts of the country were learning archery. This teacher may have had very probably many assistants under him. Normally speaking, however, the number of students working under one teacher does not seem to have been more than 20 (*ante*, p. 82). The excavations at Taxila have not so far unearthed any extensive buildings, which can be taken to be big hostels or lecture halls, necessary for big colleges having 500 students on their rolls.

The Fame of Taxila: As a centre of learning the fame of the city was unrivalled in the 6th century B. C. In those days communications were so difficult and dangerous that when their sons used to return home, parents used to congratulate themselves on

1. Vol. V, p. 457

having seen them returning during their own life time.[1] And yet we find students flocking to Taxila from far off cities like Benares,[2] Rājagṛiha,[3] Mithilā[4] and Ujjayini.[5] Kuru and Kośala countries sent their own quota of students. One of the archery schools at Taxilā had on its muster roll, as we have seen already, 103 princes from different parts of India. Heir-apparents of Benares are usually seen being educated at the same place in the Jātakas. King Prasenajit of Kośala, a contemporary of the Buddha, was educated in the Gandhara capital.[6] Prince Jīvaka, an illegitimate son of Bimbisāra, spent seven years at Taxila in learning medicine and surgery.[7] As Paṇini hailed from Śālātura near Attok, he also must have been an alumni of Taxila university. The same was the case with Kauṭilya, the author of the *Arthaśāstra.*

Boarding and Lodging Arrangements:—Students used to go to Taxila only for higher education. They were usually 16 when they came to seek admission there. As a general rule, they stayed in the houses of their teachers. The well-to-do students used to pay their lodging and boarding expenses along with their fees, sometimes even at the beginning of their course. Some of them, who were very rich like prince Juṇha from Benares, used to engage special houses for their residence (Jā. No. 456). Poor students, who could not pay any fees, used to work in their

1. Jātaka No 456.
2. Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka, No. 252.
3. Jātaka, No. 878.
4. *Ibid*, No. 489.
5. *Ibid*, No. 836.
6. *M.V.* chap. VIII.
7. Jātaka, No. 498.

teacher's house by day; special classes were held for them at night.

Subjects of Study:—As stated above, Taxila provided only higher education and students went there for specialisation only. Jīvaka had gone to the city for studying medicine and surgery and two youths from Benares had repaired there for studying archery and elephant lore. The three Vedas, grammar, philosophy and eighteen *sippas* were the principal subjects selected for specialisation at Taxila. Among the latter were included medicine, surgery, archery and allied military arts, astronomy, astrology, divination, accountancy, commerce, agriculture, conveyancing, magic, snake charming, the art of finding treasures, music, dancing, and painting. There were no caste restrictions on the choice of subjects; Kshatriyas used to study the Vedas along with Brahmanas and the latter used to specialise in archery along with the Kshatriyas. A Brahmana royal priest of Benares had once sent his son to Taxila not to learn the Vedas but to specialise in archery (Jā. N. 522)

Later History and Destruction: We know very little about the educational activities of Taxila subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era. But it is very probable that it continued to flourish down to the end of the Kushāṇa rule (*c.* 250 A. D.) The Little Yueh-chis, who succeeded the Kushāṇas in the government of Taxila, were barbarous chiefs, as their coins indicate, and the cause of education must have suffered under their unenlightened administration. At the beginning of the 5th century A. D. when Fa Hsien visited the place, there was nothing there of any educational importance.[1] Worse days, however, were in store for this Queen

1. Legge, Fa Hsien, p. 32

of Learning. The Hūṇa avalanche came at the middle of the 5th century A. D. and ruined whatever was left after the Little Yueh-chi depradations. At the time when Yuan Chwang visited the city in the 7th century A. D., it had lost all its glory and importance. The famous monastery of Kumāralabdha, where that celebrated Sautrāntika scholar had composed his expository works, was in ruins and the condition of the vast majority of the remaining Buddhist establishments was no better.[1] When it is remembered that the inhabitants of Taxila at this time were plucky and devoted adherents of Buddhism, the sad plight of their monasteries will at once convince us that the city was completely wrecked by the Hūṇa invasions. Gone were the days of its former educational glory, never to return.

BENARES[2]

Early History. In early Vedic literature Benares does not figure either as a centre of pilgrimage or as a centre of learning. This is but natural, for it took centuries for the Vedic religion to penetrate to eastern United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal. The people of Benares accepted the new religion rather reluctantly and for a long time[3] their loyalty to it was by no means unswerving. In the Upanishadic period however Benares became a centre of Aryan religion and culture. One of its kings, Ajātaśatru, figures as a philosopher in the Upanishads,

1. Watters, I, p. 240, p. 245

2. See Altekar, *Benares: Past and present*, for original sources of this section.

3. King Dhṛitarāshṭra of Benares is known to have given up sacrificial fires because his horse of the Aśvamedha sacrifice was carried away by the Bharata king Śatānīka Satrājit. *Ś. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4. 19.

anxious to emulate the example of king Janaka of Mithilā as a patron of learning. For a long time, however, Taxila was a more famous centre of learning than Benares. Kings of Benares itself used to send their sons to far-off Taxila, and many of the teachers of this city that figure in the Jātakas are seen to be past students of the Taxila University.[1] In the course of time, however, they began to attract scholars from far and wide (Jā. Nos. 480 and 438).

Benares as a Centre of Buddhist Learning: In the 7th century B. C., Benares was probably the most famous centre of education in eastern India; that seems to have been one of the reasons for its being selected by the Buddha as the place for the first promulgation of his gospel. With the imperial patronage under Aśoka, the Sarnath monastery on the outskirts of Benares must have become a famous centre of learning. It went on continuously prospering; in the 7th century A.D., it possessed resplendant and beautiful buildings with tiers of balconies and rows of halls.[2] Unfortunately Yuan Chwang does not state anything about the educational activity of the Sarnath monastery, but there can be no doubt that it must have emulated the glorious example of neighbouring Nālandā. It had 1500 monk-students. There is ample evidence to show that it continued to be a flourishing centre of Buddhist learning and pilgrimage down to the 12th century A. D.[3]

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1. Cf. तक्कसिलं गत्वा सब्बसिप्पाणि उग्गह्रित्वा वाराणसिंय दिसापामोक्खो आचारियो हुत्वा पंचमाणवकसतानि सिप्पं वाचेति। No. 150. See also No. 30.

2. Watters, II, p. 48.

3. Kumāradevī, the Buddhist wife of the Hindu king Govindachandra, had given an endowment to the establishment in the latter half of the 12th century A. D. Excavations also show that the establishment continued to flourish down to *c.* 1200 A. D.

Benares as a Centre of Hindu Learning: We do not possess much detailed information about Benares as a centre of Hindu learning during the first millennium of the Christian era. Only one Purāṇa casually observes that Benares will be a famons centre of scholarship;[1] the rest are content merely with describing its sanctity as a holy place. Nor have we so far found any inscriptions recording grants given to any educational institute at Benares. In spite of the example of neighbouring Nālandā, Hindu Benares does not seem to have organised any public educational institution. Its learned Brahmanas continued to promote individually the cause of education in the traditional manner. Their fame, however, was gradually reaching all the corners of India. Scholars and philosophers like Śaṅkarāchārya found it necessary to repair to the city to get their new theories recognised and published. In the 11th century A.D. Benares and Kashmir were the most famous centres of learning in India.[2] We may well presume that most of the learned donees of the Gahadwal grants were conducting efficient Sanskrit schools and colleges in the 12th century A.D.

Benares Under Muslim Rule: When Benares passed under the Muslim rule in *c.* 1200 A. D., hundreds of its temples were razed to the ground by Kutb-ud-din Aibak. The iconoclastic and proselyting zeal of the new rulers drove away a number of learned Brahmana families to south India. We hear very little of any literary or educational activity of Benares during the period 1200 to 1500 A. D.

1. *Bhavishya Pu.*, Brahmakhaṇḍa, Chap. 51. 2-3.

2. The exodus of learned families from the Punjab was responsible for an increase in the scholarly population of both Kashmir and Kāśī towards the beginning of the 11th century.

When however the Deccan also gradually passed under the Muslim rule, scholars in India seem to have made up their mind once more to repair to holy Benares and make it a centre of Hindu learning and scholarship by their united effort in spite of the Muslim rule prevailing there. A number of scholarly families from Maharashtra and Karnatak repaired to Benares in the 16th century and their descendants continued to dominate Benares scholarship for about three centuries. It is important to note that some Muslim rulers also like Akbar, Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh extended their patronage to some of the famous scholars of Benares. The same was done by a few of their Hindu feudatories in the United Provinces and Central India. Royal patronage during this period however was on the whole more an exception than a rule; if the lamp of learning was kept burning at Benares in medieval times, the credit must on the whole be given to the great love of religion and scholarship of Benares Brahmanas. Education however continued to be imparted not in public institutions but through private teachers. While describing Benares as a centre of learning during the 17th century A.D, Bernier says, 'Benares is a kind of University, but it has no college or regular classes as in our Universities; but it resembles rather the school of the ancients, the masters being spread over the different parts of the town in private houses.....Some teachers have four and some six disciples; the most eminent may have twelve or fifteen, but this is the largest number.[1]

Literary Activity :—The literary activity of Benares was very remarkable during this period. A

1. *Travels in India* p. 341.

number of works on sacred law (Dharmaśāstra), grammar, poetics, logic and philosophy were composed by Benares scholars in medieval times. If put together, they would be equal to the work done by any other five centres of learning in India. This would give some idea of the literary and educational pre-eminence of Benares during the medieval period.

NĀLANDĀ.

Early History: Nālandā, about 40 miles south of Patna, was a famous Buddhist place since early times, as it was the place of the birth and death of Sāriputta, the right hand disciple of the Buddha. Asoka is said to have built a temple there. But its rise as a centre of learning has to be placed by about 450 A.D.; for Fa Hsien, who visited the place in *c.* 410 A.D. does not refer to its educational importance.[1] Very soon thereafter Nālandā rapidly rose into importance owing to the patronage of a number of Gupta emperors. That the Gupta rulers, who were themselves orthodox Hindus, should have contributed a lion's share to the development, equipment and endowment of the greatest Buddhist University speaks volumes for the catholicity of the age. Śakrāditya, who was probably Kumāragupta I (414-454 A.D.), laid the foundation of the greatness of Nālandā by founding and endowing a monastery there. The splendid Buddha temple in this monastery was for centuries the central place of worship for the congregation. Tathāgatagupta, (who cannot yet be definitely identified), Narasiṁha-gupta Bālāditya, (468-472 A. D.) and Budhagupta

1. According to Tārānāth, Āryadeva, a disciple of Nāgārjuna, was a Nālandā scholar. This, if true, would take back the antiquity of Nālandā by about a couple of centuries. The identity of both Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva and their precise time are not yet definitely determined. Bose, *Indian Teachers*, pp. 108-9.

(*c.* 475-500 A.D.) added one monastery each to the establishment.[1] Vajra, an unidentified successor of Bālāditya, and another unnamed king of central India added two further monasteries to the establishment. New buildings continued to be erected by Hindu and Buddhist donors down to the 11th century.

The Lay-out and Buildings: Excavations have shown that Nālandā University covered an area at least one mile long and half a mile broad. Monastic buildings and *stūpas* attached to them were built according to a preconcieved plan; they were all arranged in a row and not huddled together in any haphazard fashion. The central college had seven halls attached to it; besides there were 300 smaller rooms for the lecturing work. The buildings were superb, several storeys in height. Hwui Li's statement that the upper rooms towered above the clouds and enabled a spectator to see how they changed their shape is of course an exaggeration, but it has now received an unexpected corroboration from a contemporary record which also avers that the tops of the buildings at Nālandā touched the clouds.[2] We may therefore take it that the towers and turrets of the colleges, temples and monasteries at Nālandā must have been of impressive height. There were also deep and translucent ponds covered with blue lotuses, which added to the beauty of the place and supplied water and flowers to the establishment. The whole

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1. The sequence of these rulers and their time, given both by Yuan Chwang and his biographer, seem to be wrong. See Watters, II p. 164; *Life*, pp. 110-111.

2. यस्यामम्बुधरावलेहिशिखरश्रेणी विहारावली।
मालेवोर्ध्वविराजिनी विरचिता धात्रा मनोज्ञा भुवः॥ *E.I.*, XX, p.43

colony was surrounded by an encircling wall with a door in the southern side.[1]

Boarding and Lodging Arrangement: Monk-students were lodged in monasteries specially built for the purpose. Recent excavations have so far revealed the existence of thirteen such monasteries, and a glance at the topography shows that some more must have existed. Monasteries were at least two storeys in height and had both single-seated and double-seated rooms in them. Each room had one stone cot for each occupant and was also provided with nitches for lamp, books, etc. In one corner of the court-yard of each monastery, a well has been unearthed, showing that the problem of water supply was not overlooked. Rooms were assigned to the monk-students according to their seniority and redistribution took place every year. Hearths of huge dimensions have been discovered in each monastery, showing that the messing arrangements were common. The University had received 200 rich villages as endowment[2] and so could offer free boarding and clothing to its students. The usual practice in Buddhist monasteries was to offer these facilities to lay students, only if they agreed to perform some menial service.[3] It is however possible that Nālandā may have offered free lodging and boarding to its

1. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen Tsang* (by Shaman Hwui) pp. 109-114; Watters, II, pp. 164-171 and Itsing, pp. 30, 65, 86, and 154 are the main sources of information about Nālandā.

2. This is the number given by I-tsing, who had stayed at Nālandā for 10 years. Yuan-Chwang's biographer mentions only 100 villages in this connection. More villages may have been received in the interval between the two writers.

3. I-tsing, p. 106. In medieval Christian monasteries, the practice was to offer free tuition to all those who intended to join the Order; the laity was expected to pay small voluntary fee for the education of its children. Graves, *A History*, p. 81.

lay students also,—who were usually Hindus,—in view of its having received so many endowments from Hindu patrons.

The Number of Scholars: When I-tsing was living at Nālandā (*c.* 675 A.D.), there were more than 3,000 monks residing in the establishment (p. 154). The biographer of Yuan Chwang states that in the second quarter of the seventh century the number of the residents of Nālandā would always reach 10,000 (p. 112). The biographer had never been to India and his information therefore was second hand. His figure seems to be a little exaggerated since it is given in round numbers, and since Yuan Chwang himself simply observes that there were some thousand brethren residing at the place (II p. 165). It would, however, seem certain that the actual number of the monks staying at Nālandā must have been at least about 5,000 towards the middle of the 7th century A. D.

Both a Monastery and a University: Nālandā, however, was not a mere monastery; it had obtained so wide a fame primarily because it was a very famous centre of learning. Yuan Chwang says, 'In the establishment were some thousand brethren, all men of great learning and ability, several hundreds being highly esteemed and famous; the brethren were very strict in observing the precepts and regulations of their order; learning and discussing they found the day too short, day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection. Hence foreign students came to the establishment to put an end to their doubts and then became celebrated, and those who stole the name (of Nālandā) were all treated with respect wherever they went' (II, p. 165). The names of deep scholars and skilful debators, who had distinguished themselves at

the University, used to be written in white on the lofty gate of the University for being known to every fresher and visitor (Itsing, p, 176).

High Standard of Piety and Scholarship: The head abbots of Nālandā used to be as much celebrated for piety as for scholarship. Amongst them were 'Dharmapāla and Chandrapāla, who gave a fragrance to the Buddha's teachings, Guṇamaṭi and Sthiramati of excellent reputation among contemporaries, Prabhāmitra of clear argument, Jinamitra of elevated conversation, Jinamitra of model character and perspicacious intellect and Śīlabhadra whose perfect excellence was buried in obscurity'[1] These scholars were not, however, content merely to teach and expound; they were authors of several treatises, widely studied and highly valued by their contemporaries. The above seven scholars flourished in the first half of the 7th century; the total number of high class scholars produced at Nālandā during its history of about 700 years must have been very great. At the time of Yuan Chwang's visit the average scholarship of the establishment also was very high. Out of its 5,000 (or 10,000) monks, there were a thousand who could explain thirty collections of Sūtras, and perhaps ten who could explain fifty.[2]

Rush for Admission from India and Abroad: There was a great rush for admission to the Nālandā University. Students from all parts of India and also from distant foreign countries were anxious to get the benefit of its instructions. Fa Hsien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing were not the only Chinese scholars that were attracted to Nālandā by its fame

1. Watters, II p. 165.
2. *Life*, p. 112.

as a centre of learning. During the short interval of thirty years between the visits of Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, Thon-mi, Hiuen Chiu, Taou-hi, Hwui-nieh, Āryavarman, Buddhadharma, Taou-sing, Tang and Hwui Lu, hailing from distant countries like China, Korea, Tibet and Tokhara had visited Nālandā and spent considerable time there in studying and copying manuscripts.[1] The standard of admission was naturally high; 'of those from abroad, who wished to enter the schools of discussion, the majority, beaten by the difficulties of the problems, withdrew; and those who were deeply versed in old and modern learning were admitted, only two or three out of ten succeeding[2]'.

Library Facilities: The Nālandā authorities had realised that a monastery without a library was like a castle without an armoury. The University was maintaining a splendid library to meet the needs of the hundreds of teachers and thousands of students that were engaged in the study of different sciences. One of the reasons why Chinese scholars used to spend months together at Nālandā was to get true copies of the sacred texts and other works of Buddhism. I-tsing got copied at Nālandā 400 Sanskrit works amounting to 5,00,000 verses. Significantly enough the library quarter was known as *Dharma-gañja* 'Mart of Religion.' It was located in three splendid buildings appropriately called *Ratna-sāgara, Ratnodadhi* and *Ratnarañjaka.*[4]

Lecturing Arrangement; Strength of Classes: In the monk population of about 5,000 (perhaps 10,000)

1 *Life*, Introduction, pp. XXVII-XXXVI
2. Watters, II, p. 165
3. I-tsing, p. 1
4. Vidyabhushana, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 516

a thousand could explain, as we have seen already, twenty collections of Sūtras. This means that there were about a thousand competent teachers to look after the education of about 4,000, but in no case, more than 9,000 monk students. On the average therefore each teacher was in charge of about not more than nine students. Personal attention was thus possible to each student and the teaching therefore must have been very efficient. The college had eight big halls and 300 smaller apartments and every day the authorities used to arrange for about a hundred lectures. Learned monk teachers were held in high veneration and were provided with sedan chairs. They were experts in the art of teaching and expounding; I-tsing gratefully observes, 'I have been very glad that I have had an opportunity of aquiring knowledge personally from them, which I should otherwise have never possessed.'

Curriculum: The curriculum at Nālandā was very comprehensive and catholic. The establishment belonged to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, but the works of the rival school, the Hīnayāna one, were also taught. This necessitated a study of Pali language, in which most of the Hīnayāna works were composed. Works of the famous Mahāyāna scholars like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti must have been specially studied. But it is not to be supposed that the curriculum of the University was a sectarian one in the sense that it neglected Hindu subjects. In the first place it must be noted that subjects like grammar, logic and literature were common to both the Hindus and the Buddhists. Secondly, we have to remember that Bauddha and Hindu religion and philosophy had become so intricately interconnected with each other that to study

the one without the other had become practically impossible not only for the ambitious controversialist but also for the sincere lover of truth. Buddhists themselves inform us that the three Vedas, Vedānta and Sāṁkhya philosophy were taught at the University along with 'miscellaneous works'[1]. The latter expression probably included the study of subjects like Dharmaśāstra (sacred law), Purāṇas, astronomy, astrology etc., which were very important for the lay Hindu and Buddhist students. The study of medicine *chikitsāśāstra*) which is referred to in the sacred canon, was also prosecuted at the place.

Administration: At the head of the general administration was the abbot-principal, who used to be assisted by two councils, one academic and the other administrative. How these bodies used to function has been already described in the last chapter. To arrange for the free boarding and lodging of so vast a number of students as 5,000 (or perhaps 10,000) was a very costly affair; the University was enabled to do it because different kings had assigned the revenues of a large number of villages for the upkeep of the establishment. The number of these villages was 200 during I-tsing's stay at the University (c. 675-685 A.D.). Sealings of a number of these villages, obviously attached to letters sent by them to the University administration, have been found in excavations.

Later History; A Foreign Endowment: Nālandā continued to be a famous centre of learning down to the 12th century A. D. An 8th century inscription describes how it was then excelling all other towns and cities on account of its scholars who were

1. *Life*, p. 112.
2. *Mahāvagga*, Chap. VI.

well-versed in sacred texts and philosophy.[1] In the 9th century the University continued to enjoy international reputation ; Balaputradeva, a king of Java and Sumatra, being attracted by its fame, built a monastery there and induced his friend and ally, King Devapāla of Bengal, to grant five villages for its upkeep.[2] Part of this endowment was reserved for the purpose of copying books for the University library (*Dharmaratnasya lekhanārtham*).

Work in Tibet : From the 8th century onwards, the scholars at Nālandā began to play an active part in the propagation of Buddhist religion and culture in Tibet. Arrangements therefore must have been made for teaching Tibetan at the institution. Chandragomin, a Nālandā monk who flourished at the beginning of the 8th century A.D., was the pioneer in the field. Scores of his works were translated into Tibetan ; many scholars were in fact engaged in translation work. Śāntarakshita, another Nālandā monk and scholar, was invited to Tibet by its king Khri-sron-deu-tsan in 749 A.D. for the purpose of preaching Buddhism. He was given a royal reception and the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet was built under his instructions. He became its chief abbot and vigorously helped the spread of Buddhism till his death in 762 A.D. He received very valuable coopera-

1. *E. I.*, XX. p. 43.
2. *E. I.*, XVII, p. 310, Cf. :—

नालंदागुणवृन्दलुब्धमनसा भक्त्या च शौद्धोदनेः ।
नानासद्गुणभिक्षुसंघवसतिस्तस्यां विहारः कृतः ॥

.....

सुवर्णद्वीपाधिपमहाराजश्रीबलपुत्रदेवेन वयं विज्ञापिताः ।
यथा मया श्रीनालंदायां विहारः कृतः ।..... ॥

tion in this work from Padmasambhava, a Kashmirian monk educated at Nālandā[1]. Intellectual and literary activity of Nālandā must have continued in subsequent centuries also, for several manuscripts have been preserved to this time, which were copied at Nālandā during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries A.D.

Supersession by Vikramaśila University: Tārānāth informs us that the professors of Vikramaśilā were often appointed to watch over the affairs of Nālandā by the Pāla rulers[2]. From the 11th century onwards the new University of Vikramaśilā began to receive a greater share of the royal patronage; this circumstance may have led to the decline of Nālandā during the 11th and 12th centuries. Evidence from the Tibetan sources shows that by this time Tantricism had aquired a hold over the Buddhist mind and it may have perhaps affected the progress of serious studies. We have, however, no definite evidence on the point.

The Destruction of the University: The ruin of the establishment was brought about by the Muslim invaders under Bakhtiyar Khilji towards the end of the 12th century. The buildings were burnt or destroyed and the whole of the monk population was put to the sword. The priceless library of the university was also wantonly committed to flames. Thus perished this famous university at the hands of fanatic invaders who did not know its value.

VALABHI[3]

A Famous Centre of Learning: Valabhi, situated

1. Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, pp. 116-81.
2. *Ibid*, p. 86.
3. See Altekar, *A History of Important Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawar*, pp. 89-40 for the history of this place.

near modern Wala in Kathiawar, was the capital of an important kingdom and a port of international trade with numerous warehouses full of rarest merchandise. During the 7th century, however, it was more famous as a seat of learning. I-tsing informs us that its fame rivalled with that of Nālandā in eastern India;[1] it is however a pity that he should not have given us any details about its literary and educational activity. There were about a hundred Buddhist monasteries at the place in *c.* 640 A.D.[2]; and they accommodated six thousand monk-students. The famous Buddhist scholars, Sthiramati and Guṇamati, were the leading scholars of the University at the middle of the 7th century A.D.[3] Like Nālandā, Valabhi also was not an exclusively Buddhist or monastic centre of learning. Even Brahmanas from the distant Gangetic plain used to send their sons to that place for higher education[4]. Graduates at Valabhi used to be appointed to posts in the executive line (I-tsing, p. 177); this would have been impossible if secular subjects like law, economics, accountancy and literature had not been cultivated at the place. The University was famous for its catholicity and intellectual freedom.

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1. P. 177.

2. Watters, II p. 246.

3. A copper plate grant given in 580 A.D. to a monastery founded by Sthiramati has been found; *I.A.*, VI, p. 11.

4. अन्तर्वेद्यामभूत्पूर्वं वसुदत्त इहि द्विजः ।
विष्णुदत्ताभिधानश्च पुत्रस्तस्योपपद्यत ॥
स विष्णुदत्तो वयसा पूर्णषोडशवत्सरः ।
गंतुं प्रवर्तते विद्याप्राप्तये वलभीपुरम् ॥ *K. S. S. Chap.* XXXII, 42-43.

We are told that the scholars from all parts of India used to assemble at Valabhi and stay there for at least two or three years to discuss 'possible and impossible doctrines.' They used to become famous for their wisdom when they were assured of the correctness of their opinions by the doctors at Valabhi. The names of the famous scholars of the University were written in white on its lofty gates. (*Ibid*, pp. 176-7).

Financial support: Valabhi was a rich city; it had a hundred citizens 'whose wealth amounted to a million'. The University used to receive considerable support from these merchant princes. The Maitraka kings who were ruling there during *c.* 480 to 775 A. D., were also great patrons of learning; they used to give direct grants for the purpose of meeting the general expenses of the University as also for strengthening its library[1]. Scholars who completed their educational course at the University used to receive either appointments in government service or some financial help to enable them to start their life[2]. This continued to be the case till *c.* 775 A. D. when the reigning dynasty succumbed to an Arab attack, which resulted in the destruction of the city and of the University.

VIKRAMŚILĀ[3]

An International University: Vikramaśilā monas-

1. सद्धर्मस्य पुस्तकोपचयार्थम् । *I. A.*, VII., p. 67 ff.
2. I-tsing, p. 177.
3. Tibetan sources inform us that this monastery was situated in Bihar on a hill on the right bank of the Ganges. Mr. De's identification of Vikramaśilā with Patharaghata hill, 24 miles to the east of Bhagalpur, seems to be correct. The place is full of ancient and extensive ruins, and may yield a rich reward to the excavator. *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., V, p. 7.

tery, founded by king Dharmapāla in the 8th century, was a famous centre of international learning for more than four centuries. King Dharmapāla (*c.* 775-800 A. D.) was its founder; he built temples and monasteries at the place and liberally endowed them. He also erected several halls for the lecturing work. His successors continued to patronise the University down to the 13th century.[1] The monks of the establishment were usually distinguished scholars and the fame of the monastery soon spread beyond the Himalayas. There was continuous intercourse going on between Tibet and Vikramaśilā for four centuries. A special guest house was maintained for the use of Tibetan scholars coming to learn at the feet of Indian Pandits.[2] One cannot help admiring the continuous tradition of high scholarship that was maintained at Vikramaśilā throughout its history. Tibetan sources inform us that Buddha, Jñānapāda, Vairochana, Rakshita, Jetārī Ratnākara-Śānti, Jñāna-śrī-mitra, Ratnavajra, Abhayankaragupta, Tathāgata-rakshita and a host of other Vikramaśīlā scholars wrote numerous books in Sanskrit and translated scores of them in Tibetan. The most distinguished in this galaxy of Vikramaśīlā scholars was undoubtedly Dīpaṅkara Śrī-Jñāna, more commonly known as Upādhyāya Atīśa, who flourished in the 11th century A.D. He went to Tibet at the invitation of its king Chan Chūb and played an important part in the reformation of the Buddhism of that country. As many as 200 books, both original and in translation, have been attributed to him by the Tibetan tradition.[3]

1. Bose, *Indian Teachers*, pp. 30 ff.
2. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 58.
3. Bose, *Indian Teachers*, pp. 32-105.

Strength of the University: When there was such a distinguished galaxy of scholars at Vikramaśilā, it is but natural that the numerical strength of the establishment should have enormously increased by the number of scholars attracted to the establishment. In the 12th century there were 3,000 monk scholars residing at the place.[1] The college possessed a rich and extensive library, which excited admiration even of its Muslim destroyers.

General Administration: The administrative management of the Vikramaśīlā establishment was entrusted by the Pāla rulers to a board of six monks presided over by the chief abbot. Different members of the board were assigned different administrative duties like the ordination of the novices, supply and supervision of servants, distribution of food and fuel, assignment of monastic work, etc. Monk professors led a simple life, the cost of maintaining one of them being equal to the cost of supporting four ordinary monks.[2]

Academic administration: Academic administration was vested in a council of six *dvārapaṇḍitas* presided over by the chief abbot. The function of the Dvārapaṇḍita was to test the scholarship of those seeking admission to the college. During the reign of king Kanaka (?), the following were the Dvārapaṇḍitas of the establishment:—

Eastern Gate: Āchārya Ratnākara-śānti
Western ,, : Vāgīśvara-kīrti of Benares
Northern ,, : Naropa
Southern ,, : Prajnākara-mati
First Central Gate: Ratna-vajra of Kashmir

1. *Ibid*, p. 84.
2. *Ibid*, p. 35.

Second Central Gate: Jnān-śrī-mitra of Gauda[1]

Courses of Study and degrees: Grammar, logic, metaphysics, Tantras and ritualism were the main subjects specialised at the institution. The curriculum was thus not so wide or catholic as that at Nālandā, outlined above. Unfortunately we have no information of the duration or the gradation of the course at Vikramaśilā, but there is every probability that it was more systematically organised than was the case at any other centre of ancient Indian education. For, unlike at any other college, we find diplomas and titles being given to the Vikramaśilā students at the end of their course by the reigning kings of Bengal. Tibetan authorities inform us that Jetāri and Ratnavajra had received degrees at the hands of kings Mahīpāla and Kanaka respectively.[2] The memory of the distinguished alumni of the place was kept ever green in the mind of the congregation by their pictures being put on the walls of the college halls This honour is known to have been shown to Nāgārjuna and Atīśa.

Destruction of the University: In 1203, the Vikramaśilā monastery was destroyed by the Mahomadens under Bakhtyar Khilji, who seem to have mistaken it for a fort. At that time Śākya-śrī-bhadra was at the helm of the monastic affairs. The account of the destruction of the monastery has been preserved by the author of *Tabākāt-i-nāsiri*. We read, 'The greater number of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmanas (i. e. Buddhist Bhikshus) and the whole of these Brahmanas had their heads shaven, and they were all slain. There were a great number of books on the religion of the Hindus there,

1. Vidyabhushana, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 520.
2. Bose, *Indian Teachers*, p. 47, p. 61

and when all these books came under the observation of the Mussalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus that they might give them information respecting the import of these books; but the whole of the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted (with the contents of those books), it was found that the whole fortress and city was a college'.[1] Śākya-śrī-bhadra and a few others, who escaped the general slaughter, fled to Tibet. Such was the tragic end of this famous college.

OTHER BUDDHIST CENTRES OF LEARNING

Other Monasteries as Centres of Learning: From stray and casual references in the *Life* and *Travells* of Yuan Chwang, we learn that (1) Jayendra monastery near the capital of Kashmir, (2 & 3) Chinapati and Jallandar monasteries in the Punjab, (4) Matipur monastery in Bijnor district, U. P., (5) Bhadra monastery near Kanauj, (6) a monastery in Hiraṇya (?) country, and (7) and another at Amraoti in Andhra country were notable centres of learning in the 7th century.[2] At most of these monasteries Yuan Chwang stayed for several months in order to study Buddhist works and get their copies. Their presiding abbots were distinguished authors, widely known in the country. At the time of Yuan Chwang's visit in the 7th century we must remember that Buddhism was on the decline in the country, and yet so many monasteries were flourishing centres of Buddhist learning. Budhism continued to be strong in Bihar and Bengal down to the 12th century A. D. and we find monasteries in that province like those at Odantapuri and Jagadalla Vihar (founded by king

1. Raverty's translation of *Tabākāt-i-Nāsiri*, Vol. I, p. 552; (1881).
2. See *Life*, pp. 69-70, 77, 81, 84, 127 and 137 respectively.

Rāmapāla at his capital Rāmāvtī) were famous centres of learning, spreading the holy knowledge both in India and abroad. We would not be wrong if we assume that during the days of Buddhist ascendancy, at least ten per cent of the well-endowed monasteries were respectable centres of learning and education, at least of the status of modern degree colleges. The contribution of Buddhism to the cause of learning and education was thus very great.

HINDU TEMPLE COLLEGES.

Introduction: We have seen already how educational activity became a part of the daily monastic life fairly early in the history of Buddhism. It is, however, only from the 10th century that we get evidence of Hindu temples becoming centres of higher education. It is however quite possible that temples began to undertake educational work much earlier, though we have yet no evidence on the point. The causes that led to this new development have been indicated already at pp. 72-3.

SALOTGI TEMPLE COLLEGE.

A Famous and Free College: The village of Salotgi in Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency was a famous centre, probably of Vedic learning, in the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. The Sanskrit college that flourished at this place must have existed for a long time, for it eventually transformed the original name of the place, Pāviṭṭage, into Sāloṭgi, which is an abbreviated and Prakritised compound of Śālā and Pāviṭṭage. The college was located in a spacious hall, attached to the temple of Trayī-Purusha, which was built by Nārāyaṇa, a minister of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III. Owing to its far spread fame for efficiency, the college could attract students from

different parts of the country. The strength of the college is not known, but it seems that 27 houses were necessary for lodging the students. An endowment of 12 Nivartanas (probably equal to 60 acres) of land was made for meeting the lighting charges of the boarding houses.[1] The students were offered free boarding, an endowement of 500 Nivartanas having been received for that purpose. It would appear that at least 200 students were offered free boarding, lodging and education at this institution. The salary of the principal was provided for by another endowment of 50 Nivartanas. The inscription is silent about the salaries of the other teachers.

Public Support: The inhabitants of the village were not slow to appreciate the benefits of the institution; they had agreed to offer to the college a donation of five rupees at every marriage, of two and half rupees at every Upanayana and of a rupee and quarter at every tonsure ceremony. Besides whenever

1. The relevant verses from the inscription are given below :—

नारायणोऽभिधानेन नारायण इवापरः ।
प्रधानः कृष्णराजस्य मन्त्री सन्सन्धिविग्रहे ॥
तेनेयं कारिता शाला श्रीविशाला मनोरमा ।
अत्र विद्यार्थिनः संति नानाजनपदोद्भवाः ।
शालाविद्यार्थिसंघाय दत्तवान्भूमिमुत्तमाम् ।
मान्यां निवर्तनानां तु पंचभिश्च शतैर्मिताम् ॥
निवर्तनानि दीपार्थं मान्यानि द्वादशैव च ।
पंच पुष्पाणि देयानि विवाहे सति तज्जनैः ।
देयं तथोपनयने विवाहे यत्पुरोदितम् ॥
केनचित्कारणेनेह कर्तव्ये विप्रभोजने ।
भोजयेत्तु यथाशक्ति परिषत्परिषज्जनम् ॥ *EIV p. 60. L.*

a feast was given in the village, the host was expected to invite as many teachers and students as possible. A later inscription from the same place informs us that when the college hall built by the minister of Kṛishṇa III in 945 A. D. crumbled down in the next century, it was rebuilt by a local magnate.

ENNĀYIRAM TEMPLE COLLEGE.[1]

The Strength of the College; Subjects Taught: At the beginning of the 11th century A. D. there existed a famous and well organised college at Ennāyiram in South Arcott district, which was an educational institution of the modern type, with a staff of sixteen teachers, engaged in teaching a predetermined curriculum. The local village community had endowed the college with 300 acres of landed property, thus enabling its authorities to offer free tuition, boarding and lodging to 340 students. The admission of students was governed by the principle of the reservation of a fixed number of seats for different subjects. Thus 75 seats were reserved for the Ṛigveda and Black Yajurveda each, 40 seats for the Sāmaveda, 20 for the White Yajurveda, 10 for the Atharvaveda, Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra and Vedānta each, 25 for grammar, 35 for *Mīmānsā* and 40 for *Rūpāvatāra* (?). The institution was thus predominently a Vedic college.

Number of Teachers: For the Ṛigveda and Black Yajurveda, there were three teachers each, for the *Mīmānsā* two, and for the rest of the subjects one each. There were 16 teachers for 340 students, and so the average number of students per teacher was about 22. Students therefore must have received

1. *S. I. E. R.* for 1918, p. 145, Inscription No. 883 for 1917

personal attention and instructions. Big classes like those existing in modern colleges were unknown.

Maintenance Allowance to Students: The college supplied free boarding to students, and we have interesting information about the rations allowed per head. Each Vedic student received about one seer of rice per day and this quantity was sufficient for the daily meals. He also received annually an allowances of about one eighth *tola* of gold, which was probably intended to cover the clothing expenses. The allowance for the students of grammar and philosophy was about 66 per cent higher; the reason for this preferential treatment is not clear.

The Salaries of Teachers: The normal allowance for the teachers of the college was about 16 seers of rice every day. The cost of an ordinary meal was about half a seer of rice ; an ordinary Sanskrit teacher was thus getting as his salary about three times the amount necessary for the food expenses of a family of five. He was thus receiving a salary just sufficient for his normal family responsibilities. He was neither rolling in riches nor suffering from abject poverty. Philosophy (Vedānta) was apparently regarded as a difficult subject, for the salary of the teacher of the subject was 25 percent higher.

TIRUMUKKUDAL TEMPLE COLLEGE.[1]

General Organisation: During the 11th century, Venkatesh Perumal Temple at Tirumukkudal in Chingleput district was a very interesting institution, for it was running a college, a hostel and a hospital. The college was a smaller institution than the one

1. *E. I.*, XXI, No. 220.

at Ennāyiram, for arrangement was here made for the free boarding and lodging of 60 students only. Out of the 60 seats in the hostel, 10 were reserved for the students of the Ṛigveda, 10 for those of the Yajurveda, 20 for those of grammar, 10 for those of the Pañcha-rātra system, 3 for those of Śaivāgama and 7 for Vānaprasthas and Sanyāsins. All the students in the hostel were provided with oil for bath every Saturday.

Teachers' Salaries: The teachers' salaries in this institution were lower than those in the Ennāyiram college. Vedic teachers used to receive only about three seers of rice every day; their salary was thus about one sixth the salary that was paid in the Ennāyiram college. Vedic teachers of this institution were apparently part-time teachers; for their salary is seen to be practically the same as the wages of the servant appointed in the temple hospital for fetching medicinal herbs and preparing medicines. The grammar teacher was apparently a full time employee, for he received about eight seers of rice every day. His pay was thus half the pay of the teacher at Ennāyiram. In ancient as in modern times, salaries of teachers varied with the financial condition of educational institutions.

TIRUVORRIYUR TEMPLE COLLEGE[1]

A Grammar College in Memory of Panini: During the 13th century there was a big grammar college at Tiruvorriyur in Chingleput district. The college was located in a big hall adjoining the local Śiva temple. There was a tradition current in the locality that God Śiva had appeared in this very

1. *S. I. E. R.* for 1912, No. 201 of 1912

temple before Pāṇini for fourteen continuous days in order to teach him the first fourteen aphorisms; the village community had therefore organised an efficient grammar college in the Śiva temple to commemorate the event. The college was a much bigger institution than the Ennāyiram college. In the latter place an endowment of 300 acres had enabled the organisers to arrange for the free food and education of 340 students. The Tiruvorriyur college had received an endowment of 400 acres; we may not be therefore far wrong in assuming that this grammar college must have had more than 450 students on its rolls. The number of teachers was probably about 15 to 20. This college went on performing its functions down to the 14th century; for a record, about a century later than the previous one, mentions how certain additional taxes were assigned for the upkeep of the grammar college.[1] Details about the management of this college are not available.

MALKAPURAM TEMPLE COLLEGE.

A Temple, College, Hostel and Hospital combined: An inscription from Malkapuram, dated 1268 A. D.,[2] reveals the existence of an institution which was a temple, a college, a hostel and a hospital combined. There were eight teachers in the college, three for the Vedas and five for the secular subjcets consisting of grammar, literature, logic and Āgamas. There was one doctor in charge of the hospital. In the south Indian colleges we have seen so far, there used to be about 20 students on the average under the charge of each teacher. The Malkapuram college therefore had probably about 150 students. They were as usual offered free tuition, boarding, lodging and medicine.

1. *Ibid.* No. 110 of 1912
2. *S. I. E. R.*, for 1917. pp. 122-24

Teachers' pay: Each teacher was given an endowment of two *puṭṭis* of land. We do not know anything about the net income of this land endowment. The inscription, however, states that the carpenters and drummers of the temple establishment were assigned one *puṭṭi* of land for their wages. The teacher's income was thus twice the wages of the skilled labourer. The society was offering him just what was necessary for a decent family life. The salary of the principal was 100 *nishkas*; it is difficult to assess its real value as the denotation of the term *nishka* at this period is not definitely known.

SOMES OTHER TEMPLE COLLEGS

Temple Colleges fairly common in south India: We have got somewhat detailed information about the free Sanskrit colleges that were organised in the five temple establishments mentioned above. There are, however, clear indications that there were many more similar temple colleges in the Deccan in the medieval times (*c.* 900—1400 A. D.). Thus at Hebbal in Dharwar district there existed a Maṭha in Bhujabbeśvara temple in the 10th century A. D., which had received an endowment of about two hundred acres of land for giving free tuition and boarding to students. About 200 students must have been receiving free education here.[1] At Nagai in Nizam's dominions, there existed a big temple Sanskrit college in the 11th century where two hunndred students were instructed in Vedic lore, two hundred in Smṛitis, one hundred in epics, and fifty two in philosophy. The library of the institute employed six librarians.[2] In 1075

1. *E. I.*, IV, p. 355.
2. *Hyd. Arch.. S.*, No. 8, p. 7.

A.D., a temple at Bijapur received a big endowment of about 1200 acres of land for providing food and raiments to ascetics and to the pupils of Yogeśvara Paṇḍita, who was conducting a free Mīmānsā school there.[1] To judge from the endowment, the college of this Paṇḍita must have been much bigger than that at Ennāyiram. At Managoli in Bijapur district, during the latter half of the 12th century, a local temple used to maintain a grammar school where Kaumāra grammar was taught by a teacher, who was given an endowment of 20 acres of land[2]. At about the same time the Dakshiṇeśvara temple authorities at Belgamve in Karnatak used to offer free boarding to students studying in the temple school.[3] In 1158 A. D. there flourished at Talgund in Shimoga district a small Sanskrit college in the local Prāṇeśvara temple, where free food and education was offered to 48 students, studying the Ṛigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, Prābhākara-Mīmānsā, philosophy (Vedānta), linguistics (Bhāshā-śāstra) and Canarese. The institution had employed two cooks to manage the kitchen of the boarding house. At Punnavayil in Tanjore District there existed another grammar college, attached to a local temple and endowed with 400 acres of land. As the endowment for the maintenance of this institution was larger than that enjoyed by the Ennāyiram college, it is quite likely that it may have afforded free education and food to about 500 students.[4] South Indian Inscriptions Nos. 604, 667, 571, and 695 of 1916 record various grants for the salaries of teachers and boarding of students studying

1. *I. A.*, X, pp. 129-31.
2. *E. I.*, V, p. 22.
3. *E. C.*, L No. 45.
4. *S. I. E. R.* for 1918, pp. 109-110.

in different temple colleges in Tamil country. The last of these records is an interesting one, for it records a donation for a *Sarasvatī-bhavana* or library of a temple college in Tinevelli district. These instances of temple authorities organising Sanskrit schools and colleges are typical of the age. Many more must have existed, whose memory has not been handed down to the present times. For, down to the 18th century almost every religious centre in south India used to maintain a Sanskrit school or college. The whole country was in fact studded with them[1].

Temple colleges in northern India: Instances of temple colleges given above all hail from South India. It is not however correct to suppose that no such institutions existed in north India, because they are not referred to in any north Indian inscriptions. A very large number of north Indian temples have been destroyed, along with their documents of antiquity, during the Muslim invasions and rule. If all the documents conveying extensive properties to most of the rich temples in north India are recovered, it would be almost certainly found that a considerable portion of the temple property was originally intended for educational purposes. Temple authorities used to discharge their duty to impart education; one of the reasons that impelled Aurangzeb to destroy Hindu temples was the report that Brahmanas of Sindh, Multan and Benares were using their temples as schools. It is thus clear that in North India also, the important temples were centres of education throughout the middle ages.

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1. *Report of the Madras Committee, Education Commission*, 1882, p. 1, foot-note.

AGRAHĀRA VILLAGES AS CENTRES OF LEARNING.

What is an Agrahara Village?: On auspicious occasions, kings used to invite learned Brahmanas, settle them in villages and assign their revenues to them for their maintenance. Such villages were called Agrahāra villages, and they naturally became centres of learning where higher education was imparted free in different branches of Sanskrit studies. We shall give here information about two such Agrahāra villages, which were typical of their class.

Kadiyur Agrahara: The village of Kādiyur, modern Kalas, in Dharwar district in Karnatak, was made an Agrahāra village in the 10th century by the Rāshṭrakūṭa administration, and assigned to 200 Brahmanas, who were well versed in Vedas, grammar, Purāṇas, logic works on polity, the science of literary composition and the art of writing commentaries.[1] The village was famous as an efficient centre of education and its Brahmana residents naturally were proud of its reputation. It may be pointed out that the educational activity of this Brahmana centre was not confined to the Vedic studies only; poetics, grammar, logic, Purāṇas and the political science were included in the curriculum. An endowment had been also received for the salaries of some teachers. A free feeding house was maintained in the village; it was most probably intended for the poor students studying in the local institution.

Sarvajnapura Agrahara: Sarvajñapura (modern Arsikere in Hassan District, Mysore) was another Agrahāra village, which, as its name would indicate,

1. *E. I.*, XIII. p. 317.

was a famous centre of learning. An inscription discovered at this place gives us a graphic description of its literary and pedagogic activities. "In some of its streets the Brahmanas were reading the Vedas, Śāstras and six systems of philosophy; every group of Brahmanas was either reading the Vedas or engaged in listening to the exposition of some higher science, or carrying on ceaseless discussion on logic, or joyously reciting the Purāṇas or settling the meaning of the Smṛitis, drama or poetry. All the Brahmanas of Sarvajñapura were devoted to study, teaching and listening to the dictates of religion and morality."[1]

Numerous centres of Higher Education: The above two Agrahāra villages were but typical of their class. As a rule in every Agrahāra village free instructions were given in different branches of Sanskrit learning by the Brahmana donees in return for the provision made for their livelihood by the state or sociey.[2] Sometimes non-Agrahāra villages also, like Bāhur, 15 miles south of Pondichery, were important centres of higher education receiving grants of the revenues of several villages because they were famous centres of well-known scholars, hailing from all parts of the country.[3] Agrahāra villages and endowed temples and monasteries were fairly numerous in ancient India; there used to be at least two or three of them in an area equal to the modern district. We may therefore well conclude that

1. *E. C.*, V, p. 144.

2. Cf. एतेषु किलाग्रहारेषु केचिज्जपन्ति। अपरे पाठयन्ति। केचित्पठन्ति। अन्ये तत्वविद्यामुपदिशन्ति। इतरे अध्यापयन्ति। पश्य पश्य। *Keralābharaṇam.*

3. *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 14.

centres for higher education were more numerous in medieval times (c. 600-1300 A. D.) than they are today in modern India.

Tols: Before concluding this chapter, it will be necessary to refer to *Tols* or Sanskrit schools which are still fairly numerous in Bengal, Bihar and United Provinces. From very early times, Tols have enjoyed grants of land, on which their teachers and pupils subsisted. These grants were augmented in value and new ones were created when the Zemindars felt themselves secure by the Permanent Settlement of Cornwalis[1]. Where there was no specific endowment, the village Pandit used to arrange for the free boarding, lodging and clothing of his students by collecting the necessary funds by raising subscriptions at chief fairs and festivals, and from rich charitable persons. Tols thus are a variety of the *Agrahāra* type of educational institutions.

The classes are usually held in a thatched house. As a rule, each Tol enrolls about 25 students, who are accommodated in mud huts built round the school house. Study courses usually extend over six to eight years and enable the students to appear for the Praveśikā or Admission examination in Sanskrit.

Tradition of free Education: It is indeed noteworthy that such tradition of free education should have persisted in spite of foreign rule of several centuries. Learned Brahmanas in India have always been anxious to impart education free to deserving students irrespective of their own financial condition. This tradition exists even today in ancient centres of

1. *Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee, Education Commission*, 1882.

Sanskrit education like Benares, Nasik, Wai and Nadia. The conclusion therefore seems to be irresistible that in the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history, every student, howsoever poor he may have been, could get the highest education free, provided he was willing, if necessary, to do some manual or menial work for his teacher. Poor parents had not to worry about the educational expenses; their sons could either find admission to free boarding houses or maintain themselves by begging their food daily, which was regarded as the most honorable means of livelihood.

Chapter VI.

HIGHER LITERARY EDUCATION.:

Curriculum, method of teaching and examinations.

Subjects and methods of study in the early Vedic period- And in the later Vedic period-The method of study changes at *c.* 1000 B. C. New topics of study-Combination of liberal and useful education-Vedic studies in the 1st millennium A D —An age of specialisation-Ascendancy of Sanskrit-Courses in grammar, astrology, literature, Smritis, Purāṇas, logic and philosophy–Courses for laymen and monks in Buddhist colleges-Selection of text-books.

Method of teaching and study-Books normally not available, hence the oral method of instruction-Importance of recitation and recapitulation-Texts memorised bnt not crammed-Great importance attached to exposition and debate-Individual attention-Help of monitors–No annual or final examinations–No degrees and diplomas-Competitive element kept within limit.

Introductory: The history of ancient Indian education is spread over several millennia and we therefore naturally find considerable changes taking place in the curricula in the course of centuries. This is but natural; for the curriculum is intimately connected with the achievements and aspirations of a people. When the outlook on life changes or when new branches of knowledge are developed, extensive changes become inevitable in the curriculum followed in schools and colleges. In the present chapter, we shall indicate the main topics of study on the literary side, point out the changes in the curricula that took place in the different ages, discuss the methods of study and teaching and ascertain what importance was attached to examinations.

EARLY VEDIC AGE (*C.* upto 1500 B. C.)

Subjects of Study: The Vedic literature naturally

formed the main topic of study in this period. Besides the sacred hymns, there were also some historical poems, ballads and hero-songs[1] in existence, which were also committed to memory by the young scholars of the day, as they often helped the elucidation of many references contained in the Vedic hymns. Students were required to master the principles of prosody and encouraged to develop the powers of versification. Those who intended to follow the priestly profession had to study the details of the rituals associated with the hymns they had committed to memory. The study of elementary geometry, the knowledge of which was necessary for the proper construction of sacrificial altars, was also included in the Vedic course. A knowledge of astronomy, which had enabled the age to find out the difference between the lunar and solar months, was also imparted. Grammar and etymology did not trouble the students of this age because they were yet to be developed. Vedic studies usually began at about the age of nine or ten and Initiation Ceremony known as Upanayana was performed at their commencement. The nature, details, and educational significance of this ceremony will be found discussed in Appendix I, B.

The Method of Study : Vedic hymns were studied in this period as specimens of literature to be understood, appreciated, imitated and even excelled if posssible. New hymns[2] were being composed and the authors of some of them claimed that they were

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1. Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Nārāśansī Gāthā are mentioned as early as the *Atharvaveda* ; XV. 1.

2. The very second stanza of the *Ṛigveda*, for instance, refers to the earlier and later poets of the Vedic collection ; cf. अग्निः पूर्वेभिर्ऋषिभिरीड्यो नूतनैर्वा उत । I. 1. 2.

superior to the compositions of the earlier poets.[1] It is interesting to note that some of the poems of the later poets were selected for inclusion in the Vedic collection when it was made in a subsequent age. As new hymns were being composed by contemporary authors, it is but natural that they were not yet regarded as revealed. It was therefore not at all felt necessary that they should be committed to memory so meticulously as not to render possible a single mistake of accent or intonation. Professional priests must of course have committed the hymns very thoroughly to memory in order to ensure facility in their use during the performance of the different rituals. But the mass of people consisting of the warriors, agriculturists and artisans used to learn by heart only some select Vedic hymns, and these too in the same way in which the songs of medieval saints are memorised by the Hindu masses today. More effort was made to understand the meaning of the hymns than to remember their exact wording.

LATER VEDIC AGE

(*C.* 1500 to 1000 B. C.)

The Subjects of Study : The mass of the Vedic hymns was classified in this period and as a result, the *Ṛigveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda* and the *Atharvaveda* came into existence. This led to specialisation in Vedic studies and facilitated the growth of a new type of literature, known as Brāhmaṇa literature, which devoted itself to the exposition of a number of important dogmas, theories

1. नवं नु स्तोममग्नये दिवःश्येनाय जीजनम् । वस्वः कुविद्वनाति नः ॥ V. 15. 4.
Cf. also *R. V.*, VII. 35. 14 ; III. 32. 13.

and practices connected with Vedic sacrifices. Sacrificial rituals became very complex and complicated in this period and the professional priests had to devote several years in mastering their details and intricacies. The study of astronomy, geometry and prosody contiuned to progress in this period. The development of the sciences of grammar and etymology started in this age and manuals on these subjects were included in the curriculum.

The Method of Study: The Vedic hymns were being gradually differentiated from the Vedic language and it was felt that the sacred literature should be preserved in its pristine form and purity, and should not be allowed to change with the spoken idiom. Vedic scholars of this period began to insist that Vedic hymns should be carefully committed to memory in their precise traditional intonation and accents. Students were not at liberty to change a difficult archaic word for a simple current one. The differentiation of the spoken dialect from the Vedic language raised new problems of interpretation and the age sought to solve them by preparing a list of difficult Vedic words and expressions. which were carefully expounded to students. Vedic students were expected not only to memorise the Vedic hymns, but also to explain their meaning. Ridicule was poured on them if they failed to expound what they had learnt by heart.[1] Learned discussions were a normal and important feature of the student life and young scholars were very anxious to come out successful in them.[2]

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1. स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् । *Nir.*, I. 18 See also, *ibid*, 1. 19.

2. *A. V.*, VII. 12, 13; II. 27.

THE AGE OF THE UPANISHADS AND THE SŪTRAS

(First millennium B. C.)

VEDIC STUDIES; METHOD CHANGED: The Vedic literature began to be universally regarded as revealed in this period and that honour was gradually extended to the Brāhmaṇas[1] and the Upanishads also. Vedic schools had to perform the onerous task of preserving this great and growing literature. The art of writing was known by this time, but its aid was not taken for this purpose, as it was believed that it would be irreligious to do so[2]. The theory that the slightest mistake in the recitation of the Vedic hymns would not only prevent the realisation of the expected reward, but would also bring about a disaster on the reciter[3], gained ground in this period and necessitated the devotion of a large part of the energy of the rising generation to the task of the accurate memorising of the Vedic literature. Extraordinary precautions were taken to prevent the corruption of the Vedic text by devising the *pada-pāṭha*,[4] *krama-pāṭha*, *jaāṭ-pāṭha*

1. The prose literature devoted to the task of explaining the rituals, legends and knotty points about the sacrifices enjoined in the Vedic hymns was known by this name. It should not be mistaken with the members of the Brahmana caste.

2. Cf. वेदानां लेखकाश्चैव सर्वे निरयगामिनः ।

3. मंत्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ।

4. The *pada-pāṭha* required the students to memorise each word in the Vedic hymns separately after restoring it to its original form. Supposing *a*, *b*, and *c* were the three opening words of a hymn, the *krama-pāṭha* recited them as *ab*, *bc*, etc., the *jaṭā-pāṭha* as *ab*, *ba*, *ab*, etc., and the *ghana-pāṭha* as *ab*, *ba*, *abc*, *cba*, *abc*. The reader will now get some idea of the onerousness of the task of memorising these *pāṭhas*.

and *ghana-pāṭha*, and all these had to be committed to memory by those who desired to be regarded as experts in the Vedic lore. This further increased the burden on the memory. As centuries rolled on, it became more and more difficult for the Vedic expert to memorise this extensive and growing literature and also to understand its meaning; for the spoken dialect was becoming more and more differentiated from the Vedic language. It was therefore decided towards the end of this period that some Vedic scholars should devote their energies to the mechanical memorising of this extensive literature with a view to prevent its loss, while others should address themselves to the problem of its interpretation by studying commentaries, etymology, lexicography, etc. But for this differentiation of function, the extensive Vedic literature could not have been preserved for posterity. This arrangement no doubt exposed some Brahmanas to the taunt of being mere parrot-like reciters of the Vedic hymns. It is gratifying to find that they did not mind it in the wider interest of the preservation of the national literature and culture.

New Topics of Study: The period under review was the most creative era in the history of the Hindu intellect; it recorded remarkable achievements in the realm of philosophy, sacred law, epic literature, philology, grammar, astronomy and several fine and useful arts like sculpture, medicine and shipbuilding. On the one hand the development of these branches naturally created a new fascination for the students of the age, and on the other, the rise of the protestant movements led by the Upanishadic, Jain and Buddhist thinkers told on the popularity of the Vedic religion and literature. The current language had now become very widely differentiated from the

Vedic idiom and thus created a new difficulty in the Vedic studies. As a combined consequence of all these factors, Vedic studies fell into background towards the end of this period and greater attention began to be paid to the cultivation of the new branches of learning referred to above.

Combination of Liberal and Useful Education: Several references in the contemporary literature indicate that an attempt was made in this period to combine liberal with professional or useful education. Graduates of this age are usually described as well versed in the Vedas as well as in eighteen *sippas*, i. e. practical arts and sciences.[1] These latter included archery, military art, medicine, magic, snake charming, conveyancing, administrative training, music, dancing, painting, engineering, etc[2]. It is of course clear that no graduate could get mastery in all the Vedas as well as in all the *sippas* as is suggested by some passages; it is however clear from some references in Jātakas that literary education was combined with one of the useful professions referred to above in the famous centres of education like Taxila. This practice enabled the average literary student to stand on his own legs.

THE AGE OF THE SMṚITIS, PURĀṆAS AND NIBANDHAS.

(1st century A. D. to *c.* 1200 A. D.)

Vedic Studies: The Vedic studies fell further into background during this period. A sufficient number of Brahmanas however was always available to preserve

1. *Chh. Up.*, VII. 1. 2. *Mil. P.* Vol. I. p; 247
2. See Appendix IV

and transmit the Vedic literature to the generations unborn. They used to do their work very thoroughly, for the experts among them would memorise not only the Vedic hymns, but also their *pada-pāṭha krama-pāṭha, jaṭā-pāṭha and ghana-pāṭha.*[1] They used to master the details connected with the numerous Vedic sacrifices also. Some of them used to study two, three or even four Vedas and were therefore known as Dvivedins, Trivedins, and Chaturvedins respectively. Many donees of the copperplate grants of this period bear these surnames; they could have become eligible for them only by prolonged and almost life-long devotion to the cause of Vedic studies. This devotion was almost tragic; it did not bring any adequate pecuniary compensation, and required them to memorise texts, which not they, but others, could understand and expound. The number of the Vedic scholars, devoting themselves to the task of interpreting and expounding Vedic hymns, dwindled down very considerably during this period. Vedic studies therefore usually meant the mere cramming of the sacred texts and were often commented upon very adversely by some thinkers of the age, some of whom went to the extent of declaring that the intellect is deadened and rendered useless by the parrot-like cramming of the Vedic hymns.[2] Kings of this age were more disposed to extend their patronage to poets, who could compliment them by composing neat poems in their honour,[3] than to Vedic

1. See *ante*, p. 147.

2. नानुवाकहता बुद्धिर्व्यवहारक्षमा भवेत् ।
अनुवाकहता या तु न सा सर्वत्रगामिनी ॥ Śukra, III. 261

3. The Vedic Brahmanas are sarcastically described by the door-keepers of king Bhoja as follows:—राजमाषनिभैर्दन्तैः कटिविन्यस्तपाणयः । द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति राजेन्द्र छान्दसाः श्लोकशत्रवः ॥ They complain

Brahmanas, who could recite hymns, which neither they themselves nor their hearers could understand. New branches of learning like philosophy and *belles letters* also appealed more powerfully to the intellect and emotions of the rising generation. In spite of these adverse and discouraging factors Vaidika Brahmanas continued to address themselves to the almost thankless task of memorising the vast Vedic literature, which could not have been preserved but for their devotion to duty.

An age of Specialisation : We have already mentioned the new branches of study that came into prominence during the preceding period. The present age made its own contribution to the march of knowledge by further developing astronomy, astrology, poetics, classical Sanskrit literature, Dharmaśāstra (sacred and secular law), logic, and the different systems of orthodox and heterodox philosophy. As the help of paper, printing and cheap books was not available for the preservation and propagation of knowledge, the age naturally emphasised on specialisation, which gave a great impetus to the development of the different branches of knowledge.

The Ascendancy of Sanskrit : During the earlier centuries of this period, upto *c.* 300 A. D., some kings like the Sātavāhanas, the Ikshwākus and the Pallavas had championed the cause of Prakrit and directed that vernaculars alone should be used even in their official and public documents. As however the period advanced, the attraction of

(Continued from the last page.)

to Kālidāsa about their neglect as follows :—अस्माकं समग्रवेदविदामपि भोजः किमपि नार्पयति । भवादृशां हि यथेष्टं दत्ते । ततोऽस्माभिः कवित्व-विधानधियात्रागतम् । Kālidāsa then helps them. *Bhojaprabandha*, v. 86 and following.

Sanskrit became so irresistible that some kings like the Guptas went to the extent of ordering the use of that language even in their harems[1]. Prakrits ceased to be used for public documents and even the Buddhists and the Jains disregarded the advice of the founders of their religions and began to compose works in Sanskrit. The revival of Sanskrit during this period produced results more or less similar to those brought about in Europe by the discovery and study of the classics during the time of the Renaissance. All the attention of the educated classes was devoted to the cultivation of Sanskrit. This led to the neglect of vernaculars through which alone the masses could be approached. This eventually tended to confine education only to higher classes.

Preliminary Sanskrit Course : The study of the different branches of knowledge that were flourishing in this age was preceded by a preliminary course in Sanskrit. After the Upanayana ceremony at about the the age of 8, all students used to memorise a few important Vedic hymns necessary for their daily or ceremonial needs. Then they used to devote four or five years to the study of elementary Sanskrit grammar and literature. At about the age of 13 or 14, the student used to be able to understand Sanskrit works on subjects like logic, philosophy, poetics, astronomy and mathematics. He then used to select one of these subjects for specialisation and devote about ten years to its study.

Popularity of Grammar and Astrology : Among the subjects cultivated during this period, the courses of advanced grammar and astronomy-cum-astrology were very popular, as attested to both by Yuan

1. *Kāvyamimānsā*, p. 50.

Chwang and Alberuni. The demand for experts in grammar was as keen during this age as the demand for the teachers trained in English is today. Every school for higher education had to engage several grammarians in order to give the necessary instructions in Sanskrit language, which was the key subject. The age believed in astrology and astrologers were in great demand throughout the country for preparing and interpreting almanacs and prognosticating future events. The royal courts also used to engage the services of several astrologers.

The Course in Sanskrit Literature. The students of this subject were naturally required first to complete their course in grammar and *kosha* (vocabulary) and then enjoined a study of some famous authors like Kālidāsa, Bharṭrihari or Bāṇa. Particular attention was paid to prosody and poetics, and students were expected not only to understand the classical authors, but also to compose fairly good poems imitating their style. In order to get a general knowledge of the culture of the race, they were also required to study the epics, the Purāṇas and traditional stories. They were further trained to be good debators; the ability to defend one's own position in learned assemblies and the capacity to compose a good poem in a very short time were regarded as the most important criteria of good scholarship.

The Courses in Smritis and Puranas: Almost as popular as the courses in grammar and astrology were the courses in Purāṇas and Smṛitis whose hold over the popular mind during this age was almost as great as that of the Vedic literature in the earlier periods. Popular Hindu religion had greatly changed its complexion during this period and its

theories and practices could be ascertained only from Smṛitis and Purāṇas, which therefore had to be mastered even by the village priest. The courses in these subjects prescribed a good mastery of Sanskrit grammar and classical Sanskrit literature and a special study of select Sūtras, Smṛitis and Purāṇas. More emphasis was laid on understanding the meaning of the works concerned than on committing them to memory. Usually the students of Smṛitis and Purāṇas took the help of a manuscript when expounding their contents; there was no prejudice against utilising the art of writing for preserving them.

Courses in Logic and Philosophy : The age we are reviewing was reverberating with controversies among the followers of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Within the fold of Hinduism itself, the followers of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Mīmānsā and Vedānta were contending for supremacy. It was but natural that these controversies should have given an impetus to the study of metaphysics. After getting a preliminary grounding in grammar and literature, the students of the subject used to select one of the systems of philosophy for specialisation and master its most advanced and difficult works. The study of philosophy presupposed a study of logic during this period; so students of philosophy used to devote considerable time to the study of logic also. The young graduate in philosophy was however expected not only to expound and defend his own system but also to attack and refute those of his opponents. The course therefore included a comparative study of the contending systems of metaphysics. Hindu philosophers like Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkarāchārya and

1. *Kāvyamīmānsā*, pp. 49-50.

Buddhist scholars like Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu used to master the systems of their opponents as well. In a famous philosophical college situated in a sylvan retreat in the Vindhya mountain presided over by Divākarasena, a Brahmana convert to Buddhism, students of Hinduism, Buddhism and Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jainism studied together side by side under the same principal.[1] Such an arrangement naturally presupposes a comparative study of the rival systems leading to the broadening of the outlook and the deepening of the scholarship of the average student of the institution.

Courses for Laymen in Buddhist Colleges : For reasons already explained at p. 72, Buddhist monastic colleges began to take up the education of the laymen also from about the beginning of the Christian era. The courses prescribed for them were not radically different from those obtaining under sister institutions working under the aegis of Hinduism. Students started with a study of Sanskrit grammar and literature, which lasted for seven or eight years. They were also given some grounding in Pāli ; as pious Buddhists, they had to master some passages from the Pāli canon. At about the age of 15 or 16, their higher education commenced. Those who wanted to specialise in Sanskrit literature, Dharmaśāstra, astrology-cum-astronomy, medicine or works on polity and administration used to follow practically the same course as was in vogue in the Hindu colleges of the period. Those however who wanted to specialise in logic or philosophy used to select works by Buddhist authors on these subjects like Hetuvidyā, Abhidharmaśāstra, Nyāyānusāraśāstra etc. The followers of the Hīnayāna school used to

1. *Harshacharit*, Chap. VIII.

specialise in Tripiṭakas and other early works of orthodox Buddism, whereas those of the Mahāyāna school used to study the works of their famous scholars like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti. Besides mastering their own works on philosophy, the Buddhist scholars used to study Hindu works on metaphysics as well.

Courses for Monks: The curriculum prescribed for the monk scholar was naturally somewhat different. It did not include any special study of secular sciences like poetics, literature or astrology, but was concerned principally with theological subjects. For ten years after his admission as a novice, the monk-student was under the direct guidance and control of his preceptor, who used to initiate him in the study of Pāli and Sanskrit. When these languages were properly mastered, a thorough study of the sacred texts, (the Tripiṭakas,) was started. When this was over, relatively recent works on Buddhist religion and philosophy were mastered. Hindu systems of religion, logic and philosophy were then carefully studied in order to meet the Hindu opponent on his own ground. It is interesting to note that Yuan Chwang, who had undertaken the arduous and perilous journey to India primarily for studying Buddhist scriptures, spent two fifth the period of his stay in India in studying Sanskrit works on Hinduism. The education of the novice did not terminate with his admission to the Order as a full-fledged monk. For, the Buddhist monk was expected to be a lifelong student like the Hindu Naishṭhika Brahmachārin.

Selection of Text-books: We have no definite information about the text-books prescribed for the various courses in different institutions during different

centuries. These must have gone on changing in course of time when better and more up-to-date books written by competent authorities became available. The selection of text books was usually governed by considerations of merit alone. An author had to submit his work to a synod of scholars at a famous centre of learning like Pāṭalīputra or Benares[1], and if it was found to be a work of merit by that body, it received its imprimateur, which helped its acceptance and spread in provincial towns. It should be however noted that no pecuniary gain was likely to accrue to an author by his book being prescribed in several institutions; for there was no press and copyright in ancient India. The adoption of a work as a text book in the schools of a province however increased the reputation of its author, and we sometimes come across writers adopting rather questionable means to get their books accepted. Ugrabhūti, the teacher of king Aṅaṅgapāla of the Punjab (*c.* 1010–*c.* 1020) is said to have induced his royal pupil to distribute two lakhs of *dirhams* (=about Rs. 60,000) among the Pandits of Kashmir in order to overcome successfully their reluctance to accept his new work on grammar called *Śishya-hitā-vṛitti*[2]. Such cases however were probably few. Usually books prescribed in a particular school were those in vogue at the centre where the principal and teachers of the school were educated. Hindus, Buddhists and Jains would often prefer works written by authors of their own persuasion in the case of a subject like logic, which was cultivated by all schools.

1. Pāṇini is reported to have come all the way to Pāṭalīputra from Śālātura in N. W. F. P, in order to get his famous grammar approved by the synod at that famous capital. Śaṅkarāchārya came to Benares from Malabar in order to seek the imprimateur of the Pandits of that place over his philosophical works.

2. Sachau, Alberuni, Vol. I, pp. 135-6.

METHOD OF TEACHING AND STUDY

General Conditions of the Times: Before describing and commenting upon the method of teaching and study current in ancient India, it is necessary that we should familiarise ourselves with the general conditions of the age. In the beginning the art of writing was unknown, and even when it was invented, it was not utilised for preserving and transmitting the Vedic literature, which for several centuries was the main topic of study. It was further held as imperatively necessary that the canonical literature should be memorised in the most meticulous way; there should be no possibility of the mistake even of a single accent. The service of the art of writing was no doubt utilised for preserving and teaching non-Vedic literature, but owing to the absence of paper and printing, books could be within the reach of the rich only. Being written on biroh leaves, they were fragile as well as costly. The average student could therefore not have his own copy of the text-book;[1] even the desire to possess one was regarded as a symptom of indolence.[2] Under such circumstances, extensive use of a library was altogether impracticable, nor could the help of visual instruction through the help of charts and pictures be possible. Oral instruction was the only available method of teaching and it was the cheapest and the most accurate.

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1. गीती शीघ्री शिरःकंपी तथा लिखितपाठकः ।
अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च षडेते पाठकाधमाः ॥
Pāṇinīya-śikshā, 32.

2. द्यूतं पुस्तकशुश्रूषा नाटकासक्तिरेव च ।
स्त्रियस्तन्द्री च निद्रा च विद्याविघ्नकराणि षट् ॥
Nārada in *S. O. S.* p. 52.

Method of Teaching in the Vedic Schools: Education therefore was for a long time imparted through the oral lesson, without the medium of a book. This method persisted in the Vedic schools down to recent times. The teacher used to pronounce only two words of the Vedic stanza at a time, which the student was asked to recite with exact intonation and accent. The number of words was reduced to one, if the expression happened to be a compound one.[1] If the student had any difficulty in the matter, it was explained to him. When a whole verse was thus taught to one student, he was dismissed and the same process was repeated with the next one. Necessarily every student used to receive individual attention under this system. The method of teaching was direct and personal and not even a text-book intervened between the teacher and the student.

Method of Teaching in non-Vedic Schools: The above method of teaching was extensively followed in other branches of learning also, no doubt with suitable modifications, when it was deemed necessary that certain texts should be memorised by the student. Small portions of the text were recited and explained by the teacher to the students; when they had understood them, each one was required to commit them to memory. It was in this way that students used to learn important books like the grammar of Pāṇini, the dictionary of Amara, the law-book of Manu or the work on poetics by Mammaṭa, which had to be committed to memory. Books being both costly and fragile, there was no other efficient alternative method of study, if it was desired that

1. *Ṛik-prātiśākhya*, Paṭala, XV.

students should aquire a mastery in their subjects, which should stand them in good stead throughout their lives. Learning in ancient times had to be at the tip of the tongue; a scholar asking for time to consult his notes or books could carry no prestige.[1] The highest ambition of an author of even the 12th century A. D. was, not that his work may adorn the shelves of the libraries of the learned, but that it may shine as an ornament on their neck, i. e. it should be memorised by them.[2]

Importance of Recitation and Recapitulation: Recitation and recapitulation therefore formed an important part in the daily routine of the student life. The home-work, which the student did in his spare time, did not consist of written exercises; it merely amounted to the recitation and recapitulation of lessons learnt already. Every day students were required to spend a part of their time in the school in jointly reciting a portion of the work they had committed to memory. As a result of this training, the memory of the average student in ancient India was very highly developed; he could perform feats of memorising which now we may regard as impossible. I-tsing rather obscurely refers to certain interesting aids to memory owing to which, after the practice of ten or fifteen days, the student felt 'his thoughts rising like a fountain and could commit to memory whatever he had but once heard'. 'This is far from a myth,'

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१. पुस्तकस्था तु या विद्या परहस्तगतं धनम् ।
कार्यकाले समुत्पन्ने न सा विद्या न तद्धनम् ॥
S. R. B., p. 168 v. 413.

२. तेन प्रीत्या विरचितमिदं काव्यमव्याजकान्तं ।
कर्णीटेन्दोर्जगति विदुषां कण्ठभूषात्वमेयात् ॥
Vikramāṅkadevacharit, XVIII 102.

says the Chinese traveller, 'for I have myself met such men.'[1] In an age when books were very rare, it was but meet that great emphasis should have been laid on the development of memory.

Special devices to help the memory: Though the memory of the average student was much better trained and developed than is the case now, the authors and educationalists left no stone unturned to lighten its burden. Ancient Indian educationalists had realised that rhime makes an appeal to æsthetic sensibility and facilitates the task of memorising. They therefore decided to utilise its help in the teaching work by composing text books in verse. Even dictionaries and elementary books on grammar were composed in verse. The development of the Sūtra style, where conclusions are stated in short and pithy sentences, is also due to the exigencies of the schools and colleges, the students of which had to rely more on their memory than on books and notes for recalling the contents of the works once studied by them.

Erroneous Impression about Cramming: The fact that the modern Vedic Pandit does not know the meaning of the hymns he recites with flawless accuracy, has led to an erroneous impression that mere cramming was encouraged by the ancient Indian educational system. Such however was not the case. We have already shown how for many centuries even Vedic scholars could expound the meaning of the hymns they had committed to memory; it was owing to the growth of the Vedic literature and the imperative necessity of committing the whole of it to memory, that it was reluctantly decided to assign the memo-

1. P. 188.

rising of the Vedic texts to one section of Brahmanas and their exposition to another. It had become humanly impossible to expect both the tasks to be done by the same individual.

The Place of Exposition in Teaching: It is no doubt true that some Sūtra works like those on grammar and philosophy, which were committed to memory, are so cryptic as to be mostly unintelligible by themselves. They were written in that style merely to lighten the burden on the student's memory. Their teaching was accompanied by extensive lectures, some of which used to be later embodied in commentaries. The teaching of the important works on philosophy, logic and poetics was hardly possible without exhaustive discussions pertaining to the views expounded and controverted. In these discussions there was an unravelling of the subject matter, distinctions and contra-distinctions were drawn, and an effort was made to show the reasonableness of one's position and the errors of the opponent[1]. The students of the various schools of orthodox and heterodox systems of religion and philosophy reading under Divākarasena used to listen to the exposition of their respective systems, deliberate on their natures, discuss their features, raise doubts on obscure themes, determine for themselves the main outlines and enter into discussion with the opponents[2]. The same procedure must have been followed in other colleges of philosophy. Reasoning and analysis formed the crux of the method of study and teaching. The medium of instruction in higher studies was naturally

1. *Mal. Pan.* Vol. I, p. 46.
2. *Harshacharit*, Chap. VIII.

Sanskrit; when however Prakrits and vernaculars developed, their help was also occasionally taken[1].

Testimony of Chinese Pilgrims: Indian teachers were past masters in the art of explanation and exposition; students from distant countries like Korea and China used to brave the dangers of the perilous journey to India, not because they wanted to learn by rote the scriptures of their religion, but because they were anxious to hear the exposition of obscure metaphysical passages which could be heard nowhere else. What Yuan Chwang valued in his Indian teachers was not their capacity to recite the sacred texts, but their remarkable ability in explaining obscure passages and offering illuminative suggestions on doubtful points.[2] About his Indian *gurus*, I-tsing says, 'I have been always very glad that I had an opportunity of aquiring knowledge from them personally, *which I should otherwise have never possessed*'[3]

The Place of Debates: Since early times, debates and discussions have always played an important part in the literary training of students. The Vedic literature refers to such literary combats and describes how the victors were suitably honoured (*R. V.*, X. 71). This Vedic tradition continued throughout the later history. *Śāstrārthas* or learned debates were constantly held in colleges where students of literature, poetics, philosophy and logic were called upon to defend their own propositions and attack those of their opponents. The training in debates made students ready-witted and developed their powers of speech.

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1. संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैर्वाक्यैर्यः शिष्यमनुरूपतः।
देशभाषाद्युपायैश्च बोधयेत्स गुरुः स्मृतः॥
Vishnudharma quoted by *V.M.S.*, p. 72 (Jivanand's editio
2. Beal, *Life*, pp. 76, 154, 160
3. P. 185

Other Devices in Teaching: The use of parables was often made in expounding obscure principles, as would appear from the plot of the *Hitopadeśa* and the *Pañchatantra*, where principles of politics are taught under the guise of telling stories about animals. The dialogue method was followed by many a philosopher, as would appear from the evidence of the Upanishads and the Buddhist Sūtras.[1] It enabled the teacher to ascertain the reactions in the student's mind to his own observations. The value of comparison and observation was also realised by many teachers who used to develop the power of understanding of dull students by asking them to carefully observe new facts and compare them with those already known.[2]

Individual Attention: We have already shown at pp. 82-3 how the classes in ancient India were usually small ones, consisting of not more than 15 or 20 students. It was therefore possible to give individual attention to each student. This was one of the strongest points in the ancient Indian system of education. Lectures to large classes of 100 or 200 students, which are unintelligible to some, superfluous to others and partially useful to the rest, were unknown in ancient India. Students could not afford to go to the class room without thorough preparation. There was a daily examination of every student and no new lesson was given until the old one was thoroughly mastered.[3] There were no annual examinations and mass promotions at fixed intervals.

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1. It is interesting to note that many of the commentaries are in the form of a dialogue between the teacher and the student. The earlier part advances a view such as a student may be expected to hold as plausible, the later part contains its correction or refutation, as may be done by a teacher in his lecture.
2. Jātaka No. 124.
3. *Mil Pan.*, I, p. 18.

Clever students were not compelled to mark time for their dull companions as under the modern system of education. The educational system ministered to the needs and individual capactity of each student. If a student was intelligent and industrious, he could finish his education much earlier than is possible in modern times. The idle and careless student had not as pleasant a prospect of a merry college life as he has in the present age. Yuan Chwang says, 'When disciples, intelligent and accute, are addicted to idle shirking, teachers doggedly persevere in repeating instructions until their training is finished'.[1] The Chinese traveller was very favourably impressed by the capacity of Indian teachers to rouse their students to activity and urge them to progress.

Monitorial System: In order to make personal supervision effective, the cooperation and help of advanced students were enlisted in the cause of education. They used to guide the studies of the juniors under the general supervision of their teachers. About the Valabhi college students, I-tsing observes that they used to pass two or three years, 'instructed by their teachers and instructing others'.[2] This system also obtained at Taxila; for instance, the Kuru prince Sutasoma, who aquired proficiency earlier, was entrusted with the teaching of his brother prince, the heir apparent of Benares.[3] Senior students at Taxila were often put in charge of their schools during the temporary absence of their teachers.[4] This method of entrusting teaching work to brilliant students had a great educational value.

1. Watters, I, p. 160.
2. P. 177.
3. Sutasoma-Jātaka, No. 537.
4. E. g., Sukha-vihāri Jātaka, No. 10.

It placed a high incentive before the student world. It afforded opportunities to intelligent students to learn the art of teaching, and thus indirectly performed the same function as the Teachers' Training Colleges discharge today. It increased the efficiency and decreased the cost of the school by affording intelligent and free assistance to the teacher. It is well known that Bell and Lancaster had based their Monitorial System on what one of them had observed in contemporary Indian schools.

Conclusion: It will be seen from the above discussion that the method of teaching followed in ancient India was on the whole the best suited for an age, which did not enjoy the advantages of paper and printing. It developed the powers of memory, a faculty which is being sadly neglected in modern times. It did not however encourage cramming, bacause the texts that were memorised were well understood by students. Reflection and analysis was also encouraged especially in the case of those students who had taken logic, philosophy, poetics or literature. Lucid exposition was a *forte* of Indian teachers, for which they were well known all over Asia during the first millennium of the Christian era. Debates were a normal feature of higher education. Individual attention was paid to the needs of students, which naturally ensured good results. The student must however have intelligence.[1] Hindu educationalists have pointed out that the best

1. वितरति गुरुः प्राज्ञे विद्यां यथैव तथा जडे ।
न च खलु तयोर्ज्ञाने शक्तिं करोत्यपहन्ति वा ॥
भवति च तयोर्भूयान्भेदः फलं प्रति तद्यथा ।
प्रभवति मणिर्बिंबोद्ग्राहे मणिर्न मृदां चयः ॥

Uttararāmachairt, Act, II.

method would not produce the ideal scholar at the end of the course automatically. Time also was an important factor. Maturity of intellect and scholarship would become possible only by the lapse of years properly utilised in reading and reflection by an intelligent student.[1]

EXAMINATIONS

No Annual or Final Examinations: We have already seen that there were no annual or periodical examinations in ancient India. New lessons were given to students only when the teacher was satisfied after a searching oral examination that the old one was thoroughly mastered. The end of the education course was not marked by any lengthy and exhaustive examination, but by the pupil reciting and explaining the last lesson.[2] The modern practice to submit the student to what is known as *Śalākā-parīkshā*, where he is asked to explain the problems discussed on a page opened at random, is not mentioned in ancient books. Even if it goes back to ancient times, it can hardly be compared to the modern system of examination. At the end of his education the scholar was presented to the local learned assembly, where occasionally some questions were asked.[3] This presentation took place when the Samāvartana (convocation) ceremony was over.[4] It is therefore clear that the eligibility of a student for Samāvartana or receiving the degree did not depend upon the opinion of the assembly, but upon the opinion of his teacher.

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1. आचार्यात्पादमादत्ते पादं शिष्यः स्वमेधया ।
   पादं सब्रह्मचारिभ्यः पादं कालक्रमेण तु ॥ *Subhāshitam.*
2. *Mil. Pan.*, I, p. 18.
3. *Br. U.*, VI, 2, 1 and 2.
4. *Dr. Gr. S.*, III 1, 26; *Āp. Gr. S.*, I, 11, 5.

Literary Tournaments: Rājaśekhara describes the examinations held in the royal court[1], and Charaka refers to heated discussions held in learned assemblies to test the relative merits of the contending physicians.[2] These examinations were, however, fundamentally different from modern degree examinations. Each participant in these literary affrays was anxious to prove, not that he possessed certain minimum qualifications, but that he was the best poet or physician in the land, entitled to precedence, honour and annuities from the royal court What Charaka or Rājaśekhara have in contemplation is not a routine examination, but an intellectual combat among the distinguished physicians and scholars of the age.

No Degrees or Diplomas: Since there were no degree examinations, there were naturally no degrees or diplomas. From Tārānātha we learn that the Pāla kings of Bengal, who were patrons and chancellors of the Vikramaśilā University, used to grant diplomas to students in a convocation held at the end of their education.[3] In medieval Bengal also learned bodies used to confer degrees like *Tarkachakravartī* and *Tarkālaṅkāra* on very distinguished scholars like Gadādhara and Jagadīśa. This practice of giving degrees and titles seems to be a new innovation of medieval times. Yuan Chwang informs us that unscrupulous scholars in the seventh century used to 'steal the name of Nālandā' in order to gain more respect[4]. This would not have been possible if the Nālandā University were in the habit of granting regular diplomas to those who had finished their

1 *Kāvya-mimāṅsā*, p. 55.
2 Vimānasthāna, 8.
3 Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, p. 61
4 Watters, II, p. 165.

courses there. Passing examinations and getting degrees, which dominate the present system of education, played hardly any part in ancient India. It was not the allurement of the degrees or the prizes but the thirst of knowledge or the desire to preserve the national heritage which was the main spring of the educational effort and activity.

Competition kept within Limits: The absence of annual examinations with prizes and scholarships for the top boys naturally kept the element of competition within proper limits. Bright and promising students were however selected as monitors and entrusted with the teaching of lower classes. So they also got their reward. The absence of alluring prizes and scholarships however naturaly did not make them burn midnight oil, often to the great detriment of their health.

No Degree to serve as a Shield: Students in ancient India had not to pass through the fiery ordeal of examinations ; their lot, however, was by no means more enviable than that of the modern students. Armed with his irrevocable degree, the modern graduate can afford to forget all that he had learnt, and no one can question his competence. The scholar in ancient India could not take shelter behind the buttress of a degree. He had to keep his scholarship fresh and up-to-date, for he was liable to be challenged at any moment for a literary affray (*Śāstrārtha*), and society used to judge his merit by the way in which he aquitted himself in such discussions. All that he had learnt, he had to keep ready at the tip of his tongue ; he could neither point to his diploma nor ask for time to refer to his note-books.

CHAPTER VII.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Primary education why not important in early times—It did not include the 3 R's before *c.* 1000 B. C.—Reading and writing included in it in the first millennium B. C.—Obligatory Upanayana helps the spread of literacy—The curriculum and agencies of primary education—The time of its commencement—Methods of teaching—Primary schools and teachers—Extent of literacy—Vernacular education—Literacy at *c.* 1800 A. D.

Primary Education not important in Ancient Times:—Having finished our survey of higher literary education in the last chapter, let us now turn to primary education. Primary education in the sense of the knowledge of the 3 R's has become important only in the modern age. At a time when paper and printing were unknown, the ability to read and write was not a very valuable or useful attainment for the smith, the carpenter or the agriculturist. Today it is rightly held that even the ordinary labourer or the artisan should receive primary education, for it enables him to utilise his spare time in reading useful literature which increases his knowledge, widens his outlook and makes him a more useful and intelligent member of society. Literacy however did not serve this purpose in ancient times both in the East and the West. Paper and printing being both unknown, books were fragile, costly and beyond the means of the average workman or the agriculturist. The ability to read and write did not thus afford the means of a wider intercourse with the thoughts and ideals of the best minds of the race, as far as the ordinary man was concerned. He could obtain access to the best wisdom of his nation rather by attending *Kathās* and

Kīrtanas (popular religious sermons) delivered by religious preachers, than by trying to reach the doors of a library, which was a rather rare institution. Primary education as an end in itself therefore did not appeal to ancient Indians; they could look upon it only as a step to higher education. It therefere naturally does not much occupy their thoughts; Smitis say next to nothing about it.

Kindergarten Stage: Problems connected with the Kindergarten stage of education did hardly engage the attention of ancient Indian thinkers. This need not surprise us, for in the West too they have been only recently tackled by educationalists. Our educationalists held that education was a serious affair and they were not very enthusiastic about combining it with play and games. They felt that a skilful teacher can make his lesson interesting by taking the help of the story and held that the use of the rhime was quite sufficient to make uninteresting things like multiplication tables quite attractive to the child. Like ancient thinkers in all other lands, they have not proposed any devices of the kindergarten type to make lessons attractive to the young child.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN EARLY TIMES
(Upto *c.* 1000 B. C.)

Modern Primary Education Non-existent:— It is a moot point whether the art of writing was known in the early Vedic period. Even if it was known, we must remember that its use for the preservation of sacred literature was tabooed for a long time. The latter continued to live only in the memory of scholars for several centuries. Secular literature had not yet come into existence, grammar and arithmetic were yet to be developed and

commerce was in a primitive condition not requiring any account keeping. Primary education in the sense of the knowledge of the 3 R's was thus impossible. It is significant to note that early times knew of no ritual to mark its commencement.[1]

The Nature of preliminary Training:—What the boys and girls were taught in their early school stage was not how to read and write the Vedic Mantras (verses), but how to pronounce them properly. During this period they were trained to realise the difference between short and long vowels, study the varieties of accents and to master the rules about the conjunction and coalescence of vowels and consonants. At a slightly later stage they were enlightened about the changes that took place in original words when they were combined together in Vedic stanzas.[2] This was the nature of 'primary education' imparted to students in the Vedic period. Such education will appear to us in modern times as rather strange, but we should remember that students could, when equipped with it, successfully prosecute their Vedic studies, which then constituted the higher

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1. Appindix I. A.

2. Cf गुरुत्वं लघुना साम्यं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतानि च ।
लोपागमावकारश्च प्रकृतिर्विकृतिः क्रमः ॥ ४ ॥
स्वरितोदात्तनीचत्वं श्वासो नादोऽगमेव च ।
एतत्सर्वं तु विज्ञेयं छंदोभाषामधीयता ॥ ५ ॥
पदक्रमविशेषज्ञो वर्णक्रमविचक्षणः ।
स्वरमात्राविभागज्ञो गच्छेदाचार्यसंसदम् ॥ ६ ॥

Taittiriya Pratiśākhya, Chap. 24.

The view of Sāyaṇa, that the last verse refers to the approach of the Vedic scholar to heaven is untenable. The student's departure to the preceptor's house, and not to heaven, is referred to in the verse.

education. The nature of primary education naturally varies with the nature of the higher education that is to follow it.

PRIMARY EDUCATION FROM *C.* 1000 B. C. to *C.* 200 B. C.

Introduction of Reading and Writing :—There is ample evidence to show that the art of writing was well known to the Aryans at least from *c.* 1000 B. C., if not from an earlier date. Reading and writting must therefore have gradually begun to form an integral part of primary education. It is true that the custodians of the Vedic literature still continued to disdain the aid of the art of writing for its preservation. But the new sciences that developed during this period, like grammar, etymology, metrics, etc., had no prjudice against it. As a matter of fact a proper grounding in these subjects, which were taught to all Vedic students, necessitated the knowledge of reading and writing. When once the alphabet came into general use, it is difficult to imagine how scholars, who intended to devote themselves to the study of the Vedic literature, grammar or phonology could have ignored its help. From the early centuries of the Christian era, writing and arithmetic were regarded, to quote the words of the Tamil thinker, Tiruvalluvar, as the two eyes of the soul, very useful in perfecting its insight into the nature of things. It may be passingly observed that reading and writing were introduced in Greek schools in *c.* 600 B. C. ; in India the event has to be placed much earlier.

Obligatory Upanayana helps the Spread of Literacy :—During this period, Upanayana became an obligatory *Sanskāra* (ritual)[1] for all the *Traivarṇikas*

1. See Appendix I, B.

i. e. Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Even in modern times when this ritual has become a mere formality, we find that the percentage of literacy is fairly high among those castes which still go throug hits formality. We may therefore well conclude that the case was similar, if not much better, in the past. Since Upanayana of both boys and girls was universal among the Aryans at *c.* 600 B. C. we may well conclude that the percentage of literacy among them must also have been very high. It may have been as high as 80 percent. We can now understand the proud claim of an Upanishadic king that there was no illiterate person in his kingdom.[1] This was a natural consequence of an obligatory Upanayna being followed by genuine Vedic and literary studies.

The Curriculum of Primary Education: Grammar, philology, arithmetic, astronomy and metrics were well developed in this period, and a good grounding in them was not possible without a knowledge of the art of writing. Reading and writing must have been included in primary education, although there was still a prejudice against committing the Vedas to writing. Elementary arithmetic and grammar, phonology and metrics also formed part of the primary curriculum. Sanskrit was still the spoken language and Prakrits were yet to be developed. Primary education was therefore mainly confined to the preliminary stage of the cultivation of Sanskrit.

Agencies of Primary Education: We have but scanty information as to how primary education was imparted. It must have been given in the family as long as it continued to be the centre of education.

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1. न मे स्तेनो जनपदे····नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान् ।

Ch. Up., V. 11. 5.

When this ceased to be the case, the family priest or the preceptor, to whom students were sent for Vedic education, may have imparted the primary education as well; for primary education at this time was a more integral part of higher education than is the case now. Primary schools also existed in some localities; we sometimes get references to rich boys going to attend them, when their wooden slates were carried by their servants.[1] But who conducted these primary schools, or how they were financed is not known. Public institutions even for higher education had not yet been evolved, as we have seen already. Primary schools also must therefore have been private institutions. Literacy was very wide spread at this time; it is but natural that some of the members of the Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya classes may have taken to primary education as a career.

PRIMARY EDUCATION DURING c. 200 B.C. to 800 A.D.

The Time of Commencement:—Primary education was assigned a definite place in the educational system during this period by the exaltation of its beginning into a religious ritual known as *Aksharasvīkaraṇa* (see Appendix I A), which was performed at about the age of five or six. This was the time for the beginning of primary education. Authors of this period represent the Buddha, Raghu, Lava and Kuśa as beginning their education at about this age.[2] The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing also found that primary education used to begin at the age of six.

Scope of Primary Education:—Boys began their study with the primary and compound alphabets and

1 Kaṭāhaka Jātaka, No. 125.

2 *Lalitavistāra*, Canto 10; *Raghuvaṅśa*, Canto III, *Uttara-Rāmacharit*, Act II.

used to spend about six months in mastering them. Then about a year was spent in mastering elementary arithmetic. Down to *c.* 250 A.D. Prakrits were in ascendancy [1] and so students must have spent some time in mastering them. After about 250 A. D. Sanskrit regained its position and even primary education became to some extent influenced by it. During the later stages of primary education boys used to study the Sūtras of Pāṇini and some other simple grammatical works from the age of 8 to 11.[2]

The Method of Teaching :—The present generation cannot easily imagine the methods of teaching in primary schools in an age when paper and cheap text books were unknown. Boys of the rich used to write on wooden boards in some kind of colour. There is a sculpture in the Peshawar Museum representing the Buddha in his primary school as holding a rectangular board in his hand and engaged in writing upon it.[3] Poorer students used to write on ground, covered with sand or dust. There was no pencil; they used pointed sticks or their own fingers for writing the alphabet. The latter method incidently trained the muscles, the necessity of which is advocated in the Montessori method. The teacher used to write

1 During the period *c.* 250 B.C. to *c.* 250 A D. most of the public documents are seen to be composed in Pali or Prakrits. Sanskrit appears in inscriptions very rarely. So this period is regarded as a period of the ascendancy of Prakrits; there is a tradition to the effect that the Sātavāhana kings of the Deccan had decreed that all their public documents should be in Prakrit alone (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 50). This tradition is confirmed by the inscriptions of the house. The Guptas were champions of Sanskrit and had decreed that Sanskrit should be spoken even in their harems, (*Ibid*, p. 50). Their records are all in Sanskrit.

2 I-tsing, chap. XXXIV.

3 *A. S. R.*, 1903-4, pp. 246-7 and Pl. LXVI, 1.

one alphabet on the board and the boys used to shout out its name, as they went on writing it on wooden boards or sand-covered ground. This method is graphically described in a book of the early centuries of the Christian era[1] and prevailed down to recent times. The multiplication tables were recited similarly by the whole class, following the lead given by the teacher or the monitor. Boys had no primers or text books with them down to the middle of the last century, and guardians had not to meet a never ending demand of the school for fresh exercises and copybooks. The practice in writing was not given on paper, for none existed. Boys first acquired the mastery in writing the alphabet on the sand board. When this was done, teachers used to write on a palm leaf with an iron style and hand over the leaf to the pupil for tracing the letters on the same leaf with charcoal ink, which was rubbed out at the end of the day. The same palm leaf thus served as a model for several days and several boys. When the fingers of boys had acquired the necessary suppleness, they were then asked to write on plaintain leaves. When they were well practised in writing on plaintain leaves, they were taught to write on the palm leaf.[2] More practice was given in writing than in reading, as books were rather rare.

Primary Schools and Teachers : Only occasionally our sources refer to primary schools and teachers ; they are usually described as *lipiśālās* (alphabet schools) and

1. Cf. तत्र बोधिसत्त्वाधिष्ठानेन तेषां दारकाणां मातृकां वाचयतां यदा अकारं परिकीर्तयन्ति स्म तदा अनित्यः संस्कारशब्दो निश्चरति स्म ।

Lalitavistāra, Chap. X.

2. Stark, *Vernacular Education*, pp. 28-48.

dārakāchāryas (teachers of little children) respectively.[1] Public schools even for higher education did not exist down to *c.* 400 A. D,; it is no wonder that they should have been very scarce also for primary education for a long time. Education was thus mostly imparted by private teachers in private schools. Family priests continued to impart primary education for a fairly long time. From about the 5th century A. D. a great impetus was given to higher education by the founding of a number of public schools and colleges. This must have given an indirect impetus to primary education also; for the less capable products of these institutions may have taken to primary education as a career. Primary teachers, by no means highly qualified for their task, figured in Kashmir society during the 10th century A. D.;[2] the same may have been the case elsewhere also. Sometimes primary teachers were employed by the rich to educate their family children and the children of other villagers were also allowed to read along with them. If a village had not a rich person to engage a teacher on his own account, a number of guardians used to cooperate in engaging the services of a teacher, each paying according to his ability. In the majority of cases, however, private teachers used to start schools on their own initiative, relying upon the uncertain income of voluntary fees and contributions from the guardians of students. The average income of a teacher in Bengal just before the advent of the British rule was more or less equal to the emoluments of the village accountant;[3] the same

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1 लिपिशालामुपनीयते स्म कुमारः । तत्र विश्वामित्रो नाम दारकाचार्यः । *Lalita-vistāra*, Chap. X.

2 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 134 & 196 (Eng. Tr.)

3 Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal*, pp. 28 ff.

may have been the case throughout the earlier history. In some localities in Madras presidency teachers used to receive grain-shares at the time of harvest just like carpenters or smiths; this system does not seem to have been universal,[1] for the services of a teacher were not required by every villager, as was the case with those of a smith or potter. Primary teachers usually belonged to the families of the village accountants, priests, writers (Kayasthas) or traders, which were invariably literate. Like the teachers of the Vedas, they were not exclusively Brahmanas. This was the case even in the Smṛiti period; for some of the Smṛiti writers refer with disapproval to the custom of non-Brahmanas being the teachers of Brahmanas.

Extent of Literacy at *c.* **800 A. D.** :—Upanayana, which had given an indirect inpetus to the spread of literacy, gradually ceased to be performed in the case of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas during the first five centuries of the Christian era. Automatic initiation into the 3 R's, which was ensured by this ritual, thus ceased gradually to be a reality with the majority of the Aryans. This gave a setback to the spread of literacy during this period. Vaishyas engaged in trade were literate and often cultured; the members of the guild of weavers at Mandsore in Malva were well versed in folklore and astrology during the 5th century A.D.[2] The same may have been the case with better class traders and merchants during this period. Kshatriyas engaged in administrative work were of course literate. It is however doubtful whether the ordinary agriculturist or soldier, who had inherited no

1 *Report of the Madras Provincial Committee*, Evidence, pp. 20, 154, 173.

2 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p.p. 80-7.

cultural tradition and who had discontinued Upanayana at this time, were literate. Literacy among the males of the three higher castes must have been hardly more than about 40 percent towards the end of the 8th century A. D. The Shudras, who formed the bulk of the labouring classes, and the untouchables were all illiterate. As a class, women also had ceased to be literate towards the end of the 8th century, as has been shown already.

PRIMARY EDUCATION DURING *C.* 800-1200 A. D.

Vernaculars and Primary Education :—Vernaculars began to develop during this period and ordinary men ceased to understand Sanskrit. This must have produced a great change in the curriculum of primary education also. Those who intended to specialise in Sanskrit must have continued to spend a part of their time in early childhood in memorising dictionaries (*Koshas*) and verbal conjugations and nominal declensions. Those however who had no such ambition must have concentrated on the study of vernaculars in the primary stage. Some inscriptions of this period refer to the arrangements made for the teaching of vernaculars in the schools and colleges. A school at Talgund in Mysore state had made provision for the teaching of Canarese in the 12th century A.D.;[1] a college at Narsipur in the same state was providing for the teaching of the vernaculars,—Canarese, Telugu and Marathi,—in 1290 A. D.[2] If higher colleges were making provision for the teaching of the vernaculars of other provinces also, we can well conclude that

1 *E. C.*, VII, Shikarpur, No. 185.

2 *Ibid*, Vol. III, Narsipur, No. 27.

primary education at this time was almost entirely dominated by vernaculars.

The Scope of the Vernacular Education :—When Sanskrit was the spoken language in earlier days, primary education was intended to become an integral part of the higher Sanskritic studies. When Sanskrit became a dead langnage as far as the masses were concerned, primary education became Vernrcular education and developed a self-contained course. Vernacular education of the mases was organised not with a view to enable them to develop into good Sanskrit scholars, but with the object of making them efficient in their ordinary walks of life. Reading writing, commercial arithmetic, accountancy, good knowledge of vernaculars with perhaps a smattering of Sanskrit, and moral training through the stories of epics constituted the curriculum of the vernacular education at about 1200 A. D. The same continued to be the case during the subsequent centuries as well. In the case of Brahmana boys, who intended to take to Sanskritic education later, elements of Sanskrit grammar were included ; but agricultural and commercial arithmetic dominated the courses intended for students hailing from agricultural and commercial classes. How to measure the area of fields, how to deduce monthly wages from the daily ones and vice versa, how to find the prices of corn per maund when those per seer were given, etc,—questions like these engaged the attention of the teachers and students in primary schools.

The extent of Literacy at *c.* 1200 A. D. With the levelling down of both the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas to the position of the Shudras, the extent of literacy must have further gone down during this period. The average farmer at this time was illiterate and

members of commercial and industrial guilds were no longer as educated and cultured as those of the weavers' guild at Mandsore in *c.* 400 A. D. We have however no sufficient evidence to compute the extent of literacy at *c.* 1200 A. D. We may perhaps utilise the data about the state of affairs at the advent of British rule in this connection. The village teacher was not usually one of the grain-sharing servants supported by the village community; his services therefore were clearly required not by the whole community, but only by certain sections of it; literacy must have been confined only to them. In the second decade of the 19th century Sir Thomas Monroe found a primary school in every village; 'I am inclined' says he, 'to estimate the proportion of male population receiving education to be nearer one third than one fourth'.[1] In Bengal at this time most villages possessed schools for primary education, but the percentage of boys attending them varied in different places. In some districts[2] as many as 18 percent of the boys of the school going age attended schools, in others the percentage was only 3. In Malva, which for more than half a century was suffering from anarchy, Malcolm found a school in almost every village with more than 100 houses.[3] It would therefore appear that about 15 percent of the boys of the school-going age were attending schools towards the beginning of the 19th century. If in spite of the prevailing unsettled conditions, about 15 percent boys were attending schools at the beginning of the 19th century, we may well conclude that the percentage may have been at least twice this figure at the end of

1. Quoted by Sen in *History of Elementary Education*, p. 78.
2. *Ibid*, p. 76
3. Malcolm. *Memoirs of Central India and Malva*, p. 158.

the Hindu period. For during the Muslim rule the government educational effort for a long time was confined only to the Muslim section of the population ; Hindus also could not continue to get the same state patronage for their education and literature, which was possible under their own rule. This must have affected the spread of education and the extent of literacy in the population as a whole, which was predominently Hindu. If therefore the percentage of literate male population among Indians as a whole was about 15 at the beginning of the 19th century, it may as well have been about thirty towards the end of the 12th century A. D. At the time when Upanayana was a reality with the whole of the Aryan community, we have already seen that the percentage of literacy in it must have been as high as 80. Towards the end of the 8th century A. D. it had declined to about 40, as shown already. It further went down by about another 10 percent by the 12th century A. D. These percentages however refer to male population only and are exclusive of the Shudras and Untouchables, who were as a rule all illiterate.

Chapter VIII.

PROFESSIONAL AND USEFUL EDUCATION.

MEDICAL EDUCATION—Its general features—Training in surgery—Arrangements for practical training—Duration of the course and examination—Medical education in later times—Veterinary education—MILITARY EDUCATION—Non-official training agencies—Military schools—professional military coaches—Education of the princes—COMMERCIAL EDUCATION—Its general scope—How it was imparted. TRAINING IN ARTS AND CRAFTS—Society's attitude towards arts and crafts in early and later times—Training given by the apprenticeship system—Workshop atmosphere—Painter's training as an illustration—Efficiency of the training—Was it narrow ?

Introduction: In this chapter we propose to take a rapid survey of some of the important branches of useful and professional education and of the ways in which it was imparted. Medical, military and commercial education and the training of artists and artisans for sculpture, architecture, painting, smithy, carpentry etc. will principally engage our attention.

MEDICAL EDUCATION.

Early Progress: Medical science is no doubt of hoary antiquity in India. The Vedic literature refers to the healing feats of Aśvins, who though originally human beings, were later deified by a grateful posterity. This science was fairly well developed by the 4th century B. C., for the Greeks, who had accompanied Alexander the Great, were very well impressed by the skill of Indian doctors in curing the cases of serpent bite. The Jātakas refer to the medical students at Taxila performing operations for cranial abscesses and intestinal displacement.

Some general Features: Medical education was usually imparted by private teachers. There was a ritual at the admission of students which will be described in Appendix I, E. The student had to be well grounded in Sanskrit, for most of the books on medicine were written in that language. Learning by rote was condemned; Suśruta compares a person having only a verbal knowledge of the medical texts to a donkey conscious of the heaviness but not of the quality of the burden it carries. Specialisation was encouraged; students were expected to master the different branches of learning from different experts.[1] Practical training in surgery and pharmacy and constant discussion of abstruse points among the students and teachers were some of the important features of the training.[2]

Training in Surgery:—We can get a fairly good idea of the training in surgery from our sources. The beginners were taught how to hold and use the surgical instruments by practising upon pumpkins, cucumbers, water melons, etc., under the teacher's directions. Puncturing was demonstrated on the veins of dead animals, the manner of holding the probe on dry Alābu fruits, scarrification on stretched pieces of leather covered with hair, sewing on thin pieces of cloth or skin, application of bandages on stuffed human figures and the use of caustics on soft pieces of flesh.[3] The novice was then gradually initiated in real cases and allowed to extract darts, cleanse wounds, and use the knife in piercing and cutting diseased parts of the body. How surgical wounds are to be made to dry up was also demonstrated. Practice in the adminis-

1 Suśruta, Sūtrasthāna, IV. 4. 4-8
2 Charaka. Vimānasthāna, 8. 4
3 Suśruta, Sūtrasthāna, Chap. 9
4 *Mil. Pan.*, Vol. II, 254-5

tration of emetics, purges and enemas was given to all. Suśruta emphasises on the importance of dissection for perfecting the student's knowledge, and points out that mere book learning cannot give a clear idea of the actual internal constitution of the human body. Corpses used to be decomposed in water and students were then required to dissect them and visualise the nature of skin, muscles, arteries, bones, internal organs, etc.[1] Anatomical knowledge that was thus imparted was fairly high when compared with the contemporary standards elsewhere. Unfortunately in the course of time the dissection of human body went out of vogue, causing a setback to the progress of the medical science.

Arrangements for Practical Training—Students received practical training in surgery and medicine, usually through private practice of their teachers. In some cases hospitals were attached to colleges. In great cities like Pāṭalīputra there existed big charitable hospitals, which must have afforded good opportunities for training medical students. Indian hospitals were well organised, for Hindu doctors were invited by the Abbaside Khalifas to supervise their own hospitals in the 8th century A D. It is to be regretted that Fa Hsien should not have given us detailed information of the hospitals, which he had seen at Pāṭlīputra. If he had done this, we would have probably known a good deal about the hospital management and medical education during the 5th century A.D.

Duration of the Course and Examination:— The exact duration of the medical course is not known. Charaka and Suśruta do not enlighten us on the point. In the days of the Buddha, the medical

1 Suśruta, Śarīrasthāna, 5.49.

course at Taxila was fairly long; for his physician Jīvaka was permitted to go home very reluctantly by his teacher, though he had spent seven years at that University. Charaka observes that no one can obtain a real all round efficiency in Āyurveda; this would also suggest a very long course. We may well presume that the student had to spend at least eight years, before he could get mastery in the subject. The completion of the course was followed by an examination. This is implied by the observation of Charaka[1] and Suśruta[2] that it is the king's fault, if incompetent doctors practise the medical profession. Śukra also prohibits a person to practise as a doctor without possessing the king's license.[3] None of our authorities however discloses the conditions under which the royal permission was granted under efficient administration. Very probably it must have been given to students who were certified to have finished their course either by superintendents of state hospitals, principals of colleges or famous private practitioners.

High ideals placed before the Medicoes : The convocation address before the medical graduates exhorted them to follow a very high ideal of professional conduct.[4] They must relieve distress in all quarters. They must strive for the welfare of all humanity. They must not desert a patient, even when their own life was in danger. They must continue study and research throughout their life.

Achievements in the Medical Science : The above advice seems to have been followed in a very large number of cases. India continued to be famous

1. Sūtrasthāna, 29.8
2. Sūtrasthāna, III. 52; X. 3
3. I. 804
4. See Appendix III

for its medical skill throughout the ancient period. Her doctors could perform surgical operations for cataract, hydrocele, abscesses, extraction of dead embryoes, etc.[1] They were in demand in Messopotamia and Arabia for guiding and training the physicians there. Khalifa Harun sent several scholars to India to study Hindu medicine and pharmacology and induced about 20 doctors to come to Baghdad to become chief medical officers of state hospitals and to translate Sanskrit medical work into Arabic. Most celebrated among them was Manakā (Māṇikya), who was originally invited to cure an ailment of Sultan Harun, which defied the skill of Arabian physicians. He succeeded in his treatment and was later induced to become the director of state hospitals and translate the work of Suśruta into Arabic.[2] Arabic system

1 Sītā apprehended that Rāvaṇa might kill and dissect her limb by limb like a surgeon extracting a dead embryo; cf.

तस्मिन्ननागच्छति लोकनाथे गर्भस्थजन्तोरिव शल्यकृन्तः ।
नूनं ममांगान्यचिरादनार्यः शस्त्रैः सितैश्छेत्स्यति मानवेन्द्रः ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 28. 6

Non-discovery of anaesthetics aad sterilisation processes was stauding in the way of progress. Wine was administered as a partial anaesthetic. The *Bhojaprabandha* refers to an anæsthetic called *mohanīchurṇa*: but since it is mentioned in connection with a miraculous cure effected by the divine physicians Aśvins, we may doubt its general knowledge or use.

cf. ततस्तावपि राजानं मोहचूर्णेन मोहयित्वा शिरःकपालमादाय तत्करोटिकापुटे स्थितं शफरकुलं गृहीत्वा कस्मिंश्चिद्भाजने निक्षिप्य संधानकरण्या कपालं यथावदारचय्य संजीविन्या च तं जीवयित्वा तस्मै तददर्शयताम् ॥ *Bhojaprabandha*, after v. 318

2. S. K. Nadvi. *Arab aur Bharat ke sambandha*, pp. 103-23; Alberuni, Introduction, p. XXXI. Saleh bin Bahala and Dahan (Dhanvantari ?) were two of the famous colleagues of Manaka, who accompanied him to Baghdad.

of medicine owes a great deal to the Ayurvedic system.

Medical Education in Later Times :—Training in the medical profession was fairly efficient in India down to the 10th century A. D. Ayurvedic doctors were keeping themselves in touch with the discoveries and developments taking place elsewhere, and also experimenting upon new preparations as better medicines for ailments and diseases. The use of mercury, opium and metallic preparations was introduced into the pharmacopeia in the medieval times. Discontinuance of dissection and consequent decline in surgery however gave a setback to the system. Owing to the prevalence of stricter notions of ceremonial purity, the touch of the corpse became a taboo and dissection was consequently given up. This became fatal to progress in surgery, the practice of which gradually died down. The medical profession began to be held in low esteem as the doctor had to deal with filthy diseases and touch dying patients. In the earlier period famous doctors like Aśvins and Dhanvantari were deified ; now the followers of the profession began to be regarded as defilers of the company at a dinner table.[1] Purāṇas state that medicine became the profession of the descendants of the illegitimate son born to sage Gālava from his maid-servant Ambā.[2] Occasionally we no doubt come across grants of villages given to doctors by kings ; there can be however no doubt that society as a whole looked down

1. Manu, III. 152.

2. Some of the Smṛtis also e. g. *B. D. S.*, I. 8. 9. assign the medical profession to the children of a mixed caste sprung from the union of a Brahmana father and Vaishya mother.

upon the medical profession, which could not but have told upon its efficiency and progress.[1]

Veterinary Education :—The veterinary science had been developed in India fairly early. Śālihotra is its traditional founder and two of the Pāṇḍava heroes, Nakula and Sahadeva are said to have been experts in it. In the 3rd century B. C. veterinary doctors were fairly common ; Asoka could find them in necessary numbers to man his hospitals for animals throughout the country. The army authorities used to employ them in army to treat the ailments of horses and elephants (*Arthaśāstra*, II. 30-2). There were special books also dealing with these subjects.[2] We however do not come across any veterinary schools or colleges, nor do we possess any information as to how veterinary doctors were trained. Probably army authorities used to organise their own schools to meet their own needs. In villages the profession may have been hereditary in some farmers' families, which may have occasionally taken some outsiders also to be trained as apprentices.

MILITARY EDUCATION

Vedic Period: During the Vedic period the military profession must have been a popular one, as

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1. An incidental observation in the *Mitākshara* would show that the medical course was finished in four instead of eight years during the 12th century A. D. ; of :—

अन्तेवासी गुरोर्गृहे कृतकालं वर्षचतुष्टयमायुर्वेदशिल्पशिक्षार्थं त्वद्गृहे वसामीति ।

On *Yāj*. II. 184.

2 *Aśvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta, *Aśvachikitsā* of Nakula and *Hastyāyurveda* of Pālakāpya (published in A.S. series) are the important works on the veterinary science. Some of these works in their present form are not later than *c.* 800 A.D., but they had their precursors, now unfortunately lost.

the Aryans were engaged in subjugating the non-Aryans (*dasyus*) and establishing their supremacy in the country. We have however no information as to how military education was imparted. The superiority in horsemanship and chariot-fighting constituted the key to the Aryan success; considerable time must therefore have been devoted to give proper training in these subjects to the members of the fighting force. Chariot races, which were very popular in the age, must have played an important part in increasing the military efficiency of the chariot corps. Practice in the use of the bow and the arrow, the shield, the mace and the spear, which were the main offensive and defensive weapons of the age, must have played an important part in the training of the infantry.

Non-official Training Agencies: In modern times military training is usually given only by the state authorities when recruits join the army. Such was not the case in ancient India. The average citizen and villager was expected to be able to defend his own hearth and home; the *Arthaśāstra* expressly lays down that every village ought to be able to defend itself (II. 34). Villagers and citizens therefore had to make their own arrangements to get the necessary facility in the use of the weapons of the age in order to be ready for any eventuality. There were no military schools as such for this purpose; with the voluntary help of the elderly experts in the village, most of its youths could be trained in the use of the bow and the arrow, the *lathi* and the lance. That such was actually the case in several parts of India would become quite clear from the accounts of Alexander's invasion, as given by the Greek historians. In several places the Macedonian hero was opposed not so much by state forces as by the whole population

in arms.[1] There can be no doubt that in many of the republican states of the Punjab, e. g. the Kaṭhas, the Mālavas, the Sibis, etc., every adult used to receive military training of a fairly high order. Probably the same was the case under monarchies, though perhaps to a less degree. Many villages had developed high military traditions and used to be exempted from taxation on agreeing to supply a certain quota to the army.[2]

Military Schools :—There were also some cities in the country, famous as centres of military training. Taxila, situated in the North-Western Frontier Province, had naturally become a centre of military training. Kshatriyas and Brahmanas from all over the country used to go to this frontier city for getting mastery in the military profession. In one military college of this city there were 103 princes receiving training in the different branches of the military art.[3] Unfortunately we get no information about the management of this college, nor do we know whether it was a private or a state institution. Probably the former was the case.

Professional Military Coaches :—From about the 5th century B. C. big empires began to be built up in ancient India, and soon thereafter the country came into contact with the disciplined soldiers of the Greek army. This gave an impetus to intensive military training and many enterprising captains began to start private military coaching classes with a view to supply highly trained soldiers to the state. Many such captains existed as early as the 2nd century

1. Mc. Crindle, *Ancient India, Its Invasion by Alexander the Great, p. 140.*
2. *Arthaśāstra*, IX. 1
3. Sutasoma Jātaka, No. 222

B. C.; they used to supply trained soldiers to kings and receive in return from them lands, money, horses, etc. by way of reward.[1] Targets of clay or stuffed human figures were used to teach accurate aiming. A 9th century inscription from the Deccan also refers to a military captain, who is described as a marvel in training horses[2]; it is not however known whether this officer was conducting a private class or whether he was a regular professor in a military college maintained by the Rāshṭrakūṭa administration.

Conclusion :—The general impression left by the literary and epigraphical evidence of the 1st millennium A.D. is that a good deal of preliminary military training was given almost universally in all villages under the aegius of the village Panchayats. Organised institutions for military training probably did not exist in moffusil villages. Retired members of the state hereditary forces and local experts used to organise and manage military classes in their own villages, which were attended by most of the able-bodied adults in the locality. Further training was imparted by adventurous captains and final touches were given after the enlistment of the soldier in the state army in daily drills. It would appear that the weakness of the Hindu military machine lay in too much reliance being placed upon the training received by soldiers as militia men. This training, while quite sufficient to meet the needs of local disturbances, was inadequate to withstand regularly trained armies.

Education of Princes :—A few words may be conveniently said here about the education of princes. In the early period we find kings sending their sons to

1. *Mil. Pan.*, Vol. II, pp. 135-4
2. *E. I.*, XIII, p. 187.

distant centres of education like Taxila to receive education there more or less like commoners. But from about the 3rd century B. C. it became the usual practice to establish special schools for the education of the scions of the royal family.[1] Sons and wards of ministers and high officers of the state were also permitted to join these schools, as it was realised that suitable companions and mutual competition were necessary to ensure satisfactory results. The Royal School was usually located in the vicinity of the capital. It consisted of several spacious halls, each suitable for its special purpose. Gymnasium, swimming pools and extensive grounds for military exercises were provided. Experts were recruited from all over the country to teach different subjects. The curriculum included a study of the Vedas and philosophy, but naturally only such knowledge of these subjects was imparted as was necessary for general culture. Special attention was paid to the study of history, economics, politics, administration, and civil and criminal law. Lectures on these subjects were delivered usually in the afternoon, the morning time being devoted to the athletic and military exercises. Princes were expected to be experts in the use of different arms like the sword, the lance and the bow and arrow. Tournaments and hunting parties were often organised to test their skill. Fine arts like music and painting were also taught. Students in these royal schools used to stay in the boarding houses ; their parents used to go there occasionally to see them and find out how they were progressing. The school course terminated usually at the end of the 16th year, when princes were allowed to marry. Though after this time, they would usually leave the boarding and begin to stay in the palace with their

1. *Arthas'âstra*, I, *Kâdambari*, p. 149,

family, their education would not terminate. Training in actual administration would begin after this period and last for about seven or eight years. At the age of 24 the education would become fully complete and princes were then regarded as eligible to become heir-apparents.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION

General Condition of Commerce :—In the Vedic age, the Aryans had a greater liking for the sword than for the sclaes ; Paṇis who were then controlling commerce are contemptuously spoken of in the Vedas. Gradually however when there remained no fresh lands to conquer and acquire, the Aryans must have turned to commerce. There was considerable inter-provincial and foreign trade going on in the Mauryan period. The maritime activity of ancient India was considerable, and the trade with Rome was very profitable to India during the early centuries of the Christian era. Much of it however was in the hands of Dravidians.

Scope of Commercial Education: We can get some idea of the scope and nature of commercial education from the training prescribed for the Vaishya caste by Manu,[1] and the qualifications required by Kauṭilya in the superintendent of commere.[2] First of all a knowledge of the varieties in quality of the articles to be dealt with was imparted. Then came commercial geography, for the trader was expected to know the places where the different articles were produced and the nature of the route by which they had to be imported. Customs barriers in the period we are discussing were numerous, and profits often depended on selecting a route where the customs

1. IX, 881-882. 2. II, 16.

duties were relatively light. The needs of the people of the various localities were to be carefully studied with a view to find out possible markets. A knowledge of different places and occasions of fares and pilgrimages was also imparted as it was necssary in this connection. The knowledge of the relative prices of different articles in different provinces and countries was also regarded as essential. Students were also taught the exchange value of articles and also of different currencies in various provinces and countries. Those who intended to deal with inter-provincial or inter-national trade were also given a working knowledge of the necessary languages. Principles of banking also formed part of the course. It is difficult to determine the percentage of persons in the trading community who received so wide an education. In the hereditary trading families of high status, all this education may have been a reality ; much of it must have been unconsciously picked up by the youths in the family shops. In the case of petty merchants the extent of the education was probably determined by the needs of the situation.

Agencies of Education :—During the first millennium of the Christian era, most of the trades in the country had formed very efficient guilds. One of them is known to have maintained an Arts college in Karnatak during the 12th century A.D.[1] It is however strange to find that the commercial guilds should not have organised and managed commercial schools and colleges. The reason however is not far to seek. Down to the 5th century A.D. organised educational institutions did not exist even for literary courses. When they became fairly common in the country a

1 *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 195.

few centuries later, commercial classes did not feel it necessary to copy their example. By this time the caste system had become hereditary and the training in different trades and industries was usually imparted in the family itself by the elders. Where there were no elders in the family to train its children, they were usually attached as apprentices to some neighbouring trader or artisan. This apprenticeship system, which will be soon described, rendered any regular schools of the modern type unnecessary.

TRAINING IN ARTS AND CRAFTS.

Introduction :—We shall now consider the problems connected with the training of students in arts and handicrafts like sculpture, artchitecture, painting, carpentry, smithy, agriculture, etc. Our sources of information are scanty, because neither Smṛitis, which have written about education, nor foreign pilgrims like Yuan Chwang and I-tsing who often throw considerable light on educational conditions, were interested in the problems connected with the training in arts and handicrafts.

Attitude towards Arts and Crafts : Early Period :— It will be convenient at the outset to consider the general attitude of society towards arts and crafts. In the early period they were held in high esteem. Agriculture was the general profession for the average Aryan. There are prayers both in the *Ṛigveda* and the *Atharvaveda* for success in various agricultural processes and operations. It was not therefore a profession held in low esteem as in later times. The carpenter was so important a member of the Vedic society that the chief of his guild was included among the twelve courtiers to whose houses the king had to repair in person for offering oblations at the time of his coronation. Ṛibhus,

originally human beings, were deified as a reward for their extraordinary skill in manual arts. The same was the case with Aśvins, who though originally human princes, were later raised to the pantheon on account of their medical skill.

Society's Attitude In later Days: In later times however the attitude of society changed, primarily due to the development of the rigid caste system. The elevation of the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas was at the cost of the Vaishyas and Shudras, who generally used to follow manual arts and handicrafts. As the status of the Vaishyas and Shudras declined, the angle of vision to look at their usual professions also changed. Manual arts and crafts began to be held in low esteem. Carpenters and doctors for example began to be regarded as children of intercaste unions, which were disapproved by the contemporary orthodox opinion. All this resulted in a gradual boycott by Brahmanas and Kshatriyas of manual arts and crafts. As the best intellect of the community would not condescend to help their progress, the general level of skill began to decline both in fine and useful arts from about the 8th century A. D.

Apprenticeship System: The training in fine and useful arts[1] was usually given by the apprenticeship system under which the student agreed to work

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1. विज्ञानमुच्यते शिल्पं हेमकुप्यादिसंस्थितिः ।
नृत्यादिकं च तच्छिक्षन्कुर्यात्कर्म गुरोर्गृहे ॥
बृहस्पति in विवादरत्नाकर, p. 141.

Devaṇabhaṭṭa, while commenting on this observes कंकणकटकादिनिर्माणविषयं नृत्यं गीतादिकरणविषयं चकारात्स्तंभकुंभादिरचनाविषयं च विज्ञानं शिल्पमुच्यते ।

under his teacher for an agreed number of years. During this period the teacher was to afford free boarding and lodging to his apprentice. Our authorities do not state the duration of the agreement, but it must have varied with different crafts. It was usually longer than the period required to master the craft, because the teacher was expected to be compensated for the trouble in teaching and the expenses in feeding the apprentice from the wages he would earn as a fully trained worker during the remaining period of his indenture. The apprentice could not back out of the agreement, if the teacher was not remiss in his duties. If he deserted his teacher without a sufficient cause, he was brought back and compelled to stay, learn and work.[1] The neglect of the training of the apprentice and the assignment to him of

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1. Cf स्वशिल्पमिच्छन्नाहर्तुं बान्धवानामनुज्ञया ।
आचार्यस्य वसेदन्ते कृत्वा कालं सुनिश्चितम् ॥ १७ ॥
आचार्यः शिक्षयेदेनं स्वगृहे दत्तभोजनम् ।
न चान्यत्कारयेत्कर्म पुत्रवच्चैनमाचरेत् ॥ १८ ॥
शिक्षयन्तमदुष्टं य आचार्यं संपरित्यजेत् ।
बलाद्वासयितव्यस्स्याद्बधबन्धौ च सोर्हति ॥ १९ ॥
शिक्षितोपि कृतं कालमन्तेवासी समाप्नुयात् ।
तत्र कर्म च यत्कुर्यादाचार्यस्यैव तत्फलम् ॥ २० ॥
गृहीतशिल्पः समये कृत्वाचार्यप्रदक्षिणाम् ।
शक्तितश्चानुमान्यैनमन्तेवासी निवर्तते ॥ २२ ॥
वेतनं वा यदि कृतं ज्ञात्वा शिष्यस्य कौशलम् ।
अन्तेवासी समादद्याच्च चान्यस्य गृहे वसेत् ॥ २२ ॥
नारदस्मृति, शुश्रूषाभ्युपगमप्रकरणम् ।

work unconnected with his craft[1] were regarded as sufficient causes to nullify the agreement and permit the apprentice to leave his teacher. At the end of the agreed period, the student could leave his teacher after offering him a suitable honorarium. If however the teacher offered him suitable wages, he was expected to serve him in preference to a stranger.[2]

Workshop Atmosphere during Training:—Our authorities lay down that the apprentice should live in his teacher's house or factory for all the 24 hours. This was to ensure a thorough acquaintance with and grounding in the different processes of the craft that could be picked up only by an intimate and prolonged contact with the various stages of the manufacturing processes. Students were also trained to make their own tools in order to ensure perfect mastery of the profession. A painter, for example, made his own brushes from out of roots or fibres, hair of squirrels or awns of various grasses. He did not rely on colours prepared by others, but knew how to make them himself. A repousser was taught to make tools suitable for the work in hand.

Painter's Training as an Illustration :—In order to give an idea of the various stages of the training of

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1. यस्तु न ग्राहयेच्छिल्पं कर्माण्यन्यानि कारयेत् । प्राप्नुयात्साहसं पूर्वं तस्माच्छिष्यो निवर्तते । Kātyāyana in Aparārka on *Yāj.* II, 84.

1. There is some resemblance between the Indian apprenticeship system outlined above and the system prevailing in medieval Europe. In Europe too the apprentice had to spend the earlier part of his indenture period learning his craft and getting no wages. When he had learnt his art, he would become a journeyman, but he could undertake no work except through and for the benefit of his master. At the end of the agreed period, he was at liberty to start his own business. In Europe, guilds would permit an artisan to take only one student for training; we do not know whether there were similar restrictions in ancient India. Graves, *A history of Education*, Vol. II, p. 97.

the apprentice, we shall give here the different stages in the training of the painter. The apprentice was first given a practice in drawing lines and curves. When the hand, eye and memory were trained in the use of fundamental curves in this fashion, traditional ornaments and decorative motifs were taught. Then followed a training in the drawing of the mythical animals and designs with men and beasts in them. The master would then take his apprentice to assist him in his work at the temple. At first the student would help the teacher only in grinding colours, then in priming the surfaces, then in applying ground colours and finally in filling the outlines sketched by his master. Experience was thus given in practical work. In the course of time when the teacher was satisfied about the sincerity, devotion and ability of the apprentice, he would impart the trade secrets. Throughout the course the technique of the profession was taught in relation to real things and problems.[1]

Theoretical and Moral Training:—Nor was theoretical and moral training neglected. A working knowledge of Sanskrit was imparted to advanced workers in sculpture, painting and architecture, as most of the theoretical works on the subjects were written in that language. A knowledge of Purāṇas and works on iconography was necessary both for the sculptor and the painter in order to chisel or paint properly the various themes of the Pauranic history and mythology. Architects and engineers used to receive the necessary grounding in mathematics also. The apprentice was always asked to remember that he was expected to be a pious and honest person abiding by the rules prescribed for the artists by sacred texts

1, Coomaraswami, *The Indian Craftsman*, pp. 88-90.

and tradition. The doctor was to remember that he was to save his patient even at the cost of his own life, if necessary.

Efficiency of Training: The training under the above apprenticeship system was fairly efficient, for it was both theoretical and practical and given in the workshop itself. It helped to raise the general level of the skill and workmanship in several arts and crafts. Indian artisans took no time in manufacturing scrapers and sponges that they first saw being used by Greek invaders. Fine thread and wool were used to manufacture sponges and they were then dyed, so that they looked similar to Greek articles. The efficiency of the Punjab ship-builders may be inferred from the fact that they could supply to Alexander the Great a huge fleet, probably of not less than 1,000 boats, in about three months' time. The skill in mining, metallurgy, smelting and welding attained by ancient Indians was of a high order; experts are still wondering how the composition of the famous Iron Pillar near Kutub Minar at Delhi could be made so flawless by the metallurgists of Chandragupta II (*c.* 375-413 A. D.) as to prevent its rusting in spite of its being exposed to rain and sunshine for more than fifteen centuries. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, we find a fairly accurate knowledge of the nature of the ores of gold, silver, copper, etc., and of the processes by which they were purified (II, 12-3). The weaving industry could command the markets of the greater part of the Old World before it was crushed by the advent of the steam engine in the 19th century. In sculpture we find a continuous progress from *c.* 200 B. C. and a readiness to learn even from the foreigner. Paintings as illustrated at Ajanta show a high development of the art. The beautiful cave temples of western India

and the graceful as well as huge shrines of Orissa and South India show that the Indian architect could solve a number of difficulties, which we think it hardly possible to overcome except with the help of the modern machinary.

Was Professional Education narrow ? : Prima facie the professional education as given by the apprenticeship system seems to be narrow ; the student seems to have been taught only what the tradition and works of his profession had to teach. There is, however, some historical evidence to show that many of the artists and artisans of the age used to possess a good amount of cultural and literary education as well. Thus some of the members of the weavers' guilds at Daśapura (in Malva) used to take active interest in astronomy and folklore during the 5th century A. D. There is no evidence to prove or disprove that what was true of this guild at Mandsore was true of the average artisan of the period. The conclusion may, however, be hazarded that down to the 8th or the 9th century A. D. artisans of the highest grade used to receive a fair amount of liberal education. Later on owing to the decline of literacy and the low esteem in which arts and handicrafts began to be held, there was a setback and artisans began to blindly follow the processes that were handed down to them by tradition.

Chapter IX

FEMALE EDUCATION

Eligibility of women for sacrifices necessitates their Upanayana and helps their education-Two classes of girl-students—Attainments of lady scholars in the early period—Early Buddhism helps female education—Arrangements for teaching girl students—Was there coeducation ? Deterioratfon of women's religious status after *c.* 200 B. C. retards their education—So does the lowering of the marriage age—Lady authors of the 1st millennium A. D.—They belonged to cultured families—Female education in ordinary families—Buddhism ceases to help it—Education of princesses and Kshatriya girls—Female education and economic independence—Female education in medieval times.

SECTION I

Female Education before *c.* 200 B. C.

A strange Phenomenon :—The history of the most of the known civilsations shows that the further back we go into antiquity, the more unsatisfactory is found to be the general position of women. Hindu civilisation is unique in this respect, for here we find a surprising exception to the general rule. The further back we go, the more satisfactory is found to be the position of women in more spheres than one. And the field of education is most noteworthy among them. We can however understand this strange phenomenon when we remember that for a long time education in ancient India meant Vedic education, and that it had to be necessarily imparted to all who were expected to take part in Vedic sacrifices. irrespective of their sex.

Women eligible for Vedic Sacrifices : There is ample and convincing evidence to show that women were regarded as perfectly eligible for the privilege of studying the Vedic literature and performing the

sacrifices enjoined in it down to about 200 B. C. This need not surprise us, for some of the hymns of the *Rigveda* are the compositions of poetesses. Even the orthodox tradition admits that the Rigvedic collection contains hymns composed by twenty different poetesses. Viśvavārā, Sikatā Nivāvarī, Ghoshā, Romaśā, Lopāmudrā, Apālā and Urvaśī are the names of some of them. Man could perform the Vedic sacrifices only if he had his wife by his side ;[1] both had to undergo a special initiation[2] on the occasion and take equally active part in its procedure.[3] Down to the end of the Mauryan period, the housewife was expected to offer oblations in the household (*gṛihya*) fire unaided by the husband, normally in the evening and sometimes in the morning also.[4] In the *srastarārohaṇa* ritual of the Agrahāyaṇa ceremony, the wife used to recite a number of Vedic hymns[5] and the harvest sacrifices could be performed by women alone, 'because such was the long standing custom'.[6] From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that Kauśalyā was by herself alone performing a sacrifice on the morning of her son's proposed installation as an heir-apparent ;[7]

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1 अयज्ञियो वा एष योऽपत्नीकः । *S. Br.*, V. 1. 6-10

2 *T. Br.* III. 3. 3

3 या दंपती सुमनसा सुनुत आ च धावतः । देवासो नित्ययाशिरा ।
R. V., VIII. 31

4 *Go. Gr. S.*, 1. 3. The term *patni* denotes the special connection of the wife with her husband's sacrifices ; cf.

पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे । Panini, IV. 1. 33

5 *P. G. S.*, III. 2. See the commentary of Harihara also.

6 स्त्रियश्चोपयजेरन्नाचरितत्वात् । *P. G. S.*, II. 20.

7 सा क्षौमवसना हृष्टा नित्यं व्रतपरायणा ।
अग्निं जुहोति स्म तदा मंत्रवित्कृतमंगला ॥ II. 20. 15.

the same was the case with Tārā when her husband Vāli was about to leave the palace to meet Sugrīva in the fateful encounter.[1] It is interesting to note that both these ladies are expressly described by the epic as *mantravid*, i.e. well grounded in the Vedic literature. We need not then wonder if we find Sītā also offering her Vedic prayer during the days of her captivity in Laṅkā.[2] Kuntī, the mother of Pāṇḍavas, was well-versed in the Mantras of the Atharvaveda (*Mbh.*, III. 305. 20).

Upanayana of Girls: No one can recite Vedic prayers or offer Vedic sacrifices without having undergone the Vedic initiation (*Upanayana*). It is, therefore, but natural that in the early period the Upanayana of girls should have been as common as that of boys. There is ample evidence to show that such was the case. The *Atharvaveda* (XI. 5. 18) expressly refers to maidens undergoing the *Brahmacharya* discipline[3] and the Sūtra works of the 5th century B. C. supply interesting details in its connection. Even Manu includes Upanayana among the *saṃskāras* (rituals) obligatory for girls (II. 66). After about the beginning of the Christian era, girls' Upanayana went out of vogue, but Smṛiti writers of even the 8th century A. D. like Yama admit its prevalence in the earlier age.[4]

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1 ततः स्वस्त्ययनं कृत्वा मंत्रविद्विजयैषिणी । IV. 16. 12.

2 संध्याकालमनाः श्यामा ध्रुवमेष्यति जानकी ।
नदीं चेमां शुभजलां संध्यार्थं वरवर्णिनी ॥ V. 15. 48.

3 ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या युवानं विन्दते पतिम् । XI. 5. 18.

4 Cf. पुराकल्पे तु नारीणां मौंजीबन्धनमिष्यते ।
अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्रीवचनं तथा ॥
पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत्परः ।
स्वगृहे चैव कन्याया भैक्षचर्या विधीयते ॥

Two Classes of Girl Students:—There were no child marriages in the Vedic period; as a rule however girls could not remain unmarried as long as boys as they had to be younger than their spouses. Majority of them used to get married at the age of 16 or 17, and only a few would prosecute their studies after that age. Girls of the former class were called *Sadyovadhūs*, and of the latter class *Brahmvādinīs*. The education of the *Sadyovadhūs* comprised the study of important Vedic hymns necessary for usual prayers and sacrifices. Music and dancing were also taught to them; partiality of women to these arts is often referred to in the Vedic literature.[1] Brahmavādinīs used to marry after their education was over; some of them like Vedavati, a daughter of sage Kuśadhvaja, would not marry at all (*Rām.*, VII. 17).

Attainments of Lady Scholars:—The attainments of lady scholars, who remained unmarried for a longer time, were naturally wider and more varied. In the Vedic age, they used to acquire thorough mastery in the Vedic literature and even compose poems, some of which have been honoured by their inclusion in the sacred canon. When the Vedic lore and sacrifices became complex, a new branch of study, called *Mīmānsā*, came to be developed in their connection. Though this was a subject, drier than mathematics, we find lady scholars taking keen interest in it. Kāśakṛitsnin had composed a work on Mīmānsā called Kāśakṛitsnī after him; lady students who used to specialise in it, were known as *Kāśakṛitsnā*.[2] If lady specialists in a technical

1. *S. Br.*, III. 2. 4. 6 observes that women can be easily won over by one who can sing and dance. Appreciation of music and dancing of course presupposes a training in them.

2 एवमपि काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नी। काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी। On IV, 1, 14; 3, 155.

science like *Mīmānsā* were so numerous as to necessitate the coining of a new special term to denote them, we can reasonably conclude that the number of women who used to receive general literary and cultural education must have been fairly large. When in the course of time the study of philosophy became popular in the Upanishadic age, women began to take keen interest in that subject also, Such was the case with Yājñavalkya's wife Maitreyī ; she was more interested in studying deeper problems of philosophy than in wearing costly jewels and apparels.[1] In the philosophical tournament held during the sacrificial session performed under the auspices of king Janaka, it is interesting to note that the subtlest philosophical question was asked by the lady philosopher Gārgī Vāchaknavī.[2] The question was so subtle and esoteric in character that Yājñavalkya refused to discuss it in public. The keen reasoning and subtle cross-examination of Yājñavalkya by Gārgī shows that she was a dialectician and philosopher of a high order. Ātreyī of the *Uttara-Rāma-charit* was another lady, who was studying Vedānta under Vālmiki and Agastya.[3] Some lady scholars of the age like Sulabhā, Vaḍavā, Prāthiteyī, Maitreyī, and Gārgī seem to have made real contribution to the advancement of knowledge, for they enjoy the rare privilege of being included among the galaxy of distinguished scholars, to whom a daily tribute of gratitude was to be given by a

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1 *Br. Up.*, II, 4; IV, 5. Cf.—सा होवाच मैत्रेयी । येनाहं नामृता स्याम् किं तेनाहं कुर्यामिति ।

2 अनतिपृच्यां वै देवतामतिपृच्छसि । *Ibid.* III, 6, 1.

3 तेभ्योऽधिगन्तुं निगमान्तविद्यां वाल्मीकिपार्श्वादिह संचरामि ।

grateful posterity at the time of the daily prayer (*Brahmayajña*).[1]

Effect of Buddhism on Female Education: The eventual permission, which the Buddha accorded to the admission of women to his Church, gave an impetus to the spread of education and philosophy among the ladies of the aristocratic and commercial communities. Like Brahmavādinīs, several ladies in Buddhist families also used to lead a life of celibacy, with the aim of understanding and following the eternal truths of religion and philosophy. Some of them even went outside India to countries like Ceylon and became famous there as teachers of the holy scriptures. Among the authoresses of the *Therī-gāthā*, who were believed to have attained salvation, 32 were unmarried women and 18 married ones. Amongst the former, Subhā, Anopamā and Sumedhā belonged to very rich familles, and are said to have been wooed by princes and rich merchants [2] When so large a percentage of girls was leading a life of celibacy in pursuit of religion and philosophy, it is but natural that the general average of intelligence and educatioh among them must have been fairly high.

How Girls were educated: Let us now try to find out the agencies for imparting female education during this period. We have already seen that for a long time family was the only educational institution, and even boys used to receive education only from their fathers, uncles or other elders. The same naturally was the case with girls. When however later Smṛitis like Yama[3] lay down that none but

1 *As'. G. S.*, III. 4. 4.; *S'a. G. S.*, IV. 10. 3.
2 Horner, *Women under Primitive Buddhism*, Chap. II.
3 पिता पितृभ्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत् परः ।

near relations should teach girl students, they are probably referring to a state of affairs current by about the beginning of the Christian era; for there is evidence to show that such was not the case in the earlier period. When a large number of women were receiving higher education and were making their own contributions to the march of knowledge, it is but natural to suppose that some of them must have followed the profession of teaching. And the presence of the terms *Upādhyāyā* and *Upādhyāyānī* in Sanskrit language supports this conjecture. The latter of these words is a courtesy title given to the wife of a teacher, who may or may not be educated. The former, however, denotes a lady, who was herself a teacher. That a special term should have been coined to denote lady teachers in order to distinguish them from wives of teachers would show that their number in society could not have been small. We must note in this connection that there was no Purdah custom in Hindu society down to the 12th century, and so there was no difficulty for women in taking to the teaching profession. Lady teachers may probably have confined themselves to the teaching of girl students, though some may have taught boys also. Pāṇini refers to boarding houses for lady-students, *chhātrīśālās*[2], and these probably were under the superintendence of Upādhyāyās or lady teachers, who had made teaching their profession. Unfortunately we have no clear and sufficient evidence about the activities of lady teachers and the management of girls' boardings.

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[1] उपेत्याधीयते अस्याः सा उपाध्याया । Patañjali on III. 822.

[2] छात्र्यादयः शालायाम् । VI. 2. 86.

Was there co-education ? The modern reader would be anxious to know whether co-education prevailed in the past. Our sources however throw but dim light on the subject. From the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti, written in the 8th century A. D., we learn that the nun Kāmandakī was educated along with Bhūrivasu and Devarāta at a famous centre of education.[1] This would show that if not in Bhavabhūti's time, at least some centuries earlier, sometimes boys and girls were educated together while receiving higher education. In the *Uttara-Rāma-charit* also (of the same author) we find Ātreyī receiving her education along with Kuśa and Lava (Act II). The stories of Kahoda and Sujātā and Ruru and Pramadvarā, narrated in Purāṇas, would also point to co-education. They would further show that at a time when girls were being married at an advanced age and receiving co-education, sometimes love-marriages used to take place as a consequence of it. When however there were competent lady teachers, parents may have preferred to send their daughters to read under them; but when they were not available, they may have sent their wards to read under male teachers, and necessarily along with male students. In an age, which looked upon love marriages as nothing abnormal,[2] co-education need not have frightened the parents. What percentage of girls

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[1] अयि किं न वेत्सि यदेकत्र नो विद्यापरिग्रहाय नानादिगन्तवासिनां साहचर्यमासीत् । Act I.

[2] सुखत्वादबहुक्लेशादपि चावरणादिह ।
अनुरागात्मकत्वाच्च गांधर्वः प्रवरो मतः । *Kāmasūtra*, III. 5. 30
गांधर्वमप्येके प्रशंसंति सर्वेषां स्नेहानुगतत्वात् ।
B. D. S., I. 11-13. 7

received co-education is a question which we cannot answer in the present state of our knowledge. It could not however have been very large.

Extent of Female Education: It is not easy to determine the extent of female education during the period we are reviewing here. Vedic literature has preserved rituals to be performed by parents anxious for the birth of scholarly daughters[1]; it would therefore follow that many parents must have been anxious that their daughters should become cultured and accomplished ladies. Education of girls could not have been neglected by the ordinary well-to-do father. Upanayana ritual was also obligatory for girls, and this must have ensured the imparting of a certain amount of Vedic and literary education to the girls of all the Aryan classes. We may therefore presume that as long as Upanayana ritual was performed in the case of girls, and the custom of child marriage had not taken root in society, girls of well-to-do families must be receiving fairly good education. Such continued to be the case down to *c.* 500 B. C.

SECTION II.

FEMALE EDUCATION FROM *c.* 200 B.C. TO *c.* 1200 A.D.

Deterioration in religious Status: Female education received a great setback during this period primarily owing to the deterioration of the religious status of women. During the earlier period, Upanayana ceremony was as much obligatory for girls as it was

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[1] अथ य इच्छेद्दुहिता मे पंडिता जायेत सर्वमायुरियादिति तिलौदनं पाचयित्वा सर्पिष्मन्तमश्नीयाताम्। *Br. Up.*, VI, 4. 17.

for boys. We have already seen how this ensured a certain amount of higher education to every Aryan girl. During the period we are reviewing, however, Upanayana began to be gradually prohibited to girls. By about 500 B. C. it had already become a mere formality, not followed by any serious course of Vedic education.[1] The *Manusmriti*, which was composed at about 200 B. C., goes a step further and declares that girls' Upanayana should be performed without the recitation of Vedic Mantras.[2] But immediately in the next verse it is stated that it is really the marriage ritual of girls which corresponds to the Upanayana ritual of boys[3]. It is therefore clear that Upanayana of girls, even as a mere formality, was dying down by the beginning of the Christian era. Yājñavalkya (200 A. D.) therefore takes the logical step of prohibiting Upanayana altogether in the case of girls (I. 13), and all later Smriti-writers follow his lead, though some of them like Yama admit that once upon a time girls used to have the privilege of Upanayana and Vedic studies. The discontinuance of Upanayana was disastrous to the religious status of women; they were declared to be of the same status as that of the Shudras[4] and unfit to recite Vedic Mantras and

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1. तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भैक्षचर्या। सद्योवधूनां तूपस्थिते विवाहे कथंचिदुपनयनमात्रं कृत्वा विवाहः कार्यः। Hārīta quoted in *V. M. S.*, p. 402; *S. C. S.*, p. 62.

2. अमंत्रिका तु कार्येयं स्त्रीणामावृदशेषतः। II. 66.
Cf. also नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मंत्रैरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थितिः। IX. 18.

3. वैवाहिको विधिः स्त्रीणां संस्कारो वैदिको मतः।
पतिसेवा गुरौ वासो गृहार्थोऽग्निपरिक्रिया॥ II. 67.

4. वदन्ति केचिन्मुनयः स्त्रीणां शूद्रसमानताम्। Purāṇāntara in *V. M. Paribhāshā*, p. 40.

perfom Vedic sacrifices. The wife's association with the husband in the family sacrifices became a formal matter and there were some theologians like Aitiśāyana who were opposed even to this formal participation. (*P.M.*, VI. 1. 2. 2.)

Why Vedic Education was prohibited to Women : The causes of the prohibition of the Vedic education to women during this later period have nowhere been specifically stated; they can only be inferred. When Vedic literature came to be regarded as revealed, it was insisted that it should be very meticulously and accurately committed to memory. The Vedic course also became a lengthy one, requiring a long period of study, and could not be finished till about the age of 24. The marriages of girls, as a rule, were never postponed to this advanced age even during the Vedic period. Usually they took place at about the age of 16 or 17. Girls in well-to-do families therefore could get only about six or seven years for their Vedic studies; they could not therefore carry them out with that exactitude and thoroughness which was insisted upon by the age. In poor families, the exigencies of the household work must have resulted in only very little time being available for Vedic studies after the Upanayana. Girls in such families were often unable to recite even the formulæ in the marriage ritual prescribed for the bride; they had to be recited by the priest or the bridegroom (*Go. G. S.*. II. 1. 21.; *Jai G. S.*, I. 20). Dilettante Vedic studies were regarded as not only useless, but also dangerous; even the slightest mistake in the recitation of the Vedic hymns was regarded as very disastrous in its consequences. It was therefore probably felt that since women could not study the Vedic literature in

the proper manner, its study should be prohibited to them in order to avert spiritual disasters to the family arising out of the mistakes of amateurish Vedic girls-students. Spoken dialect had by this time become completely differentiated from the Vedic speech; women were unable to speak even ordinary Sanskrit and used to express themselves in Prakrits or vernaculars. They must have experienced greater difficulties in correctly pronouncing the Vedic hymns than men, who could speak classical Sanskrit correctly. Leaders of society therefore felt that correct transmissition of the Vedic literature necessitated the prohibition of its study to women. Their Upanayana was therefore also discontinued.

The Lowering of the Marriage Age:—The mischief caused by the discontinuance of Upanayana was further enhanced by the lowering of the marriageable age. In the Vedic period girls were married at about the age of 16 or 17; but by *c.* 500 B. C. the custom arose of marrying them soon after the attainment of puberty. Dharmaśāstra works of the

1. It is undoubtedly true that Mādhava, who flourishtd in the 14th century, observes in his *Nyāya-mālāvistāra* (p. 335, Bombay edition) that women are entitled to Upanayana. A similar statement is made by Mitramiśra of the 17th century when discussing Manu II, 66. The statements of these authors in these passages do not warrant the view that Upanayana of girls was performed in some families even in the 17th century A. D. The above authors are simply expounding the views of the earlier writers they are commenting upon, and not attesting to the contemporary practice. This would be quite clear from a wrong construction which Mitramiśra elsewhere places upon a passage in the *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* :—बाह्यतः स्त्री बलिमुपहरति II, 17. Mitramiśra combines the two words स्त्री and बलिम् into स्त्रीबलिम् on the ground that women were incapable of offering any oblations owing to their ignorance. Cf. एतादृशव्याख्याने स्त्रीणां तत्तद्बलिप्रदानानुकूलविधाकल्पना स्यात् । *V. M. S.* p. 908.

period however permit the postponement of a girl's marriage to the age of 16 or 17 in case a suitable match could not be arranged.[1] Manu, though in favour of a marriage at 12 in normal circumstances, was prepared to contemplate the possibility of a girl remaining unmarried to the end of her life, if no suitable bridegroom could be found.[2] Later writers, however, of this period like Yājñavalkya,[3] Saṁvarta[4] and Yama,[5] most vehemently condemn the guardian who fails to marry a girl before the attainment of the puberty. This condemnation had the natural effect; from Alberuni we learn that in the 11th century Hindus used to marry at an early age, and that a Brahmana was never allowed to marry a girl above the age of 12.[6] Many marriages must have taken place much earlier, for the Smṛitis written at the end of this period begin to glorify the merits of a girl's marriage at the age of 7, 8, or 9.[7] When it was regarded as an ideal thing to celebrate a girl's marriage at so young an age, female education could hardly prosper.

Female Education in cultured Families :— Though in society as a whole female education received

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1. E. g., *Va. Dh. S*, कुमारी ऋतुमती त्रीणि वर्षाण्युपासीत । ऊर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यो वर्षेभ्यः पतिं विंदेत्तुल्यम् । XVII. 59
See also Vishṇu, 24, 41.

2. काममामरणात्तिष्ठेद्गृहे कन्यर्तुमत्यपि ।
न चैवैनां प्रयच्छेत्तु गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित् ॥ IX, 89.

3. अप्रयच्छन्समाप्नोति भ्रूणहत्यां ऋतौ ऋतौ । I, 64.

4. I, 67. 5. I, 22.

6. Sachau, II, 131.

7. See Āśvalāyana, Saṁvarta, Kāśyapa etc. quoted in *VMS.*, p. 767.

a great set-back during this period, it continued to receive attention in rich, cultured, aristocratic and royal families.[1] Girls in these families were given a fairly good literary education, though they were not allowed to study the Vedic literature. They could read and understand Sanskrit and Prakrit works and even detect mistakes accidentally committed by their male relations.[2] Special effort was made to give them a good grounding in domestic and culinary arts and fine arts like music, dancing, painting, garland-making and household decorations.[3] Tutors were appointed in rich families to train girls in these arts and accomplishments, as is shown by the employment of Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta in the household of king Agnimitra. Most of this education was finished before the marriage; but famous lady scholars of the age, to be mentioned in the next para, probably continued their education and reading even after their wedlock.

Lady Authors of the Age: Educated ladies in cultured families continued to make their own contributions to literature, as was done by the lady scholars of the earlier period. During this age, there flourished several poetesses in south India, who

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1. पुरुषवद्योषितोऽपि कवीभवेयुः।....। श्रूयन्ते दृश्यन्ते च राजपुत्र्यो महामात्रदुहितरो गणिकाः कौटुंबिकभार्याश्च शास्त्रप्रहितबुद्धयः कवयश्च।
Kāvyamīmānsā, p. 53.

2. Stories are current in learned circles of how clever wives would bring milk to serve at the dining party when the order given was *dadhimānaya*; they could at once see the blunder committed by the husband and in order to save him from the reproach of ungrammatical speech, would pretend to understand the order, not as *dadhim ānaya* bring curds (which would have been incorrect as *dadhi* is not a word in masculine gender), but as *dadhi mā ānaya*, 'do not bring curds'

3. Vātsyāyana, (*Kāmasūtra*, 1. 8. 16.) lays down that girls should be trained in all the 64 arts and crafts.

composed poetry in Prakrit. Among the authors from whom selections have been made in the *Gāthā-sapta-śatī* of Hāla, there are sevan poetesses, their names being Revā[1] Rohā,[2] Mādhavī[3] Anulakshmī,[4] Pāhaī,[5] Vaddhavahī[6] and Śaśiprabhā.[7] Some of the Sanskrit anthologies also have preserved the memory of a few other poetesses, who seem to have composed poetry of a very high order. Sīlabhaṭṭārikā was famous for her easy and graceful style, noted for a harmonious combination of sense and sound.[8] Devī was a well known poetess of Gujarat, who continued to enchant her readers on the earth even after her departure to heaven.[9] Vijayāṅkā's fame in Berar was second only to that of Kālidāsa[10]. She seems to have attained a really high position among Sanskrit poets and poetesses, for the poet Rājaśekhara compares her to Saraswatī.[11] A drama,

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1. I, 87 and 90.
2. II, 63.
3. I, 91.
4. III, 28, 63, 74, 76.
5. I, 70.
6. I, 86.
7. IV, 4.

8. शब्दार्थयोः समो गुंफः पाँचालीरीतिरुच्यते ।
शीलभट्टारिकावाचि..... ॥

9. सूक्तीनां स्मरकेलीनां कलानां च विलासभूः ।
प्रभुर्देवी कवी लाटी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥

10. सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी विजयांका जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनंतरम् ॥

11. नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विजयांकामजानता ।
वृथैव दण्डिनाप्युक्तं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

These verses are attributed to Rājaśekhara in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*.

11. शीलाविज्जामारुलामोरिकाद्याः काव्यं कर्तुं संति विज्ञाःस्त्रियोपि ।
विद्यां वेत्तुं वादिनो निर्विजेतुं विश्वं वक्तुं यः प्रवीणः स वन्द्यः ॥

Śarang. P.

na med *Kaumudīmahotsava* has been recently discovered[1] which is from the pen of a poetess, whose name seems to have been Vidyā or Vijjakā. The plot dramatises the incidents of a political revolution at Pātalīputra, showing thereby that ladies were not uninterested in the incidents of political history. Subhadrā, Sītā, Marulā, Indulekhā, Bhavadevī and Vikaṭanitambā are some other poetesses quoted in later anthologies[1]. It is a pity that we should have lost their works. Lady scholars of this age took interest in criticism also; Rājaśekhara's wife was both a critic and poetess. The umpire in the controversy between Śankara and Maṇḍanamiśra was the accomplished wife of the latter[2]; she must have been well grounded in Mīmānsā, Vedānta and literature. Some ladies were attracted by medical studies also; the majority of these must be specialising in gynæcology. Some of the lady doctors had also written authoritative works on the medical science. Among the Hindu works on medicine translated into Arabic in the 8th century A.D. was a book on midwifery, written by a lady doctor, whose name appears as Rūsā in the Arabic garb[3].

Female Education in ordinary Families:— Achievements of lady scholars in cultured families were thus fairly high. Cultured families are, however, relatively few in society. They could afford to

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1. पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे खलु सुभद्रया ।
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥ K. M.,
See also M. Krishnamachariar, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 301-3

2. विधाय भार्यां विदुषीं सदस्यां विधीयतां वादकथा सुधीन्द्र ॥
Śankaradigvijaya, VIII. 51.

3. Nadvi, *Arab aur Bharat ke Sambandha*, p. 122.

employ special teachers for their girls. Ordinary families, however, were not so well situated, and it is therefore doubtful whether the average woman was receiving any education after about the 6th or the 7th century A. D. Asahāya, a commentator on the *Nārada-smṛiti*, who flourished in the 8th century A. D., justifies the theory of the dependence of women on the ground that their intelligence is not developed like that of men on account of the absence of proper education.[1] It is hazardous to make any statement about the percentage of literate women in society at the end of the 12th century A. D., but it could not have been higher than 5 percent. Literacy among men at this time was probably about 30 percent as has been shown in Chapter, VIII.

Buddhism and Female Education in later Times :— We saw how in the earlier period the Buddhist movement gave an indirect impetus to female education and produced a number of nun-poetesses. During this period however we do not come across any nun scholars at all. Nunneries had gone out of vogue by the 4th century A. D.; Chinese pilgrims of the 5th and 7th century A. D. do not refer to them at all. It is interesting to note that in modern Ceylon and Burma also nunneries do not impart instructions to girls as monasteries do to boys. We have therefore to conclude that female education, which was languishing during this period, could not get any impetus from Buddhism also.

Education of Princesses and Girls in Aristocratic Families :—Ancient Indian history knows of several

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1. शास्त्राध्ययनाधिकारित्वात् शास्त्रमात्रोपजीविधर्माधर्मज्ञानाभावात् अस्वातंत्र्यम् । On XIII, 86.

dowager queens and princesses, who used to take active part in the administration of their kingdoms. Nayanikā of the Andhra dynasty (*c.* 150 B. C.) and Prabhāvatīguptā of the Vākāṭaka dynasty (*c.* 390 A.D.) were governing extensive kingdoms during the minority of their sons. The queen of Masaga directed the defence of her capital against Alexander the Great after the death of her husband. Several queens of Kashmir have fought on the battlefield,[1] and some of them like Sugandhā and Diddā have ruled as regnant queens. In the Chālukya dynasty several queens and ladies of the royal family like Mailādevī, Akkādevī, Kunkumadevī and Lakshmīdevī are known to have taken active part in the administration of the empire as governors of towns and districts.[2] It is therefore quite obvious that steps must have been taken in royal families in ancient India to give proper training to princesses in order to make them fit to carry on the administration in the case of emergency, or even in normal times in order to help their husbands. The training was both administrative and military. Administrative training was of course given when they had become old enough to take part in the governance of the kingdom, but military training was imparted during their adolescence. They were trained fairly well in the use of arms; they could also ride and swim. The son of queen Vijayamahādevī was called Gaṅgadatta, because the mother used to swim about in the Ganges, owing to a strong desire to do so during pregnancy.[3] In ordinary Kshatriya families also some military training seems to have been imparted to the lady

1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 905, 909, 981; VIII, 1187-9.
2. *I. A.*, IX p. 274, XVIII p. 37
3. *E. C.*, VII, Shimoga No. 4, dated 1122 A.D.

folk. Village women are often seen defending their hearths and homes, in times of danger, and even laying down their lives while doing so.[1] Inscriptions have recorded the cases of governments of the day honouring village heroines with the gift of suitable ornaments.[2] The tradition of military training for ladies in high Kshatriya families continued down to the advent of the British rule. There still exists a commemorative tablet in Shikarpur Taluka immortalising the memory of a spiritted lady, Hariyakkā by name, who died fighting in 1446 A.D., while avenging the murder of her father.[3] Maratha and Rajput princesses could usually ply the sword and wield the lance[4].

Female Education and Economic Independence: In ordinary families, literature and the fine arts were usually the favourite topics of female education. This education was of course not calculated to make women economically self-sufficient, but we must note that the theory that women ought to be economically independent is of quite a recent origin. In the case of emergency, however, the Hindu woman could eke out a humble subsistence for herself and her children by taking to spinning and weaving in her spare time. In Pali literature we find instances of wives imploring their dying husbands to keep composed by pointing out that they could maintain the family by their skill in spinning and weaving[5]. The *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya lays down that the state superintendent of

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1. *S.I.E.R.*, for 1911. 2. *Ibid*, I, No. 75.
3. *E. C.* VII. Shikarpur No. 2.
4. Malcolm, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 99-100.
5. Cf. कुसलाहं गहपति कप्पासं कंतितुं वेणिमोलिखितुं सक्काहं गहपति तथापवेन दारके पोसेतुम् । *Ang. Nik.* Vol. III, p. 298.

weaving should make special arrangement for sending cotton to and receiving the yarn from those women, who were cripled, or whose husbands were dead or had gone abroad, and who were thus compelled to seek work for their subsistence[1]. There is evidence to show that during the 9th century also widows, who were unprovided for, used to have recourse to spinning for their maintenance[2]. This humble but independent means of existence was available to the women in distress in India down to the middle of the last century, when the hand spinning and hand weaving industry was crushed out of existence by the mill competition.

Female Education during 1200—1800 A. D.: It will be interesting to take here a rapid bird's eye view of the fortunes of female education during the next six centuries. During the Muslim rule the percentage of literacy among women went down very rapidly. Old, rich and cultured families were as a rule ruined by the political revolution, and they were no longer in a position to make special arrangements for the education of their girls. There were of course no schools for girls. Some new Hindu families did no doubt rise to importance under the new regime. But their number was very small and they did not generally possess sufficient culture to induce them to appoint teachers for their girls. Daughters of Rajput chiefs and some Bengali Zemindars were usually able to read and write down

1. II, 28; cf. याश्चानिष्कासिन्यः प्रोषितविधवा न्यङ्काःकन्यका वाऽऽत्मानं बिभृयुः ताः स्वदासीभिरनुसार्य सोपग्रहं कर्म कारयितव्याः ।

2. मृतपतिकाया अनपत्याया असति भर्तृधनादौ दायिके च कर्तनादिना केनचिदुपायेन जीवन्त्याः····· । Medhātithi on Manu V, 157.

to the 19th century; some of them, if unfortunately widowed, would devote themselves to learning and even become teachers.[1] Jain widows too were sometimes taught reading and writing by the monks with a view to enable them to read their scriptures.[2] These were, however, exceptional cases. Society as a whole had become prejudiced against female education. It was believed that a girl taught to read and write aym become a widow soon after her marriage.[3] The decline in literacy after the 13th century was so rapid that by the beginning of the 19th century hardly one woman in hundred could read. Such was the state of affairs in Malva and also in Madras presidency. In the latter province in 1826 only 4023 girls were attending schools as against 1,57,664 boys.[4] According to the then population of the presidency, 16 percent of the boys of the school going age were receiving primary education; the percentage of girls receiving the same was therefore less than one half. In certain sections of Hindu population as among the Nāyars, literacy was much higher, but such groups were few and exceptional. All the available evidence shows that by the beginning of the 19th century, about 99 per cent of women population had grown illiterate.

1. Ward refers to one such case of a Kulina widow, Hati Vidyalamkāra, who removed from Bengal to Benares and obtained some pupils there. *A View of Hindus*, II p. 508.
2. Malcolm, *Memoirs*, II, 159.
3. Stark: *Vernacular Education in Bengal*, pp. 43-44.
4. *Report of the Madras Prov. Committee*, p. 5.

Chapter X

A GENERAL RESUME.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF BUDDHISM TO EDUCATION—Ordination ceremony—Relations between the novice and the teacher—Education of the laity—Rise of public educational institutions due to Buddhism—Non-sectarian courses also provided for in them—Buddhism and primary education—Estimate of the contributions of the Buddhism.

PERIOD-WISE SURVEY: History divided into four periods—Education in the Vedic period—The Upanishad-Sūtra age (1000 B.C. to c. 200 B.C.) a creative period—Education in this period—The period of the Dharmaśāstra (*c.* 200 B.C.—500 A.D.) an age of reflection and specialisation—The general condition of education in it—The age of the Purāṇas and Nibandhas, (*c.* 500-1200 A.D.)—Its achievements and limitations.

Introduction : In the course of our narrative so far we have finished the history of the origin and development of the different branches of education in ancient India. We devoted separate chapters to topics like primary education, professional education, educational institutions, etc., and the treatment in each of them must have enabled the reader to visualise clearly the development and vicissitudes that took place in their connection from age to age. We also indicated at each place the contribution that Buddhism made to the development of education in ancient India. For a proper understanding of the subject it is however desirable that the reader should get a clear picture of the educational conditions as a whole in the successive periods of ancient Indian history, as also of the contribution which the Buddhism made to educational theory and practice. We therefore propose to devote the present chapter for this purpose. Its first section will give a general resume of the contribution of the Buddhism to ancient Indian education and the

second section will provide a bird's eye view of the general condition of education in the successive periods of Indian history.

SECTION A.

BUDDHISM AND ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION

No Fundamental Difference: There was no fundamental difference between Hindus and Buddhists as far as the general educational theory or practice was concerned. It was the fundamental tenet of Buddhism that the world is full of sorrow and that the salvation can be obtained only by renouncing it. In the beginning therefore it naturally concerned itself only with the education of novices and monks. When however in the course of time it took up the education of the laity also, its educational system did not present any important points of difference from those of Hinduism. Both systems had similar ideals and followed similar methods. This must have become quite clear to the reader from the previous chapters and will become clearer still from this section. We shall first however say a few words about the ordination ceremony.

Ordination Ceremony: The wise injunction of the Buddha, that every novice should be properly trained in the discipline and doctrine of the religion, was primarily responsible for the educational developments in and activities of Buddhist monasteries. Two ceremonies were laid down for those who desired to enter the Order, the *Pabbajjā* and the *Upasampadā*. The *Pabbajjā* marked the beginning of the noviciate period and could be given when a person was not

less than eight years old. The permission of the guardian was necessary. The *Upasampadā* was given after the end of the noviciate period, and the recepient had to be not less than twenty years old. [1]If he was a debtor, an invalid or a government servant, he was refused admission. The ordination could take place only with the consent of the whole chapter. There were no caste restrictions for admission (*ante*, p.), The novice had to affirm his faith in the Buddha, his Dhamma (gospel) and Saṅgha (the Order), and select a learned person as his preceptor. He was to follow strictly the rules and discipline of the Order ; if he was guilty of any serious breach of discipline, he could be expelled by a meeting of the chapter. Like the Hindu Brahmachāri (student), he was expected to beg his daily food ; but he was also permitted to accept invitations for meals from laymen. He was to do all manual and menial work connected with the monastic life, e. g. cleansing its floor and utensils, bringing water, supervising its stores, etc.

The Relation between the Novice and his Teacher were filial in character ; they were united together by mutual reverence, confidence and affection. Like the Hindu Brahmachārin, the Buddhist novice was to help his teacher by doing a variety of manual work for him ; he was to carry his seat and robes, supply him water and tooth stick, cleanse his begging bowl and utensils and accompany him as an attendant when he proceeded to the town or village for begging or preaching. The teacher was to teach the student the rules of etiquette and discipline, draw his

1. Like Upanayana, it has been compared to a spiritual birth; Cf. अरियाय जातितो जातो *Majhima Nikāya*, II. p. 108 ; *Therigathā*, No. 17.

particular attention to the vow of chastity, poverty and abstinence from pleasures and help him in his intellectual and spiritual progress by suitable discourses and lessons in the morning and afternoon. He was also to help him in getting food and robes, and even to nurse him if he was sick. His own life was to be exemplary and the novice was permitted to act as a check on him if he was wavering in his faith or about to commit a breach of monastic discipline. The needs of the teacher were to be the minimum; the famous teachers at Nālandā used to receive an allowance only three times larger than the amount given to an ordinary student. This would give a very clear idea as to how Buddhist teachers led a very simple life and cost next to nothing to society. They were lifelong students of their different subjects; for marriage did not intervene to put an end to or an obstacle in their studies.

The Education of the Laity: As observed already, in the beginning Buddhist education was purely monastic and was intended only for those who entered, or intended to enter, the Order. This was but natural. Buddhism held that the worldly life was full of sorrow and that the salvation could be possible only by renouncing it. It could therefore naturally evince no interest in the education of those who intended to follow secular life and pursuits. In the course of time however it was realised that it was necessary to win public sympathy and support for the spread of the gospel; this could be more successfully done if the Buddhist monk could help the cause of education as was done by his theological opponent, the Brahmana priest. It was also realised that the best way to spread the gospel was to undertake the

education of the rising generation. This was calculated to enable the Order to mould and influence the minds of the younger section of the society, when they were very pliable. There was thus a better chance of both recruiting proper types of persons for the Order and of getting a larger number of lay sympathisers, if the educational effort was not confined to novices but was also extended to the whole community. Buddhism therefore threw itself heart and soul into the cause of the general education of the whole community from about the beginning of the Christian era. It may be pointed out that lay students were admitted in 'external' monastic schools of Christianity, 'internal' schools being reserved for those who intended to join the order. Jesuits also used to admit lay pupils, when space permitted the step.[1]

The Rise of Public Educational Institutes:— For a long time education was imparted by individual teachers in ancient India on their own private initiative and responsibility. The rise of organised public educational institutions may be justly attributed to the influence of Buddhism. This was but natural; Buddhist monasteries already existed as corporate bodies: when they developed into educational centres, they naturally became corporate educational institutions. Temple colleges of Hinduism probably owed their inspiration to the monastic colleges of Buddhism. In the heyday of Buddhism India was studded with monasteries, and about 10 per cent of them at least used to impart higher education. An account of the more important of these institutions has already been given in Chapter V. Some of these monastic colleges

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[1] H. Staunton, *Great Schools*, Intro. p. xv., Quick, *Essays*, p. 39.

like those of Nālandā, Valabhi and Vikramaśilā became international centres of learning and spread the fame of Indian education in Central and Eastern Asia. Nālandā could get an endowment even from a king of distant Java. Kings and merchant-princes in India vied with each other in giving rich endowments to these famous centres of education, and they in turn used to give not only free tuition but also free food and clothing, certainly to monks and probably to lay students also. How these institutions were organsied and managed has been already explained in connection with the account of the Nālandā University (pp. 114-123). Buddhist monasteries were either independent and self-sufficient townships or situated on the outskirts of towns and villages. They therefore enjoyed the advantage of a quiet atmosphere.

Non-sectarian and comprehensive Courses :— Though organised and managed by Buddhists, monastic colleges were neither sectarian in their outlook nor purely theological in their courses. Buddhist philosophy naturally played an important part in their scheme of education, but adequate attention was also given to the study of the religion and philosophy of the different sects in Hinduism and Jainism. More than two fifth of the time of Yuan Chwang was spent in studying Hindu religion and philosophy in Buddhist monasteries in India. Nor was the education confined only to theology, philosophy and logic. Sanskrit literature, astronomy-cum-astrology, medicine and works on law, polity and administration were also taught for the benefit of lay students in order to enable them to get government service or follow useful and learned professions in society. Books being fragile and costly, students were naturally encouraged to commit

important texts to memory ; this stood them in good stead in debates and controversies. But Buddhist education was far from being mere cramming of texts. Reasoning and analysis formed an important part in the method of teaching ; what critical foreign students like Yuan Chwang and I-tsing admired in their Indian teachers was not their keen memory, which stored numberless texts, but their remarkable powers of explanation and exposition. Individual attention was paid to students ; at Nālandā each teacher had not more than ten students under his charge.

Female Education: Buddhist nunneries went out of vogue from about the 4th century A. D.; so at the time when Buddhist monasteries had developed into colleges of international reputation, women were not receiving any advantages of the education imparted in them. Their marriages were at that time taking place very early. In the early history of Buddhism however, the permission given to women to enter the Order gave a fairly good impetus to the cause of female education, especially in aristocratic and commercial sections of society. A large number of ladies from these circles joined the Order and became life-long students of religion and philosophy. Their example must have given an indirect encouragement to the spread of education among lay women as well.

Buddhism and Primary Education: It is well known that in modern Burma Buddhist monasteries afford valuable help in spreading literacy, as a result of which the percentage of male literate population in that country was as high as 38 even in 1902. It is therefore not improbable that what Buddhist monasteries are doing in modern Burma

may have been done by them in ancient India as well. In its early history, however, there is no evidence to show that Buddhism was interesting itself in education of laymen. With the rise of the Mahāyāna school in the early centuries of the Christian era a great change took place, and Buddhist monasteries began to undertake systematically the education of laymen as well. The accounts of the Chinese travellers, however, leave the impression that Buddhist monasteries were mainly concerned with higher education. It is however not improbable that the Chinese travellers may not have referred to their work in the sphere of primary education, because they were not interested in it. We must further remember that primary education was a more integral part of higher education than is the case now, and so could not have been altogether neglected by the teachers engaged in higher education. Secular students, who used to serve their monk teachers as pages giving them water, food, etc., appear from I-tsing's account to have been students of primary rather than secondary education.[1] We may therefore conclude that in smaller monasteries where higher education was not imparted, monks may have engaged themselves in primary education. There is however no definite evidence on the point.

Conclusion:—It will thus be seen that Buddhism may well be proud of its contribution to the cause of education in ancient India. Its colleges threw their doors open to all, irrespective of any considerations of caste or country. The rise of organised public educational institutions may be justly attributed to its influence. It raised the international status of

1. Takakusu, pp. 105-6.

India by the efficiency of its higher education, which attracted students from distant countries like Korea, China, Tibet and Java. The cultural sympathy which the countries in eastern Asia feel for India even today is entirely due to the work of the famous Buddhist colleges of ancient India. If some of the important lost texts can be reconstructed with the help of their Chinese translations, the credit must be given to Buddhist colleges, which enabled Chinese students to get their copies. Buddhist education also helped the development of Hindu logic and philosophy by initiating and encouraging comparative study. In the period of its early history, it championed the cause of education through the mother tongue; later on however it could not resist the charm and influence of Sanskrit and began to impart education through that language.

SECTION B.

PERIOD-WISE SURVEY OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION.

Four Historical Periods: We now proceed to take a bird's eye view of the general condition of education in the different periods of ancient Indian history. We shall divide it into four periods for the purpose of of our survey. The first period will be from pre-historic times to *c.* 1000 B.C. It may be conveniently described as the Vedic age, as most of the Vedic literature was composed during this period. The second period will extend from *c.* 1000 B.C. to *c.* 200 B.C. It may be described as the age of the Upanishads, the Sūtras and the epics, as these works can be asigned to this period. The Bārhadrathas, the Śiśunāgas, the Nandas and the Mauryas were the leading political

powers of this period and so the age may be conveniently described as the age of the Nandas and Mauryas. The third period will extend from *c.* 200 B.C. to *c.* 500 A.D. It may be described as the age of the Dharmaśāstra, as most of the leading works on this subject were written during this period. It can also be described as the age of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas, as these were the leading political powers of the period. The fourth period will extend from *c.* 500 A.D, to *c.* 1200 A.D. It may be described as the age of the Purāṇas and digests (Nibandhas), as society was guided mainly by the theories and practices recommended in these works. Politically India was divided into many small kingdoms during this age. Kings Harsha and Bhoja were the most prominent rulers during this period. The age therefore may be described as the age of Harsha and Bhoja. We shall now proceed to describe the condition of education as a whole in each of these four periods.

THE VEDIC PERIOD :

(upto *c.* 1,000 B.C.)

Condition of Culture and Education : This age marked the beginning of Indian culture, literature and science and so naturally not much progress was made in the different departments of knowledge. Its literary and scientific achievements were naturally less dazzling and comprehensive than those of the succeeding age. People of this period however had a very keen desire to make progress in the realm of knowledge. They had realised that it was intellectual efficiency and equipment that was most essential for progress in culture and knowledge. It was emphasised that gods

would be friends of only those who are wise and learned. Those only were regarded as learned who could not only recite the texts but also understand and interpret them. Every householder of the age therefore naturally regarded the education of his children as a sacred duty. No distinction was made in this connection between boys and girls; the education of both received the same attention at least upto the higher stage. Ordinarily the guardian discharged his duty to teach his wards so regularly and successfully that no necessity was felt for a long time either for the professional teacher or for the public school. Secular literature was yet to be developed and so the literary course was predominently religious. People however had an open, free and enquiring mind and were eager to explore new realms of knowledge. Great emphasis was laid on the proper development of debating powers; boys and girls who were successful in debates were highly honoured. Education however did not produce mere talkers but transformed its recepients into man of action as well. This would become quite clear from the successful manner in which the Aryans of the age spread their culture and extended their political influence. The Aryan community was a compact and homogenous one during this period, and there was not much difference in the educational level of the different classes. Priests however generally used to specialise in literary and religious education. Warriors and agriculturists also received some literary education, but it was naturally not so deep or wide as that of the priests or the poets. They used to devote the greater part of their educational course in mastering the art of war, or the processes of agriculture or the methods of arts and crafts. The followers of the latter were held in high esteem: some of them like Aśvins and

Ribhus were even deified. The educational system of the age was successful in forming character, developing personality, promoting the progress of different branches of knowledge and achieving social efficiency and happiness.

THE UPANISHAD-SŪTRA PERIOD.

(*c.* 1000 B.C. to *c.* 200 B.C.)

General Condition of the Age: This period can justly be regarded as the most creative period of Hindu culture and literature, arts and sciences. The foundations of whatever is the best in Hindu culture and glorious in Hindu achievements were laid down during this period. Metaphysics made remarkable progress, as is evidenced by the Upanishadic, Jain and Bauddha works; the foundations of almost all the later systems of philosophy were also laid down. Philology and grammar were well developed and the literary activity in the legal literature commenced. Speculations in the sphere of political thought were original and fruitful. Astronomy and mathematics, medicine and surgery, mining and metallurgy began to be cultivated and sculpture and architecture recorded remarkable progress, especially towards the end of the period. Effort was also made to popularise culture and knowledge by transforming the epic of the Bhārata war into an encyclopædia of religion and ethics.

The Condition of Education: These manifold achievements in different spheres became possible because Indians had still a free, open and enquiring mind and were making strenuous efforts to extend the bounds of knowledge and to ensure its transmission to posterity. With a view to enlist the help of the whole society for this work, Upanayana ritual was made

obligatory for the whole Aryan community at about the beginning of this period. This gave a great impetus to the spread both of literacy and higher education. As learning became more and more extensive in course of time, education in the family became impracticable, and society began to encourage distinguished scholars to become regular teachers. They used to organise private schools for higher studies, relying mainly on the voluntary contributions of students taking their advantage. Brahmacharya discipline was still rigorous, but towards the end of the period the marriageable age of girls began to be gradually lowered, which adversely affected female education. During the earlier part of this period, however, there was no dearth of women philosophers and scholars, some of whom used to organise schools and hostels for girls. Co-education was however not unknown. Majority of girls received their education at home, as was the case with boys also during the earlier period. The educational system paid as much attention to the cultivation of the Vedic studies as to that of grammar and philology, mathematics and astronomy, epic and legal literature. Professions became specialised towards the end of this period and society began to feel it advantageous that they should become hereditary in order to encourage further efficiency. The ordinary soldier or agriculturist used however to receive a fair amount of cultural education. The training imparted to the doctor and the sculptor was fairly practical and efficient, and the average intelligence of the artisan class was fairly high. The killed worker was respected by society. Education was regarded as a serious proposition and society was anxious that its benefits should be extended to as large a class as possible. Various steps were being proposed

and adopted to see that students did not stop their studies at the end of their courses. Educational system continued to be successful in forming character, building up personality, extending the bounds of knowledge and preserving the heritage of the past. It undoubtedly promoted social happiness and efficiency ; it enabled India to be at the vanguard of progress in the contemporary world and repel and subjugate the powerful Greek enemy.

THE AGE OF THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(*c.* 200 B. C. to *c.* 500 A. D.)

Characteristics of the Age: This period may be described as the age of critical reflection and specialisation. The achievements of the preceding creative period were critically examined and special systems like the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga, the Nyāya and the Vaiśeshika, the Vedānta and the Mahāyāna Buddhism were evolved; this undoubtedly marked considerable progress in critical thought. The creative vein however was still active, though in a less marked degree than before. Its activity was particularly noteworthy in the realm of classical literature and sacred law, painting and sculpture, mathematics and astronomy. A considerable part of the religious literature was now canonised, but Hindus still had an open, free and enquiring mind. Philosophical systems continued to be called orthodox, though they had no place in them even for God. Heterodox systems like the Jainism and the Buddhism were studied by the Hindus and the theories and dogmas of Hinduism were analysed and examined by the Jains and the Buddhists; this led to considerable progress in logic and metaphysics. Greeks were no doubt regarded as unholy

foreigners (Mlechchhas), but nevertheless their achievements in the realm of sculpture, coinage and astronomy were carefully studied and assimilated, which led to considerable progress in all these sciences.

The Condition of Education : There was however a distinctive setback to the cause of education as a whole during this period. Child marriages became the order of the day towards the end of the period, and so female education suffered very considerably. Only daughters of high class families used to receive education during this period. The lowering of the marriageable age of girls naturally involved the corresponding lowering of the marriageable age of boys. Brahmacharya discipline consequently became slack and nominal and towards the end of this period ; the educational system could produce only a limited number of young men possessing a developed personality, characterised by self-confidence and self reliance. During this period Upanayana of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas first became a mere formality. This development gave a severe blow to the general and cultural education of the warrior and the farmer, the trader and the artisan, and this reduced their general efficiency. Their education gradually began to become too much specialised and narrow. The same defect arose in the course of time in liberal education also. There was too much of specialisation in logic and philosophy, astronomy and mathematics; there was no broad-based secondary course of education. The educational system was still able to promote social efficiency and happiness and secure the preservation and spread of national culture ; it enabled society to absorb and assimilate a number of foreign tribes whom it could not drive out by military force. Towards

the end of this period the higher education of the cultured classes received a great impetus and encouragement by the rise of organised public schools and colleges. On account of the liberal support which these institutions received from the state and society, they were able to impart free education. Several colleges for higher education became famous centres of education, which in the course of time began to attract students from abroad as well. The training in practical sciences like sculpture and architecture, medicine and matallurgy was still very efficient, if somewhat narrow.

THE AGE OF THE PURĀṆAS AND NIBANDHAS.

(*C.* 500 A. D.—1200 A. D)

Educational Achievements of the Age :—India continued to enjoy the reputation of an international centre of education during this period also. Down to *c.* 900 A. D. Tibetan and Chinese students continued to flock in her eastern Universities, and her doctors used to be summoned in Western Asia for curing royal patients and organising state hospitals. Education had not become mere book learning ; Indian teachers excited admiration of foreign students by their remarkable powers of explanation and exposition. Graduates of this period were remarkable for their logical acumen and mastery in Sanskrit, though the latter was no longer the spoken tongue. Facilities for free higher education continued to be ample ; if with the decline of Buddhism the number of monastic colleges decreased, the loss was more than compensated by the rise of numerous temple colleges. Brahmacharya discipline no doubt became nominal owing to early marriages ; even married students, however, showed commendable perseverance in pursuing protracted courses of studies. Poor

students continued to maintain themselves by begging if necessary ; the number of teachers eager to follow the high code of the profession, which enjoined free tuition, still continued to be very large. Society's earnestness for education was thus remarkable.

Educational Defects of the Age :—Though thus higher education continued to prosper, the education of the masses suffered during this period. Upanayana now completely disappeared from Kshatriyas and Vaishyas ; this gave a serious blow to their cultural and literary education, reduced the percentage of literacy among them and made their education very narrow. Useful arts and professions began to be regarded as plebian and were boycotted by the higher sections of Brahmanas ; as the services of the best intellect in society were no longer available for the development of arts and crafts, they ceased to make any progress worth the name. Growing orthodoxy of the age disapproved of dissection and condemned the pursuit of agriculture on the ground that it involved killing of insects at the time of ploughing. Medical education in the course of time became less efficient ; surgery went out of vogue and agriculture became a neglected and plebian profession. The marriageable age of girls was further lowered during this period ; girls were ordinarily married at the age of 10 or 11. This naturally gave a death blow to the female education. A few ladies no doubt appear as poetesses during this period ; they were however exceptions rather than the rule. Education could not reach the masses as the medium of higher instruction was Sanskrit, which was no longer the spoken tongue. No serious or concerted effort was made to develop literature in vernaculars in order to facilitate the infiltration of knowledge to the

masses. In the sphere of higher education specialisation was carried to too great an extreme ; the logician, the mathematician and the rhetorist, for instance, did not possess much knowledge of the problems and achievements of one another. The preservation of ancient literature and culture was the main concern of the educational system ; it was unable to produce many scholars who could substantially enrich it. The creative vein in the Hindu intellect could still be seen in the realm of poetics. and to a less extent, in those of philosophy, literature and astronomy. It was however quite feeble, compared to its strength and achievements in the preceding ages. The situation deteriorated further by the growing self-conceitedness of the scholars of the age and their refusal to benefit by the knowledge and experience of outsiders. They had no longer a free, open and enquiring mind ; they would refuse to accept what was not in consonance with the views of sacred scriptures. This stood in the way of progress in sciences like astronomy and medicine, history and geography. During the medieval times great importance was attached by Indian Pandits, as by Jesuitical scholars, to the cleverness and skill in mere wordy warfare ; a person was hailed as a great scholar if he could perceive distinctions where none existed and silence his opponent by a brilliant display of the resources of a well trained memory. Depth of scholarship thus often went unrecognised and shallow and unscrupulous debators could often pose as great scholars. The general state of affairs regarding education further deteriorated during the period 1200-1800 A. D. owing to the growing impoverishment of Hindu society and the withdrawal of active state encouragement to its educational system during the period of Muslim ascendancy.

Chapter XI.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES.

ACHIEVEMENTS—The aims of infusion of piety and formation of character fully achieved—Testimony of foreign writers and travellers—Success in developing personality, preserving and spreading culture and literature and promoting social efficiency and happiness.

DEFECTS & LIMITATIONS: Hold of religion leads to the neglect of secular studies and discouragement of rationalism in later times—The case in Europe the same—Hindu intellect ceases to be creative and assimilative and becomes receptive and imitative in later times—consequent adverse effect on education—Arts and crafts regarded plebian in later times—Education of masses neglected—Neglect of vernaculars in later times—Depth at the cost of breadth—No broad-based course including grammar, literature, mathematics, history and geography for the average student—Most defects arise in medieval times—A general estimate of Ancient Indian Education.

Introduction: We shall devote this concluding chapter to the purpose of giving a critical estimate of ancient Indian educational system by discussing its achievements and failures. We have already made some general observations in this connection in the preceding pages; we shall here discuss the subject in a connected and comprehensive manner. We shall first proceed to ascertain how far the aims and ideals of the educational system, referred to in Chap. I, were actually realised in practice. This will to a great extent enable us to form its just estimate.

Infusion of Piety and Formation of Character: We have seen already how infusion of a spirit of piety and the formation of character were the first two important aims of the educational system. There can be no doubt that piety and religiousness are more characteristic of Hindu society than of any other community. The success of the educational system

in moulding and forming character was also very remarkable, as proved by the testimony of a number of foreign observers, belonging to different centuries, creeds and countries, who had no particular reason to pass flattering remarks about Indian character.

Testimony of Greeks: Among these foreign observers, the Greeks are chronologically the earliest (*c.* 300 B. C.). Politically they were not the allies but the opponents of the Hindus. They have made a few caustic remarks about some aspects of their culture, but they have candidly noted the high impression that the Hindu character and veracity produced on their mind. 'Indians have never been convicted of lying. Truth and virtue they hold in high esteem' says Megasthenes in one place[1]. This statement could not have been literally true, but it shows that the cases of cheating and swindling must have been comparatively few in society. Strabo and Megasthenes have further pointed out that law suits among the Indians were rare owing to their frank dealing. "They are not litigous. Witnesses and seals are not necessary when a man makes a deposit, he acts in trust. Their houses are usually unguarded[2]."

A Chinese Tribute: Yuan Chwang pays an equally high compliment to the Indian character during the 7th century A.D. He has carefully noted the weak and strong points in the character of the peoples of different districts; but while summing up his impressions of the Indian character as a whole, he says "They (i.e. Indians) are of hasty and irresolute temperament, but *of pure moral principles.* They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness

1. Megasthenes, Fragment 35.
2. *Ibid.*

requires. They fear for retribution for sins in other lives and make light of what conduct produces in this life. *They do not practice deceit and they keep their sworn obligations.*"[1] Vast majority of Indians in Yuan Chwang's time did not share his religious beliefs and practices and yet they receive the above high compliment from the Chinese pilgrim.

Arab and Italian Testimony: Al Idrisi's impressions of the Hindu character in western India during the 10th century A.D. are similar to those of Yuan Chwang's. Though a Muslim, he says of the Hindus, '*The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions.* Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to engagements are well known and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side; hence the country is flourishing and their conditon prosperous.[2] "In the thirteenth century Marco Polo also was impressed very highly by the character of the Brahmanas of Western India. "You must know" says he, "that these Brahmanas are the best merchants in the world and the most truthful, for they would never tell a lie for anything on the earth. If a foreign merchant, who does not know the ways of the country, applies to them and entrusts his goods to them, they would take charge of these and sell them in the most zealous manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to give."[3] When the morality of the trading classes is so high, the character of the average man must have been very noble. Ibn Batuta, another Muslim observer, describes the Marathas of Deogiri

1. Watters, I, p. 171.
2. Elliot, *History*, Vol. I, p. 88.
3. Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 363 (Third edition).

and Nandurbar of the 14th century as 'upright, religious and trustworthy.[1] The same was the view of Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar.

Conclusion: Travellers, pilgrims and merchants are usually disposed to make caustic remarks about the culture and character of the foreigners among whom they have moved; when so many of them belonging to different times and climes and professing different faiths agree in paying a high tribute to Indian character, we may well conclude that there is no exaggeration and that the educational system of the country had succeeded remarkably in its ideal of raising the national character to a high level. It is only after the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. that we come across some foreign travellers, traders, missionaries and ex-governors passing strictures upon the Hindu character. Some of them were probably misled by their prejudices, as we find their testimony contradicted by others.[2] It is also possible that the Hindu character may have suffered deterioration during the long spell of foreign rule in medieval times; for successful falsehood is usually the best defence of a slave. It is however worth observing that not a single foreign observer is found passing hostile remarks about Hindu character and honesty during the ancient period of Indian history.

***Success in developing Personality*:** The development of personality was the third aim of the educational system and let us see how far it was able to

1. *Ibna Batuta*, p. 228.
2. Col Sleeman, for instance, says: 'Lying between members of the same village is almost unknown.' I have had hundreds of cases before me in which a man's property, liberty and life depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it.'
Quoted by M. Muller in *India, What It can teach* Us, p. 50.

accomplish it. The available evidence is rather meagre to form a definite judgment in this connection. We come across several masterful personalities in different walks of life in ancient India, but how far they were typical of their age we do not know. Hindu achievements, however, in the different walks of life and branches of knowledge were fairly of a high order in ancient India down to the 6th century A.D., and this would hardly have been possible if the products of the educational system were not masterful personalities. Things however changed for the worse from the 6th century A. D.; Brahmacharya discipline became nominal when a vast majority of students began to marry at a very early age; growth of independent judgment became stunted with the growing veneration for the past and its time-hallowed traditions. Self-confidence and self-respect disappeared in a great measure when society suffered from the convulsions of sudden foreign invasions and long alien rule, frequently imposing a hated religion and strange culture with the aid of the sword. We must not judge the success of the ancient Indian educational system in building personality of students by the conclusions based upon its products at the advent of the British rule.

Success in the Preservation and Spread of Culture and Literature : Friends and foes have alike admitted that the ancient Indian system of education has been eminently successful in its aim of the preservation of ancient literary and cultural heritage. Very few of the Vedic works have been lost. It is indeed a wonder how so vast a literature could have been preserved without the help of the art of writing for the task. Among post-Vedic works too, the number of valuable books lost is not considerable. And here also the losses would have been practically insignificant if the destruc-

tion of temples and monasteries had not taken place on a wide scale at the time of the invasions of the Mahomadens and during their subsequent long rule. The surprising amount of cultural uniformity that is to be seen even now over the length and breadth of India is mainly due to the successful preservation and spread of ancient culture and civilisation. If there are several features, common to Hindu life, all over the country, contributing to Hindu unity, the credit has to be largely given to the educational system, which has produced uniformity in the culture and outlook on life of the Hindu community. The remarkable success of Indian missionaries in spreading Indian culture in Indian Archipelago, Siam, China, Japan, Tibet, and Central Asia must be attributed to the success of the educational system in enkindling a strong zest in the minds of students for spreading the national culture and heritage far and wide, both in India and outside.

Civic Responsibility and Social Efficiency and Happiness : The success of the educational system in infusing a sense of civic responsibility and promoting social efficiency and happiness, which were two of its important aims, was also remarkable. It was but natural that the educational system should have taken the help of the religious feeling and the caste discipline for infusing the sense of civic responsibility. The average man in ancient India was always loyal to the interests of his guild, village and caste. It was the success of the educational system in promoting social efficiency, which enabled Hindu society to be in the vanguard of the march of civilisation for several centuries. It is true that this ceased to be the case from about the 10th century A.D.; but the failure during the last millennium in this connection should not blind us to the success in the preceding long period of

more than two thousand years. We shall now proceed to discuss the causes of the decline in the educational system and point out its limitations and defects.

DEFECTS AND LIMITATIONS

Introduction: We shall now proceed to point out the main defects and limitations of the educational system along with their causes. The period-wise survey of the educational system, which was taken in the second section of the last chapter, must have already indicated to the reader what these defects were and how most of them arose during the latter half of the first millennium A. D. We shall discuss them in greater details now. Attention will also be drawn to some other limitations of the system, which were more or less common to almost all systems of education in ancient times and for which, therefore, the ancient Indian system alone cannot be blamed.

The Hold of Religion:—Religion had an immense hold over the Hindu mind and many of the admirable features of the educational system have to be attributed to this circumstance, as shown already. It did not make the educational outlook 'otherworldly', as is supposed in certain quarters. The ideals of the Vānaprastha and the Sanyāsa were no doubt purely spiritual, but such was not the case with the ideals of the educational system. It aimed at producing youths eminently fit to perform their civic and social duties ; if any spiritual merit for the life to come was to result from Brahmacharya, it was to be through the proper performance of duties, which however were principally determined with a view to make the student an efficient and God-fearing citizen.

Secular Studies tend to be neglected:—The majority of teachers in ancient India were priests, as was the case all over the ancient world. They did

not exploit their position for promoting any selfish ends of their own, but they had the natural limitations of their class. When the even balance that was for a long time successfully held in Hindu society between the claims of religious and secular life (*Dharma-Moksha* versus *Artha-Kāma*) was disturbed, religious and semi-religious studies got undue predominence in the educational system. Secular sciences like history, economics, politics, mathematics and astronomy did not receive as much attention as theology, philosophy, ritualism and sacred law. Commerce and industry and fine and useful arts made no appreciable progress during the last 1500 years or so, because those in charge of education showed no keen interest in them. It may however be pointed out that down to the 18th century, educationalists in Europe also regarded religious studies as the most important constituents of the educational course ; many of them like Franke and Comenius held that all children should be instructed above all things in the vital knowledge of God and Christ.[1]

Reason not held at a Discount in early Times :— A greater defect produced by the hold of religion over the Hindu mind was the tendency to hold reason at a discount, which became prominent a few centuries after the Christian era. Such was not the case in earlier times, when society used to value intellectual freedom highly. Upanishadic thinkers have, for example, advocated bold and original theories of philosophy without showing any anxiety whatever to prove that their views were in consonance with those of the Vedic sages. In the days of the Buddha there were as many as sixty three systems of philosophy, very few of which cared to rely on Vedic authority for their premises or conclusions. Systems of philosophy like

1 Greaves, *Educators*, pp 72—3,

the Sāmkhya and the Mīmānsā, which did not recognise a Creator-God, were admitted within the fold of orthodoxy. Buddhism and Jainism were not summarily dismissed as athiestic or heterodox; their scriptures were carefully studied in order to prove that their theories were unsound. For a long time society was successful in reconciling its reverence for the past with its regard for the advance of knowledge; it used to silently abandon exploded views and quietly accept new theories and doctrines.

The changed Attitude of later Times: Unfortunately for the progress of learning and scholarship Vedic literature was canonised some time about 600 B.C. An almost equally high reverence came to be paid to the Smṛitis and Purāṇas in course of time. The authorship of these works came to be attributed to divine or inspired agency, and it was averred that what they contained could not be false, what they opposed could not be true. Theories began to be accepted or rejected according as they were in conformity with or opposed to the statements of thesacred books on the point. Intellectual giants like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja had to spend a disproportionate amount of time and energy to prove that their systems of philosophy were in conformity with and the natural outcomes of the Upanishadic hypotheses. If the hold of the Srutis and Smṛitis were not so exacting, there would have been freer development of philosophy. At any rate many of the remarkable intellects of the Middle Ages would have found it possible to write independent works on their own systems of philosophy instead of being compelled to present it unsystematically, while engaged in the ostensible task of writing commentaries on the revealed literature. Instead of Nibandha compilations, we would have possessed original Smṛitis of the later times.

A concrete Instance and its Moral: Under such circumstances, there was not much scope left for research and originality in those matters where opinions were expressed in sacred texts. A concrete case may be given to illustrate the point. In the infancy of astronomy, the eclipses were explained by the mythological stories about Rāhu and Ketu attacking and temporarily overpowering the moon and the sun. It was an evil day for the advance of astronomy when this mythological version got a canonical sanction by its inclusion in the Purāṇas. Hindu astronomers like Āryabhaṭa, Brahmagupta, Varāhamihira and Bhāskarāchārya knew the true causes of eclipses, but felt powerless to carry vigorous propaganda to explode their popular and mythological explanation canonised by the Purāṇas. Nay, Brahmagupta, with a view to win cheap popularity, went to the extent of advocating that the popular view was correct, when he knew full well that such was not the case. In Chapter I of his *Brahma-siddhānta*, he gives both the popular and scientific theories about the eclipses, but advocates the cause of the former. "Some people think that the eclipse is not caused by the Head (of Rāhu or Ketu). This, however, is a foolish idea. The Veda, which is the word of God from the mouth of Brahman, says that the Head eclipses, likewise *Manusmṛiti* and *Garga-saṁhitā*".[1] What is, however, most lamentable is that Brahmagupta, who knew full well the real cause of eclipses, should have proceeded to condemn Aryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira, Śrīsheṇa and Vishṇuchandra for expounding the unorthodox but scientific theory that eclipses are caused by the shadow of the earth. It is important to note that Brahmagupta becomes guilty of intellectual and moral dishonesty because he was

1. As quoted by Alberuni, Vol. II, pp. 110-1. The original work has been lost.

anxious to win cheap popularity by supporting the popular view that what was contained in the Vedas and Manusmṛiti could not be untrue. It is interesting to note that Varāhamihira first combats the Rāhu-Ketu theory,[1] but then immediately succumbs to it.[2] Āryabhaṭa alone has perhaps the moral courage to be consistent with his intellectual convictions. But he also only hints that the popular theory is wrong, but does not dare to attack it openly.[3] If the Rāhu-Ketu theory of eclipses has continued to retain its hold over the popular Hindu mind for the last 1500 years and more, inspite of the scientific discovery of the true cause of eclipses, the reason is that Hindu scholarship of later times was too much in the leading strings of religion to carry on active propaganda against its hypothses. Similarly astronomers continued to subscribe to the view that the constellation of the Great Bear moves from one lunar mansion to another in a hundred years, even when they had discovered that such was not the case. The discontinuance of dissection in the medical training and the abandonment of agriculture by the Brahmanas, Buddhists and Jains are also to be attributed to the hold of the progressively puritanical notions over the popular mind.[4]

Similar Hostility to Rationalism in Europe also:

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1. *Bṛihat-samhitā*, V. 4 ff. यदि मूर्तो भविचारी शिरोथवा भवति मंडली राहुः । भगणार्धेनान्तरिते गृह्णाति कथं नियतचारः ॥ ४ ॥ अथ भुजगेन्द्ररूपः पुच्छेन मुखेन वा स गृह्णाति । मुखपुच्छान्तःसंस्थं स्थगयति कस्मान्न भगणार्धम् ।

2. *Ibid*, v. 18 एवमुपरागकारणमुक्तमिदं दिव्यदृग्भिराचार्यैः । राहुः कारणमस्मिन्नित्युक्तः शास्त्रसद्भावः ॥

3. Golalhāga, v. 49 यदसज्ज्ञानसमुद्रात्समुद्धृतं देवताप्रसादेन । सज्ज्ञानोत्तमरत्नं भया निमग्नं स्वमतिना वा ।

4. I-tsing, p. 62.

It is, however, but fair to observe that in Europe too, reason had to beat a hasty and precipitate retreat when in conflict with the dicta of scriptures down to the beginning of the modern age. Galileo had to suffer for his astronomical discoveries. Throughout the Middle Ages, educationalists were more anxious to impart traditional theories and formulæ than to train minds, capable of forming their own conclusions. Medieval philosophers and commentators were utilising reason only to prove that the scriptural hypotheses were correct. It was Lüther who first vindicated the cause of reason by declaring that what is contrary to reason must be certainly much more contrary to God. But Lüther too became a renegade towards the end of his life and declared, 'The more subtle and accurate is the reason, the more poisonous is the beast, with many Dragon's heads is it against God and all his work.' The truth was that the Reformers were unwilling to concede to others the right to interpret scriptures, which they claimed for themselves. If therefore reason was at a discount in India from the beginning of Middle Ages, (c. 500 A.D.) we must also note that the same was the case in Europe down to the beginning of the modern age. We should not further forget that reason was given full scope by the Hindu scholars and thinkers for more than about 1500 years, when it was superseded by the exigencies of the religious situation. The historian, however, cannot help regretting that supersession of reason should have taken place among a people, who had given full scope to it for several centuries.

Intellect Creative in the earlier Period : Enrichment of the culture of the past along with its preservation continued to be the goal of the Indian educational system for several centuries. Intellect and reason were for a long time given full scope, originality was encouraged,

and as a result we find remarkable creative activity in the domain of theology, philosophy, philology, grammar, logic, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, etc., down to about 500 A.D. Indian achievements in many of these fields were remarkable, judged either by the contemporary or by the absolute standard Scholars from China, Korea, Tibet and Arabia used to visit India in order to learn what she had to teach in the realms of religion, medicine, mathematics and astronomy.

It Becomes Receptive and Imitative later: Towards the beginning of the 9th century A.D., the creative vein in the Indian intellect got fatigued after an intense activity of more than 2,000 years.[1] Hindu intellect had probably become old and no longer possessed the energy necessary to open out new paths of thought and action. Probably the heritage of the past became so great that all the ability of scholars was engrossed in preserving it. As also was the case in Europe down to the 16th century A.D., the habit of looking back to the past for inspiration and guidance became quite common ; it began to be instinctively felt that not much could be expected from the present. The golden age of inspiration had gone, no new achievements were possible, the best that the age could do was to preserve, expound or comment upon the masterpieces of the past. Hindu educational system was unable to create minds powerful enough to rise above the influence of these theories. For the last one thousand years and more, the Hindus have been writing only digests and commentaries on the works of earlier periods. Creative activity has come to a practical standstill.

Similar Condition in Europe: Here also we have to add that the spirit of the times was unfavourable for the formation of independent minds and intellects both

1. The creative phase of the Greek or the Roman intellect lasted for about 1,000 years only.

in the West and in the East. In Europe too the Middle Ages were a period of intellectual repression. Jesuitical education also produced not creative or original but receptive and imitative minds. The Renaissance and Reformation movements, however, eventually succeeded in establishing an era of intellectual independence and originality in Europe; in India, on the other hand the foreign rule and its natural consequences continued the spirit of the Middle Ages down to the time of the national reawakening towards the end of the 19th century.

Intellect ceases to be assimilative :—Owing to its excessive reverence for the past, the Hindu intellect ceased to be assimilative from about 800 A. D. Hindu sculptors assimilated Greek methods and enriched Indian art. Early astronomers like Āryabhaṭa and Varāhamihira were keeping themselves in touch with the activities and achievements of the workers in the same field outside India. Varāhamihira (*c.* 500 A. D.) pays even a handsome compliment to Greek astronomers and observes "The Greeks are no doubt Mlechhas (impure), but they are well grounded in astronomy and are therefore worshipped and honoured like the Ṛishis."[1] A remarkable change for the worse took place in the Hindu attitude towards foreign scholarship within a couple of centuries or so after Varāhamihira's death. Implicit faith in the past and in the correctness of its canonised tradition made the Hindu scholar narrow, bigotted and conceited. Of the Hindu men of letters of the 11th century A. D., Alberuni observes, "They are haughty, foolish, vain, stolid and self-conceited. According to their belief, there is no country on the earth but theirs, no other race of men but theirs, and no created beings beside them that have any knowledge

1. म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक्शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम्। ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते ..... ॥ *Brihatsamhitā, II 14.*

or science whatever. Their haughtiness is such that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khūrāsān or Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation is[1]". In proof of the last assertion Alberuni quotes the tribute of Varāhamihira to Greek astronomers, quoted above. Hindus in Alberuni's time had very good reason to feel a very deep prejudice against Muslim scholarship; Alberuni's picture may have been to some extent overdrawn. But the contemporary Hindu attitude towards the Śrutis, Smritis and Purānas and other works of the past, which has been discussed above, would show that Alberuni's account of the mentality of the contemporary Hindu scholar is substantially true. Hindu education had ceased to remove prejudices, explode superstitions and broaden the mind, so as to keep it capable of receiving instructions from all quarters by the beginning of the 9th century A. D. Hindu colonising activity, necessitating travel abroad, had also come to an end by this time. Some Hindu doctors are no doubt known to have proceeded to Baghdad at the invitation of Khalifa Harun (786 A.D.—808 A.D.) to act as chief physicians in his hospitals[2]; we however do not know whether public opinion approved of their conduct, whether they returned home and were readmitted to Hindu society. Foreign travel for the purpose of education and the broadening of views became impossible when the sea voyage was prohibited. Whether it was undertaken in earlier days also for these objects is doubtful. There are no books in Sanskrit literature descriptive of geography, manners and climate of the countries adjacent to India. Nor do the Pauranic geographers seem to have been in touch with

1. Sachau, *Alberuni*, I, pp. 22-23. 2. *Idid*, Introduction, p. 81.

the traders and colonisers, who were familiar with Babylon, Arabia. Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Burma and Borneo.

Arts and Crafts become plebian Professions: Skill in manual training and industrial arts was highly appreciated in early times. Liberal and useful education was usually combined among high class workers. Brahmanas used to be skilled in mining and metallurgy, medical and military sciences. Weavers were often amateur students of literature, folk lore, astronomy and the art of war. This combination of liberal and useful education began to become progressively rare after the Gupta age. The status of the Vaishya became assimilated to that of the Śūdra as early as the 1st century A.D. and talented persons among the intellectual classes began to think it below their dignity to follow useful and industrial arts. Like European classical scholars of the Renaissance period, Indian scholars became fascinated by the charms of the classical literature. Absorbed in the beauty of words and ideas, they neglected the world of Nature. Mathematics and astronomy, sculpture and architecture ceased to attract them. The level of intelligence among the industrial classes therefore became lowered down when their education became rigidly confined to the technique and processes of their own professions from about the 9th century A. D. As a natural consequence of such a state of affairs, the growth and development of the fine, useful and industrial arts became arrested in India from about the 8th century A.D. No advance is to be seen after that date in the realms of sculpture, painting, mining, surgery, etc. The old type of learning became stereotyped and it soon began to degenerate. It is true that India continued to retain her dominating position in the weaving industry down to the beginning of the last century; but

it is doubtful whether any progress was made in the technique or processes of manufacture during the last one thousand years.

Education of Masses neglected in later Times: At the time when India was making rapid strides in the different domains of knowledge, her education was broad-based. In ancient Athens one in ten and in ancient Sparta one in twenty five received education,[1] and women's education was altogether neglected. The case was much different in India down to the commencement of the Christian era. Literacy among the Aryans was probably as high as 60 per cent in the days of Aśoka. Anxious thought and care were also bestowed on female education. Things, however, gradually changed for the worse in the first millennium of the Christian era. The education of women began to be neglected. Kshatriyas and Vaishyas began to become progressively illiterate. It is true that in Europe also the masses were little more than barbarous and took more naturally to warfare than to schooling down to the end of the Middle Ages.[2] We can, however, hardly derive any consolation from this comparison, for the prevalent illiteracy in India was due to degeneration from a more creditable condition, obtaining in earlier centuries.

The neglect of Vernaculars : Hindu educational system was unable to promote the education of the masses, probably because of its concentration on Sanskrit and the neglect of the vernaculars. The revival of Sanskrit that took place early in the first millennium was undoubtedly productive of much good; it immensely enriched the different branches of Sanskrit literature which began to reflect the ideals and ideas of the individual and the race. But owing to the deep fascina-

1 Monroe, *A Text Book*, pp. 26, 29.
2 *Ibid*, p. 261.

tion for Sanskrit, society began to identify the educated man with the classical scholar as was the case in the Europe of the Renaissance period. But when the best minds became engaged in expressing their thoughts in Sanskrit, Prakrits were naturally neglected. As long as Sanskrit was intelligible to the ordinary individual, this was not productive of much harm. But from about the 8th century A.D. Prakrits and vernaculars became widely differentiated from Sanskrit, and those who were using them began to find it difficult to understand the latter language. Hindu educationalists did not realise the importance of developing vernacular literatures in the interest of the man in the street. Alberuni observes, "The language in India is divided into a *neglected vernacular one*, only in use among the common people, and a classical one, only in use among the upper and educated classes, which is much cultivated." [1] We no doubt come across a few cases from the 13th century onwards where provision was made for the teaching of Telugu, Canarese and Marathi in some of of the schools and colleges of South India, but the general impression produced by a survey of the educational system and institutions is that society was not alive to the importance of the teaching and development of vernaculars in the interest of the spread of education among the masses. Things in India were however quite on a par with what they were in contemporary Europe, where Latin continued to be the medium of instruction down to the 17th century A.D. The classics dominated the curriculum of the Public Schools in England down to *c.* 1850 A.D., boys could write better Latin than English. In the 16th century school boys were punished for using the mother tongue, and its study could be started in Jesuitical schools only with the

1 Sachau, I, p. 18. Some poems and dramas were written in Prakrit, but their number was very small.

special permission of the Provincial.[1] India however could have been much in advance of the world ideas in this matter if the impetus that was given to the cultivation of vernaculars by the two gifted Seers, Mahāvīra and the Buddha, had not died down owing to the revival of Sanskrit.

Depth at the cost of Breadth: Hindu education was thorough, but it was not sufficiently broad. Each branch was thinking of its own problems. Educationalists do not seem to have bestowed much thought on the relative utility of the study of the different branches like grammar, literature, logic, philosophy, mathematics and fine arts for the development of the intellect, the mind and the imagination. Specialisation was started too early. A broad-based secondary course embracing a study of grammar, literature, mathematics, astronomy and history did not exist.[2] Subjects of æsthetic value like music and painting did not form part of the general course, as they did in ancient Greece. An undue emphasis was laid on grammar, literature and logic at the cost of history, mathematics and astronomy. Here again the impartial historian has to point out that this defect of the Hindu educational system was not peculiar to India, but was to be seen all over the civilised world. In Europe all the energies of teachers and students were concentrated on grammar, rhetoric and dialectics down to the 13th century; only that much knowledge of arithmetic was given which was necessary to calculate Church festivals. Geography was ignored altogether till an incentive to its study was given by the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco de Gama. Natural sciences

1 Quick: *The Essays*, p. 81.

2. Many sided interests were not created probably because it was difficult to maintain them in after life in an age when cheap books were unknown. Crowded curriculum also has its own evils as the Matriculation student knows to his cost.

were introduced very reluctantly only by the middle of the last century.[1]

An unfair Comparison: Some of the defects noted above like the neglect of the education of women and the masses crept into the Hindu Educational System only in later times; others like the non-existence of a broad-based secondary course and the neglect of the vernaculars were common to all the contemporary systems. The twentieth century critic often forgets that the West has gone on progressing rapidly during the last 300 years owing to the impetus it has received from the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Scientific Movement, while India has gone on deteriorating ever since 1000 A.D. owing to the almost continuous foreign rule and its natural consequences. The Muslim conquerors no doubt became domiciled in India, but they were on the whole unable to appreciate and encourage Hindu culture and education to any appreciable extent. The effects of the Muslim rule on the learning and scholarship of the Hindus can be described in the words of a Muslim himself. While describing the state of Hindu learning after the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni, Alberuni observes, 'The present times are not of this kind; they are the very opposite, (because there is no royal support or encouragement to learning), and therefore it is quite impossible that a new science or any new kind of research should arise in our days. *What we have of sciences is but the scanty remains of byegone better times*'[2] Bernier, while describing the state of Hindu education in Benares

1. In Germany, science was introduced in secondary education in 1816 A.D. When the Royal Commission on Education apologetically pleaded for the inclusion of science in the secondary courses in 1856, 10 or 12 lectures began to be given annually in some of the Public Schools in England. The Faculty of Science was established in the London University only in 1860.

2. Sachau, I, p. 252.

towards the middle of the 17th century, observes,[1] "Students stay for ten or twelve years during which the work of instruction proceeds but slowly. Feeling no spirit of emulation and entertaining no hope that honour or emoluments may be the reward of extraordinary attainments as with us, the scholars pursue the studies slowly, without much to distract their attention." The Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee, Education Commission, 1882, observes, 'The Mahomaden conquest proved disastrous to all indigenous educational institutions.. The proprietary rights in land changed hands. The language of the court was changed. Indigenous learning lost most of its support; and after the classes had settled down, the well-to-do classes of the Hindus took gradually to the cultivation of foreign language, literature and manners. The *tols* were more and more deserted and left to those only, who wanted to learn the Hindu rituals. In course of time the Musalman teachers and schools drew off the largest portion of the upper and the middle classes of the community and the *tols* and the *paṭhaśālās* either died or barely managed to survive.'[2]

A general Estimate : It is therefore hardly fair to compare 'the scanty remains of bye-gone better times' with the tremenodus advance the West has made during the last century and half under very favourable circumstances[3]. The impartial historian will have to note that in the heyday of her glorv. education in India was broad-based, women and a large section of the masses being admitted to its privileges and

1. Bernier, *Travels in Moghul Empire*, p. 334.

2. P. 2.

3. The historically correct procedure would be to compare Hindu Sanskrit learning at the advent of the British rule with the scholarship of the Christian monks who kept the lamp of learning burning during the Dark Ages. If such a comparison is instituted, India will have nothing to be afraid of.

advantages. It was able to develop character and personality, to inculcate civic virtues, and to turn out citizens well qualified to follow their professions and discharge their duties in life. It introduced a high standard of culture and emphasised the necessity of self-imposed discipline and stern regard for duty. It was not only able to preserve the heritage of the past, but also to enrich it from generation to generation. It produced a galaxy of able scholars and thinkers from age to age, who made important contributions to the advancement of knowledge in the spheres of philosophy, logic, mathematics, astronomy, medicine and chemistry. It enabled India to achieve high material prosperity by the excellent arrangements it made for training young men in commerce, industry and fine and useful arts. The general principles, which underlay the system,–*e. g.* intellectual freedom, individual attention to students, the monitorial system, *gurukula* ideal, plain living and high thinking, mass education, combination of useful and liberal education, the locating of educational institutions away from the din and dust of the city-life, etc.–are inherently sound and capable of yielding excellent results even in modern times, if applied with due regard to changed circumtances

APPENDIX I.

EDUCATIONAL RITUALS.

Religion has deeply saturated Hindu life in almost all its phases and the sphere of education is no exception. Rituals connected with the student's life are many, and several aspects of educational theory and practice are illustrated by their study. For the benefit of advanced students of the subject, it is therefore proposed to devote this appendix to a critical survey and rationalistic interpretation of the important rituals connected with education.

SECTION A.

VIDYĀRAMBHA RITUAL (SANSKĀRA).[1]

Its Time and Nature: Vidyārambha Saṁskāra, which is described by some authorities also as *Aksharasvīkaraṇa*, was performed, as the name would suggest, at the commencement of the primary education. Fifth year, which is usually regarded as suitable for the beginning of the primary education, was the time prescribed for it.[2] If the ritual had to be postponed on account of unavoidable difficulties, it had to be performed at least before the Upanayana (Initiation or Thread Ceremony).[3] An auspicious day was selected for the purpose. The ritual was a simple

1. The original authorities for the information given in this section are the following:—*Viramitrodaya*, Sanskāraprakāśa, pp. 321 ff; Aparārka on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, I, 13; *Smṛitichandrikā*, Sanskārakāṇḍa, pp. 67 ff; *Sanskāra-ratna-mālā* of Gopīnāthabhaṭṭa.

2. The *Bismilla Khani* ceremony, which the Muslims perform at the beginning of the primary education, is also performed in the 5th year, or to be more correct, on the 4th day of the fourth month of the fifth year. It was performed on this day in the case of Humayun; *J.A.S.B.*, 1935, p. 249.

3. द्वितीयजन्मनः पूर्वमारम्भेताक्षरास्पृचीः । Brihaspati in *VMS.*

one, requiring the young boy to worship Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, Vināyaka, the god of learning, and the tutelary deities of his family. Some authorities prescribe a sacrifice, but probably it was not performed everywhere. The worship of the deities was followed by that of the primary teacher and the boy was then handed over to him. The teacher used to make the boy write on rice all the alphabets with the help of a specially prepared golden or silver pen. Suitable presents made to the teacher and the Brahmanas invited for the ceremony marked the termination of the ritual.

The Ritual non-existent in early Times: Why: *Vidyārambha* is thus the earliest Sanskāra in the student's life, but is does not, like Upanayana, go back to hoary antiquity. The authorities, which prescribe and describe this ritual, are as late as the second millenium of of the Christian era.[1] It appears indeed very strange that the earlier works like the Grihya-sūtras and the Dharma-sūtras, which have laid down rituals for such relatively insignificant occasions like *Grihya-nishkramaṇa* (when the child is first taken out from the house), and *anna-prāśanu* (when it is first given food), should have failed to associate the commencement of the primary education with any religious ceremony. The reason, however, is not far to seek. Upanayana Sanskāra, which existed even in the Vedic age, marked the beginning of education in pre-historic times. There was thus no necessity to prescribe a different Sanskāra like *aksharasvīkaraṇa* (learning of the alphabet) for the simple reason that the alphabet was then probably unknown.[2]

1. Viśvāmitra, Bṛihaspati, Mārkaṇdeya, etc., who are quoted by these authorities, cannot be much earlier, as would be clear from the astronomical details mentioned by them. Such details make their appearance only after the 7th or the 8th century A.D.

2. The view of Dr. Bühler and others that alphabet was unknown in India before *c.* 800 B.C. has now to be abandoned in view of *P. T. O.*

The education of children therefore naturally commenced not with the learning of the alphabets, but with the memorising of the sacred hymns, which were the most valued possession of the Aryans and constituted almost their entire literature. Under these circumstances, the Upanayana, which was prescribed at the commencement of the Vedic studies, could be the only ritual to be performed at the commencement of education.

When and Why Evolved : In the course of time the Vedic Sanskrit ceased to be the spoken language, the sciences of exegesis and grammar were developed, and the art of writing was invented or became known. Even the memorising of the Vedic hymns required some previous elementary education. Upanayana could therefore no longer mark the beginning of education and a different ritual called Vidyārambha began to be recommended for the commencement of primary education. This must have taken place at a fairly early date; the fact that the ritual is recommended only by very late authorities is probably to be explained by the circumstance that it was for a long time combined with *chaula* or tonsure ceremony,[1] This combination was

(*Continued from the last page*)

the Indus Valley discoveries. There is clear cultural evidence to show that the art of writing was known in the later Samhitā period (c. 1600-1200 B.C.); see Ojha, *Prāchina-lipi-mālā*, pp. 1-16. There is no evidence to show that the art of writing was known in the early Vedic period (2500-2000 B.C.). The Aryans were probably ignorant of that art when they entered India and it may be eventually proved that they learnt it from the "Indus people."

1. Cf. i वृत्तचौलकर्मा लिपिं संख्यानं चोपयुञ्जीत। *Arthaśāstra*, I. 2 [On prince's education]

ii स वृत्तचौलश्चलकाकपक्षकैरभाग्यपुत्रैः सवयोभिरन्वितः।
लिपेर्यथावद्ग्रहणेन वाङ्मयं नदीमुखेनेव समुद्रमाविशत्॥
Raghu. III. 7.

iii [लवकुशयोः] निवृत्तचौलकर्मणोश्च तयोस्त्रयीवर्जमितराखिलो विद्याःसावधानेन मनसा परिनिष्ठापिताः।
Uttararāmacharit, Act II.

facilitated by the fact that the time for the ritual, the 4th to the 7th year, was suitable also for the commencement of primary education. The number and nature of the locks of hair to be kept at the time of the tonsure ceremony had close connection with the Vedic sages with whom the family was believed to be connected[1]; this may also have suggested a synchronisation of the commencement of primary education with the celebration of the *chaula-karma*.

SECTION B.

UPANAYANA (INITIATION[2]) RITUAL

Upanayana, its Meaning and Significance Upanayana literally means taking a student to a teacher in order to hand him over to the latter for his education. The ritual was originally performed when a student commenced his Vedic education under the supervision of a teacher, with whom he usually lived. It was not an obligatory ritual; if a student was unfit by character or calibre to receive the Vedic education, he was not admitted to its privillege.[3] If, on the other hand, during the course of his education, he had to go to a different teacher, the ritual had to be repeated. Nay, it was felt that it should be performed again even in the case of

1. Cf. यथर्षि शिखां विदधाति । *A. G. S.*, XVI, 6:

दक्षिणेन कपर्दो वसिष्ठानां उभयतोऽत्रिभार्गवकाश्यपानां

पंचचूडा आंगिरसाम् । *V.G.S.*, section 4.

2 The popular English translation of the name of the ritual by 'Thread Ceremony' does not convey its real meaning at all. The wearing of the sacred thread was quite a minor element in the ritual.

3. अशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपानयनम् । *Ap. Gr. S.*, 1.1.5.

विद्या ह वै ब्राह्मणमाजगाम गोपाय मां शेवधिष्टेऽहमस्मि ।

असूयकायानृजवेऽयताय न मा ब्रूया वीर्यवती तथा स्याम् ॥

Nirukta, II. 4.1.

married men, if they wanted to prosecute further studies under a new teacher.[1] It was thus essentially an educational ritual and bore some resemblance to the formality of the admission procedure in modern schools and colleges. In the course of time, however its significance changed. It was felt necessary that the services of the whole Aryan community should be conscripted for the preservation of the Vedic literature which had grown to considerable dimensions in the course of centuries; Upanayana and Vedic studies were therefore made obligatory for all. If it was not performed in time, it was declared that the person would lose his Aryan status and become unfit for marriage and social intercourse. This threat no doubt helped the spread of Vedic learning and gave an impetus to primary education, which was in later times presupposed by Vedic studies; but it also tended to transform this educational function into a bodily (*śārīrika*) ritual. It began to be argued that it should be performed even in the case of dumb and deaf persons in order to render them eligible for marriage.[2] Some late Smriti writers felt that the ritual was primarily for the purification of the body; they have therefore recommended that it should be repeated in case the body is defiled by the bite of a

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1 *Ch. Up.* V. II. Here, as a special case, King Aśvapati excu the formality of Upanayana before beginning to teach his distinguished Brahmana pupils. The latter, however, had come ready for the Upanayana. Cf.:—

ते ह समित्पाणयः पूर्वाह्णे प्रतिचक्रमिरे। तान्हानुपनीयैव एतदुवाच।

2. See *VMS*, p. 361. The difficulty created by the impossibility of the recitation of Vedic hymns by a deaf and dumb person was got over by the theory that they may be recited by the teacher on behalf of the dumb student. बटुपठनीयानां मंत्राणामाचार्य प्रत्येव पाठो विधीयते। *Ibid.* Some writers like Śankha-Likhita however did not agree with this view; cf. नोन्मत्तमूकान्संस्कुर्यात्। Quoted in *VMS.*, p. 406

dog or a jackal.[1] And if the holy Brahmana can be rendered holier by this Sanskāra, why should it fail to perform a similar miracle in the case of other inanimate objects? In medieval times the custom therefore arose of performing this ceremony over the holy Pippal tree in order to make it holier.[2] All these, however, are later anomalies that crept into society when the original purpose of Upanayana was being gradually forgotten.

Its Antiquity: The antiquity of this ritual goes back to prehistoric times. It existed in the Indo-Iranian period and is clearly presupposed by the *Rigveda* [X. 109, 5; III. 8. 4 and 5]. The *Atharva-veda* describes it in detail and attributes the proper functioning of society and nature to its mysterious efficacy.[3] Details about the student's life and paraphernalia, more or less similar to those given in Smritis, are to be seen in several passages of the Brāhmaṇa literature.[4] In the early period, the ritual was a simple one; even a verbal acceptance by the teacher was sufficient.[5] For a long time the father himself acted as the teacher (*Br. Up.*, V. 2.1; VI. 2.9).

1. Cf. Śātātapa, Paiṭhīnasi and Yama quoted in *VMS.*, p. 545-7.

2. An inscription from Karnatak refers to a Brahmana, performing this ceremony on the four Aśvatha trees planted by him in a temple garden in 1358 A.D. *E.C.*, III, Malavalli No. 23.

3. ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा राजा राष्ट्रं विरक्षति । XI. 5. 17.
ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या युवानं विन्दते पतिम् । XI. 5. 18.
ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा देवा मृत्युमपाघ्नत । XI. 5. 19.
स दाधार पृथिवीं दिवं च ॥ XI. 5. 1.
See also, VI. 138.

4. *Tai. S.*, VI, 3, 10, 5; *Śat. Br.*, XI, 5, 4, (here we have a detailed description of the Upanayana); *Go. Br.*, I. 2, 1-8 (here we have several interesting reasons for the different rules of Brahmacharya).

5. वाचा ह स्मैव पूर्वमुपयति । *Br. Up.*, VI. 2.7.

Who were eligible for it? Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were eligible for the Upanayana and Vedic study. They are collectively called Dvijas, because they were all believed to get a second birth, a spiritual one, at the time of the Upanayana. When the ritual became obligatory, it seems to have been regularly performed by all these castes for several centuries. Smritis give detailed rules about the different kinds of girdles, staffs, sacred threads, etc. which were prescribed for the members of the various castes. Details about these minor variations would not have been evolved if the ritual had not been a general one among the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. In the course of time, however, Vedic studies fell into background, partly owing to the setback which the Vedic religion received by the rise of the Upanishadic, Jain and Buddhist movements, and partly by the development of other branches of knowledge in the Hindu community itself. Upanayana then began to fall into disuetitude among the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas, with whose professions in subsequent life Vedic studies were but remotely connected. This happened at about the beginning of the Christian era, when the theory that only the Brahmanas and Shudras exist in the Kali age seems to have gained ascendancy[1]. Kshatriyas and Vaishyas

1. Bhāsa (3rd century A. D.) and Dandin (7th century A. D.) regarded the sacred thread as an insignia of a Brahmana and not of a Dvija. Cf :—

यज्ञोपवीतेन ब्राह्मणश्चीवरेण रक्तपटः । *Avimāraka*, Act V.

भवदंसोपनीतं यज्ञोपवीतं भूसुरभावं द्योतयति ।

Daśakumāracharit, 2nd Chap.

Cf also *Raghuvaṁśa*, XI, 64.

An inscription however shows that the Upanayana of the Hoysala King Narasimha III, who was a Kshatriya, took place in his 9th year on 25-2-1255. It appears that even when the ritual had gone out of vogue among the Kshatriyas in general, it continued among the royal families.

were levelled down to the position of the Shudras, primarily because they were not performing the Upanayana ceremony and wearing the Sacred Thread. Probably in respectable Kshatriya ruling families, the ritual continued to be performed down to the 13th century, but their number was very small. The testimony of Alberuni (I, p. 125) shows that the Vedic education had practically died down among the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas before the 11th century A.D. In the earlier centuries of the Christian era, the ritual was performed by these castes as an unmeaning formality, as is the case with the Brahmanas now. Later on it was discontinued. It may be noted in this connection that it was not without difficulty that Shivaji could succeed in getting a Brahmana Pandit from Benares, ready to perform the Upanayana for him at the age of 44.

The Age at the Upanayana: The Upanayana marks the beginning of the Vedic education, which in several respects resembled the secondary education of modern times. Naturally therefore some age between 8 and 12 was regarded as suitable for it. Usually our texts prescribe that the Upanayana should be performed in the 8th year in the case of a Brahmana, in the 11th year in the case of a Kshatriya and in the 12th year in the case of a Vaishya. No particular sanctity was attached to these ages[1]; for, some writers like Baudhāyana regard any age between 8 and 16 as suitable for the Upanayana[2]. There was no idea of

1. The selection of these particular ages seems to have been due to the rather fortuitous circumstance of the syllables of each line of the Sāvitrī Mantras of these castes being 8, 11 and 12 respectively. Cf. ब्राह्मणादिवर्णसंबंधिनां छंदसां पादाक्षरसंख्यैरुद्देशेनोपनयनस्य विधेः (कार्यवात्)। Medhātithi on *Manu*, II. 38. Cf. also *VMS.*, p. 344.

2. अष्टमे आयुष्कामं नवमे तेजस्कामं····त्रयोदशे मेधाकामं चतुर्दशे पुष्टिकामं····षोडशे सर्वकामम्। *Bau. Gr. S.*, II. 5. 5.

emphasising the intellectual superiority of the Brahmanas[1], when a lower age was prescribed for their Upanayana. Family traditions in Brahmanical circles facilitated Vedic educatiou at an early age ; such was not the case with Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Brahmana boys could very often begin their Vedic education at home ; Kshatriya and Vaishya boys had necessarily to leave their families and go to a Brahmana teacher for that purpose ; the age of 11 or 12, when boys are to some extent able to look after themselves, was therefore found convenient for them. It is interesting to note that the Brahmana boy Śvetaketu also performed his Upanayana at the age 12 and immediately went to stay with his preceptor for prosecuting his education (*Ch. Up.* VI. 1-2). It would therefore appear that even in Brahmanical families, the Upanayana was postponed to a later age when it was to be followed by the separation of the boy from his family. It is the similar necessity of sending the boys outside to a town or a city that compels villagers of our time to begin their wards' secondary education at about the age of 11 or 12. In cultured Brahmana families, which were very keen about the quick progress of their sons, the tradition was to perform the Upanayana and begin the Vedic studies even earlier than the 8th year[2]. This practice is similar to that of many well-to-do and cultured city families, which begin the secondary or English education of their wards at about the age of 6 or 7. Smṛitis have therefore naturally given much latitude about the age at the Upanayana in order to suit the circumstances and convenience of the different

1. As supposed by Keay (p. 29) and Das (p. 72).

2. सप्तमे ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत पंचमे ब्रह्मवर्चसकामम् । *J. Gr, S.*, I. 12. Cf. also *G. D. S.*, 1. 1. 7 ; *M. Gr. S.*, 1. 22. 1 ; *Vâ. Gr. S.*, 6.

types of families in society[1]. They however felt that it ought to begin at about the age of 12, for the powers of mind that were required for the Vedic studies could be properly cultivated and developed only at an early age. The commencement of the Vedic studies after the age of 16 has been definitely discouraged by them,[2] for it was rightly apprehended that a boy who begins his studies at such an advanced age may find them too tedious, his mind having already become susceptible to sensuous attractions.

Critical Survey of the Ritual: An educationalist will find the survey of the Upanayana ritual very interesting and instructive. The ritual opens with a breakfast (which precedes even the bath), during which it is the custom in many parts of the country for the boy to share food with his mother in the same dish. A breakfast before bath is unusual in Hindu rituals

1. A child of 6 or 7 could not recite with proper accent and pronunciation even the *Sāvitri* verse; so it was recommended that in the cases of very early Upanayanas, the teaching of this Mantra should be postponed by about a year; Cf. तां ह स्मैतां पुरा संवत्सरे अन्वाहुः संवत्सरसंमिता वै गर्भाः। *S. Br. XI.* It may be noted in this connection that at a time when there was a prejudice against committing the Vedic texts to writing and when grammar had not been evolved, not much preparation by way of primary education was necessary for commencing Vedic studies. They could therefore be begun even at the early age of 6 or 7.

It is interesting to note that Smritis do not lay down any detailed rules about the astrological auspiciousness of the day of the Upanayana. These were introduced in medieval times.

2. नातिषोडशवर्षमुपनयीत प्रसृष्टवृषणो ह्येष वृषलीभूतो भवति। *J. Gr. S.* 1. 12.

The upper limit of 22 and 24 permitted for the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas is due simply to the doubling of their normal age. The readiness of Mitramisra, a 17th century writer, to permit Upanayana upto the age of 24, 33 and 36 seems to be due to the exigencies of the age, when some persons like Shivaji were performing the ritual, when reminded about it, or when it became absolutely necessary. *VMS.*, 351.

and its occurrence at the Upanayana was obviously intended to indicate that the earlier period of unregulated childhood had come to an end and that serious and disciplined life was now to follow. Breakfast was followed by a shave,—an invariable element in most of the Hindu religious observances. The boy was then given a bath and offered a *Kaupīna*[1]. This was to remind him that the Upanayana commenced a new epoch in his life from which dignity, decorum and self-restraint could never be separated. A girdle (*mekhalā*) was tied round his waist as a support for *Kaupīna*. It was made of triple cord, the symbolism being intended to foster the belief in the scholar that he was being continuously encircled by the three Vedas[2]. The verses recited on the occasion of tying the girdle informed the boy that his belt was a daughter of Faith (*Śraddhā*) and a sister of the sages, possesed the power of protecting his purity and chastity and would keep him away from evil[3]. Hindu ideas of decorum required that when engaged in religious duties, the upper part of the body should be covered with a piece of cloth[4]. On the occasion of the Upanayana the young scholar was therefore offered an upper garment. In the earliest period, when spinning and weaving were

1. *Kaupina* denotes the small strip of cloth used by children to cover their private parts. It was usually discontinued at about the age of 12 when the boy was required to wear the full *dhoti*. Cf. Aśvalāyana quoted in *VMS.*, p. 432

2. वेदत्रयेणावृतोहमिति मन्येत स द्विजः । अश्वलायन
in *VMS.*, p. 432

3. श्रद्धाया दुहिता तपसोधिजाता स्वसा ऋषीणां भूतकृतां बभूव ।
A. V., VI. 133. 4.
ऋतस्य गोप्त्री तपसश्चरित्री व्रती रक्षांसि सहमानाऽरातीः ।
Vā. Gr. S. 5.

4. स्नानं दानं तपो होमः स्वाध्यायः पितृतर्पणम् ।
नैकवस्त्रो द्विजः कुर्याच्छ्राद्धभोजनसत्क्रियाः ॥
Yogayājñavalkya in *SCS.*, p. 299

probably unknown, a deer-skin was offered on the occasion. The youth was asked to remember that the lovely deerskin is symbolical of *brahmavarchasam* or spiritual and intellectual preeminence and that its constant use ought to urge him to attain reputation as a man of character and scholarship[1]. When spinning and weaving became common, a piece of cloth was offered to the boy on this occasion, spun and woven in his own family just before the ceremony[2]. A survey of the Grihya-sūtras, which describe the Upanayana ritual in detail, shows that the investiture with the Sacred Thread did not form part of the Upanayana ritual. The upper garment that was offered to the boy was in lieu of the Sacred Thread or rather its predecessor. This will be shown in the Appendix D, where the whole history of the Sacred Thread and its significance will be discussed in details.

Presentation to Deities: Invested with the above paraphernalia, the boy was taken to the sacred fire, the earliest Indo-European deity known so far. He was asked to offer a *samidh* (a piece of sacred fuel) to the gleaming fire and the verses recited on the occasion prayed that God Fire should be auspicious to the young scholar and endow him with brilliance, intelligence and vigour[3], so that his scholarship and strength should glow up like the resplendent flame of fire. In order to intensify his piety, the boy was then presented to a number of Vedic deities like Bhaga, Yama, Aryamā and Savitri. The last mentioned god was charged with the special duty of protecting the

1. *G. Br.*, I. 2. 1-3
2. वासः सयःकृत्वोतं । *B. Gr. S.*, II. 5. 11
3. Cf. अयं ते इध्म आत्मा जातवेदः तेन वर्द्धस्व चेन्द्धि वर्द्धय चास्मान् । *Bh. Gr. S.*, 1. 5.

student from harm, disease and death[1]. When this presentation was over, the teacher assured his pupil that he was thenceforward under divine protection[2]; fortified by that consciousness, he should push forth his studies without any apprehensions.

Standing on Stone: The next element in the ritual is a symbolical one; the boy was asked to stand on a stone and enjoined to be steadfast in the pursuit of his studies[3]. Firm determination and singleness of purpose are most essential for a successful educational career and the necessity of cultivating them was emphasised on the scholar's mind by this element in the ritual.

Acceptance by the Teacher: The scholar was then brought before his teacher who asked him whose Brahachārin[4] (student) he was. The young boy naturally replied to the preceptor that he was the latter's disciple. The preceptor then used to correct him and asked him to note that he was the pupil of gods Indra and Agni, the most popular and powerful among the Vedic deities[5]. When formally taking charge of the pupil by seizing his right hand, the teacher used to announce that he was doing so with the command and concurrence of God Savitri.[6] The teacher then touched the

1. Cf. देव सवितरेष ते ब्रह्मचारी स मा मृत । *Ās. Gr. S.*, I, 20, 6
2. *Śat Br.*, XI. 5, 4, 3.
3. *Ma. Gr. S.*, I. 22. 12. Stone was also symbolical of strength: *Bh. G. S.* held that the significance of the ritual was to make the boy invulnerable. I. 8.
4. *Brahma* originally meant prayer; the original meaning of *Brahmacharya* was thus the period of study of the sacred prayers or the Vedic Mantras. Since chastity was usually observed in this period, the term came to acquire the secondary sense of a period of chastity as well. *Brahmachārin* was one who followed *Brahmacharya* discipline.
5. Cf. कस्य त्वं ब्रह्मचार्यसि । भवत इत्युच्यमाने इन्द्रस्य ब्रह्मचार्यसि अग्निराचार्यस्तव अहमाचार्यस्तव । *Pā. Gr. S.*, II, 3.
6. *Ās. Gr. S.*, I. 20, 4.

heart of his pupil and prayed that there should be a perpetual and perfect accord between them.[1] All this was intended to emphasise that the relations between the teacher and the pupil were sacred and not mercenary and progress in education was possible only if there was complete harmony, sympathy and whole-hearted communion between the teacher and the taught.

Teaching and Significance of the Savitri (Gayatri) Mantra: Then followed the actual initiation of the student in the Vedic studies, which was done by teaching him a prayer to the sun (*Sāvitrī-mantra*); this is popularly known as *Gāyatrī-mantra* on account of its metre. This prayer, which every student and householder had to recite morning and evening, runs as follows :—

Tat savitur varenyām bhargo devasya dhīmahi Dhiyo yo nah prachodayāt.[2]

1. *H Gr. S.*, 1. 5. 11.

2. Early authorities like *Pā. Gr. S.*, II. 3. 10 prescribe the same prayer to the sun for the students of all the castes. Later writers begin to prescribe a different Mantra for the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas, probably influenced by the theory that Trishtubh metre is appropriate for the Kshatriya and the Jagatī for the Vaishya. The tradition however is not unanimous about these Mantras and may be taken to be unreliable as far as the early period is concerned. The following Mantras are prescribed by different authorities for the Kshatriya :—

आ कृष्णेन रजसा वर्तमानो निवेशयन्नमृतं मर्त्यं च ।
हिरण्येन सविता रथेन देवो याति भुवनानि पश्यन् ॥

(According to Medhātithi on *Manu*, II. 38)

हिरण्यपाणिः सविता विचर्षणिरुभे द्यावापृथिवी अंतरीयते ।
अथामीवां बाधते वेति सूर्यमभि कृष्णेन रजसा द्यामृणोति ॥

(According to Nārāyana on *S. Gr. S.*, II. 5)

The Mantras for the Vaishyas are said to be the following :—

विश्वा रूपाणि प्रतिमुंचते कविः प्रासावीद्भद्रं द्विपदे चतुष्पदे ।
वि नाकमख्यत्सविता वरेण्योऽनु प्रयाणमुषसो विराजति ॥

(According to Medhātithi on *Manu* II. 38, Śātātapa and Laugākshi quoted in *VMS.*, p. 430 and Aparārka on *Yāj* I. 14)

P. T. O.

The prayer made to the sun in this Mantra is quite appropriate for the student to whom it was first taught. For a successful and brilliant career, what is most essential for the student is the possession of an efficient intellect. Health, wealth, good memory are all desirable, but more important than them all is an energetic and stimulating intellect; it is the power conferred by the latter that has enabled man to establish his supremacy over the Nature. It is therefore quite appropriate that the prayer offered by every Aryan, morning and evening, should urge the sun to endow him with a brilliant intellect, and also to give a proper stimulus to it. Mere intellect is not

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(*Continued from the last page*)

युंजते मन उत युंजते धियः विप्रा विप्रस्य बृहतो विपश्चितः।
वि होत्रा दधे वयुनाविदेक इन्मही देवस्य सवितुः परिष्टुतिः॥
(According to *Aś. Gr. S.*, III. 7 and *Vā. Gr. S.*, 6)

हंसः शुचिषद्वसुरंतरिक्षसद्धोता वेदिषदतिथिर्दुरोणसत्।
नृषद्वरसदृतसद्व्योमसदब्जा गोजा ऋतजा अद्रिजा ऋतम्॥
(According to Nārāyaṇa on *Manu*, II. 38)

1. We have seen above how the Gāyatrī Mantra is naturally very appropriate for the student and the householder. It was later regarded as the very essence of the Vedas, and so quite mysterious meaning began to be read in it. Compare for instance the view of Bṛihat-Panāśara, IV 77-77 :—

तत्प्रकृतिः स स्वांतं विकारो बुद्धिरेव च। तुरित्येतदहंकारं वशब्दं विद्धि पापहम्॥ रेस्पर्शं तु णि रूपं च यं रसं गंधमत्र भम्। गों श्रोत्रं दे त्वचं वै व चक्षुः स्य रसता तथा॥ धीं नासा च म वाचा च हि हस्तौ धि च पादद्वयम्। यो उपस्थ मुखं योऽन्यो नः खं प्रकारमारुतम्॥ चो तेजो द जलं यात्क्ष्मा गायत्र्यास्तत्स्वचिंतनम्॥ So also about the significance of the *Vyāhṛiti* letters, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *uttarārdha*, 14, 53 and *Ādi-Purāṇa*, Adi, 53.54-5 maintain that they denote Pradhāna, Purusha and Kāla; or Vishṇu, Brahmā and Maheśa; or Sattva, Rajas and Tamas respectively. Cf. प्रधानं पुरुषः कालो विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा महेश्वरः। सत्वं रजस्तमस्तिस्रः क्रमाद् व्याहृतयः स्मृताः।

sufficient if it has no capacity to receive proper stimulation. The prayer is offered to the sun because he was regarded as the one and universal source of stimulation for both the animate and the inanimate world.

Investiture with Staff; Its Significance:—With the learning of the Gāyatrī Mantra, the student begins his journey on the road to knowledge; he was therefore invested with a staff, which was a traveller's symbol in olden days. While accepting it, the student prayed that with divine grace he may reach the goal of his arduous journey[1]. The staff exhorted the student to become a careful watchman, charged with the duty of guarding the Vedas.[2] It served the purpose of making the student self-confident and self-reliant, when he was out in the forest to collect the sacred fuel, or travelling in darkness or entering an unknown river or tank.[3] It was also useful in controlling the cattle of the teacher, if it was necessary for the student to look after them.

Ceremonial Begging:—The student was expected to maintain himself by begging cooked food everyday; so the practice commenced on the day of the Upanayana. The begging on the first day however was a ceremonial affair, for the boy was to approach only such persons as would not refuse his request. He would therefore first go to his mother and then her sister and then other relatives. In the modern Upanayana ritual this ceremonial begging has assumed the proportions of an imposing and stately procession, wending its way through the main thoroughfares of the town or village.

1. *Ma. Gr., S.*, 1. 22. 11.
2. *Vā. Gr. S.*, 6.
3. Aparārka on I. 29.

Medhajanana Ritual:—For three days after the Upanayana, the student was said to remain in an embryonic condition; it was on the fourth day that his spiritual birth took place. The preceptor, who was now in the position of the father, then performed the Medhājanana ritual for sharpening the memory, intellect and grasping power of the student. Prayer was offered that the student should be favoured with an intelligence as attractive as cows, as vigorous as studs and as brilliant as the solar rays; it should be equally effective in mechanical, material and spiritual spheres.[1] Medhājanana ritual marked the termination of the Upanayana ceremony.

Significance of the ritual:—At the time when the significance of the Upanayana ritual and Mantras was perfectly grasped, a very powerful impression must have been produced on the mind of all the parties participating in the ceremony through the various suggestions conveyed to them by the different elements in the ritual. The ritual heralded the beginning of a new epoch in the student's life, characterised by dignity, decorum and discipline. The scholar was to regard himself as a self-reliant traveller bound for the realm of knowledge; the journey was to be long and arduous, but if there was singleness of purpose, devotion to studies and perfect accord between him and his teachers, he would

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1. त्वं नो मेधे प्रथमा गोभिरश्वेभिरागहि ।
त्वं सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिस्त्वं नो असि यज्ञिया ॥
यां मेधामृभवो विदुर्यां मेधामसुरा विदुः ।
ऋषयो भद्रां मेधां यां विदुस्तां मय्या वेशयामसि ॥

A. V., VI 108, 1, 3.

Ribhus were famous for their mechanical skill and Asuras for their material civilization.

surely reach his goal. For, divine help and co-operation were enlisted on his behalf; even death could not touch him if he properly followed the rules of his order (*S. Br.*, XI. 2. 6; *B. D. S.*, I. 3). His personality will develop like that of Indra and his intelligence will glow up like the refulgent flame of God Fire. He will find nothing relating to his literary goal impossible if he worked with faith, assiduousness and determination. What better ideas can be conveyed to a young scholar at the beginning of his education ?

SECTION C

RITUALS DURING THE COLLEGE SESSION

Introduction :—Rituals were naturally prescribed at the beginning and at the end of the annual school session, as they were at the beginning and at the end of the educational course. In pre-historic times the annual session of schools and colleges began soon after the commencement of the rainy season, when the sowing operations were over and crops had began to sprout. This usually happened by the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa[1] (August); so the ritual of *Chhandasām-upākarman* i. e. of 'gathering the Vedic knowledge', was performed on that day. Later on it began to be described as Śrāvaṇī[2]. In pre-historic times Vedic literature was not extensive; so a college term of

1. The full moon days of Āshādha, Srāvaṇa and Bhādrapada are mentioned by different authorities as appropriate days for Upākarma. (Cf. *Bau. Gr. S.*, III. 1. 2-3; *Kh. Gr.* S., III, 2, 14; *Hi. Gr. S.*, II, 18, 1). Rainy season is receding back every century and it commences in different months in different provinces of India. Hence this divergence about the appropriate season for Upākarma.

2. Śrāvaṇī is a relatively modern name for the ritual. In early times it denoted the Nāga worship ritual performed on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa; when this ritual went out of vogue, the name was transferred to the *Chhandasām-Upākarma* ritual, because that too was usually performed on the same day.

about five or six months was found to be sufficient for mastering it. The ritual of *Chhandasām-utsarjana*, i. e. the cessation of Vedic studies, was therefore performed on the full moon day of Pausha or Māgha (February-March). In later times when the Vedic literature became very extensive, and more branches of learning were developed like grammar, philology, logic, philosophy and Dharmaśāstra, the duration of the annual term was extended over practically the whole year. Curiously enough, owing to the force of the established tradition, the Utsarjana ceremony still continued to be performed in February or March, though the college studies did not cease at that time. At present the ritual is not performed at its proper time but combined with the Upākarma ritual. This practice goes back to medieval times.

Upakarma or Sravani; its Significance:—The statement that Śrāvaṇī denotes a ritual performed at the beginning of the college session may appear fanciful to the modern Hindu. who is accustomed to associate it with the annual replacement of the sacred thread, but there is ample and clear evidence to justify it. Our authorities declare that the ritual was to be performed only by the teacher along with his students when they had reassembled at the beginning of the session[1]. It was believed that the presiding teacher would get in the course of time as many students as was the number of sesasums offered as oblations in this ritual[2]; some texts lay down special formulas to be

1. अध्येष्यमाणः अध्याप्यैरन्वारब्ध·····। *Aś. Gr. S.*, 3.4.10.
समारब्धेष्वन्तेवासिषु···· ···उपाकर्म कुर्वीत। सहान्तेवासिभिः ग्रामादभिनिष्क्रम्य·····उत्सर्जनविधिः। *Bau. Gr. S.*, III. 1. 3. ff.

2. यावन्तं गणमिच्छेत्तावन्तमिति[illegible]। *P. Gr. S.*, II. 10.

performed by teachers ambitious to have a large number of scholars[1]. In some places there was the custom requiring the teacher to give a feast to his students on the day of Śrāvaṇī[2]. It would thus be clear that the ritual of Śrāvaṇī was originally confined only to teachers and students and was performed on the opening day of the annual session.

Prevention of Wastage in Education :—Later on, however, it came to be prescribed for the whole community primarily to prevent wastage in education. We are all aware how a large number of students lose their study habits and forget a good deal of what they had learnt in their schools and colleges, when they settle down as householders pursuing their own professions. The same thing happened in the past. It was however regarded as a serious disaster in ancient times, as the modern facilities of books and libraries were then non-existent. In the course of time therefore educationalists began to feel that steps must be taken to ensure that even householders would set apart some time in the year for revising their studies. Some of them, like Śvetaketu, advocated that they should be asked to spend two months every year in their old colleges for this purpose. The majority however felt that it is impracticable to suggest to householders that they should give up their professions for two months every year in order to keep themselves in touch with their studies[3]. They therefore proposed that the

1. अन्तेवासिनां योगमिच्छन्थ जपति····। *Vā. Gr. S.*, 7.

2. सब्रह्मचारिणश्च उपसमेतान्भोजयेदाचार्यः *J. Gr. S.*, I. 14.

3. निवेशे वृत्ते संवत्सरे द्वौ द्वौ मासौ समाहितः आचार्यकुले वसेद्भूयः श्रुतमिच्छन्निति श्वेतकेतुः। एतेन त्वहं योगेन भूयः पूर्वस्माच्छ्रुतमकरवमिति। तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम्। निवेशे हि वृत्ते नैयामिकानि श्रूयन्ते। Ā. D. S., I. 1. 2. 12.

monsoon time should be devoted to the task of revising their studies. They could easily do this at home, if they only would set apart a little time for the work every day. It was therefore decided to lay it down that householders also should join the students in the Srāvaṇī ritual and take a vow to revise their studies. Students performing the Śrāvaṇī were to prosecute their studies at their schools and colleges; householders taking part in it were to revise them at home, devoting special time for the purpose and observing the rules of the student-life as far as practicable[1].

Sravani Ritual; Its Critical Survey:—When it is remembered that Śrāvaṇī was a ritual performed by teachers and students at the beginning of the college session, and by others at the onset of the monsoon when the annual period of revision of studies commenced, we can well anticipate its nature and details. The ritual differed with different Vedic schools,[2] but there is one central idea common to them all, viz., on the opening day, Vedic and sacrificial deities should be offered oblations, presiding deities over intellect, memory and imagination should be propitiated, and a tribute of gratefulness should be

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1. न मांसमश्नीयान्न श्राद्धम्। न लोमानि संहारयेत्।
न स्त्रियमुपेयाद्दतौ जायामुपेयात्। *J. Gr. S.*, Upâkarma section.

2 Thus the followers of the Rigveda used to recite the opening and concluding verses of each of the ten books of their Veda. The followers of the Yajurveda used to offer oblations to all the Vedas, Itihāsa and Purāna and pay tribute to the celebrated scholars of their own school like Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana, Vaiśampāyana, and Tittiri (the authors of the Veda), Ātreya, the author of the *Pada-pāṭha*, Kaundinya, the *vṛittikāra*, Baudhāyana, the *pravachanakāra*, Āpastamba the Sūtrakāra and to other celebrities like Satyāshādha, Hiraṇyakeśin, Vājasaneya, Yājñavalkya, Bhāradvāja and Āgnives'ya [*Bau. Gr. S.*, III. 1]. The followers of the Sâmaveda invoked the memory of their own doctors like Jaimini, Tālavakāra, Rānāyani, Bhāguri, etc.

paid to the intellectual giants of the past, who have enriched the national literature. It was a very happy idea indeed to remind the students of the deep debt of gratitude they all owed to the literary celebrities of the past on the very opening day of the session. When they paid tribute to them, their ambition was naturally fired into imitating their glorious example. They thus commenced their annual studies with zest, vigour and ambition, hoping one day to equal the ancients in their achievements. When the ritual was extended to householders in later times, it reminded them of their duty to be up-to-date in their own branches of learning. It is a pity indeed that the modern educational system has not got a ceremony of similar import.

Sravani and the Sacred Thread :—The critical reader may now naturally enquire as to the causes that have led to the close association of Śrāvaṇī with the change of the sacred thread. The renewal of the sacred thread was a minor element in the ritual; most of our authorities do not even refer to it. At the time of most of the Vratas (vows) and Sanskāras, a new sacred thread, staff, girdle, etc., were to be worn by students. Śrāvaṇī was no exception ; on this occasion also they discarded their old sacred threads, staffs, girdles, etc., and substituted them by new ones,—a procedure somewhat similar to that of the modern student, who usually gets new clothes prepared when he leaves home for joining his college. By a strange irony of fate, the most insignificant element in this ritual has now assumed an altogether disproportionate importance and its real nature and significance have been forgotten altogether.

Utsarjana Ritual : This was performed at the end of the college term sometime in February or March.

The procedure was more or less the same as that on the opening day. Respectful homage was once more paid to the Vedic deities, mental and intellectual powers and the literary giants of the past before the students dispersed home from their schools or colleges.

SECTION D.

SAMĀVARTANA[1] OR CONVOCATION RITUAL

Who were eligible? Samāvartana or Snāna[2] ceremony was performed at the end of the *Brahmacharya* period to mark the termination of the education course[3]. When however in the course of time, the original nature and purport of the ritual were forgotten and the Upanayana began to be regarded as an obligatory and bodily Sanskāra, this ritual also came to be performed in all cases, irrespective of the consideration as to whether any educational course was followed by the youth or not. In early times it was performed when the education of the youth was over; marriage usually followed, but by no means immediately. In later times the ritual came to be performed as a kind of necessary formality just before the marriage, when it was settled.[4] (*VMS.* p. 575)

1. *Samāvartana* literally means 'returning'; it refers to the return of the student to his home after finishing the course at the teacher's home.

2. This term refers to the bath given to the student on the occasion.

3. Some held that it should not be performed in the case of those who were not able to interpret the Vedic texts committed to memory by them; Cf. अन्यो वेदपाठी । न तस्य स्नानम् ।
M. Gr. S., I. 2. 8.

4. In northern India, the custom was introduced to perform it immediately after Upanayana.

This of course was not the original idea. The ritual was intended to correspond in a very great degree to the modern convocation function. Only those who have passed their examination are at present admitted to the convocation ; only those who had finished their education were in the beginning honoured with the privilege of Samāvartana. Our authorities prescribe no definite age for this ritual. The duration of the student-life varied with different courses and students, as has been already shown in Chapter IV ; and so no fixed age could be prescribed for this ritual.

An interesting Preliminary : Samāvartana ceremony is as simple as it is significant. An auspicious day was selected and the student was required to shut himself up in a room throughout the morning. This appears to be a queer procedure, but it was due to the desire to save the sun the humiliation of being confronted with a superior lustre. The belief was that the sun can shine only with the lustre he borrows from the Snātakas (graduates), who have completed their education[1]. What better compliment can be conceived for edudation ?

The Procedure · The student came out of his room at the midday, cleansed his mouth and shaved his head and beard. He then relinquished his girdle (*mekhalā*), deer-skin (*ajina*) etc., which were the insignia of the student's order. The period of strict discipline was now over and the teacher himself, who had sternly refused him the use of a number of luxuries, now came forward to offer them to him. He himself gave him a bath in fragrant water. It was followed by an offer of new clothes. Ornaments,

1. Cf. एतदहःस्नातानां ह वा एष एतत्तेजसा तपति तस्मादेनमेतदहर्नाभितपेत् । *Bh. G. S.*, II. 1. 8.

garland, collyrium, turban, umbrella and shoes, the use of which was taboo to him in the Brahmacharya period, were now to be formally and officially offered to him by his teacher with the recitation of proper Mantras. It was expected that the guardians, who were well off, would furnish a double set of the above articles, one for the teacher and the other for the ward.[1] A Homa followed and the hope was expressed that the young graduate would get plenty of students to teach.[2] The teacher then offered him *Madhuparka*,[3] an honour reserved for the very select few like the king, Guru, and son-in-law.

Presentation to the Assembly : Dressed in his new dress, the student would proceed to the assembly of the learned men of the locality in a chariot or on an elephant.[4] He was there formally introduced as a competent scholar by his teacher. Returning home he would bid farewell to his teacher after paying him such honorarium (*gurudakshiṇā*) as he could afford. A critical survey of the Samāvartana ritual will show how high was the respect in which scholars who had completed their education were held by society. One authority asserts that they were the greatest force in society.[5]

SECTION E.

AYURVEDIC UPANAYANA

Rituals in Useful Education : When we consider

1. *Ās. Gr. S.* III, 8. 2. *Bau. Gr. S.*, II, 6.

3. *Madhuparka* denotes an offering of ghee, honey, etc. presented by the householder to a respectable guest on his arrival home.

4. *Dr. Gr. S.*, III, 1, 26; *Āp. Gr. S.* I, 11, 5.

5. Cf. महद्वै एतद् भूतं यः स्नातकः ।

the great hold which religion possesses over the Hindu mind, it is natural to expect some rituals in useful and professional education also. We proceed to describe some of them in sections E to G.

All Castes eligible: Upanayana or Initiation was primarily intended for Vedic education, but very soon its principle was extended to useful education also. Early writers on Āyurveda, like Charaka and Suśruta, lay down a special Upanayana ceremony for students seeking admission to the medical course. The medical profession was not like the Vedic scholarship an exclusive monopoly, in theory or practice, of any particular caste; so Suśruta holds that a Kshatriya or a Vaishya physician also can play the role of the teacher for boys of his own caste.[1] It is quite probable that even Brahmana boys may have been initiated by non-Brahmana medical teachers, though our texts do not attest to this practice. The surgical school of Suśruta was in favour of the admission of even Shudra boys, though formal Upanayana with the recitation of the Mantras was prohibited in their case.[2] It is quite probable that Kshatriya and Shudra surgeons may have been, by tradition and environment, better adepts in the use of the knife than their Brahmana and Vaishya compeers.[3]

Survey of the Ritual: Ayurvedic Upanayana was a short ritual modelled largely upon the Vedic proto-

1. Sūtra-sthāna, II, 5.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Such minor surgical operations as were performed before the introduction of the modern surgery were usually attempted by barbers both in India and Europe.

type. An auspicious day was selected for the purpose. *Darbha*, *Samidhs* (sacred fuel), flowers, etc. were collected, an altar was specially prepared, and oblations of ghee and honey were offered to various deities and sages, first by the teacher and then by the student. Naturally Dhanvantari, Aśvins, Indra, Prajāpati and the Sūtrakāras intimately connected with the development of the medical science occupied the place of honour in this sacrifice. Both the teacher and the student circumambulated the fire on the altar. Brahmanas and celebrated physicians were then worshipped by the pupil. Then in the presence of the sacred fire the Guru charged the student to follow the well known rules of the student life and refrain from lust, anger, covetousness, laziness, pride, untruth and cruelty.[1] The student was specially required to be always industrious and engaged in the pursuit of fresh knowledge. He ought to have faith in his teacher, who was required to teach him all that he knew.

SECTION F.

DHANURVEDIC OR MILITARY UPANAYANA[2]

Ritual described: The ritual was to be performed on an auspicious day at the beginning of the military education. The student, who was required to observe a fast on that day, used to offer oblations to gods at the outset. Brahmanas were then fed and presents were offered to the teacher. The most important part of the ritual was the offering of a weapon to the youth

1. Suśruta, Sūtra-sthāna, chap. 2.

2. Described only in *Dhanurveda-Samhitā* of Vasiṣṭha, which is a very late work.

along with the recitation of a Vedic Mantra.[1] Military training was no monopoly of the Kshatriyas in early times, and Vasishṭha therefore lays down that a Brahmana was to be invested with a bow, the Kshatriya with a sword, the Vaishya with a lance and the Shudra with a mace. The Guru, who could initiate the youths, was himself expected to be an expert in the use of these and other weapons.

Not common in early Times: How far this Dhanurvedic Upanayana was common among the Kshatriyas or those classes of the community, who received the military training, we do not know. The ritual is not mentioned by any early authority, and the epic heroes are not stated to have performed it. The Mantra recited at the time of offering the weapon to the student has no connection with the occasion, as shown in the foot-note below[1]. It is therefore very doubtful whether the ritual was in general vogue. Probably it was a later invention and confined to a small section of the Kshatriya community.

SECTION G

CHHURIKĀ-BANDHA OR MILITARY CONVOCATION

Chhurika-bandha:—This ceremony corresponds to Brahmanical Samāvartana and was performed at the

1. The Mantra laid down by Vasiṣṭha is as follows:—

काण्डात्काण्डं प्ररोहन्ती परुषस्परुषस्परि ।
एवा नो दूर्वे प्रतनु सहस्रेण शतेन च ॥
या शतेन प्ररोहसि सहस्रेण विरोहसि ।
तस्मै ते देवीष्टके विधेम हविषा वयम् ॥ *V.S.*, XIII, 20-1.

The stanzas, however, refer to Dūrvâ grass and have no connection with the bow or arrow.

end of the military training. The central and essential part of the ritual was, as the name itself would suggest, the investiture of the budding hero with a dagger in token of his having completed his military training.[1] This ceremony is mentioned by Nārada alone, but it was fairly common in Rajputana among Rajput families at the beginning of the 19th century, and was known as *kharg bandhāi* (tying of the sword), which is the vernacular rendering of the *chhurikā-bandha* of Nārada. This ceremony, which was performed before the marriage, may have been common in higher aristocratic families.

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1. Cf. छुरिकाबन्धनं वक्ष्ये नृपाणां प्राक्करग्रहात् ।
विवाहोक्तेषु मासेषु शुक्लपक्षेप्यनस्तगे ॥
छुरिकाबंधनं कार्यं अर्चयित्वामरान्पितॄन् ।
अर्चयेच्छुरिकां नित्यं देवतानां च संनिधौ ॥
व्रतलग्ने च बध्नीयात्कट्यां लक्षणसंयुताम् ।
नारद in *VMS.*, p. 580.

APPENDIX II.

YAJÑOPAVĪTA OR THE SO-CALLED SACRED THREAD.

Introduction:—Yajñopavīta is at present understood to be the Sacred Thread, that is to be worn by the twice-born classes from the time of the Upanayana ceremony onwards. The popular belief is that the Upanayana ceremony is primarily intended for investing the boy with this mysterious thread, and the Śrāvaṇī ritual for the purpose of renewing it annually. We have already shown how both these conceptions are wrong (App. I, B and C). Here we propose to trace briefly the history of Yajñopavīta.

Yajnopavita, the upper Garment:—Later writers explain Yajñopavīta thread as a symbol of the *Guṇamayī Māyā*, as it was visualised by the Creator at the time of creation;[1] but its original significance was entirely different. Grammatically, Yajñopavīta is an adjective and refers to something that was worn at the time of the sacrifice; यज्ञाय उपवीतं यज्ञोपवीतम्। Hindu notion of decency required that the upper part of the body should be properly covered when one was engaged in sacred functions like sacrifices, charity

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1. सिसृक्षुरेक एवाग्रे समाधीनः शिवः स्वयम्।
दृष्ट्वा गुणमयीं मायां सूत्ररूपामिवाकरोत्॥
तया तदात्मकं विष्णुं सृष्ट्वा पालं दिवौकसाम्।
स्वयं ब्रह्माऽभवद्रुद्रो रुद्रश्चास्य जयाय सः॥
ज्ञानात्मकेन हरिणा ब्रह्मात्मनि शिवेऽव्यये।
तत्सूत्रमुपवीतत्वाद्ब्रह्मसूत्रमिदं कृतम्॥
Aśvalāyana quoted in *VMS*, p. 419.

or *svādhyāya*.[1] Yajñopavīta denoted the upper garment when it was worn in the proper manner prescribed for sacred occasions. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* is explicit on the point ; it says that Yajñopavīta means wearing the garment in a particular manner ; when the garment is passed under the right and over the left shoulder, it becomes Yajñopavīta according to the authority of Brāhmaṇa works.[2] The same garment was called Prāchīnāvīta when it was worn exactly in the reverse way, and Nivīta when it was allowed to hang down like a garland.

Its prehistoric Form :—The upper garment that was thus used was normally a piece of cloth. But in prehistoric times when the art of spinning and weaving was not known, it was a piece of deer-skin. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* states that it should be a piece of deer-skin, rather than a piece of cloth.[3] In the course of time when clothes became common, the upper garment also became a cotton product, but earlier tradition of the deer-skin was in a way preserved by continuing the use of a small patch of deer-skin on such occasions. In later times when Yajñopavīta as a piece of cloth was replaced by Yajñopavīta in the form of the thread, this piece of deer-skin was strung into it. This custom still obtains at the time of Upanayana.

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1. उत्तरं वासः कर्तव्यं पञ्चस्वेतेषु कर्मसु ।
स्वाध्यायोत्सर्गदानेषु भुक्ताचमनयोस्तथा ॥
Baudhāyana in *SCS*, p. 299.
2. वासो विन्यासविशेषो यज्ञोपवीतम् ।
दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरतेऽवधत्ते सव्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतमिति ब्राह्मणम् ।
3. अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय । II

When and How the Thread came in :— In the early period, Yajñopavīta was normally in the form of a full upper garment like the *Dupaṭṭā* of northern India or the *uparaṇe* of Mahārāshṭra. *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* states distinctly that Yajñopavīta should be normally in the form of the upper garment; wearing a thread instead is only the second alternative.[1] Jātukarṇya quoted in the *Smṛitichandrikā* distinctly declares that Yajñopavīta in the form of the thread is permissible only when the upper garment of the normal size is not available.[2] The view of Ṛishyaśriṅga is the same.[3] Yajñopavīta was to be worn on sacred occasions like the sacrifice or the prayer. In the course of time the conception of the sacrifice changed; the whole life came to be viewed as a kind of sacrifice when everything that one does should be dedicated to the Creator. If then the Yajñopavīta was to be continuously used during the time one is engaged in sacred duties, it must be worn all the twenty-four hours. This could be feasible only if the Yajñopavīta assumed a more manageable form. It was probably on this account that Yajñopavīta was allowed to dwindle in form into the modern Sacred Thread. The alternatives placed before society were many. Some were in favour of the continuance of the old custom; they held that it was sufficient if the Yajñopavīta was worn as long as prac-

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1. नित्यमुत्तरं वासः कार्यम्। अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे।
II, 2, 4, 21-22.

2. वस्त्रोत्तरीयाभावे द्वयंगुलं त्र्यंगुलं चतुरंगुलं वा सूत्रैर्वस्त्राकृति परिमण्डलं तदुत्तरीयं कुर्यात्। p. 84.

3. अपि वा वाससा यज्ञोपवीतार्थं कुर्यात्तदभावे त्रिवृता सूत्रेण।
Ibid, quoted in *SCS.*, p. 84.

ticable ; it need not be worn continuously for 24 hours[1]. Others were in favour of substituting a Kuśa rope for the unmanageable upper garment[2]. But Kuśa rope was not pleasant in touch and so some others advocated that cotton thread should be preferred for the purpose[3]. The reason in recommending the new substitutes was convenience and nothing else. For a long time they were not popular ; hence we find that in the Upanayana ceremony, as it is described in most of the *Gṛihya-sutras*, there is no mention of the boy being invested with the Sacred Thread. In stead, we have the description of the boy being offered the *dupaṭṭā* or *uparaṇe* i. e. the upper garment at one stage of the ritual,

The Number of Sacred Threads increases, why :— In the course of time, however, owing to its obvious convenience, the innovation of the Sacred Thread became popular and its original significance was gradually forgotten. Brahmachāri was to wear only one Sacred Thread, but Snātaka was to wear two, one for the under garment and the other for the upper garment[4]. It was clearly forgotten by this time that Yajñopavīta was intended to be the upper garment. If Snātaka was to wear two Yajñopavītas, the Gṛihastha must wear three, for he was one stage higher. The *Gṛihyā-saṅgraha* however thinks that this third Sacred Thread

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1. कार्पासक्षौमगोबालशणवल्कतृणोद्भवम् ।
सदा संभवतो धार्यमुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥
Nigamaparisishṭa in SGS., p. 84.

2. यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते सूत्रं वस्त्रं वापि कुशरज्जुमेव वा ।
Go. Gr. S., I. 2. 1.

3. अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे । *Āp. Dh. S.*, II. 2. 4. 22.

4. स्नातकानां द्वितीयं स्यादन्तर्वासस्तथोत्तरम् ।
Vasishṭha in *VMS.*, p. 421.

was in lieu of the upper garment[1]. Devala also holds the same view; an upper garment, he says, is not always at hand, hence the recommendation to wear the third Sacred Thread[2].

Mysterious efficacy of Yajnopavita:—In the course of time Yajñopavīta came to be invested with mysterious efficacy. The *Āditya Purāṇa* declares that it has the power of destroying demons. When such notions began to prevail in society, it is no wonder that the view began to be advocated that the greater the number of Sacred Threads, the better would be our spiritual and material welfare. Kāśyapa would recommend 2, 3, 5, or 10 Sacred Threads for the house-holder;[3] an anonymous text quoted by Mitramiśra is in favour of as many Sacred Threads as possible.[4] All this vividly shows how the original significance of the Yajñopavīta was completely forgotten by this time. When Yajñopavīta assumed the form of the thread, the custom gained ground of making each of its thread a constituent product of nine smaller threads. Oṅkāra, Agni, Bhaga, Soma, Pitris, Prajāpati, Vasu, Dharma, and Sarva-devas were taken to be the presiding deities of the nine threads of the Sacred Thread.

Can Yajnopavita be removed ? :— Even when the Yajñopavīta dwindled into the Sacred Thread, it could be occasionally removed in the course of the day. The Taittirīya, Kaṭha, Kaṇva, and Vājasaneya schools were in favour of permitting the removal

1. तृतीयमुत्तरीयार्थं वस्त्राभावे तदिष्यते । *Ibid*, p. 21.
2. तृतीयमुत्तरीयार्थं वस्त्रालाभे तदिष्यते । *SGS.*, *p.* 801.
3. त्रीणि चत्वारि पञ्चाष्ट गृहिणः स्युर्दशापि वा ॥ *VMS.*, p. 421.
4. आयुष्कामैः सदा कार्यं बहुयज्ञोपवीतकम् ॥ 'अन्यत्रापि' in *Ibid.*

of the Sacred Thread at the time of the daily bath;[1] the Rigvedins and the Sāmavedins, however, advocated the doctrine that the Sacred Thread should never be separated from one's person. The latter view eventually prevailed and still obtains in Hindu society,

1. तैत्तिरीयाः कठाः काण्वाश्वरका वाजसेयिनः ।
कण्ठादुत्तार्य सूत्रं तु कुर्युर्वै क्षालनं द्विजाः ॥
बह्वृचाः सामगाश्चैव ये चान्ये यजुःशाखिनः ।
कण्ठादुत्तार्य सूत्रं तु पुनरर्हन्ति संस्क्रियाम् ॥ Quoted in *VMS.*, 421.

APPENDIX III.

CONVOCATION ADDRESSES.

Convocation address to Arts Graduates.

A specimen of what may be described as a convocation address to Arts Graduates is to be found in the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, I, 11. As the passage is very interesting from several points of view, it is given below along with its translation.

वेदमनूच्याचार्योऽन्तेवासिनमनुशास्ति । "सत्यं वद । धर्मं चर । स्वाध्यायान्मा प्रमदः । आचार्याय प्रियं धनमाहृत्य प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सीः । सत्यान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । धर्म्मान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । कुशलान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यम् । स्वाध्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् । देवपितृकार्य्याभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् । मातृदेवो भव । पितृदेवो भव । आचार्य्यदेवो भव । अतिथिदेवो भव । यान्यनवद्यानि कर्म्माणि तानि सेवितव्यानि नो इतराणि । यान्यस्माकं सुचरितानि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि नो इतराणि । ये के चास्मच्छ्रेयांसो ब्राह्मणाः तेषां त्वयाऽऽसनेन प्रश्वसितव्यम् । श्रद्धया देयम् । संविदा देयम् । श्रिया देयम् । ह्रिया देयम् । भिया देयम् । संविदा देयम् । अथ यदि ते कर्मविचिकित्सा वा वृत्तविचिकित्सा वा स्यात् ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः संमर्शिनः युक्ता आयुक्ता अलूक्षा धर्म्मकामाः स्युः यथा ते तत्र वर्तेरन् तथा तत्र वर्तेथाः । अथाभ्याख्यातेषु ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः संमर्शिनः युक्ता आयुक्ता अलूक्षा धर्म्मकामाः स्युः यथा ते तेषु वर्तेरन् तथा तेषु वर्तेथाः । एष आदेशः । एष उपदेशः । एषा वेदोपनिषत् । एतदनुशासनम् । एवमुपासितव्यम् । एवमु चैतदुपास्यम् ।

TRANSLATION.

After the teaching of the Veda is over, the preceptor exhorts the student :

"Speak the truth. Do your duty. Neglect not the daily study (of the Veda). After having brought to your teacher his proper reward, do not cut off the line of progeny. Do not swerve from the truth. Do not swerve from duty. Do not neglect what is useful. Do not miss opportunities to become great. Do not neglect the daily duties of learning and teaching (the Veda). Do not neglect the (sacrificial) rituals due to the Gods and Fathers.

Let your mother be to you like unto a god. Let your father be to you like unto a god. Let your teacher be to you like unto a god. Let your guest be to you like unto a god.

Whatever actions are blameless, those should be followed, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be emulated by you, not others. And there are some Brahmanas better than we. They should be comforted by you by giving them a seat.

Whatever is given should be given with faith, not without faith,—with joy, with modesty, with fear, with kindness.

If there should be any doubt in your mind with regard to any duty or with regard to conduct,—in that case conduct yourself as Brahmanas, who possess good judgment, conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that have been spoken against, conduct yourself as Brahmanas, who possess good judgment, conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty.

Thus conduct yourself. This is the rule. This is the teaching. This is the true purport (Upanishad) of the Veda. This is the command. Thus should you observe. Thus should this be observed."

Convocation Address to Medical Graduates.

We get a very good specimen of the convocation address to medical students in *Charakasaṁhitā* Vimānasthāna, 8, 6-8. Important passages from it are given below, along with an English rendering.

अनुज्ञातेन प्रविचरता [त्वया] पूर्वं गुर्वर्थोपान्वाहरणे यथाशक्ति प्रयतितव्यम्। कर्मसिद्धिमर्थसिद्धिं यशोलाभं प्रेत्य च स्वर्गमिच्छता त्वया गोब्राह्मणमादौ कृत्वा सर्वप्राणभृतां शर्माशासितव्यम्। अहरहरुत्तिष्ठता चोपविशता च सर्वात्मना चातुराणामारोग्ये प्रयतितव्यम्। जीवहेतोरपि चातुरेभ्यो नाभिद्रोग्धव्यम्। मनसापि च परस्त्रियो नाभिगमनीयास्तथा च सर्वमेव परस्वम्। निभृतवेशपरिच्छदेन भवितव्यम्। अशौण्डेनापापेनापापसहायेन च श्लक्ष्णशुक्लधर्म्यशर्म्यधन्यसत्यहितमितवचसा देशकालविचारिणा स्मृतिमता ज्ञानोत्थापनकरणसंपत्सु नित्यं यत्नवता च न कदाचित्.....अनपवादप्रतिकाराणां मुमूर्षूणां च तथैवासन्निहितेश्वराणां स्त्रीणामनभ्यक्षाणां वौषधमनुविधातव्यम्। न च कदाचित्स्त्रीदत्तमामिषमादातव्यमननुज्ञातं भर्त्राथवाभ्यक्षेण। आतुरकुलं.....चानुप्रविश्य वाङ्मनोबुद्धीन्द्रियाणि न क्वचित्प्रणिधातव्यानि अन्यत्रातुरादातुरोपकारार्थादातुरगतेष्वन्येषु वा भावेषु। न चातुरकुलप्रवृत्तयो बहिर्निश्चारयितव्याः। हसितं चायुःप्रमाणमातुरस्य न वर्णयितव्यम् जानतापि तत्र यत्रोच्यमानमातुरस्यान्यस्य वाप्युपघाताय संपद्यते।

विज्ञानवतापि च नात्यर्थमात्मनो ज्ञाने विकत्थितव्यम्। आसादपि हि विकत्थ्यमानादत्यर्थमुद्विजन्त्येके। न चैव ह्यस्ति सुतरामायुर्वेदस्य पारम्। तस्मादप्रमत्तः श्रध्दभियोगमिच्छन् गच्छेत्।.....। कृत्स्नो हि लोको बुद्धिमतामाचार्यः। शत्रुश्चाबुद्धिमतामेव। अतश्चाभिसमीक्ष्य बुद्धिमताऽभिप्रस्थापि यशस्यं...पौष्टिकं...लौक्यमुपदिशता वचः श्रोतव्यमनुविधातव्यं चेति।

ENGLISH RENDERING

"When, on getting permission, you begin to practise, you ought to make an effort to offer an adèquate honorarium to your teacher. You should aim at the welfare of Brahmanas, cows and all other beings with a view to win practice, prosperity and fame here and heaven hereafter. Every day you should continuously and whole-heartedly try to promote the health of patients. Even if your own life is in danger, you should not neglect your patients. You should not entertain an evil thought about the wealth or wives of others. Your dress should be modest, not foppish. Avoid drinking, do not commit a sin, nor help one who is committing it. Your speech should be smooth, polished, truthful and to the point. Taking all facts into consideration, you should make a deliberate endeavour to increase the stock of your knowledge and instruments. Do not give medicine to those whose disease is definitely ascertained to be incurable, or to those who are about to die, or to women, if their husbands or guardians are not present. Do not accept any fees from ladies without the assent of their husbands or guardians. When you enter a patient's room, all your attention should be centred on the patient, his expression, movements and medicines, to the exclusion of everything else. You must treat as strictly confidential all information about the patient and his family. Where there is a danger of the patient or any of his relatives receiving a shock, you should not divulge the impending death of the patient even when you are aware of it.

Though well grounded in your line, you should not praise your knowledge much; for some people get disgusted even with their friends and relatives if they

are given to boasting. One can never get a mastery of the entire medical science; unelated, one should therefore pass one's time in making a constant effort to learn something more. A wise man will indeed gather something from every quarter; a fool only thinks otherwise, and shows jealousy. Taking all things into consideration, a wise physician should listen to and derive benefit from the discoveries or observations even of an enemy, if they are calculated to promote one's fame and prosperity in this world.

APPENDIX IV

FOUR VEDAS, SIX AṄGAS, TEN GRANTHAS, FOURTEEN VIDYĀS, EIGHTEEN ŚILPAS AND SIXTY-FOUR KALĀS.

In connection with the curriculum in ancient India, the above expressions are frequently used; we therefore propose to explain them briefly in this appendix.

Four Vedas:—They are the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda and the Atharvaveda. These were regarded as revealed, but there was a time when a deep prejudice was entertained against the Atharvaveda, which was therefore excluded from studies. The remaining three Vedas were therefore called *Trayī*.

Six Angas:—These were the following; 1 *Śikshā*, the science of pronunciation; *Kalpa*, the science of ritualism; *Vyākaraṇa*, grammar; *Nirukta*, philology, *Chandas*, prosody, and *Jyotisha*, astronomy.

Dasa Granthas:—These were the following: 1 One's own Veda 2 Its Brāhmaṇa 3 and Āraṇyaka 4 Nighaṇṭu and the six Aṅgas enumerated above. A graduate, who had mastered all these, was known as a Daśagranthī Brahmana.

Fourteen Vidyas: During the Pauranic period, a person was regarded as a distinguished scholar if he had mastered fourteen *Vidyās*. These were usually taken to be 1-4 Vedas, 5-10 *Shaḍaṅgas*, 11 *Dharma-śāstra* (sacred and secular law) 12 *Purāṇas*, 13 *Mīmānsā* (science of exegis) and 14 *Tarka* (logic

Eighteen Silpas : There is no authoritative enumeration of eighteen *śilpas*. In one place the *Milinda-pañha* includes the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, philosophy, history, etc. among them (Vol. I, p. 6), but there is no doubt that this is wrong. The basic conception of *śilpas* is a profession requiring special skill[1] and the Vedic age denoted by this term arts like vocal music, instrumentalmusic and dancing [2] Taxila university claimed to specialise in eighteen *śilpas*, and archery, military art, medicine, magic, snake charming and the art of finding treasures figure among the subjects taught there[3]. These five therefore must have been included in the *śilpas*. Conveyancing and law, mathematics, accountancy, agriculture, commerce, cattle breeding, and *issatha* (?) are also mentioned as *śilpas* in the Buddhist literature.[4] When we remember the basic idea of *śilpa*, we can include sculpture and engineering also among the traditional eighteen *śilpas*. The following therefore most probably constituted the eighteen *śilpas*.

1 Vocal music 2 Instrumental music 3 Dancing 4 Painting 5 Mathematics 6 Accountancy 7 Engineering 8 Sculpture 9 Agriculture 10 Cattle-breeding 11 Commerce 12 Medicine 13 Conveyancing and Law 14 Administrative training 15 Archery and military art 16 Magic 17 Snake charming and poison antidotes 18 The Art of finding hidden treasures.

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1. एतद्धि दिव्यं शिल्पं न मानुषम् । *Kss.*, XXV, 175

2. त्रिवृद्धि शिल्पं नृत्यं गीतं वादित्रम् । *S. Br.*, XXIX, 5

3. Jâtakas Nos. 80 and 537; *Mahāvagga*, VII. 1. 6; Jâtaka Nos 185., 256 & 416.

4. *M. N.*, Vol. I p. 85, *A. N.*, Vol. IV pp. 281-2.

Sixty-four Kalas : According to Vātsyāyana I.3.16, the following are the traditional sixty-four *Kalās*, which a cultured lady was expected to master :—

१ गीतम् २ वाद्यम् ३ नृत्यम् ४ आलेख्यम् ५ विशेषकच्छेद्यम् ६ तण्डुलकुसुमवलिविकाराः ७ पुष्पास्तरणम् ८ दशनवसनांगरागः ९ मणिभूमिकाकर्म १० शयनरचनम् ११ उदकवाद्यम् १२ उदकाघातः १३ चित्राश्च योगाः १४ माल्यग्रथनविकल्पाः १५ शेखरकापीडयोजनम् १६ नेपथ्यप्रयोगाः १७ कर्णपत्रभंगाः १८ गन्धयुक्तिः ११ भूषणयोजनम् २० ऐन्द्रजालाः २१ कौचुमाराश्च योगाः २२ हस्तलाघवम् २३ विचित्रशाकयूषभक्ष्यविकारक्रिया २४ पानकरसरागासवयोजनम् २५ सूचीवानकर्माणि २६ सूत्रक्रीडा २७ वीणाडमरुकवाद्यानि २८ प्रहेलिका २९ प्रतिमाला ३० दुर्वाचकयोगाः ३१ पुस्तकवाचनम् ३२ नाटकाख्यायिकादर्शनम् ३३ काव्यसमस्यापूरणम् ३४ पट्टिकावेत्रवानविकल्पः ३५ नक्षकर्माणि ३६ तक्षणम् ३७ वास्तुविद्या ३८ रूप्यरत्नपरीक्षा ३९ धातुवादः ४० मणिरागाकरज्ञानम् ४१ वृक्षायुर्वेदयोगाः ४२ मेषकुक्कुटलावकयुद्धविधिः ४३ शुकसारिकाप्रलापनम् ४४ उत्सादने संवाहने केशमर्दने च कौशलम् ४५ अक्षरमुष्टिकाकथनम् ४६ म्लेच्छितविकल्पाः ४७ देशभाषाविज्ञानम् ४८ पुष्पशकटिका ४९ निमित्तज्ञानम् ५० यन्त्रमातृका ५१ धारणमातृका ५२ सम्पाठ्यम् ५३ मानसीकाव्यक्रियाः ५४ अभिधानकोशः ५५ छन्दोज्ञानम् ५६ क्रियाकल्पः ५७ छलितकयोगाः ५८ वस्त्रगोपनानि ५९ द्यूतविशेषः ६० आकर्षक्रीडा ६१ बालक्रीडनकानि ६२-४ वैनयिकीनां वैजयिकीनां व्यायामिकीनां च विद्यानां ज्ञानम्।

Owing to want of space it is not possible to explain the meaning of each of the 64 *kalās* enumerated above. It would suffice to say that Nos. 23-4 refer to the art of cooking, Nos. 5, 8, 15 and 44 to personal toilette of women requiring skill in the use of ointments for the body, paints for the teeth, etc. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 27 enumerate fine arts like music, dancing and painting. Arts necessary for home and personal decorations are mentioned in Nos. 6, 7, 9, 10 14-19, 48 and 58 and they include garland making, decoration of the floor, the preparation of the bed,

proper use and care of dress and ornaments etc. Women, who were usually fond of ornaments, were expected to be able to appreciate correctly the value and quality of the different varieties of gold, etc, and Nos. 38-40 refer to the capacity in this connection. Arts useful for the housewife like sewing, patching, elementary carpentry, repairs of household tools and articles are mentioned in Nos. 25,33,35-6,37,41,44, and 49. Literary efficiency and skill of different variety is presupposed by Nos. 28-31,33,45-47 and 51-57. They require women to be skilled in reading, writing, understanding different languages, composing poems, understanding dramas, etc. Nos. 12 and 64 refer to different physical exercises and Nos. 11,20,22,26,42, 43,57,59,60 mention recreations for utilising leisure hours. The latter include magic, sleights of hand, *dyūta* etc. No. 61 requires every woman to know how to prepare toys for children.

It will be thus seen that the 64 arts, which a woman was expected to master, endowed her with a healthy physique, taught her all arts necessary for an economic and an efficient housewife and made her a cultured companion of her husband, who could introduce her to any company of educated men and women. It is obvious that only ladies in higher sections of society could have got proficiency in 64 arts. What was their percentage we do not know.

APPENDIX V

Technical terms and dates of authors, works and kings.

(A.=Author; K.=king; D.=Date; Q.=Queen)

Agrahâra; a village of learned Brahmana colonists.

Alberuni; Arabic A., *c.* 1025 A. D.

Âpastamba D S.; *c.* 400 B. C.

Arthaśâstra of Kauṭilya, *c.* 300 B. C.

Aśramas: four stages of life.

Bâṇa; poet, *c.* 625 A. D.

Brâhmaṇa literature consists of explanations of and commentaries on the Vedas; *c.* 1500 B.C. to 1000 B. C.

Bhâskarâchârya: A.; *c.* 1150 A.D.

Bhavabhûti; poet; *c.* 725 A. D.

Bhoja; Baramara king, *c.* 1025 A.D.

Brahmachâri; student observing celibacy.

Brahmcharya, the state of a Brahmachâri.

Buddha died in *c* 487 B. C.

Châlukya Dynasty, Later; 973 to A D.

Charaka; An author on medicine, *c* 80 A. D.

Chandragupta Maurya, *c.* 300 B.C.

Chandragupta Gupta; c. 400 A.D.

Divâkarasena; sage, *c.* 610 A. D.

Diddâ; Q. c. 1000 A. D.

Dharmasûtras; *c.* 600 B. C. to 400 B. C.

Fa Hsien; Chinese pilgrim in India in *c.* 400 A. D.

Gâthâsaptaśatî; *c.* 4th century A. D,

Gauḍapâda; philosopher, *c.* 700 A. D.

Gautama D S., *c.* 400 B. C.

Gâyatrî Mantra; see p. 278.

Gṛihyasûtras; *c.* 700 B. C. to 500 B. C.

Gupta age; *c.* 300 to 500 A. D.

Gurukula, see p. 132.

Harsha; K.; 606-647 A. D.

Harshacharit, *c.* 625 A. D.

Hînayâna; a branch of Buddhism, advocating its earlier philosophy. Its literature is mostly in Pali.

Homa; sacrifice to gods.

Indo-Iranian age; *c.* 2500 B. C.

Ikshvâku dynasty of Andhra country, *c.* 200 A. D.

I-sing; Chinese traveller in India in *c.* 675 A. D.

Janaka; K. in Upanishads; *c.* 1200 B. C.

Jâtaka period; *c.* 500 B. C.

Jayachandra; K, *c.* 1200 B. C.

Kadamba dynasty; *c.* 300 A. D. to 600 A. D.

Kâlidâsa; 4th century A. D. according to some and 1st century B. C. according to others.

Kanishka; K. *c.* 100 A. D.

Kaṇva Dynasty; *c.* 50 B. C.

Karman theory holds that we become what we deserve to be by our past actions.

Katha republic: *c.* 600 B. C.

Kauṭilya; author of the *Arthaśâstra*; *c.* 300 B. C.

Kumâragupta; K.; *c.* 425 A. D.

Lakshmaṇasena: K. of Bengal; *c.* 1200 A. D.

Mahâyâna; a later school of Buddhism, which deified the

Buddha and wrote its works in Sanskrit.

Mahâbhârata; book; *c.* 300 B. C.

Mahâbhârata war; *c.* 1400 B. C.

Mâlatîmâdhava drâma; *c.* 725 A.D.

Mâlava republic; *c.* 300 B. C. to 200 A. D.

Maṇḍanamiśra; A. *c.* 800 A D.

Mantra; sacred verse or formula.

Manusmriti; *c.* 300 B. C.

Mauryan age; 325 to 190 B. C.

Milindapañha a book: *c.* 1st century B. C. or A. D.

Mîmânsâ school of philosophy deals with Vedic exegis and sacrifices.

Muñja; K. *c.* 980 A. D.

Nâgârjuna; Mahâyâna philosopher, *c.* 150 A. D.

Naishṭhika Brahmachâri observed celibacy to the end of his life.

Nirukta; a work on Vedic exegis; *c.* 700 B. C.

Nyâya philosophy mainly deals with the problems of logic.

Pallava dynasty; *c.* 300 to 750 A. D.

Pâṇini; famous grammarian; *c.* 6th century B. C.

Pâṭhaśâla; Sanskrit school.

Patwari; village accountant.

Punarjanma; rebirth

Purâṇas were given their present form in *c.* 350 A. D., though there are some later additions too.

Râmâyaṇa; *c.* 200 B C.

Râjaśekhara; poet; *c.* 900 A. D.

Śâlivâhana dynasty; also known as Sâtavâhana dynasty *c.* 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.

Samâvartana ceremony: at the end of the education course.

Saṁgha; Buddhist order of monks.

Sâṁkhya philosophy is atheistic and advocates that matter and souls are the two entities.

Sandhyâ; morning and evening Vedic prayer.

Śaṅkarâchârya, the great Advaitic philosopher; *c.* 800 A. D.

Sanskâra; ritual.

Śibi republic in *c.* 300 B. C.

Śindhurâja; K. *c.* 1000 A. D.

Smritis; metrical books on sacred law; *c.* 300 B. C. to 800 A. D.

Snâna; see Samâvartana.

Śrâddha; oblations offered to a dead ancestor on the date of his death.

Sugandhâ; Q. of Kashmir, *c.* 900 A. D.

Śuṅga dynasty; *c.* 190 to 80 B.C.

Suśruta; a work on medicine.

Tol; a Sanskrit school on traditional lines.

Upâkarma; see App. I C.

Upanayana ceremony for initiating a student into Vedic studies.

Upanishadic period; *c.* 1200 to 800 B. C.

Uttararâmacharit drama; *c.* 725 A. D.

Utsarjana; see App. I, C.

Vaiśeshika philosophy mainly deals with atomism and logic.

Vasubandhu; Mahâyâna philosopher, *c.* 300 A. D.

Vedângas; see App. IV.

Vedânta philosophy; mainly based on Upanishads and amplified by Śankara, Râmânuja and others.

Vikramâditya VI, Châlukya emperor, *c.* 1100 A. D.

Vrata; a religious vow.

Yama Smriti; *c.* 7th century A.D.

Yoga philosophy concentrates on meditation and Prâṇâyâma.

Yuan Chwang: Chinese pilgrim in India in *c.* 640 A. D.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSLITERATION

ABBREVIATIONS

A. D. S.	Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra
A. G. S.	Āpastamba Gṛiha Sūtra
A. N.	Aṅguttara Nikāya
Ait. Ar.	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
Alberuni	Sachau, Alberuni's India
Aś. Gr. S.	Aśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra
A. S. R.	Archæological Survey of India, Annual Reports, New Series
A. S. W. I.	Archæological Survey of Western India, Reports of.
A. V.	Atharvaveda
B. D. S.	Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra
Bau. Gr. S.	Baudhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra
Beal, Life.	Life of Hiuen Tsiang
Bh. Gr. S.	Bhāradvāja Gṛihya Sūtra
Br. Up.	Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad
Ch. Up.	Chhāndogya Upanishad
Dr. Gr. S.	Drāhyāyaṇa Gṛihya Sūtra
E. C.	Epigraphia Carnatica
E. I.	Epigraphia Indica
Elliot, History	Elliot's History of India, as told by its historians, Vols. I-2, London, 1870.
Go. Br.	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa
Go. Gr. S.	Gobhila Gṛihya Sūtra
Hi. Gr. S.	Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihya Sūtra
I. A.	Indian Antiquity
I. M. P.	Inscriptions from Madras Presidency.
I.-tsing	Record of the Western World by I-tsing, edited by Takakusu

J. A. S. B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
Jai. Gr. S.	Jaimini Gṛihya Sūtra
Jai. Up. Br.	Jaimini Upanishad Brāhmaṇa
K. M.	Kāvyamīmānsā
Kh. Gr. S.	Khādira Gṛihya Sūtra
Kū. P.	Kūrma Purāṇa
K. S.	Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā
Kss.	Kathāsaritsāgara
K. UP.	Kaṭhopanishad
Ma. Gr. S.	Mānava Gṛihya Sūtra
M. A. S. I.	Memoirs of the Archælogical Survey of India
Mbh.	Mahābhārata
Mil. Pan.	Milinda Pañha (S. B. E. edition)
M. N.	Majjhima Nikāya
M. S.	Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā
Mu. Up.	Muṇḍakopanishad
M. V.	Mahāvagga
N. S.	Nītiśataka
P. Gr. S.	Pāraskara Gṛihya Sūtra
Par. Ma.	Mādhava's commentary on Parāśara Smṛiti
P. M.	Pūrva Mīmānsā
Pr. Up.	Praśnopanishad
R. V.	Ṛig-veda
Sachau	Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau
Śānti P.	Śānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata
Sāranga. P.	Sāraṅgadhara Padhati
Ś. Br.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
S. B. E.	Sacred Books of the East Series

SCS.	Smṛitichandrikā, Sanskāra Kāṇḍa
S. I. E. R.	Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy.
Tai. Ar.	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
Tai. Br.	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
T. S.	Taittirīya Sahṁitā
Tai Up.	Taittirīya Upanishad
V. D. S.	Vasishṭha Dharma Sūtra
Va. Gr. S.	Varāha Gṛihya Sūtra
Vaj. Sam.	Vājasaneya Saṁhitā
Vi. Dh. S.	Vishṇu Dharma Sūtra or Vishṇu Smṛiti
VMS.	Vīraṁitrodaya, Sanskāra-prakāśa
Watters,	Watters, on Yuan Chwang's Travels
Yaj.	Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti
S. R. S.	Subhāshita-Ratna-Sandoha
S. R. B.	Subhāshita-Ratna-Bhāṇḍāra

TRANSLITERATION

Current words like Brahmana, Vaishya or Shudra and modern names like Sivaji and Paithan are written usually without diacritical marks.

Sanskrit, Prākrit and Pāli words are transliterated according to the following scheme.

आ ā ई ī ऊ ū ऋ ṛi विसर्ग ḥ ङ् ṅ च ch छ chh ञ ñ ट ṭ ठ ṭh ड ḍ ढ ḍh ण ṇ श ś ष sh स s ह h ळ ḷ क्ष kṣh ज्ञ jñ.

Sometimes the long vowel is denoted also by the mark ^ above it ; e. g. आ by â.