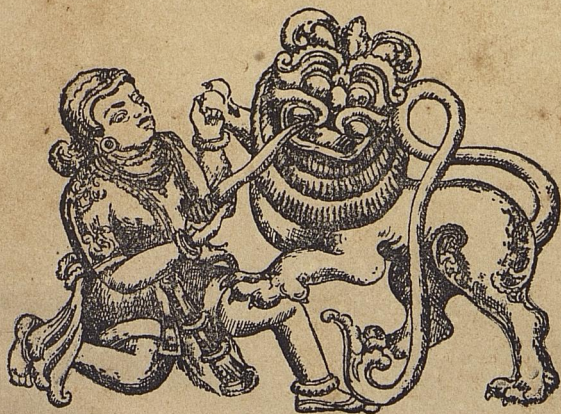


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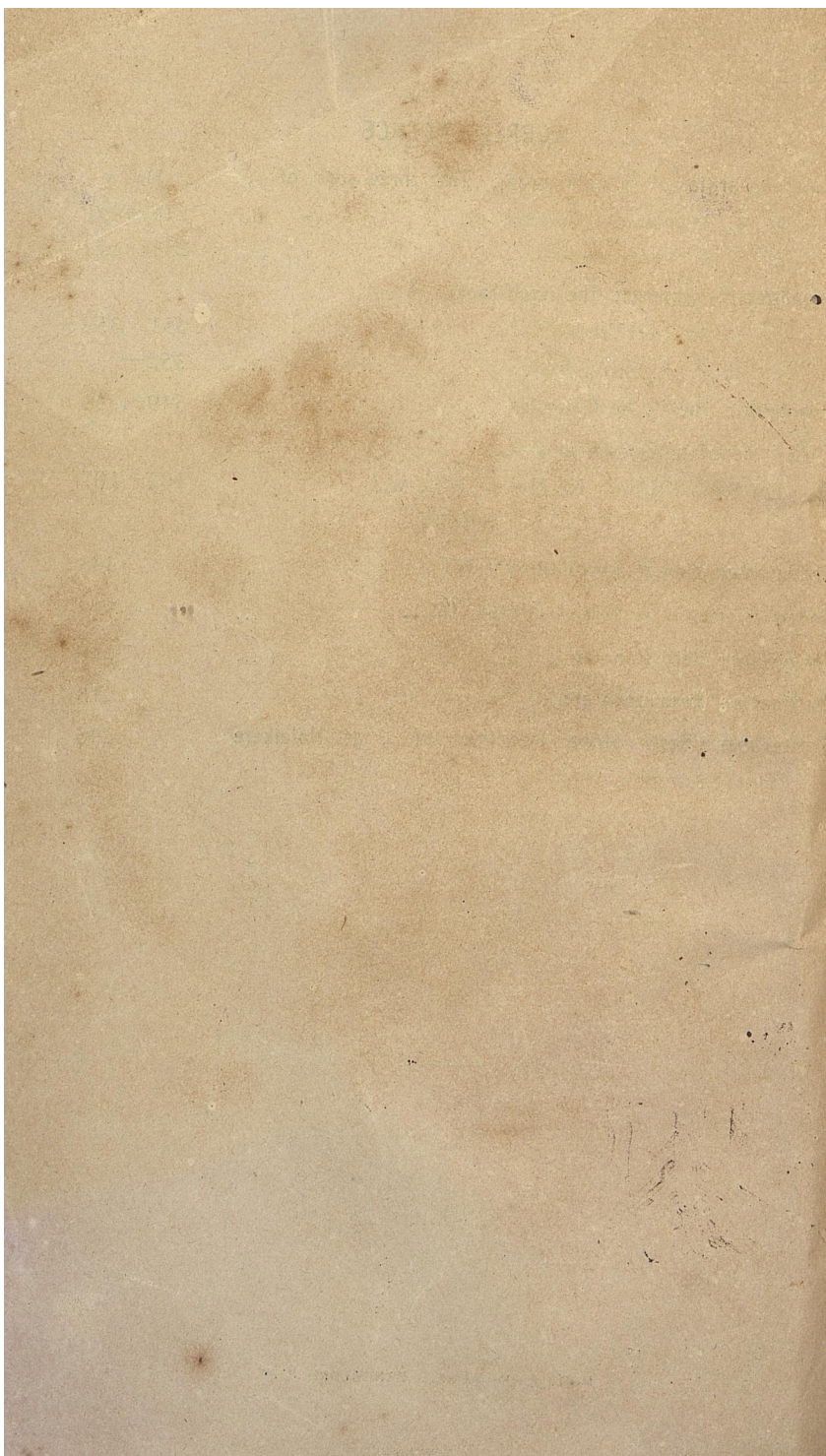
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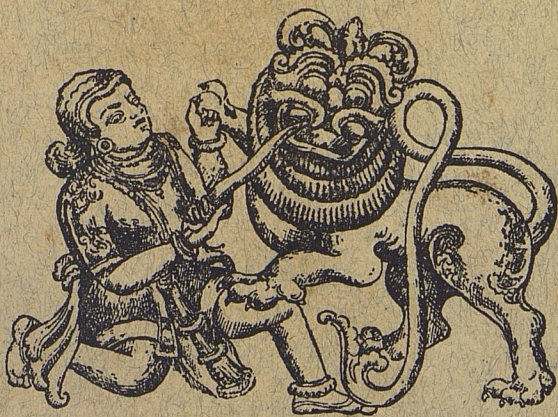
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THE LANGUAGE OF SYMBOLS*

BY SRIMATI SOPHIA WADIA

TO make my remarks clear to you, as well as to proceed straight to the study of our subject, let me distinguish at the outset between history and mythology. History is considered a prosaic record of the practical doings of mortals—some great leaders and the vast mass of their followers. Mythology is looked upon as fanciful legends couched in the language of poetry, which fairy-tales and happy fables of gods, demi-gods and heroes are not concerned with the practical affairs of men and women and their lives of joys and sorrows, of drudgeries and recreations. Such a division is arbitrary and false. This is the first lesson in our study this afternoon.

Pococke, an erudite writer on the subject, states :

Myths are now proved to be fables, just in proportion as we misunderstand them ; truths, in proportion as they were once understood. Our ignorance it is which has made a myth of history.

We look upon history as teaching us facts and truths, but does it? First, are not history books written too often to suit political and patriotic and nationalistic purposes? And then there is the

* A Paper read before the Mythic Society on 14th July 1942.

deeper aspect—facts are difficult to gather and, when gathered, difficult so to understand that truths unadulterated and unvarnished are deduced. In reality Myths *are* history; only the construction, the language and the method of conveying facts used in Myths are different from those used in the writing of history as we know it today. But, for all that, Myths are pages of ancient history, and something more. Says Horace in his *Ars Poetica*: “The Myths have been invented by wise men to strengthen the laws and teach moral truths.” Another great authority supports “the ancient claim of the philosophers that *there is a logos in every mythos*, or a groundwork of truth in every fiction.” No less a philosopher and mystic than Plato declares in *Gorgias* and the *Phædo* that “myths are the vehicles of great truths well worth the seeking.” And finally there is our Guru, H. P. Blavatsky, who teaches that “myth was the favourite and universal method of teaching in archaic times.” She says: “There are few myths in any religious system worthy of the name, but have an historical as well as a scientific foundation.”

Allow me a word here to recommend to you who are interested in myths Greek or Indian, Scandinavian or Roman, Chinese or Iranian, to study the books of H. P. Blavatsky. Her four volumes—two entitled *Isis Unveiled* and two named *The Secret Doctrine*—are veritable mines of information, and her interpretations and explanations of several myths are most illuminating. I know that some prejudice exists and that round her great name have gathered obscuring clouds, but it is most unwise, to say the least, for scholars to be influenced by the calumny of sectarians in religion, in theology and even in philosophy. Any way, whatever I am going to say here this afternoon is the result of many years' study of her profound writings. With the passage of time more and more her teachings are proven to be right; and even today in the department of mythology her interpretations and explanations occupy the first place, as those who have studied her writings along with those of others can well testify.

And so let us examine together the fascinating subject of symbols. We of the twentieth century have become so matter-of-fact, we are so intensely practical, that the very terms myth and

symbol arouse a feeling of doubt and of suspicion in our minds. We have become so scientific that poetry is supposed to be going out of favour. Epics and elegies, odes and sonnets are terms our boys and girls understand less than the terms of physics or of chemistry. Not that I am against scientific education, but there is poetry, there are symbology and myths even in the mechanical sciences and if our scientific students were truly scientific they would read the Hindu *Purāṇas*, the Scandinavian sagas, the Jewish *Book of Genesis*, for in them there is knowledge of more than one science, pre-eminently anthropology and cosmology, and of the inter-relation between these two, knowledge not dreamt of by many of them. Even Aristotle, whose influence on European thought is greater than that of Plato, says that "a tradition of the highest antiquity transmitted to posterity under the form of various myths teaches us that the first principles of nature may be considered as gods, for the divine permeates all nature. All the rest, details and personages, were added later for the clear comprehension of the vulgar, and but too often with the object of supporting laws invented in the common interest."

Here we reach a further point: just as our ordinary language deteriorates and gets corrupted by colloquialisms etc. so also in ancient times the language of symbols and glyphs, then of myths and fables, legends and fairy-tales was corrupted by the vested interests of priest-craft and out of the wisdom, the knowledge and the science of the hidden were manufactured dogmas of sectarian creedalism. Writes H. P. Blavatsky:—

Fairy-tales do not exclusively belong to nurseries; all mankind—except those few who in all ages have comprehended their hidden meaning and tried to open the eyes of the superstitious—have listened to such tales in one shape or the other and, after transforming them into sacred symbols, called the product *Religion*!

Our task then is not to get bewildered either by the false exclusive claims made by the theologians of East or West, or by the materialistic scientists who opine that myths began in fetichism and barbaric ignorance. We should read myths, legends and fairy-tales

first as good and entertaining literature with moral lessons ; but intelligent readers will very soon come upon ideas which need something more for their understanding than the desire for entertainment. They will need, if they are real earnest seekers of knowledge, the understanding necessary for deciphering many a myth. The student of mythology, the researcher and the expounder of myths and legends easily perceives that myths of different climes and different eras bear a striking resemblance. By a comparative study of Hindu and Persian, Greek and Roman, Scandinavian and Germanic myths and legends we are able to deduce without difficulty that all of them have sprung from a common source and convey a common teaching, which teaching on many a point will be found to be at variance with modern knowledge.

But (and this is a new point) to decipher the true meaning of myths and legends, ancient carvings, picture writing and so on and so forth, we need some comprehension of what the Language of Symbols means. The terms symbols and symbology produce a smile of derision on many a lip and yet the whole world uses nothing else but symbols to express thought as to understand it. What is language ? What are the letters of the various alphabets ? What are vowels and consonant sounds ? What are numbers ? What is the belt of the Zodiac ? All but symbols. Is there an equatorial line drawn on the globe or is the equator a symbol in the sciences of geography and navigation ?

Let us begin by giving a comprehensive definition of symbol. Nobody could object to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as an authority ; it says : " Symbol is the term given to a visible object representing to the mind the semblance of something which is not shown but realised by association with it." But is there a single visible object which is not a symbol according to this definition ? A tree is a tree, and when we use the word " tree " there naturally arises in our minds all that we have known about trees ; but, please note now, the word " tree " brings up one kind of idea in the mind of a child, and a very different kind of idea in that of a botanist. Again, the painter sees the tree as the ordinary man does not ; the poet sings of the tree again in a different way ; the philosopher interprets the tree, endowing it with still another meaning ; the mystic sees

in the tree the process of life and that of growth and speaks of the Tree of Good and Evil and of the Tree of Knowledge. Therefore the definition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, while comprehensive, is not complete.

Presently we shall have to seek a better definition, but before we do that we should note another aspect of universality as related to symbols. The same tree symbolizes different things to different minds. But this is equally true of everything without exception and, what is more, true of every type of human mind. The scientist symbolizes water by assigning to it mysterious letters and a figure— H_2O . Now H_2O conveys to the student, even to the tyro in his chemistry class at school, something more than the word water does, let us say, to his mother at home who may not have heard of H and O and H_2 ! Not only has modern science its symbols, the ancient science of mathematics has its symbols; in fact, can we not say with truth that each branch of knowledge gives us one facet or one aspect of any particular thing? Thus, in our examples of Tree and of Water, we do get partial knowledge about them by examining the symbols which the scientist, the philosopher, the poet, and the mystic respectively use.

To comprehend, and if we cannot comprehend to apprehend, the real definition of symbols, it is necessary to make an application, at this juncture, of the doctrine of *Māya*, so much misunderstood. *Māya* implies mis-valuation of objects, beings and events. There is no time for me to go into details and I must confine myself to that aspect of *Māya* which is related to our subject of symbols. To the botanist the reality behind a particular tree consists in the place that tree occupies in his long and large catalogue. To him it is almost nonsense, merely an illusion, a *Māya*, to speak, as the poet Keats did, of some fine specimen of the genus *Quercus* as:

Those green-robed senators of mighty woods,
Tall oaks, branch-charmed by the earnest stars.
Dream, and so dream all night without a stir.

And while our scientist may good-naturedly smile at the poetic license of Keats, we suppose he would show utter contempt for the ancient Greeks who believed in the Sacred Oak in whose luxuriant branches the Dragon of Wisdom dwelt, and from which he could

not be dislodged. In the world of *Māya* we see not altogether untruth, but relative truths; it is in the world of *Moha*, Delusion, that we indulge in falsehoods. The world of Relative Knowledge is the world of *Māya*-Illusion. The separative tendency in acquiring knowledge which produces specialists keeps us in the world of *Māya*; when we begin to synthesize bits and pieces of knowledge we are approaching the world of the Real and are leaving behind the world of Relativity. Each object symbolizes numerous things, and when all the symbols are correctly synthesized our knowledge of that object reaches completion.

Let me now give you the definition of a symbol in these words of H. P. Blavatsky: "A symbol is an embodied idea, combining the conception of the Divine Invisible with the earthly visible." In the light of what we have been considering, every object, every event, every being is an embodied idea. Each human mind reading these millions upon millions of embodied ideas interprets them in its own way. Each human mind is an evolving, expanding, unfolding entity; therefore there are superficial interpretations, partial interpretations, false interpretations, as well as profound, complete and true interpretations of all the embodied ideas. According to the bent of the human mind are the milliards of embodied ideas evaluated.

Take so holy a symbol as the *Lingam* sacred to *Śiva*, it never was and it is not now a phallic symbol. If we very carefully study the history of Phallicism we find that Phallicism did not take birth in India; and if we trace the story of the *Lingam* as a symbol, as an embodied idea, we find it to be a grand conveyor of a grand truth. We are not implying that phallic symbols were not known to the ancient world; we insist, as a result of careful study, that they did not originate in India, but were imported in later times. Writers on Phallicism may see in the *Lingam* all they wish to see, but the further back we go in history the more we find the *Lingam* emerging as a metaphysical and philosophic concept and in cosmogony it represents the number One with potency to create other digits.

One of the reasons for the misunderstanding of ancient truths enshrined in holy symbols and myths, emblems and parables, is the

rejection of the invisible and with it of the spiritual. "All is matter and integration and disintegration of forms of matter is the whole of the process of evolution": such a false reasoning has brought about degradation in knowledge and consequent degradation of and in ordinary life. Recall the words I quoted in giving you the definition of symbols by Madame Blavatsky—"An embodied idea"—but, note please, in the symbol are combined "the Divine Invisible with the earthly visible." Overlooking the Divine Invisible, the earthly visible was bound to be given a very gross meaning.

Man's growth in knowledge takes place in a dual manner; primarily and fundamentally the growth of knowledge in any civilization depends upon the ability of its great minds to decipher the embodied ideas; to read them correctly; to discern which are the more precious, the more vital, in what logical order, if any, the procession of ideas takes place; and so on. It is in the reading of Nature—visible and invisible, material, psychic and spiritual, composed and made up of embodied ideas—that any man, any civilization, acquires his or its knowledge. It is this reading process that induces man to write down or to speak out the results of his reading; he wants to share the results of such reading with his fellow-minds. All that we call original in any one's writing is nothing more than his own application, his own expression, of his own understanding of what already exists in Nature.

There never is anything new under the sun, it is said; and that certainly applies to ideas and thoughts—there is nothing new in the world of thought; what appears to us as new is only a re-reading, a fresh interpretation of what already exists. I know well that this proposition will be very stoutly opposed by men of modern knowledge. Very few among the moderns have the insight and the humility to proclaim as did our great countryman Jagdish Chandra Bose when in London in 1901 he proclaimed his great discovery. He said:—

It was when I came upon the mute witness of these self-made records, and perceived in them one phase of a pervading unity that bears within it all things—the mote that quivers in ripples of light, the teeming life upon our

earth, and the radiant suns that shine above us—it was then that I understood for the first time a little of that message proclaimed by my ancestors on the banks of the Ganges thirty centuries ago—"Those who see but One, in all the changing manifoldness of this universe, unto them belongs Eternal Truth—unto none else, unto none else."

Those words illustrate in a most admirable way the proposition that I wish to advance. The great scientist re-discovered ancient truth by his own modern method; did he add to the quota of the world's knowledge? He certainly did. Yet in doing so he admitted that the basic truth had been known to the ancients, that he was but able to demonstrate it for the satisfaction of the modern scientific world by a method peculiar to modern civilization.

But how does all this refer to our subject of symbols and symbolism or the language of symbols? In this way:

Look upon the whole of living Nature as upon a book of symbols or embodied ideas. We do speak of the Book of Nature—it is not merely a fanciful metaphor, but a stern scientific reality and fact. The whole of Nature is living and it has three compartments called *Tri-lokās*, the Three Worlds. First, there is the world of matter; secondly, there is the world of mind; and lastly, there is the world of Spirit. Every object in visible Nature has its invisible counterparts: first, there is the mind or intelligence within that object; and secondly, there is the energizing Spirit—One and Indivisible. Material bodies may be gross or subtle, minds may be shallow or profound, but behind each body-mind is the Light of the Spirit. In some objects, in some beings, that light may not shine forth greatly, in others it shines forth to a considerable extent, while in the *Rṣi*, the Sage-Seer, the Light is dazzling in its full glory.

Man's mind, having acquired the power to observe the superficies and to penetrate the depths, to compare and to contrast, has accumulated a mighty storehouse of knowledge. But in the human kingdom there are minds in which the light of Spirit burns very

dimly and the quota which such minds give to the storehouse of knowledge is not poor in quantity ; (we could wish it were less !) but very poor in quality ; that is, there is much of fiction and of falsehood incorporated in the mind of the race. The reading of many embodied ideas is so partial and so distorted that we have false knowledge. True knowledge comes from those minds which are purified from the sensuous filaments of prides and prejudices. Modern science is nearer to Truth than the distorted creeds in the world of today because scientists are on their guard against emotional reactions. They are not entirely free from prides and prejudices, but they are freer than the theologian and the religious sectarian.

This Book of Nature which man's mind must comprehend is the real Book of Revelation. It is the real *Śruti*, to be heard, because it is a Living Book ; it speaks or sings and those who hear set it down for the edification of the human race for generations and ages to come. The Seers of the *Vedas* not only heard, but also saw the Mantras and the Hymns, it is said, and they set these down and even today we call the *Vedas*, *Śruti*, Revelation. Keep this idea of the Book of Nature in mind, for presently we shall come back to it.

We said that Nature is triple and that we are living in three worlds, of Matter, of Mind and of Spirit. These three worlds are not distinct compartmental spheres, one above the other like layers in a cake ; they are like our body, mind and soul interpenetrating each other. They are in co-adunition though not in consubstantiality. The world of matter and of objects is a reflection or shadow or concretization of the world of mind. The world of mind has for its objects thoughts, and these thoughts themselves are reflections, shadows or concretizations of the Truths in and of the world of Spirit. So each object in the world of matter is an embodied idea carrying within it its mind or intelligence pertaining to the world of mind, which thought-shape images forth the Light and the Truth of the world of Spirit. So there are not three separate worlds, but a Triple World.

Now, note the next point : in the world of matter, human minds fashion objects out of earth's iron and copper, silver and

gold; human minds and hands build cities out of virgin forests; how is it done? We say, by knowledge; man can do all this because he has a mind within himself and that mind conquers matter. But the process by which he uses his mind is analogous to that by which he works in matter. With Nature's gifts he makes machines out of iron, jewels out of gold, so also out of the ideas, the thoughts, the images which are the objects of the world of mind, man gathers his instruction and fashions out of native natural images of his own creations.

So we have, in the world of matter, objects in their native natural form and then man-made objects; and in the world mind, images—thought-images—in their native natural form and those thought-creations which man's mind uses to improve himself, for the purposes of his own growth. But working with his physical brain, which is the vehicle, the *vāhan* of the mind, man is limited by the degree of sensitiveness and receptivity of the grey matter of his brain. In our modern civilization we educate the brain wrongly, we nourish the brain wrongly, we tax the brain unnaturally and so the connection between mind and brain is not what it ought to be and therefore we have falsehoods, distortions and lunacies. Carry this idea one step inwards: mind itself is the vehicle, *vāhan*, of the real man, the Spirit-Being, and because we educate the mind wrongly, degrade it by follies and corrupt it by wickedness, the luminous Truths of the world of Spirit cannot penetrate our human minds. Human growth is retarded, human progress is hindered, because free-willed man is not able to take the right course of mental and moral evolution.

Right education consists in making the brain porous to the pure activities of the mind so that that brain controls the senses and the organs; and further, right education consists in making the mind an active channel of the Spirit-Being which each one of us really is. In this education—shall we call it Yogic-education? nothing to do, you see, with postures and breathing exercises, but an inner process—in this education the Language of Symbols will have to be learnt.

The Book of Nature, we return to it, is written in symbols, in sounds and colours, in glyphs and signs, in figures and numbers. Such language belongs to the world of Spirit. From that Luminous World—archetypal, formless, *a-rūpa*—that Book projects images which form ideas—thought-pictures of Akāṣha they are sometimes called—into the world of mind. These images or thought-pictures project concretizations and we call them objects in the world of matter. On our right education of the senses and the brain, the moral nature and the mind, depends our capacity not to read the value of concrete objects falsely, not to use concrete objects wrongly or wickedly. At present man robs bountiful Nature, spoils the beauties of Nature, utilizes objects of Nature selfishly because his mind and his knowledge are unrelated to the world of Spirit and he does not know how to read the living symbols in the Picture Gallery or Library which Nature is. The Sages and the Seers are able to decipher the symbols of Nature and because of that become safe guides, real helpers and true teachers of Humanity. I shall close with a few quotations from *The Secret Doctrine* of H. P. Blavatsky on the subject of our study, reminding you of what Emerson said—“We are symbols and inhabit symbols” and our education consists in learning what Sir Thomas Browne described as the “mystical mathematics of the City of Heaven”:

The study of the hidden meaning in every religious and profane legend, of whatsoever nation, large or small—pre-eminently the traditions of the East—has occupied the greater portion of the present writer’s life. She is one of those who feel convinced that no mythological story, no traditional event in the folk-lore of a people has ever been, at any time, pure fiction, but that every one of such narratives has an actual, historical lining to it. In this the writer disagrees with those symbologists, however great their reputation, who find in every myth nothing save additional proofs of the superstitious bent of mind of the ancients, and believe that all mythologies sprung from and are built upon *solar myths*. —I. 303.

Every old religion is but a chapter or two of the entire volume of archaic primeval mysteries—*Eastern Occultism* alone being able to boast that it is in possession of the full secret, with its *seven* keys. Comparisons will be instituted, and as much as possible will be explained in this work—the rest is left to the student's personal intuition. For in saying that *Eastern Occultism has the secret*, it is not as if a "complete" or even an approximate knowledge was claimed by the writer, which would be absurd. What I know, I give out; that which I cannot explain, the student must find out for himself.—I. 318.

The most archaic symbols in Eastern Esotericism are a circle, a point, a triangle, a plane, a cube, a pentacle, and a hexagon, and plane figures with various sides and angles. This shows the knowledge and use of geometrical symbology to be as old as the world.—I. 320.

The untiring researches of Western, and especially German, symbologists, during the last and the present centuries, have brought every Occultist and most unprejudiced persons to see that without the help of symbology (with its seven departments, of which the moderns know nothing) no ancient Scripture can ever be correctly understood. Symbology must be studied from every one of its aspects, for each nation had its own peculiar methods of expression. In short, no Egyptian papyrus, no Indian olla, no Assyrian tile, or Hebrew scroll, should be read and accepted literally.—I. 305.

But the point to which even the most truth-loving and truth-searching Orientalists—whether Aryanists or Egyptologists—seem to remain blind, is the fact that every symbol in papyrus or olla is a many-faced diamond, each of whose facets not merely bears several interpretations, but relates likewise to several sciences.—I. 305.

The great archaic system known from pre-historic ages as the sacred Wisdom Science, one that is contained and can be traced in every old as well as in every new religion, had, and still has, its universal language—suspected by the Mason Ragon—the language of the Hierophants, which has seven “dialects,” so to speak, each referring and being specially appropriated, to one of the seven mysteries of Nature. Each had its own symbolism. Nature could thus be either read in its fullness, or viewed from one of its special aspects.—I. 310.

All the ancient records were written in a language which was universal and known to all nations alike in days of old, but which is now intelligible only to the few. Like the Arabic figures which are plain to a man of whatever nation, or like the English word *and*, which becomes *et* for the Frenchman, *und* for the German, and so on, yet which may be expressed for all civilized nations in the simple sign &—so all the words of that mystery language signified the same thing to each man of whatever nationality. There have been several men of note who have tried to re-establish such a universal and *philosophical* tongue: Delgarme, Wilkins, Leibnitz; but Demaimieux, in his *Pasigraphie*, is the only one who has proven its possibility. The scheme of Valentinius, called the “Greek Kabala,” based on the combination of Greek letters, might serve as a model.—I. 310.

There is “history” in most of the allegories and “myths” of India, and events, real actual events, are concealed under them.—I. 304 f. n.

Science, in its departments of philology and comparative religion, will find itself finally taken to task, and be compelled to admit the common claim. Its greatest scholars, instead of pooh-poohing that supposed “farrago of absurd fiction and superstitions,” as the Brahminical literature is generally termed, will endeavour to learn the symbolical universal language with its numerical and geometrical keys.—I. 317-318.

The symbols (say lunar, or solar) of several countries, each illustrating such a special idea, or series of ideas, form collectively an esoteric emblem. The latter is "a concrete visible picture or sign representing principles, or a series of principles, *recognizable by those who have received certain instructions*" (initiates). To put it still plainer, an emblem is *usually a series of graphic pictures* viewed and explained allegorically, and unfolding an idea in panoramic views, one after the other. Thus the Purāṇas are written emblems.—I. 305-306.

There is no purely *mythical* element in any of the ancient religious texts; but the mode of thought in which they were originally written has to be found out and closely adhered to during the process of interpretation. For, it is either symbolical (archaic mode of thought), emblematical (a later though very ancient mode of thought), parabolical (allegory), hieroglyphical, or again *logogrammatical*—the most difficult method of all, as every letter, as in the Chinese language, represents a whole word. Thus, almost every proper name, whether in the Vedas, the "Book of the Dead," or the Bible (to a degree), is composed of such logograms. No one who is not initiated into the mystery of the occult religious logography can presume to know what a name in any ancient fragment means, before he has mastered the meaning of every letter that composes it. How is it to be expected that the merely profane thinker, however great his erudition in *orthodox* symbolism, so to say—*i.e.* in that symbolism which can never get out of the old grooves of Solar-myth and sexual-worship—shall penetrate into the arcana behind the veil. One who deals with the husk or shell of the dead letter, and devotes himself to the kaleidoscopic transformation of barren word-symbols, can never expect to get beyond the vagaries of modern mythologists.—II. 335.

BRAHMA-ŚABDA-VR̥TYANUPAPATTI-VĀDA

OF

ŚRĪ VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA

TRANSLATED BY

M. B. NARASIMHA IYENGAR, M.Sc.

IN the section on “The *Brahman*, devoid of attributes”, has the word, *Brahman*, a primary meaning or not? If not, (the meaning) will become imperfect. If only imperfectness is desired by you, as perfectness is taken to be unreal, then (the meaning) of all words becomes imperfect. The *Vedās* with all the *angūs*¹ and *upāngūs*² have been studied, when there was the absence of the power of discrimination between perfectness and imperfectness. Has any one any apprehension (of anything) at any time, when there is the absence of the primary meaning and also when there is the absence of the force or power (of the word), suggesting another meaning (different from the primary one) originating from itself (*i.e.* the word). It is not a convention, nor is it *apabhramśa*³, where there is the apprehension of the knowledge (of the word) by desiring to express it. When this *apabhramśa* of this word is doubted, then too this word will be deprived of a meaning as there is the doubting of the power or force of the word (suggesting a meaning).

It should not be argued thus: “The greatness of the word, *Brahman*, is that though there is the absence of the primary

1. The *angās* are auxiliaries for the study of the *vedās*. They are six in number, namely, (1) *Vyākaraṇa* or grammar, (2) *Śikṣā* or the Laws of Euphony, (3) *Kalpa*, a work which lays down the ritual and prescribes rules for ceremonial acts, (4) *Jyotiṣa* or astrology, (5) *Chchandas* or prosody and (6) *Nirukta* or the etymological derivation of words.
2. The *upāngās* are a class of writings supplementary to the *angās* and they are (1) The *Purāṇās*, (2) The *Nyāya* of Gautama, (3) the *Mīmāṃsa* of Jaimini and (4) the *Dharma Sāstras* or the Codes of Laws.
3. *Apabhramśa* mean a corrupted word. *Ghar* is a corrupted form of *Gr̥ha*. It generally denotes the *Prākṛta* languages.

meaning, it only apprehends the eternal *Brahman*, through the secondary signification (of the word)". This is not so: (if it were so) then it will be like that of seeing a grandson (born) to a sterile woman. Indeed, the secondary signification of the word is that the force or power (of the word) suggests a secondary meaning, when it (*i.e.* the word) has a primary meaning. You yourself have stated that the force or power (of the word) suggests a secondary meaning, though it has not a primary meaning. And yet the *Mahāmīmāṃsakas* have themselves accepted that all words, which have not a primary meaning, denote a particular meaning. And, indeed, who is the logician of your description, who has accepted anywhere that the force or power (of the word) suggesting a meaning is complex? You state that only the *Brahman* is indicated when there is the absence of the primary meaning. Even then by traversing another path, you have come (to the conclusion) that consciousness (is the meaning of the word, *Brahman*.)

And that which cannot be explained, has been refuted here by spoken words. If it is so, then is it in the case of another or is it in the case of the object under discussion? It is not the first (*i.e.* the another). Because (the meaning of the word) will become imperfect, as there is the absence of the cause or motive. Indeed a proper name, too has for its cause or motive a form. And thus it has been taught to us by those who are well versed in the *Śāstras* (or sacred texts). And (the meaning of) this (word) is not a proper name; because there is no proof for the same, and because also it is opposed to the etymological derivation of words. And when it has a cause or motive, it has been used to mean matter etc. Then you have stated that it has a secondary meaning, when it is in association with a little bit of the qualities of the *Brahman*. A cause or motive imitating or resembling a form is not known to exist. It is impertinent to use one of the words 'unsurpassed greatness' and 'growth' in the same way as 'great' etc. It will become complex, if it is assumed that there are many forces or powers (suggesting a meaning). The extraordinary words, namely, unsurpassed greatness etc. have a secondary meaning in the same way as the word, *Bhagavān*,

(i.e. one who is possessed of auspicious qualities). Otherwise the force or power of a word suggesting a secondary meaning will disappear altogether. And in the scriptural text, "The *Brahman* that is seen directly and not indirectly etc." The qualifying clause indicates in other places a secondary meaning. And it is stated in the *Smṛthis* as follows: 'Oh! Sage! In Him alone the force or power of the word, *Brahman*, suggests a primary meaning'. And, too, the scriptural text, "The two *Brahmans* have to be known" has both the primary and the secondary meaning as in the case of the scriptural text: "The three fires are to be touched etc."

It is not the second (i.e. the object under discussion). Because it supports the doubt (whether the *Brahman*) is pure or limited by conditions. When the pure (*Brahman*) is accepted to be devoid of attributes, then there is no cause or motive for the use of the words, unsurpassed greatness and growth in the scriptural texts. It is argued thus: "That (word) signifies (the *Brahman*) as it has a seat (or substratum) and as it excludes all apparent or unreal appearances". It is not so. Because both (i.e. that it has a seat and that it excludes all apparent or unreal appearances) become inapplicable (to the pure *Brahman*). Otherwise that (word) becomes applicable to one who has attained final beatitude (i.e. *Mokṣa*). Also it will lead a *mukta* to aspire for the final beatitude.

If it is said that it (i.e. the word) has only an indicating mark, then there will not be contradiction, when it means an attribute. Thus the scriptural text, "The unsurpassed greatness etc." explains the Highest *Brahman* by its special signification. And the *Smṛti* states: 'And only the *Brahman* is denoted by unsurpassed greatness and growth in the same way as a cow is denoted by the relationship of cowness.'

Let that (*Brahman*) possessed of attributes be a practical reality. Then how does its force or power suggest a pure (*Brahman*)? Suppose it is suggested that the word (*Brahman*) refers to the pure (*Brahman*) in its relationship of (practical reality). Then it will not have a primary meaning. The primary meaning

(of the word) is that which is limited by conditions, as there is the scriptural statement, 'limited by the conditions of the general, all-knowing etc.' This school has been refuted as it is opposed to our own school (*i.e.* *viśiṣṭādvaitins*).

The (non-dualists) have established that (*Brahman*), who is limited by the (conditions), namely, ignorance etc. as defined by them (and this *Brahman*) is neither perceivable nor has he any distinguishing marks. Nor has he been proved by scriptural texts or by any Code of Laws or by any aphorisms (*i.e.* the *Sūtras*). And here if (the word *Brahman*) signifies the pure Highest *Brahman* (devoid of attributes) then it will be opposed to the power or force of the word, *Bhagavān*, who is possessed of auspicious qualities and who has not any inauspicious ones, suggesting a primary meaning. And also there will not be a prayer of the form, 'You are the Highest *Brahman*, the Highest Abode, Holy, and Supreme.' And the words, namely, 'Holy and Supreme' cannot be mentioned together. It is not possible to pray any one, who is devoid of attributes; because the prayer is directed towards one who is possessed of qualities. That which is devoid of attributes, has not been established anywhere; because it is opposed to the context (in the Sacred Scriptures).

And now is that, which is to be known (and apprehended) as the destroyer of ignorance, limited by conditions or not? If it is the first (*i.e.* limited by conditions), then it will be apprehended through that property or distinguishing mark, which is distinct from its essential nature and yet is the property by which it is known. [For instance the earth is known by the property of smell. But smell is not its essential nature.] And thus its true state is revealed. And the force or power of (that word) is not universally known to suggest the *Brahman* devoid of attributes. And you have arrived at the same conclusion as we. And also without the knowledge of the true state, one attains final beatitude. You have also accepted the unreality of that (*i.e.* the *Brahman* possessed of attributes).

If it is the second, it is not right to say that it (*i.e.* the *Brahman*) is realised as the destroyer of ignorance; because that (knowledge) is produced through those (sentences of unreal nature). Suppose

it is said that it has indicating marks, that it is to be enquired into, that it has distinguishing characteristics, and that there is the exact determination of it. Then the *Brahman*, devoid of attributes, has the distinguishing marks and indicating marks and it can be determined exactly. Then there will be no desire for an enquiry.

Enquiries etc. are not commandments, because we do not make enquiries of the unknown. Because also we do not undertake to do useless work.

Suppose one is ignorant of the force or power of the word (*Brahman*, suggesting a meaning, namely, the *Brahman*), devoid of attributes. Then it (*i.e.* the enquiry) will become useful in making him realise (that the word *Brahman* suggests the *Brahman*) devoid of attributes. In that case has the word (*Brahman*) a primary or a secondary meaning? If it is the first, it will lead to the destruction (of the present assumption, namely, that all words have a secondary meaning). And everything will be destroyed by the knowledge that the force or power (of the word) has a primary meaning limited by conditions. Suppose, in the case of that which is limited by conditions, you say that that (force or power of a word) has a secondary meaning. If it (*i.e.* the word) is accepted to denote (a secondary meaning) is it due to the dislike of that one called the Highest *Brahman*, possessed of the attributes *viz.* all-knowing etc. In the latter case (*i.e.* when the word, *Brahman*, has a secondary meaning) it will not be possible to command as follows, namely, 'study that'. When it is said, 'study the primary meaning of the word, *Brahman*', it is not then right to study the secondary meaning. And (the command of the form), 'study the secondary meaning of the *Brahman*' will not spring up; because there is no occasion for the same. Because also there is the firm conviction that the (word) has not a primary meaning. And because also of the knowledge that the force or power (of the word *Brahman*) has a secondary signification. Also the firm conviction that (it has not a primary meaning) is not known on a former occasion. Suppose (that the secondary meaning of the word, *Brahman*) is established or that the (*Brahman*) devoid of attributes is apprehended. Then is the firm conviction, that it has not a primary meaning or that its secondary meaning is not known, due

to the putting of questions or to the replies therefor? In this context (in the scriptures) let there be questioning or not. Is the absence (of the primary meaning) due to (1) perception, (2) or to inference, or (3) to reasoning or (4) to the scriptures. It is not due to the first (*i.e.* perception). Because (the proof of) perception will become useless in the case of objects not perceivable by the senses. It is not due to the second (*i.e.* inference) or due to the third (*i.e.* reasoning). Because these (proofs) cannot compete with the eternal scriptures. It is not due to the fourth (*i.e.* the scriptures). Because a different sentence, (namely "not unsurpassed greatness and not growth" is not found there. If it is said that it is established by the sentences, 'devoid of attributes etc.' then the firm foundation of the question is destroyed. Because also there is the desire to know that (*i.e.* *Brahman*) by those sentences (*i.e.* devoid of attributes etc.)

It is not right to establish that it (*i.e.* the word, *Brahman*) has not primary meaning, as there are the sentences (*viz.* devoid of attributes etc.) Because an object not opposed to (the primary meaning of) that word is established. Because also it is stated that it applies to another.

It is argued thus: "Suppose there is conflict (of meanings) in the scriptural passages, whose meaning has been apprehended at the first sight. Then the doubt arises. And (the person who doubts) puts the question, namely, 'What is the nature of that which is denoted by the word, *Brahman*?' " It is not so. The doubt has been firmly established, because there is the apprehension of that property or distinguishing mark, which is distinct from its essential nature and yet is the property by which it is known and because also of the object being different from the First Cause. One, devoid of attributes, will not be established, as there is the doubt whether the First Cause is possessed of attributes or not. But on the contrary the unsurpassed Great (*Brahman*) has been established as the First Cause of all (the universe) and also as all-knowing etc. because he has been addressed by the words, all-knowing, omniscient etc,

It should not be argued thus: "The pupil, who is ignorant of the division of primary and secondary meanings, has generally heard that the *Brahman* alone is to be enquired into by one who aspires for final beatitude. Then he asks (his teacher) what the distinguishing characteristics of that (*Brahman*) are. Then let the teacher, who knows everything, teach (his pupil) that the word (*Brahman*) only denotes that which is devoid of attributes". This is not so. Because it cuts at the root of him (*i.e.* the *Brahman*), when it is said that one, who aspires for final beatitude, must make an enquiry into that (*Brahman*) devoid of attributes. On the contrary, by the scriptural passages, 'Him thus learned etc.', the knowledge of the Highest Person of magnificent splendour, qualities, form and influence is the means of attaining salvation. *Yāṣka* has said, 'The *Brahman* is to be worshipped always.' Having considered all this (*Rāmānuja* in his *Śrī Bhāṣya*) has stated as follows: "By the word *Brahman* is denoted the Highest Person, who is, by nature, devoid of all evil and is possessed of hosts of auspicious qualities, which are innumerable and unsurpassed in excellence". The meaning of the (word) 'denotes' is, 'knows the primary meaning.'

All those, who have stated that the *Brahman* is not of this name and not of this type, have been refuted here.

By the two qualifying clauses, the derivations of the two words, namely, *Brahman* and *Purushottama* (*i.e.* the Highest Person) have been explained.

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JESUS CHRIST IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA ?

BY L. B. KENY

RECENTLY an attempt has been made by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, to identify Lord Jesus Christ with Ṛṣi Aṇi-Māṇḍavya of the Mahābhārata. In a pamphlet entitled, "Jesus Christ in the Mahābhārata" the scholar has identified the Aṇi-Māṇḍavya of the Mahābhārata with Jesus Christ of the Bible, through the following arguments :

- (1) both were put on the cross (?) in company with thieves ;
- (2) both were convicted without trial, and were "examples of the unmerited suffering and of vicarious sacrifice ;"
- (3) both the saints accepted the punishment, undefended ;
- (4) both were deserted by their companions ;
- (5) both forgave the wrong-doers ;
- (6) the death of the one and the survival of the other, are, according to the author, one and the same, the difference being not in substance ;
- (7) "both attained all power in heaven and on earth as they have 'risen' ;"
- (8) both bore the cross (?) with joy, thinking it to be a burden of the suffering humanity ;
- (9) both were fond of children and
- (10) both blamed the conventional morality and condemned the law.

To expect a purely foreign element—namely the story of Jesus Christ—in a purely Indian literary work as the Mahābhārata, seems to be preposterous at the outset. Together with the similarities (?) between the characters and stories of Jesus Christ and Aṇi-Māṇḍavya, as shown by the Pandit, there are also found many dissimilarities, which the great scholar seems to have neglected.

In the first place to take the अणि, शङ्ख or शूल to mean 'a cross' is absolutely incorrect, and we entirely disagree with the author as

far as the identification of the cross with the शूल or त्रिशूल goes. अणि, शङ्कु or शूल means purely a 'spike' or a 'stake'. And if it is identified with त्रिशूल it may mean 'the trident of Śiva'. But in no case it means a 'cross'. And so it would be a mistake to say that both Jesus Christ and Aṇi-Māṇḍavya were put to the cross.

In his argument No. 4 the Pandit says that both Jesus Christ and Aṇi-Māṇḍavya were deserted by their companions. There is absolutely no reference, in the Mahābhārata, to Aṇi-Māṇḍavya being deserted by his companions. But on the contrary, his friends came to the place of his sufferings, or rather they were brought there, by the ascetic powers of the great sage¹. The Mahābhārata story further goes on to say that the other Rsis came to Māṇḍavya at night, in the form of birds; and seeing him engaged in meditation, though fixed on the शूल, were extremely aggrieved. Presenting themselves in their true form they asked Māṇḍavya the sin for which he suffered that torture of being placed at the point of the Śūla.² And Māṇḍavya replied दोषतः कं गमिष्यामि नहि मे अन्योपराध्यति³ meaning "whom shall I blame? None is to blame". In this story there is nothing to show the desertion of Māṇḍavya by his companions. This shows that Māṇḍavya of the great epic is absolutely a different personality than Jesus Christ of the Bible.

In his argument No. 6 the author forgets that the resurrection

1. *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, Ch. 116, Vs. 17.

धारयामास च प्राणानृषींश्च समुपानयत् ।

शूलाग्रे तप्यमानेन तपस्तेन महात्मना ॥

2. *Ibid.* Vs. 18-19 :

सन्तापं परमं जग्मुर्मुनयस्तपसाऽन्विताः ।

ते रात्रौ शकुना भूत्वा सन्निपत्यतु भारत ।

दर्शयन्तो यथाशक्ति तमपृच्छान्द्रजोत्तमम् ॥

श्रोतुमिच्छामहे ब्रह्मर्न्कि पापं कृतवानसि ।

येनेह समनु प्राप्तं शूले दुःखमयं महत् ॥

3. *Ibid.* Ch. 117, Vs. 1.

of Jesus Christ came on the third day after his death.⁴ But Aṇi-Māṇḍavya did not die at all. The 'Tapas' of Māṇḍavya on the stake can never be taken as signifying death. And we do not agree with the scholar when he takes the difference between the death of one (Jesus Christ) and the survival of the other (Māṇḍavya) as merely a difference of idiom and not of substance.

The author of the pamphlet in his argument No. 10, says that both Jesus Christ and Aṇi-Māṇḍavya condemned the law.⁵

As regards the texts from the epistles of St. Paul, referred to by the Pandit, (which though not being the words of Christ nevertheless reveal his doctrine), they do not state the condemnation of the law but only a contrast between the two successive periods of life under the law without grace (of the Old Testament), and life under the grace, (of the New Testament), obtained by Christ through his death.

There is nothing to show that Christ condemns the law, but on the contrary, according to the Gospels, he fulfils the same. Says he : "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets : I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."⁶ It would thus seem erroneous to say that both Jesus Christ and Aṇi-Māṇḍavya condemned the law.

The other points of similarity, namely the punishment without conviction, the acceptance of accusation without any defence, the prayers for the sinners, the attainment of power in heaven, the bearing of the punishment as a burden of the suffering humanity, and fondness for children—do not, in any way, strengthen the identification of the two different personalities. The above mentioned resemblances are the most common virtues of great people as found in any literature. And it would appear out-of-place to identify different great men with each other, only on the ground of their common characteristics.

4. *Matt.* XXVII, 62-66 ; XXVIII, 1-6 ; *Mark.* XV, 42-47 ; XVI, 1-6.
Luk. XXIII, 50-56 ; XXIV, 1,7 ; *Joann.* XIX, 31-42 ; XX, 1-9.

5. Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar, *Jesus Christ in the Mahābhārata*, pp. 4, 10-11.

6. *Matt.* V, 17.

But apart from these similarities, we do find many dissimilar points also, which we cannot disregard.

Considering the reasons for the sufferings of the two great sages—Jesus Christ of the Bible and Aṇi-Māṇḍavya of the Mahābhārata we find that they are absolutely different. Jesus Christ was crucified and died for the salvation of mankind. But in the case of the Aṇi-Māṇḍavya of the Mahābhārata, the reason of his suffering was a sin he had committed during his childhood. According to the great epic, he had pierced, with a blade of grass, the hinder part of a small bee ; and his sufferings were nothing but the fruit of that very same sinful action (कर्म).⁷ We also find that Aṇi-Māṇḍavya was suspected to be a thief and so convicted for the offence of theft, with the other real thieves.⁸ But in the case of Jesus Christ, though crucified with robbers, he was never convicted of theft. The alleged cause of sufferings, according to the Jews, was blasphemy.⁹ We thus find that the one (Aṇi-Māṇḍavya) was convicted because he did not say anything as he was मौनव्रतान्वितः (observing the vow of silence); the other (Jesus Christ) was convicted because he said something—namely that he was the Son of God. Upon this we can safely argue that the two personalities were absolutely different and being found in two different literary works.

Taking Jesus Christ to be Aṇi-Māṇḍavya, the Pandit goes on further to explain as to why Jesus was recalled in the Mahābhārata, as Aṇi-Māṇḍavya.

“We know on the authority of the Nilamata, that a people called Māṇḍeans lived, in ancient times, on both sides of the Himalayas, in India as well as in the adjoining country outside India. The name Māṇḍavya is in Sanskrit, a derivative of Māṇḍava which is phonetically a cerebralized form of the name, Māṇḍa, the modern Māṇḍean. Thus Māṇḍavya of our text, read in the light

7. *Mbh.* Ādiparva, Ch. 117, Vs. 12 :

पतङ्गिकानां पुच्छेषु त्वयेषीका प्रवेशिता ।

कर्मणस्तस्य ते प्राप्तं क्लृप्तेतत्तपोधन ॥

8. *Ibid.* Ādiparva, Ch. 116, Vs. 13-14.

9. *Mark.* XIV. 61-64 ; cf. *Joann.* XIX. 7.

of the Nilamata, may signify a trans-Himalayan Māṇḍean", says the Pandit.¹⁰ He continues further "The Māṇḍeans, who once served a connecting link between India and the outer world, had spread themselves into Iran and the Western Asia and had also made a home in Jerusalem".¹¹

The Nilamata Purāṇa, while describing the Māṇḍavas as one of the tribes (of India), clearly states :

..... मानवान् ॥
 समीपे सरसस्तस्य नानादेशेष्ववस्थितान् ।
 दार्वाभिसारगान्धार जुहुण्डुरशकान्वसान् ॥
 तङ्गणान्माण्डवान्मद्राक्षन्तर्गिरि बहिर्गिरीन् ।
 ते हन्यमानाः पापेन देशान्संप्राद्वन्भयात् ॥¹²

The Purāṇas are purely an Indian work. And as for the Nilamata Purāṇa, describing the above-mentioned different people, it clearly states that they were the people residing in different countries situated round about a lake (".....मानवान् समीपे सरसस्तस्य नानादेशेषु अवस्थितान्..."). And moreover the different names, like the Gāndhāras, the Sakas, the Madras etc. indicate that the Māṇḍavas—mentioned together with the above names—must be a people residing in some part of Northern India. The words "अन्तर्गिरिर्बाहिर्गिरीन्" could even be taken independently as a part from the other countries mentioned above. In fact the expression indicates, at the most, "(also) countries situated in the mountainous tract as well as outside (it)", the expression being not necessarily referring to the above-mentioned countries. Moreover the expression in no way reveals that all these countries located inside the track of the Himalayas and also extended outside, as the author of the booklet would take it. Only the alleged synonymity of the names Māṇḍavya, Māṇḍava and Māṇḍean, does not seem to be a sufficient proof for their identity. Even the Pandit seems to have a

10. *op. cit.* p. 5.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Nilamata Purāṇa*, 120-122 ; cf. 181-183 ; (ed. Panjab Sanskrit Series).

doubt for the same when he says that Māṇḍavya "read in the light of the Nilamata, *may* signify a trans-Himalayan Māṇḍean".¹³

Want of historical material makes us disagree with the author when he says that the Māṇḍeans once served a connecting link between India and the outer world. Provinces on the lower Euphrates, the lower Tigris, and the rivers which water the eastern Iraq al-ʿarabi and the adjacent Persian province of Khūzistān (Arabistan) are mentioned as the places of habitation of the Māṇḍeans.¹⁴ Together with Mesopotamia and Persia, Jerusalem also finds a place among the places inhabited by the Māṇḍeans.¹⁵ Their original home was Palestine itself.¹⁶ Nowhere is India mentioned as the place inhabited by the Māṇḍeans. The Māṇḍavas of the Nilamata Purāṇa, thus, have no connection whatever with the Māṇḍeans of Jerusalem. They are two absolutely different tribes from two different parts of the world.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar identifies the two holy men—Jesus Christ and Aṇi-Māṇḍavya, on the ground of their contemporary (?) age, namely first century A. D.¹⁷ But taking into consideration the following arguments we seem to disagree with the scholar.

As far as the Aṇi-Māṇḍavya of the Mahābhārata goes it appears also in the Kaṇhadipāyana Jātaka,¹⁸ the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya,¹⁹ and also the Purāṇas.²⁰ But the complete story is found only in the Mahābhārata and the Kaṇhadipāyana Jātaka, the other literary sources having simply given the story a passing reference. Even if the Paurāṇic (the Purāṇas being taken to be a late composition) or the epic (the Māṇḍavyopākhyānam being

13. *op. cit.* p. 5.

14. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, p. 380; cf. C. H. Kraeling, "The Origin and Antiquity of the Māṇḍeans," *Journal of the Oriental Society*, XLIX, pp. 199-204.

15. Kraeling, *op. cit.* p. 210.

16. *Ibid.* Kraeling, *op. cit.* p. 210.

17. *Ibid.* pp. 211-212, 217.

18. Fausboll, *The Jātakas*, IV, p. 28.

19. Bk. IV, Ch. 8.

20. *Padma*, Ch. 48; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, Ch. 16; *Garuda*, Ch. 142.

taken by the Pandit as a first century A. D. composition). Aṇi-Māṇḍavya story is discarded, its reference in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya of the days of Chandragupta Maurya, and the Jātaka makes one take the story to be of a very early origin. Only a passing reference to the story in the Arthaśāstra is alone a clear indication of the story being in vogue in earlier times. Mr. R. O. Franke, speaking about the parallelism between the Jātakas and the Mahābhārata, says, that those stories found both in the Jātaka and the Mahābhārata, do not originate from each other but they proceed from an independent and much earlier source common to both.²¹ Thus the Aṇi-Māṇḍavya story is a very ancient story based on the life of a saint named Māṇḍavya of a still earlier period. And it would be incorrect to fix the first century A. D. as the date of the composition of the Aṇi-Māṇḍavyopākhyānaṃ of the Mahābhārata, making it a contemporary work of the Gospels, as the Pandit has done.²²

This is enough to show that Jesus Christ of the Bible and Aṇi-Māṇḍavya of the Mahābhārata are two different personalities of two different nations and literary works, and belonging to two absolutely different periods.

21. "Jātaka Mahābhārata Parallelen" WZKM, XX, p. 317 ff. *vide* Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J. "The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals Discovered in Sumer" "B.B. & C. I. Annual, 1938, p. 47.

22. *op. cit.* p. 6.

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THE INFLUENCE OF JAGANNĀTHA PAṇḌITARĀJA ON SOME DECCANI AUTHORS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(BETWEEN A.D. 1650 & 1700)

BY P. K. GODE, M.A.

LIKE all great men Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja had his enemies during the period of his life (between C. A.D. 1590-1665)¹. In spite of these enemies the banner of his fame, though it may have been torn by his contemporary rivals, is kept fluttering even to this day and will continue to flutter so long as Sanskrit literature continues to live. In spite of a few contemporaries, who may have been in conflict with his way of life² or his literary activities there were others who were influenced by his poetry and learning. I propose in this paper to record how the influence of this mighty mind affected the Deccani poets and pandits. My data on this topic is not exhaustive but only representative and hence may be made more elaborate by additional facts from contemporary sources, if available on a fresh research in sources hitherto known or in sources which remain still untapped.

The first dated reference to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja by a Deccani³ author is found in an anthology called the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇi* completed on Thursday, 12th of June 1673 by Bhāskara

1. Vide p. 35 of *Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja* by Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri (Annamalai University Series No. 8) 1942.
2. For instance, the tradition about his liaison with a Muslim lady (yavanī). Vide my paper on the subject to be published shortly in the *Bharatiya Vidyā*, Bombay.
3. Vide my paper on "The Date of Padyāmṛtatarāṅgiṇi of Bhāskara—Sainvat 1730 (12th June 1673)" in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 33-55 (1935), Bhāskara's family hailed from अंबकेश्वरपुरी near Nasik (Bombay Presidency) as stated by him in this anthology ;

अम्बकेश्वरपुरीकृतवासादमिहोत्रीकुलनीरधिचंद्रात् ।

पुण्यपूर्णपुरुषोत्तमभट्टादुद्भूव सुकृती हरिमदः ॥

(*alias* Hari) at Benares. In this work on anthology a verse is quoted and its authorship ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja. This verse as found by me in Manuscript No. 376 of 1884-87 in the Government Manuscripts Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, reads as follows:—

Folio 7^b—पण्डितराजस्य ।

“ दिङ्नागाः प्रतिपेदिरे प्रथमतो जात्यैव नेतव्यताम्

संभाव्य स्फुटविक्रमोऽथ वृषभो गौरैव गौरीपतेः ।

विक्रान्तेर्निकषः करोतु कृतमं मामत्रिलोकीतले

कण्ठे कालकुटुम्बिनी करुणया सिक्तः सकण्ठीरवः ” ॥२०८॥

I have not identified the above verse but presuming that it was composed by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja as stated in the manuscript of the anthology we must regard it as the earliest quotation from Jagannātha by a Deccani writer, whose family came from Tryambakeśvar near Nasik. The author of the anthology, Bhāskara (*alias* Hari) as also his father Āpājibhaṭṭa, were both residing at Benares. Āpāji (C. A.D. 1650) as also his son Bhāskara (A.D. 1650-1690 or so) may have come into contact with Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. At any rate Āpāji was a contemporary of Paṇḍitarāja (A.D. 1590 to 1660 or so) and must have read the works of Jagannātha produced during his life-time, say between A.D. 1610 and 1650. It is, therefore, possible to suppose that his son Bhāskara was familiar with Jagannātha's poetry. If these

Conted.—

Verses 1 to 5 give us the genealogy of the author up to his own generation. The complete genealogy as recorded in these verses is as follows:—

(काश्यपगोत्र) पुरुषोत्तमभट्ट (अग्निहोत्रि) of त्र्यम्बकेश्वरपुरी

(C. A.D. 1625) हरिभट्ट

(C. A.D. 1650) आपाजिभट्ट (काशीक्षेत्रनिवासी)

भास्कर (*alias* हरि)

Composed works in A.D. 1673, 1676 (वृत्तरत्नाकरटीका)

suggestions are accepted we may reasonably presume that the verse ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja by Bhāskara in his anthology of A.D. 1673 is the earliest quotation from Paṇḍitarāja by a Deccani writer of the second half of the seventeenth century.⁴

4. *Vide* Aufrecht C. C. I, 759—Bhāskara composed

अध्यात्मरामायणप्रकाश, गङ्गास्तुति, पद्यामृततरङ्गिणी, परिभाषाभास्कर,
भास्करचरित, यशवन्तभास्कर, लक्ष्मीस्तुति, वृत्तरत्नाकरसेतु
written at Benares in 1676 A.D., शुद्धिप्रकाश, स्मृतिप्रकाश.

Vide P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, (1930) p. 718—“भास्कर
..... author of आचारप्रकाश, मुक्तिक्षेत्रप्रकाश, शुद्धिप्रकाश
(composed in A.D. 1695-96), यशवन्तभास्कर (under the patronage of
यशवन्तदेव King of Bundelkhand) स्मृतिप्रकाश, संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश
(part of यशवन्तभास्कर).” भास्कर had two sons आत्माराम and
जयराम.

(*Vide* colophon of Manuscripts No. 314 of 1884-86 in the Government
manuscript Library, at the B. O. R. Institute—पद्यामृततरङ्गिणीटीका by
जयराम). In this Manuscript of Jayarāma's commentary on his
father's work we find the following verses ascribed to पण्डितराज
in Bhāskara's text but not in Jayarāma's commentary :—

Folio 13—“ कीललैः कुंकुमानां सकलमपि जगज्जालमेघान्निषिक्तम्

मुक्ताश्चोन्मत्तभृङ्गा विस्त्राटितकमलकोडकारागृहेभ्यः ।

उत्सृष्टं गोसहस्रं बहलकलकलः श्रूयते च द्विजानाम्
भाग्यैर्वृन्दारकाणां हरिहयहरिता सूयते पुत्ररत्नम् ॥२६॥

प्रालेयानां करालाः कवलितजगती मण्डलध्वान्तजालात्
स्तातखलोकपाला विदलदरुणिमक्षिप्रबालप्रवालाः ।

विश्लिष्यत्कोकबाला ज्वरहरणभवत्कीर्तिपूरैर्जटाला

व्योमव्यासौ विशालास्तव ददतु मुदं भाखतो मानुमालाः ॥२७॥”

पण्डितराजस्यैतौ ।

The next Deccani author to be influenced by the writings of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was Hari Kavi⁵ *alias* Bhānubhaṭṭa, who was a resident of Surat⁶ in Gujarat. He wrote some works by the order of Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, the guru of the Marāṭhā King Sambhāji (A.D. 1680-1689) and of Sambhāji himself. He composed his *Śambhurājacarita* or a poetical life of his patron Sambhāji in A.D. 1685. He composed an anthology called the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* in which he quotes five verses and ascribes them to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. My friend Dr. H. D. Sharma has been able to identify *two* of these verses in Jagannātha's works. These two verses are as follows :—

1. आमूलाद्रत्नसानोर्मलयवल्यितात ।

Manuscript of सुभाषितहारावली fol. 33^a, V. 121

(= रसगङ्गाधर p. 94)

2. गिरांदेवी वीणा०

Manuscript of सु० हारावली fol. 40^a, V. 224

(= भामिनीविलास, IV, 39)

5. *Vide* my paper on " Hari Kavi, *alias* Bhānubhaṭṭa a court-poet of King Sambhāji and his works " (1) *Śambhurājacarita* composed in A.D. 1685; (2) *Haihayendracarita* and Commentary and (3) *Subhāṣitahārāvali*.—*Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XVI. pp. 262-291, 1935),

6. *Ibid* p. 271—He refers to his Deccani origin by the epithet " दाक्षिणात्यान्वय " and his residence in Surat by the epithets " मिहिरपत्तनाध्यसन " or " सूर्यपुरस्थित "; मिहिर = सूर्य; सूर्यपुर =

Surat in Gujarat. His genealogy is as follows :—

(C. A.D. 1600)— चिन्तामणि

(C. A.D. 1625)— रङ्गनाथ

(C. A.D. 1650)— नारायण

(Between A.D. 1650 and 1700). हरिकवि wrote शम्भुराजचरित in A.D. 1685

Hari Kavi explains his Deccani origin :—

" दाक्षिणात्येषु महाराष्ट्राभिध दक्षिणदिग्भव-
ब्राह्मणेषु अन्वीयते etc."

The manuscript सु०हारावली reads the last two lines of this verse as follows:—

“ अहो तस्याप्यस्यामतुलभणितौ पण्डितपतेः ।

स्पृहानस्यादाकर्णयितुमथकस्यामलमतेः ॥

The reading in the भामिनोविलास is:—

वचस्तस्याकर्ण्य श्रवणसुभगं पण्डितपते--

रधुन्वन्मूर्धानं नृपशुरथवायं पशुपतेः ॥

The three unidentified verses ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja in the manuscript of the सुभाषितहारावली are:

3. वितण्डाहेत्वाद्यैरतिविनतवाक्यैरपिनृभि-

र्नजेषोऽसौ विद्वज्जनसदसि गङ्गाधरबुधः ।

पुरारि प्रोच (ञ्च) ज्वज्जटिलो (?) द्वनितरिरस्तटि-

न्यम्भःपूरोपम वचन वाचालि(त) रवसुः ॥

—fol. 33^a, V. 122.

4. समीपे संगीतस्वरमधुरभृङ्गो मृगदृशं

विदूरे दानान्धद्विरदकलहोदामनिनदः ।

बहिहोरे तेषां भवति हयहेषा कलकलो

दृगेषा ते येषामुपरि कमले देवि सदया ॥

5. उरस्थस्य अश्रयत्कवरभर निर्यत्सु मनसः

पतन्ति स्वर्वालाः स्मरपरवशा दोनमनसः ।

सुरास्तंगायन्ति स्फुरिततनुगङ्गाधरसुरवा-

स्तवायं दृक्पातो यदुपरि कृपातो विलसति ॥

—fol. 67^a, verses 598-9.

गङ्गाधर mentioned in verses 3 and 5 needs to be identified.

The last three verses quoted by Hari Kavi and the only verse quoted by Bhāskara need to be identified, if possible, in the known works of Paṇḍitarāja. It is possible to suppose that some of the stray poetic composition of Jagannātha has been lost to us. Even his *Rasagaṅgādhara* has survived in an incomplete form.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma was the first to point out these verses in the *Subhaṣītahārāvali*⁷ of Hari Kavi though he was not then aware that this poet had any connection with the Marāṭhā King Sambhāji, the Son of Śivāji the Great. In my elaborate paper on Hari Kavi referred to above I have examined all the fragments of Hari Kavi's works discovered by Bühler in 1875 and linked up the literary activities of this poet with the Marāṭhā history of the seventeenth century.⁸

The influence of Jagannātha on Hari Kavi is not confined merely to his quotations from Jagannātha's works. In his हैहयेन्द्रकाव्य written in a sustained classical style we find the influence of Paṇḍitarāja almost in every line of the fragment that has come down to us. This fragment is Manuscript No. 327 of 1875-76 acquired by Bühler in 1875. On folio 21 of this fragment we find Hari Kavi's appreciation of Jagannātha's poetical composition :—

कमलपटलस्फारत् फूर्जन्मनोहरसौरभोन्मदमधुकरश्रेणी-
सिंजातसमुद्रतमाधुरी | नहि सुभगतां लोकेविंदत्यनेक-
गुणाद्भुतां कविवर जगन्नाथोदंचद्वचो रचनावले: ॥

This poem was composed by Hari Kavi by the order of King Sambhāji as also its commentary called the शंभुविलासिका (Manuscript No. 829 of 1875-76). In the commentary Hari Kavi himself explains the above reference to Jagannātha as follows :—

Fol. 71^b “विशेषतः कवि प्रशंसति ॥ कमलेति । माधुरीकतः ॥

7. Vide *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 485 ff.

8. It is a pity that no student of Marāṭhā history has been able so far to discover any reference to Hari Kavi in contemporary records. This is due to the dearth of these records especially for the period of Sambhāji's reign (A.D. 1680-1689). The story of Hari Kavi's contact with Sambhāji was unknown to Marāṭhā history till publication of my paper in 1935. Prof. Scherbatsky edited the *Haihayendracarita* from the fragment of manuscripts made available to him by Bühler. He could not, however, establish its connection with the Marāṭhā King Sambhāji. Vide *Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*, Vol. IV, No. 9, (1894),

कविवर जगन्नाथात्पण्डितरायापरनाम्नः कवेरित्यर्थः । उदंचंती । समुद-
यंतो यावचे रचना । पदानुपूर्वी तत्पङ्केः संबन्धिनीमनेकाः बहुसंख्याये
औदार्यादयो गुणास्तैरद्भुतामाश्चर्यकारिणीं सुभगतां सुंदरतां लोके
जगति नैव विन्दति । भ्रमपगसिजायां केवलमाधुर्यगुणवत्त्वादेतद्वचन-
रचनायां नानागुणवत्त्वाच्चेतच्छोभावगाहनं तस्या जातमिति भावः ॥
अनेनास्याः सर्व गुणवत्त्वेपि माधुर्यातिशयो द्योत्यते । अत एवानेन
स्वयमेवोक्तम् ॥

मामिनी- विलास IV, 41	{	विद्वांसो वसुधातले परवचः श्लाघा)सुवाचं यमा भूपालाः कमलाविलासमदिरोन्मीलन्मदाङ्गुलिताः ॥ आस्येधास्यति कस्यलास्यमधुना धन्यस्य कामालस- स्सर्वामाधरमाधुरी मधर न्वाचां विलासोममी ॥
तथाच मामिनी० IV, 38		{

These references clearly prove the influence of Paṇḍitarāja on a Deccani poet who flourished between A. D. 1650 and 1700 and who, though resident of Surat in Gujarat had some contact with the ruling line of the Marāṭhā Kings, Śivāji⁹ and Sambhāji on whom he has showered much praise in his works.

The third Deccani author to be influenced by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was Vāmana Paṇḍita who is assigned by Marāṭhi

9. Vide *Annals*, B. O. R. I. XVI, 287—Verses 24 & 25,

इहासोच्चासीरं रुचिरतनुभाजां त्रिभुवने ।

शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुत गुणः ।

.....

वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते ॥

scholars to the latter half of the seventeenth century¹⁰ to which Hari Kavi belonged as we have stated above. He rendered Jagannātha's *Gaṅgūlaharī* into Marāṭhī verse using the original metre used by Jagannātha viz. शिखरिणि. It is, therefore, known as *Samaśloki*. This rendering of Vāmana Paṇḍita is very popular in the Deccan. If the date assigned to Vāmana Paṇḍita is correct his *Samaśloki* rendering of the *Gaṅgūlaharī* is perhaps the earliest and the finest tribute to Jagannātha's poetic genius by a Deccani poet of Vāmana's fame and popularity. "That which comes from the heart goes to the heart" and Jagannātha's *Gaṅgūlaharī* did not fail to go to the heart of a poet like Vāmana whose early life¹¹ followed close on Jagannātha's literary career. The

10. *Vide* p. 247 of महाराष्ट्र सारस्वत by Bhavé, 1919. Vāmana flourished towards the close of Śālivāhana Śāka—16th century. He is believed to have died in Śāka 1617 (= A.D. 1695). The *Mahārāṣṭriya Jñānaśloka* ed. by Dr. S. V. Ketkar (Vol. XX, 1926) p. (व १४७) assigns Vāmana Paṇḍita to the period A.D. 1636-1695 (See also p. 729 of मध्य युगीन चरित्रकोश by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937). According to Mr. V. Bhavé, Vāmana belonged to Bijapur. He studied Persian in his early life and Sanskrit later at Benares. He composed some Sanskrit *prakaraṇas* such as (1) सिद्धान्तविजय (2) अनुभूतिलेश. He composed निगमसार in A.D. 1673 and अपरोक्षानुभूति in A.D. 1675. He translated the शतक of मर्तृहरि, the गङ्गालहरी of जगन्नाथ and the भावद्वीता into Marāṭhī verse.
11. If Jagannātha flourished between C. A.D. 1590 and 1665 and Vāmana between A.D. 1636 and 1695 and as Vāmana studied Sanskrit at Benares, there is reason to believe that Vāmana may have come into personal contact with Jagannātha especially during the closing years of Paṇḍitarāja's career and perhaps as a result of this contact Vāmana may have undertaken to translate the *Gaṅgūlaharī* into Marāṭhī verse. A manuscript of Jagannātha's चित्रमोमांसा खण्डन is dated A.D. 1652-3. This work mentions his रसगङ्गाधर, which mentions the five लहरीs of Jagannātha, including the गङ्गालहरी. We may, therefore, presume that the गङ्गालहरी was composed before A.D. 1650 and was thus available to Vāmana for translation.

flower of Jagannātha's poetic genius was not born to blush unseen or to waste its sweetness on the desert air but it emitted its fragrance far and wide, away from the Mughal court and the banks of the Ganges where lived some of his contemporary rivals and enemies in the latter half of the seventeenth century.¹²

The chronology of the Deccani authors influenced by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja may now be recorded in the following table :—

Name	Chronology	Remarks
Bhāskara Agnihotri.	Composed works in A. D. 1673, 1676 & 1695.	Hailed from Nasik but resided at Benares.
Hari Kavi <i>alias</i> Bhānubhaṭṭa.	Composed works about A.D. 1685	Family hailed from the Deccan, though residing at Surat in Gujarat in the seventeenth century.
Vāmana Paṇḍita,	Between A. D. 1636 and 1695.	Native of Bijapur but later went to Benares and studied Sanskrit there.

I close this paper with a request to Sanskritists and historians for collecting more data on the subject of this paper.

12. Leaving aside Jagannātha's rivals we must study in detail the life-history of Jagannātha's pupils who were influenced by his poetry and learning. Jagannātha was a Tailanga Brahmin. A work called **कुलप्रबन्ध** was composed by **हरिहर भट्ट** an ancestor of **कृष्णकवि** (court-poet of Sevai Jaising). This **हरिहर** states that his uncle **नारायण** was the pupil of **जगन्नाथ पण्डितराय**. Nārāyaṇa's brother **रामकृष्ण** was in the favour of Raja Ramsing I of Jaipur who came to the throne in A.D. 1667. Verse 77 of **कुलप्रबन्ध** reads as follows :

“ लब्धा विद्या निखिलाः पण्डितराजाज्जगन्नाथात् ।

नारायणस्तु दैवादल्पायुः स्वपुरीमगमत् ॥ ”

हरिहर brings the history of this **तैलङ्ग** Brahmin family up to A.D. 1700 (*Vide B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly XXII, p. 16. 1941*).

SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN MEDIEVAL KARNĀṬAKA

BY A. P. KARMARKAR, M.A. LL.B.

SOCIAL CONDITION

SINCE the advent of the Gangas and the Kadambas on the political arena all the political, economic, social and religious activities began to take a definite shape in Karnāṭaka. In fact during the rulership of these two dynasties and further of the Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas, Saṃṇas, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and the Odeyars of Mysore, we find one continuous and constant flow of cultural prosperity. We shall, however, deal with the main aspects of education and social structure of the Kannaḍigas in their days of pomp and prosperity.

CASTE SYSTEM

The Greek and Muslim writers (Ibn Khurdaba and Al Idrisi) have stated that the number of castes in India is seven.¹ Alberuni enumerates a list of sixteen castes as existing in India in his time.² The Smṛtis of the period indicate the existence of many mixed castes (miśra or śaṃkara) also. Kalhaṇa states that the number of castes was sixty-four.³ In our opinion, though the writers of the Smṛtis tried to bring in all the communities (by styling them as mixed castes) in the fold of the Cāturvarṇya, yet all their efforts dwindled on account of the existence of the three religious systems, namely, Buddhism, Jainism, and Vīraśaivism respectively.

1. Ibn Khurdaba—Sabkufria, Brahma, Katarīa, Sūdariya, Baisurā, Sandālia and Lahūd (Elliot, I, pp. 16-17). Al Idrisi replaces Zakya for Lahūd.
2. Alberuni adds eight kinds of Antyajas after the first four main castes—the fuller, the shoe-maker, the juggler, basket and shieldmaker, sailor, fisherman, hunter and weaver; and adds four more—Hadi, Domba, Chandalia and Badbalai. cf. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakutas and their times*, pp. 319 ff.
3. Kalhaṇa, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. V. 77.

Brāhmins : The Brāhmins in Karnāṭaka assumed an important position in the fabric of society. The Kadambas were Brāhmins. Later the Rājagurus of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara also included two of the eminent Brāhmin personages of the day, namely, Vidyāraṇya and Vyāsarāya. Besides, Brāhmins must have been appointed as ministers in the State. Alberuni states that Brāhmins were styled as Iṣṭins; and that they were discharging their duties in the Agrahāras and other seats of learning.⁴ As Śaṅkarācārya⁵ and Alberuni observe, the Brāhmins pursued professions and duties which were not intended for them originally. Even Brāhmin physicians were honoured equally.⁶ The main privileges of the Brāhmins were the exemption from taxation, mainly in the case of Brahmadeya lands, and exemption from capital punishment, a fact which is corroborated by the accounts of Alberuni,⁷ and Bouchet.⁸ Brāhmins were allowed to migrate from one province to another.

Kṣatriyas : Ibn Khurdaba and Al Idrisi state that 'the remaining classes pay homage to the Sabkataria.'⁹ It was from this class that the rulers were selected. Tavernier makes a distinction between the Rajputs and other Kṣatriyas.¹⁰ The Kṣatriyas used to perform sacrifices, studied and cited the vedas and followed the religion preached in the purāṇas (and not vedas).¹¹ The ordinary Kṣatriyas followed other professions also. They were exempted from death-punishment.

Yuan Chwang states that in his time there were kings of whom three were Kṣatriyas, three Brāhmins, two Vaiśyas and two Śūdras.¹²

Vaiśyas : The Vaiśyas were fast losing their prominence as Vaiśyas. They were being already classed along with the Śūdras. The Vaiśyas also maintained their own militia.¹³

4. Elliot, I, p. 6.

5. Com. *Brahmasūtras*, I, 3, 33.

6. I. A. VIII, p. 277.

7. Sachau I, p. 162.

8. J. R. A. S. 1881, p. 227.

9. Elliot, I, pp. 16 & 76.

10. *Travels in India*, pp. 380-87.

11. Sachau, II, p. 136 and Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

12. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 331.

13. *Ibid.* p. 333.

The Śūdras were divided into Satsūdras and Asatsūdras. The Satsūdras were entitled to the privileges of Srāddha, Saṃskāra and Pākayajñas. ¹⁴

As we have observed above the Jains, Buddhists and Viraśaivas formed a class by themselves, even as apart from the Cāturvarṇya.

FAMILY

The joint-family system prevailed in Karnāṭaka. We, however, find instances of separation between brothers,¹⁵ and between father, sons and brothers respectively.¹⁶ The wife was the chief mistress of the house. She was to be faithful to her husband. She enjoyed a very high position in society (cf. *infra*). An instance is given in a Raṭṭa inscription as to how women ministered poisonous herbs with a view to bringing their husbands under control.¹⁷

Succession : We need not go into the details of the laws of succession detailed in the Smṛtis. An inscription of 1178 A.D. from the Bijapur District throws some light on the problem. It agrees also with the ordainment of Yājñavalkya (II, 135-6): "If anyone in the village should die at Magadaḷḷi without sons, his wife, female children (daughter's son?) and any kinsmen and relatives of the same gotra, who might survive, should take possession of his property *i.e.* bipeds, quadrupeds, coins, grains, house and field. If none such should survive, the authorities of the village should take the property as Dharmadeya lands."¹⁸ The widow was also entitled to the office of a Gāvundā.¹⁹

Polygamy : The system of polygamy was in vogue in those days. The Hoysaḷa King Narasiṃhadeva is said to have married 384 wives.²⁰ Kṛṣṇadevarāya had married twelve.²¹

14. Ibid.

15. E. I. III, p. 50.

16. Ibid. XIV, p. 269.

17. J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 279. cf. also Desai, Mahāmandaleśvaras.

18. E. I. V. p. 28; cf. also Yājñavalkya.

19. E. C. VII, Sk. p. 219.

20. E. C. V. Pt. I. Bc. 193, p. 106.

21. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 247.

However, generally the kings, the nobles and the aristocracy used to practise this system.

Surnames : The system of using surnames was also coming into vogue in the time of the Yādavas of Devagiri. As Dr. Altekar observes 'many of the surnames given in the records survive in the Deccan even to the present day e.g. Pāṭhak, Dvivedi, Upādh-yāya, Dikṣit, Paṇḍita, Paṭṭavardhan, Ghalisāsa, Vedārthada Prasanna-sarasvati, Prauḍha-sarasvati etc.²²

Institution of Marriage : Anuloma marriages were current in the Kannada country. Ibn Khurdaba endorses the same opinion.²³ Alberuni states that 'the Brāhmīns did not avail themselves of this opportunity.²⁴ Bernier ²⁵ (seventeenth century) contradicts the statement of the Dutch Clergyman, who said that 'the Anuloma marriage prevailed in the seventeenth century A.D.²⁶ The system of child marriage was in vogue in those days,²⁷ though the marriage of Saṁyogitā and Pṛthvirāya is to be counted as an exception. The system of marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter was also in vogue. Jagattunga and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Indra followed it. Further the marriage of Vikramāditya with Chandaladevi may throw light on the Svayaṁvara form of marriage in those days. One of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara times reminds us of the system of offering a signet-ring at the time of the marriage settlement.²⁸ It is however interesting to note that regular efforts were being made to stop the system of dowry.

Widow : We have already discussed above that widows and daughters were entitled to their right of succession. Further, whereas the Smṛtis of Parāśara, Nārada, Śatātapa have permitted marriages of virgin widows, the Āṅgīrasas and Āsvalāyana have expressed prohibition of the same. The instance of the marriage of the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II with his elder brother's widow

22. I. A. VII, p. 305, *Ibid.* XIV, p. 69; Altekar, op. cit. p. 349.

23. Elliot, I, p. 16.

24. Sachau, II, pp. 155-6.

25. *Travels in India*, p. 325.

26. J. R. A. S. 1881, p. 227.

27. Alberuni II, p. 154.

28. Saletore, op. cit. II, p. 184.

should be treated as an exception. The system of tonsuring widows seems to have come into vogue only after the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Vedavyāsa Smṛti alone refers to it. (cf. also Pāṇi Praśasti of Mahendrapāla in this connection).²⁹ Tavernier refers to the custom as being prevalent in his days.³⁰

POSITION OF WOMEN

The position of women in Karnāṭaka as compared to other provinces in India or even to that of any country in the world was unique indeed. In this land, women enjoyed the privilege of acting as the best administrators. Further, being possessed of the most accomplished manners, they equally shone in the field of literature and assumed an eminent position in the galaxy of mystic saints in Karnāṭaka.

As Administrators : It is a unique instance in history that a majority of the queens of the various Karnāṭaka dynasties have acted either as Viceroys, Governors, or heads of religious institutions. The queens of Vikramāditya acted as Provincial Viceroys; and Akkādevi, the sister of Jayasimha actually governed and fought for the country, on account of which she was styled as 'Rāṇa Bhairavi'. Later, Rudrāmbā (from 1260 A.D.)³¹ under the name of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rudradeva Mahārāya, and the Hoysala Queen Bammaladevi happened to rule over a province or a district respectively. There were others like Umādevi, Queen of Ballāla II, who regulated temple-administration and used to take part in expeditions of war. The instance of Jakkiyabbe acting as the Nālagāvūṇḍa over Nāgarakhaṇḍa,³² may prove the capacity of even ordinary women in matters of administration.

As Fighters and Wrestlers : As we have already observed above, the two queens Akkādevi and Umādevi used to take an active part in the expeditions of war. Besides, the queens and courtezans of the king used to follow the kings in these expeditions. The instance of Amoghavarṣa's mother giving birth to him while

29. E. I. I, p. 246.

30. Altekar, op. cit. p. 406.

31. 365 of 1873; Ep. Report for 1914, p. 933; Ep. Report for 1916, p. 135.

32. cf. *Supra* : Succession.

on an expedition is enough to illustrate the point. The various *māstigals* spread throughout the country should really prove the martial and patriotic feeling imbibed in them. Women also knew wrestling.³³

Education : Add to this, women in ancient Karnāṭaka were highly educated in different branches of study *e.g.* literature, music, dancing etc. The names of Gangādevi, the author of Virakampāṇa-rāyacharitam, the famous Tirumalāmbā, Rāmabhadraṁbā, the author of Raghunāthābhya-dayam and others in the field of literature ; or of others like Mahādeviakka, Giryamma and others in the field of philosophy—all these shall always be adored in the Karnāṭaka by futurity. An inscription of the time of Rājakesarivarman states that there were five hundred women pupils in the Jaina Monastery, Viḍaḷ *alias* Mādevi Arandimangala.³⁴ The description given about their general culture in the Raghunāthābhya-dayam is however interesting. While describing the splendour of the court it is said : ' They (the women) are said to have been proficient in composing four kinds of poetry—Chitrabandha, Garbha and Āsu, and in explaining the words written in various languages. They were skilful in the art of Śatalekhini and filling up literary verse puzzles (Padya-Puraṇam) ; they were able to compose verses at the rate of one hundred in an hour (Ghaṭikāsate), to compose poetry in eight bhāṣas (Sanskrit, Telugu and the six Prākṛts). They knew how to interpret and explain the poems and dramas composed by the famous poets, and to explain the secrets of music of two sorts (Karnāṭa and Deśa). They were able to sing very sweetly and to play on the Viṇā and other musical instruments like the Rāvaṇahasta. They also knew the art of dancing in its various phases'.³⁵

Harem : Foreign travellers have given a very graphic and fine descriptions of the institution of the harem prevailing in Karnāṭaka especially in the time of the Vijayanagara empire. Nicholo di Conti states that the ruling king had 12,000 wives.³⁶ Apart from

33. Saletore, *Vijayanagara*, II, pp. 164-5.

34. S. I. I. III, p. 225.

35. Sargas XI-XII ; pp. Saletore, *Social and Political life in Vijayanagara*, II, p. 164.

36. Major, *India*, p. 6.

the exaggeration contained in the above statement, we may remark that a particular importance was being attached to the harem. A distinction was made between the principal queens, the lawful wives and other inmates of the harem. Barbosa³⁷ gives an interesting description—‘the women sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king; they bathe in the many tanks kept for the purpose. The king goes to see them bathing, and she who pleases him the most is sent for to come to his chamber. There is constant jealousy and envy.’ Further as Abdur Razzaq describes,³⁸ “Two women do not dwell together in the same apartment, each one having her concerns separate. Beautiful girls were purchased and added into the Harem”.

Courtezans : The institution of courtezans is neither new to Indian history nor to that of Karnāṭaka. However, courtezans used to accompany the king and army in war.³⁹ Further, they used to perform the services of dancing in temples for which endowments of land and money were made to them. They used to richly decorate themselves (cf. *Infra* : description of Ornaments etc.). Further, they were entitled to be present on certain occasions at the time of feasts, when festivals were held during the year.⁴⁰ The institution of courtezans yielded a vast income to the state. It is stated that the Vijayanagara State maintained a large police force of 12,000 on the income derived from the proceeds of the brothels.⁴¹ As a foreign traveller says ‘the splendour of those houses, the beauty of the heart ravishes, their blandishment are beyond all description.’⁴² There were special streets for the residence of courtezans. They were highly cultured and had won mastery in singing, dancing and other allied sciences.

Other Features : The system of Purdah was not in vogue in those days. Women used to visit bazaars.⁴³ They made thousands

37. Barbosa, Dames I, p. 208; Stanley, p. 88.

38. Elliot, IV, pp. 115-5.

39. Salletore, *op. cit.* II, p. 162.

40. *Ibid.* p. 170.

41. *Ibid.* p. 166.

42. *Ibid.*

43. J. B. B. R. A. S, Vol. X, p. 229.

of grants to temples and other charitable institutions. The law of *strīdhana* was not unknown in Karnāṭaka.⁴⁴

SOME OTHER ASPECTS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

General Condition of the People : Without going into the details of the problem of the pomp of the Royal Durbar, or that of the amenities of the village life, with its assemblies, gardens and orchards, or that of the town with the Paṭṭaṇa Seṭṭi at its head, we shall try to describe the condition of the people in those days in the words of the famous Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang who visited the country of Pu-li-ke-chi. He says: 'The inhabitants were proud, spirited, war-like, grateful for favours and revengeful for wars, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress, and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into battle intoxicated and their war-elephants were also made drunk before the engagement.The people were fond of learning, and they combined orthodoxy and heterodoxy.' This must have been the condition of the people also in later centuries with some reformations.⁴⁵

Their Corporate Life : The corporate activity of the people was made visible through their joint efforts towards the rebuilding of the empire. Their various joint donations to the temples, assembly guilds and other items of public welfare are clear evidence on the point. The rulers of the land also gave them a helping hand. The spirit of religious tolerance imbibed by the rulers of the land can be seen from two examples alone. When a conflict ensued between the Jains and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, King Bukka gave a mighty judgment and decided the case in favour of the Jains and asked the other party to treat that religion with respect.⁴⁶ Then there were centres wherein all the Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu gods were kept and worshipped together (e.g. Hari, Hara and Brahmā at Bādāmi;⁴⁷ there were at Balēgāme five Maṭhas of Hari, Hara, Kamalāsana,

44. E. I. III, p. 216.

45. K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri. pp. 105-6.

46. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 207.

47. South Indian Ep. 1927-28 No. E. 237.

Vitarāga and Buddha).⁴⁸ Further inter-caste dinners were in vogue in the earlier centuries.⁴⁹ Again for the sake of their country or even to militate against the cattle-raiders, thousands of souls lost their lives in battles. Eventually hero-stones were erected in memory of the same, and their wives and children were endowed with gifts for their maintenance.⁵⁰ The spirit of Hinduism was in tact and the existence of a growing hatred towards Islam can be perceived from the sentiments expressed in the Virakampanarāyacaritam.

Sati and other forms of Self-immolation: The thousands of mastikals or Mahāsatikals spread throughout the country prove the heroic spirit of women in those days. Marco Polo,⁵¹ Ibn Batuta,⁵² Bernier,⁵³ and Tavernier⁵⁴ opine that the system of *sati* was in vogue mostly in the royal families. The instances of Lachchala Devi and of the wife of the Kadamba king Ravivarma may be mentioned in this connection. There were other systems of self-immolation also e.g. (1) Sallekhana; the Gaṅga king Mārsimha II, and Jakkiyabbe,⁵⁵ the Nālagāvunḍa, laid down their lives by fasting. It was a Jaina custom: (2) Jalasamādhi: King Āhavamalladeva,⁵⁶ drowned himself into the mighty laps of the Tungabhadra; and (3) Finally people used to take vows and burn or bury themselves along with other persons, or even liked to be beheaded on the happening of certain events.⁵⁷

Dress and Ornaments: Even from the point of view of a comparison between the past and the present, the problem of the dress and ornaments of any people is interesting. In Karnāṭaka we find a kind of gradual reformation taking place since the fifth century A.D. only to culminate in the time of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. As sources of information we have the accounts of Marco

48. *Ibid*.

49. cf. for discussion, Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 339.

50. E. C. VII, Hl. 65; E. C. VIII, Sb. p. 327.

51. Marco Polo, II, p. 34.

52. Ibn Batuta, p. 191.

53. Bernier, p. 30.

54. Tavernier, p. 341.

55. E. C. VII, Sk, p. 219.

56. E. C. II, Introd, p. 69.

57. E. C. VII, Sk, p. 249.

Polo, Ibn Batuta, Barbosa, Paes etc. as well as the paintings and other works of art, and the literature of the people of the land itself. Here is a brief account of the same.

Early Centuries : Men used to wear two unrestricted clothes, the dhoti and the upper garment.⁵⁸ The stitched shirt was not known till the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. (cf. Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta). Ibn Batuta observes that even the Zamorin used to wear a loose garment.⁵⁹ People used to wear turbans. They used to grow beards.⁶⁰ Umbrellas, made of bamboo or of reeds with paper inside, were used.⁶¹

The Ajanta Paintings show that women used to 'wear stitched petticoats (*kuṣṣasa*) and *sāris* and also *kulāi* in later centuries.'

Later Centuries : In the Vijayanagara period stitched shirts had already come into vogue. Besides, according to Abdur Razzaq,⁶² 'the king wore clothes in a robe of zaitun satin, and he had around his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence.' According to Varthema,⁶³ 'the king used to wear a cap of gold brocade two spans long (or the Turki Toppige).' Govinda Vaidya enumerates the different kinds of dress and ornaments to be worn by the people of various orders and capacities.⁶⁴

Ornaments : Men used to have rings, *tāli*, *chaukuli*, *honna-sara* (necklace), the *jule* of pearls, *kaḍuga*, *kankaṇa* (wristlets) *muri*, in the wrist, *maradiya saraṇṇali*, jewel-ring, *honnaḍu gale-sara* etc. Women used to have the following: *viramudrā*, Signet-ring, *honna-kūluṅgura*, *pilli*, *mentikas*; *kiri-pilli*, *charaṇa*, *peṇḍeya*, *ṇayavatti*, *honnugunṇesara*, *rasana*, *kaṭisūtra*, *kanchidama*, *muktaḷa*, nose-jewel (*botṭu*), *haraloli*, *trisana*, *chintak* nose-ring (*mūguti*), *kaḍaga*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *chausara*, *nūṇpura*, *kopu veṇṭeya* *chaukali*, and *hombali*.⁶⁵

58. Itsing, p. 68.

59. II, p. 338.

60. Sulaiman Saudagar, *Hindi* Ed, p. 81.

61. cf. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* p. 349

62. Elliot, *History of India*, IV, p. 113; Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 92.

63. *Ibid.* pp. 251-2.

64. cf. Betgeri, *Karnāṭaka Janajivana*, pp. 157-59

65. *Ibid.*

Superstitious Beliefs: The people were equally superstitious then as they are today. They used to worship the *nāga* (cobra), the ghost-gods, mariyappa, and other deities such as *mari*, *chaṇḍi durgi* etc. Further they had full belief in astronomy and astrology.

Festivals, Games and Amusements: Among the various Indian festivals mentioned in inscriptions and early literature the following were observed with pomp and brilliance: *Dīpāvali*,⁶⁶ *Chaitrapavitra*,⁶⁷ *Vārśika Dīpotsava*,⁶⁸ *Rathotsava*⁶⁹ or car-festival, the worship of the lotus,⁷⁰ swing-festival,⁷¹ the *Mahānavamī*,⁷² and *dhvajaseva*.⁷³ Then there were other important items *i.e.* fairs, sidi or hookswinging etc.⁷⁴

The following games and amusements were in vogue: horse-riding, gaming, hunting, cock and ram fights⁷⁵ (among royal recreations); animal fights⁷⁶ (*i.e.* between a boar and a favourite hound); combats between gladiators and elephants, tigers and bears (in the time of Tirumalarāya)⁷⁷; *kōlaṭam*⁷⁸ (stick play) and others.

As a matter of recreation the king's court used to have the seven requisites namely, learned men, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian and the reader of the *purāṇas*.⁷⁹

Slavery: Dr. B. A. Saletore⁸⁰ has given an interesting account of the '*besa-vaga*' and the sale of human beings in Karnāṭaka. Nicolo di Conti⁸¹ and Ellis⁸² and the inscriptions of medieval Karnāṭaka have corroborated the above statement.⁸³ We need not go into the details of the problem.

66. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, pp. 208 etc.

67. *Ibid.* p. 256; South Indian Epigraphy 1917-18, No. 8, 733 etc.

68. Mysore Archæological Report for 1912-13, p. 40.

69. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 125 and 135.

70. B. A. Saletore, *Social and Political life in the Vijayanagara Empire* II, pp. 370 ff.

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*

75. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, p. 231.

76. E. I. VI. p. 56.

77. Taylor, O. H. MSS. II, pp. 153-9.

78. Pietro, *Travels*, II, p. 258, No. 20.

79. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, p. 253.

80. Saletore, *op. cit.* II, pp. 113 ff.

81. Major. *India*, p. 31.

82. Saletore, *op. cit.* p. 115

83. *Ibid.* pp. 116 ff.

EDUCATION

As the learned scholar F. E. Keay would beautifully express it: "Few countries, and certainly no Western ones, have had systems of education which have had such a long and continuous history with so few modifications as some of the educational systems of India.....They produced many great men and earnest seekers after truth, and their output on the intellectual side is by no means inconsiderable. They developed many nobler educational ideals which are a valuable contribution to educational thought and practice." ⁸⁴

Though Southern India cannot boast of big University centres like those at Nalanda, Valabhi or Taxila, yet she could be proud enough of having a vast net-work of a number of *agrahāras*, *brahmapuris*, *maṭhas*, *ghatikas* and temples which produced hundreds of luminaries of both sexes in the field of literature, art and religion, a fact which is worth imitating by any nation or province in the world. We shall, however, review the same.

The Various Institutions: The supremacy of the Brāhmins is to be perceived in institutions like the *agrahāra*, *brahmapuri* and *ghaṭikas*, whereas the *maṭhas* and the temples belonged to the people of the respective religious systems.

Agrahāras: Though they do not possess the same grandeur and gravity of their contemporary institutions in Northern India, yet the *agrahāras* served the purpose of small University centres generally located in whole villages and managed by the community of Brāhmins. From the period of the Kadambas down to that of the Rāyas of the Vijayanagara we find that the following *Agrahāras* came into being, namely, those at Balēgāmi, Kuppaṭṭur, Tālgunda, Perur, Nargund, Begur, Sayyadi, Aihole, Nargund, Degame, Arasikere, Neralige, Sarvajñapura etc.

Brahmapuri: It was a settlement of the Brāhmins wherein education was imparted to all. They were located in a part of a city or town.

Ghaṭikā—The word *Ghaṭikā* has been variously interpreted, either as a public assembly for Brāhmins, a religious centre or an

84. Keay, *Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times*, p. 181.

educational colony. King Mayūraśarma is described to have paid a visit to all the Ghaṭikās at Kāñchi.⁸⁵

Like the Buddhist Vihāras, and the Monasteries of the Jains the Lingāyatas also formed the other centres of learning in Karnāṭaka. As Prof. Moraes has aptly said, 'the Maṭha was a typical Indian monastery with monks, ascetics and students living within its precincts. These monasteries were invariably attached to some local temple or had some temples attached to them.'⁸⁶ The sect of the Kālāmukhas among the Śaivas probably hailed from Gujarat⁸⁷ and were responsible in fostering the same. Some of the famous monasteries of the Kālāmukhas were located at Balēgāmi, Kuppāṭṭur, Bāndhavapura, Sindagere, Yewur, Sūḍi, Kurgod and 'probably also the ones at Bankāpur and Lakṣmēśvar.'⁸⁸ The Jaina monasteries however had spread everywhere in Karnāṭaka.

Temple: The temples formed another fabric wherein mostly arrangements were made for primary education. The Salotgi temple college is famous in history.

Scope of Education: Though it is possible that the heads of these institutions must have given prominence to the main systems of religion to which they belonged, still, it is interesting to note that they imparted education in all the branches of study. As Prof. Mookerji says,⁸⁹ "the (three) inscriptions are very valuable as showing the circle of knowledge then available and cultivated. There are mentioned the four vedas with their *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*; *mimāṃsū*, *lokūyata*, *bauddha*, *sāṃkhya*, *vaiśeṣika* and other śāstras and āgamas; the eighteen *smṛtis*, *purāṇas*, *kāvya*s and *nūṭakas*. The agrahāra at Balēgāmi, besides these educational institutions, possessed three medical dispensaries according to the evidence of Sb. 227 in 1158 A.D. Sk. 102 shows that in 1162 A.D. the Koḍiyamaṭha was known as a place for the treatment of destitute sick persons."

85. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 8, p. 28.

86. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 295.

87. *cf.* E. I XII, p. 337.

88. *cf.* Dinkar A. Desai, *Mahāmāṇḍaleśvaras under the Cāḷukyas* (M. A. Thesis Ms.)

89. Mookerji, *Local Self-Government in Ancient India*, pp. 287 ff.

Management and Functions : Though the other educational institutions were managed mostly by the heads, still the agrahāras were managed by the assembly of the *mahājanas*, whose numbers, however, varied from two to four hundred.⁹⁰ The sheriff used to preside. There are instances where members of the imperial family used to manage the affairs *e.g.* the Ponnavaḍā agrahāra was under the control of Ketalaḍevi, wife of Someśvara I.⁹¹ Agrahāras like Balēgāmi were absolutely free from any government supremacy. The *mahājanas* were also eminently educated. The *mahājanas* of the agrahāra of Kuppattūr are said to have been perfect in all the branches of study.⁹² It is interesting to note that they also formed centres of militia in cases of self-protection, such as at Lakkunḍi,⁹³ and Kuppattūr.⁹⁴ These agrahāras were free from the encroachment of the soldiers and tax-collectors. The *mahājanas* also looked after the general management and other municipal duties *e.g.* sanitation, public works etc. which were necessary in the case of these self-autonomous institutions.

Other Matters : These educational institutions were supported by the kings, queens, nobles, as also by the rich and the poor. They must have possessed big libraries; and the Professors who were appointed in these institutions were eminently qualified to foster the culture of the land among the student-world. Some of these institutions had also free boarding houses. The agrahāras were not small in extent *i.e.* the agrahāra of Talguṇḍa consisted of 32,000 Brāhmins, with 12,000 Agnihotṛs.⁹⁵ Women also used to get education. The Jaina Monastery of Vidal consisted of 500 women pupils.⁹⁶ The town of Balēgāmi alone consisted of 'seven Brahmapuries, three Puras, five Maṭhas and several Agrahāras.'⁹⁷ Thus the services rendered by these institutions in historical times are really marvellous and eminent indeed!

90. E. I. XIII, pp. 33, 57.

91. I. A. XVIII, p. 273.

92. E. C. VIII, Sb. 249; *cf.* Dr. A. V. Subbiah, QJMS. VII, p. 166.

93. E. I. XV, 1c.

94. E. C. VII, Sk. 29.

95. E. C. VII, Sk. 1418.

96. S. I. I, III, p. 225.

97. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

PROTO-INDIC RELIGION *

BY S. ŚRĪKANTHA ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A.

VI

THE society must have been composed of four divisions. We can be sure that one class confined itself to the observance of religious, medical, astrological and magical rites. The figure of a man with hair parted in the middle and tied with a fillet, upper lip shaved, a shawl with trefoil pattern on his shoulder is conjectured by Mackay to represent a god but it is more likely that he represents a priest in meditation. S. V. Venkaṭēśvara says that in the entire R̥gvēda there is no reference to *upavīta* but that it came into use only in the period of the Yajurvēda. At first it represented only drapery leaving the right arm bare. He finds the tilaka and *upavīta* on a figurine (Marshall. Pl. 98 No. 1). He also finds the *niḥjūnuka* posture mentioned in *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (I-6), half kneeling with the right knee raised, as now in the performance of śrāddhas. The hair in three coils (Marshall. Pl. 105 Nos. 22 & 25) is the vedic *Trikaparda*.⁷³

In the figurines we can observe various postures. A nude male with arms on the legs squatting; a male with folded hands; a standing nude male; a male wearing a kilt and necklace, heavily ornamented which is unusual, seated on a chair; a bearded male with hands on the knees seated on a chair; a bearded nude male with legs stretched out in front, with plaited hair wound round with a fillet; a male with a loin cloth and hair coiled up into the

* Continued from Vol. XXXII, No. 4, page 398.

73. But the Vaśiṣṭhas had the kaparda on the left side (R̥g. 7-2-331.)

श्वित्यं चोमादक्षिणतस्कपर्दा धियं जिन्वासोऽभि हि प्रमन्दुः ।

उत्तिष्ठन्वोचेपरि बहिषोन्नून्नमे दूरादवितवे वसिष्ठाः ॥

For the *nivīta* (Tai. Sam II-5-11)

निवीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितॄणां उपवीतं देवानाम्

form of *jaṭū makuta* at Harappa. In Mohenjo Daro we find nude males with hair in a broad flat mass ; a male with a conical Phrygian cap(?); a naked male with curling beard and hands on the knees. Few male figurines have turbans and no female is entirely nude. The males have a red scarf round the neck secured by a brooch or button of office or possibly indicating a sect. A figure rare in earlier levels has got the hands round the knees. (*Mackay*)

The second class of citizens must have been the "guardians". Mackay found a "palace" with very ancient foundations. He also identified the corner houses as watchman's quarters. Majumdar discovered the remains of ancient fort walls to protect the city. All this points to a class like the *kṣatriyas* and it is hard to accept the opinion that the people were always pacifists and on the defensive.

The third class must have been composed of traders and artisans. It is no longer doubted that trading connection with the West in the Jemdat Nasr period, if not earlier, had been established both by sea and land. Whether the seals are personal accounts of the merchants or used for sealing goods or amulets, we can be sure that some of the seals were carried to Mesopotamia and imitated by the Mesopotamians sometimes even without understanding their significance. The uniform system of weights and measures also presupposes the organisation of the mercantile guilds. Among the artisans we can be sure that the bead-makers, metal-workers, sculptors, potters, weavers, must have been well organised.

The last class⁷⁴ must have been composed of the manual labourers like fishermen, peasants, sailors, leather workers, basket makers etc. The deliberately broken pot sherds may or may not denote the existence of out-castes.

As regards the trading classes the notion that the Āryans were ignorant of the sea and that they treated commerce with contempt must be given up in view of the overwhelming evidence of the Vedas. Sea-trade was not the monopoly of Dravidians or the Paṇis. References to ocean going vessels and travels are many and cannot be explained away as referring only to the rivers or aerial ocean.

74. The four primitive Ionian tribes *Geleontes*, *Aigikoreis*, *Argadeis* and *Hopletes* are of Asianic origin. But Plato places the priests first. (*Ramsay*). (*Asianic Elements in Greek Culture*).

- तुग्रोहभुज्युमाश्विनोदमेधेरयि नकश्चिन्ममृवाँ अवाहाः ।
 तमूहथुनौ भरात्मन्वतीभिरन्तरिक्ष प्रुद्धिरपोदकाभिः ॥ (Rg. 1-116-3).
 सनःपर्षदतिदुर्गाणि विश्वा नावेव सिन्धुं दुरितात्यग्निः ॥ (1-99-1).
 प्रयत्समुद्रमतिशूरपर्षिपारया तुर्वशं यदुं स्वस्ति ॥ (1-174-9).
 द्वि षो नो विश्वतो मुखाति नावेऽपारय ॥ (1-97-7).
 सनः सिन्धुमिव नावयाति पर्षा स्वस्तये ॥ (1-97-8).
 सनो विश्वा अतिद्विषः पर्षन्नावेव ॥ (5-25-9).
 मध्वऊषु....सिषक्ति पिप्युषी-यत्समुद्राति पर्षथः ॥ (5-73-8).
 विश्वानिनो दुर्गहा जातवेदः सिन्धुर्नानावा दुरिताति पर्षि ॥ (5-4-9).
 यास्ते पूषा नावोन्तस्समुद्रे हिरण्ययी अन्तरिक्षे चरन्ति ।
 ताभिर्यासिदृयां सूर्यस्यकामेन कृतश्रव इच्छमानः ॥ (6-58-3).
 तेनो भद्रेण शर्मणा युष्माकं नावा वसवः । अति विश्वानिदुरितापिपर्तेन ॥
 (8-18-17).

The Sarasvātī river joined the sea. (Rg. 7-95-1-2).

- प्रक्षोदसा दायसा स स्वे ष्वा सरस्वती धरुणमायसीपूः ।
 प्रनन्धाना रथ्या इव याति विश्वाः अपो महिम्ना सिन्धुरन्याः ॥
 एकाऽचेत्सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिः यती गिरिभ्यः आसमुद्रात् ।
 रायश्चोतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेः घृतं पयः दुदुहेनाहुषाय ॥

The seven rivers also joined the sea. (1-71-7).

- अग्निं विश्वाऽभिपृक्षः सकन्ते समुद्रं न स्रवतः सप्तयह्वीः ॥

Indra brought Yadu and Turvasu across the ocean (VI-20-12 ; VI-45-1).

Maritime activity is frequently alluded to in the Brāhmaṇas.

- योवाऽप्लवः समुद्रं प्रस्नाति न सतदुदेति ॥ (Pancha Vimśa XIV-5).
 त्रिष्टुभो स इमाः सूक्त प्रतिपदि इत्येव विद्यात् । तद्यथा समुद्रं प्रप्लवे

रन्नैवं चैषते प्रप्लवते ये संवत्सरं वासते तद्यथास्मै रेवतीं नावं पारकामाः
समारोहेयुरेवमेवैता त्रिष्टुभो समारोहिताः ॥ (Ai. Br. VI-21).

Not only the southern or western ocean, the Vedas know four *saṃudras*. The eastern and northern oceans are alluded to.

शिशुमारा अजगराः पुरीकयाज्ञषामत्स्या रजसा येभ्योस्यसि ।

न ते दूरं सपरिष्ठास्ति ते भवसद्यः सर्वा पपिश्यसि भूमिं पूर्वस्माद्धमस्युत्त
र समुद्रे ॥ (Atharva XI-2).

Also Atharva XI-5-5.

Black antelope skin clothed, long bearded, the Brahmacārin goes from the eastern to the northern ocean, shaping the worlds.

The Aśvins travel on the sea.

समामयोजनो हि वारँथो दस्त्रावमर्त्यः । समुद्रोश्चिनेऽयते ॥

(Rg. 1-6-30-8).

Bühler said that "the early existence of complete navigation of the Indian ocean and the trading voyage of Indians may be taken as proved." Varuṇa had complete knowledge of the sea routes. (Rg. 1-25-7) merchants frequented every part of the sea for profit (Rg. 1-56-2, 1-48-3); ships were sent to foreign countries (Rg. 4-55-6) with a prayer to the sea for the safety of people going on voyage. The vedic ships were not small but with hundred oars (*satūritrām sata sphyaṃ*). Naval expeditions were sent by Turvasu under the command of his son Bhujyu. Maritime trade of the Paṇis is frequently alluded to. The Paṇis had corporations and haggled over prices. They used the niṣka as currency. They were brokers and bankers and practised lending and usury. The Paṇis are called the followers of Vala (Valasyānucarāh) just as the Sanakas are called Vṛtrās followers. In the Purāṇas Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatsujāta and Sanatkumāra are eminent sages.

वधीर्हिदस्युं धनिनं धनेवै एकश्चरन्पुपशाकेभिरिन्द्र ।

धनोर्ध विषुणक्त्रे व्यायन्नयज्वानः सनकाः प्रीतिमीयुः ॥

(Rg. 1-7-33-4)

The followers of Vṛtrā are non-sacrificing, *vr̥ṣāyudhāh*, crying and laughing, wandering all over the earth, bedecked with ornaments of gold and jewels.

चक्राणासः परिणहं पृथिव्या हिरण्येन मणिना शुभमर्मानाः ।

नहिन्वानासाः तितिरुस्ते इन्द्रं परिस्पशोऽद्धात्सूर्येण ॥

(Rg. 1-7-33-8).

The Aśvins dwell with Paṇis for some time (V. 183-3); a prayer is made to soften the heart of Paṇis (VI-53). Br̥bu, a Paṇi gave cows to Bharadvāja while he was in a lonely forest. Br̥bu, is called a *takṣa* of the Paṇis.

अधिबृबुः पणिनां वर्षिष्ठे मूर्धन्नस्थात् । उरुः कक्षो न गांग्यः ॥

(Rg. VI-45-31).

Br̥saya was another Paṇi. (VI-61-3).

सरस्वती देवनिदो निवर्हयप्रजां विश्वस्य बृसयस्य मायिनः ।

उतक्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दो विषमेभ्योऽस्रवो वाजिनीवती ॥

त्रिधाहितं पणिभिर्गुह्यमानं गवि देवासो धृतमन्वविन्दन् ॥

इन्द्रेकं सूर्येकं जजानवेनादेकं स्वधया निसृतक्षुः ॥

Paṇis cannot be Philistines because the latter one called Pulosathu in Egypt and the Sanskrit equivalent seems to be Pulastyas. Rājawade thinks that the Bēkanāṭas are different from the Paṇis. He tries to identify the Paṇis with the Phoenicians because of their physical characteristics (cf. Pettard. *Race and History*). But the term *mṛdhravācah*⁷⁵ is applied like *ayaḥjvanah*, to many even among Dasyus and Āryans. Therefore the Indus people cannot be taken to be Paṇis, the followers of Vala and Vṛtrā.

Moreover that Indra worshippers were also great traders is proved by the Atharva Veda (III-15). Indra is called a *Vaṇija* (caravan trader). The Paippalāda text is :—

इन्द्रं वयं वणिजं हवामहे । सनस्त्राता पुरएतु प्रजानन् ॥

The same hymn refers to the many roads travelled by the gods and to the gods of the gain slayer (*sātaghna*?). Currency is referred to.

यत्पणेन प्रतिपणं चरामि (Paippalāda),

75. Atharva V-11-6 is a dialogue between Varuṇa and Atharvan. Atharvan says "Be the Paṇis of degraded speech; let the Barbarians creep down to the earth. O Varuṇa, do not belong to such ungenerous Paṇis."

“This *Charaṇi* (offense? travel?) of ours O Agni, bear with (*vuṛsh*) what distant roads we have gone. Successful (*śuna*) for us be the bargain and sale. Let return-dealing make me fruitful. Do ye two (?) enjoy this oblation in concord. Successful for us be our going about and rising.

O Vaiśvānara, watch over our progeny, selves, kine and *prāṇa*.”
(*Atharva*, III-15-4. *Ṛg*. 1-31-16).

These prayers indicate that the merchants before going on long journeys invoked the aid of Indra and Agni for the protection of those who remained at home as well as for themselves on the way. They seem to have worn amulets as already indicated. The three fold *astṛta* amulet (*Atharva* XIX-46) was worn for safety. “Let not the *Paṇis* damage thee.”

In view of all this evidence we can conclude that the Āryans were as great traders as they were warriors and there is absolutely no evidence to characterise the Proto-Indian civilisation as non-Āryan. The Atharvan civilisation like the Proto-Indian civilisation is a product of a country which was marshy and subject to frequent inundations. We have already referred to charms to avert inundations. The produce of watery or marshy ground like lotus pods, reeds, various types of water plants were considered sacred and valuable and as fit offerings for guests and gods. The *Atharva* (IV-34) describes *Brahmaudana* as a rice mess in which pools and channels are made filled with *rasa*. It is served with *surā*, water and knob bearing plants.

The bulb bearing lotus spreads, the *bisa*, *śalūka*, *śaphaka*, *mulali*, let all the *dhūrās* come to thee let the complete (*samanta*) lotus pods, approach thee (*āṇḍika*).

The *Kumuda* is *N. esculenta*, the *bisa* is the root of the *padma*, *śalūka* is *utpala*, *śaphaka* is a hoof-shaped water plant or water nut (*Āpastamba Śr. Sū.* 9-14-14), and *mulālī* is *mṛṇālī*.

Whitney thinks that because these were considered special gifts to the pious, a region of standing waters is suggested. On the pottery we find reeds, lotuses and other plants along with the figures of fisherman, fish and tortoise. It is now certain that the so-called Indus civilisation extended in the east up to the Jumna,

if not to Buxar and Gaubati. Evidently the Sindhu-Gangā-Brahmaputra region was dominated by this civilisation. The Atharva knows the Yamunā and Varanāvati. If traces of this civilisation are found still further east and in the south up to the Narmada, they must be later developments. In view of the evidence produced above from the Atharva Vēda, we can with some confidence assert that the so-called Indus civilisation is similar if not identical with the Atharvan phase of Vedic civilisation.

NOTES

Note 1.—Hrozny has claimed recently (*Le. Flambeau*, January 1940. *I. H. Q.* December 1940) that he has discovered the clue to the Indus script from Proto-Hittite hieroglyphic script (anticipated by me. *cf. Prabuddha Karmāṭaka* 1938). He asserts that the hieroglyphic Hittite were the dominant element in the Indus civilisation but the Subarean or Khurri, and Cassites or Elamites formed a part of the Proto-Hindu population. The Proto-Hittite, whose oldest habitat was somewhere in Trans-Caucasia, North Syria and East Asia Minor penetrated into India in the beginning of the third millenium *B. C.* when their writing was not completely developed. Only thus is the independent development of writing in India is explicable according to Hrozny. The untenability of this theory is proved by the ceramic evidence adduced by me (*cf. I. H. Q. Winternitz Comm. Number*).

Note 2.—*The Vrātyas.*—Panca Vimśa Br°. XVII. 1-4; Lāṭyāyana VIII. 6; Nidāna Sūtra VI. 11, 12; Jaiminiya Br° II. 222-227; Baudhāyana XVIII. 24-26; Āpastamba XXII. 5. 4-14; Kāṭyāyana XXII. 4. 1-8; Āśvalāyana IX. 8.25; Śāṅkhāyana XIV. 69-73;

Caland. *Panca Vimśa*. Tr. Bib. Ind. p. 454; I. W. Huer, *Der Vrātya*. I. Stuttgart, 1927; J. Charpentier, "*Bemerkungen über die Vrātya*" *V. O. J.* XXV. p. 355.

The Panca Vimśa Br° says that the Vrātyas were the attendants on "the God" and were left behind when the gods went to heaven and lead a Vrātya life. The gods deputed the Maruts to help the Vrātyas to ascend to heaven. Their "god" is probably "This God" a designation of Rudra. The

Jaiminiya Br° says that the Vrātyas had offended either the god that blows here (wind) or the mighty God (*īśānam dēvam*). The Vrātyas led a communal life (*vrāta*) and neither studied the Vēda, ploughed the land nor traded. Dyutāna Māruta became the gr̥hapati of the Vrātyas when they performed the Vrātya stōma.

The Vrātyas ate foreign food as Brāhmaṇa food though it is like poison, struck the innocent, though not initiated spoke the speech of the initiated (Baud° अथ यद्वात्यवादं वदन्ति दीक्षितवादस्य तद्रूपम्). A turban, a goad, a bow without arrow, (*gyāhrōḍa*-Caland) a rude vehicle, a garment with black fringes, two goat-skins, one white and one black, a silver ornament (worn round the neck); all that is the equipment of the Gr̥hapati. Baudh° says that the Vrātyas had a bow and three arrows in leather quivers. The other Vrātyas have (upper garments) with red borders and corded fringes, with strings at each side; each of them has a pair of shoes and doubly-joined goat's hides. This is the possession of the Vrātyas; on him, to whom they bestow this, they transfer (their guilt). Each of them gives to the Gr̥hapati thirty-three (cows), for thirty-three adherents of "the God" had obtained prosperity through Vrātya Stōma. The youngest who lead a Vrātya life, those who because of old age have a not moving, hanging down *mēḍhra* (*śama nīcha mēḍhra*) should perform this stōma. This rite was once upon a time performed by those Vrātyas, who by old age were precluded from sexual intercourse. Their Gr̥hapati was Kuṣitaka, son of Samaśravas. Luśākapi, the son of Khargala cursed them saying "They are fallen off; broken the vow of chastity". Therefore none of the descendants of Kuṣitaka amounts to much, for they have fallen off from the sacrifice, by applying the stōmas in the wrong way.

The Jaiminiya Br° mentions Aiṣikapāvas, who had Kuṣita as their Gr̥hapati. The Nidāna sūtra (VI. II) mentions that there are two kinds of Vrātyas: the Śirṣadis and the Aiṣikavāyis (old Vrātyas and younger). Nidāna VI. 12 says:—

ज्येष्ठ यज्ञं कृत्स्नं चिकीर्षन्तथापीमं द्वाविंशमाशीः स्तोमं साक्षाज्ज्येष्ठ
यज्ञेऽचकीर्षीत् । स आदोयमानः सर्वान्सोमानादायेत् । तांस्तु यदेवं

प्रयुक्त एवं अनवकारेणारोहो भवति....अकुशलानु व्योहतान
कौषीतकीन्मन्य इति धानन्जय्य । एवं देव्येषु सत्सुरोहो भवति ।

The Panca Vimśa brands the Kauṣṭakins as Vrātyas but Dhanamjayya seems to defend them.

Panca Vimśa Br° (XXIV-18) regarding the sixty-one day-rite of the Vrātyas says that they were the adherents of the "God" and held a sacrificial session, with Budha, the son of Sōma as their sthapati (not Gr̥hapati). They undertook the dīkṣa without previously begging a place for divine worship (dēva yajana) from King Varuṇa. Varuṇa cursed them as unfit to know the path leading to the gods (dēvayāna). Therefore the other priests should not take the sacrificial substances nor sōma on their behalf. At that time there was neither juice in the herbs, nor butter in the milk, nor fat in the flesh, nor hair on the skin, nor leaves on trees. But since the Vrātyas, the adherents of the God performed the sixty-one day-rite, all those became united with those potencies, and were full of lustre, full of juice.

With regard to this the following verse is handed down by tradition. (The following śloka is not found in any other source than the Panca Vimśa Br°).

"As ye often asked (your) sons, the (adherents) of the God 'what have ye done?' they answered: 'Mighty was the dīkṣa of Budha; it was he who brought the butter into the milk.'

"As Budha, the son of Sōma, undertook the mighty dīkṣa, (then) he did reach the delighted universe, on my flesh did he put the fat."

"Poor was the cattle, being meagre and boneless, (but) at the dīkṣa of the son of Sōma, it was provided with fat (milk?)."

They (the Vrātyas) thrive in all ways. They who undertake this rite, thrive in all ways.

The Vrātyas being the worshippers of the Great God (Māhān Dēva or Īśāna) perhaps did not heed Rāja Varuṇa. Budha in later astrology is connected with the Vaiśyas. Budha being made the sthapati seems to indicate that the Vrātyas were different from Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya. Elsewhere (*Panca Vimśa* XVII-11-6) Caland takes sthapati to mean a chief judge, probably a Vaiśya. Caland points out that the Tai° Br° and Kāth° describe a sava designated by Baudhāyana (18-3) and Āpastamba (22-25-2.5.) as

Vaiśya sava or sthapati sava. Laṭyāyana (VIII-7-10) "whom they put at their head, amongst these he should henceforth lead a friendly disposed life (or as the protector), they should call him sthapati".

The Nidāna Sūtra has पुरोधा कावयज्ञ उत्तरः स्थपतिवसो वा, य समानाः श्रेष्ठ्यै संवृणीरन् । Perhaps the sthapati was the elected mayor of the corporation or merchant guild. But this is the Brhaspati Sava and moreover elsewhere it is stated that the Vrātyas neither studied the scriptures, traded nor ploughed the ground.

Note 3. Funeral Ceremony of a Dīkṣita.—In case a Sōmayājīn dies during the performance of the sacrifice, he should be cremated, his bones tied up in his kṛṣṇājina (Āp. XIV. 22-11). In his place his nearest relative was consecrated and the sacrifice was continued. Sōma draughts are poured into the mārjāliya fire, where according to some authorities, the urn containing the bone-relics has been deposited. The other priests chant the Sārparājñī and go around the mārjāliya thrice in apradakṣiṇa, with prācinavīti, beating the left thigh with the left hand (cf. Atharva XVIII-3-25ff.) Then the Panca Vimśa Br° (IX-8-10) says that "He (the hoṭṛ who leads according to some authorities) recites the Śāstra after the stōtra. In yonder world they fan him." Caland could not make out the necessity for fanning. The corresponding passage in Jai.° Br° has अमुष्मिन्नेवैनं तल्लोके निधुवते । अभ्येनं अमुष्मिल्लोके वायुः पवते । Āpastamba says सिग्भिरभिधून्वन्तः

Tai. Br.° अथो धुवन्त्यैवैनं न्योवासै हुवते । Caland does not see any logical connection between the two statements in Panca Br° IX-8-10. In the light of Atharvavēda, we can conjecture that the urn was fanned, the urn was kept for a year to the end of the sattra and then a sacrifice was made for the bones (*asthīni yājayēyuh*). In fact the bones represent the yajamāna, his portion of sōma being poured into the mārjāliya.

The Kṣudra Sūtra (I-11-45) further adds that after going apradakṣiṇa round the mārjāliya beating their left thighs with their left hands, the priests should go again in pradakṣiṇa without touching each other and without looking backwards. After a year they perform a sacrifice (an agnistōma) for the bones of the deceased.

(Concluded.)

THE SĪTĀSVAYAMVARA : AN EXCERPT FROM THE MAHĀNĀṬAKA

BY H. G. NARAHARI, M.A.

THE test of a literary composition lies in the extent of its popularity. The dramatic nature of the *Mahānāṭaka* is no doubt questionable ; but this fact has not affected its popularity. It is known in several recensions,¹ and has been commented upon. Verses from it are cited, though without reference to it as the source, by *Ānanda-vardhana*, *Rājaśekhara* in his *Kavyamīmāṃsa*, and *Dhanika* in his *Daśarūpakāvaloka*.

A further proof of appreciation of the *Mahānāṭaka* is the attempt to excerpt from it. The *Sītāsvayamvara*, a MS.² of which is deposited in the Adyar Library with the Shelf-number XXXV, B. 155, noticed on p. 16 b of the second part of the Library Catalogue is an effort of this nature. It is an old paper MS. in Devanāgarī characters and consisting Eight folia. The author is not known. The name of the work is given in the colophon at the end : *Iti ri sītāsvayamvarō samāptaḥ*. The entire work is in the form of a dialogue in verse and consists of 17 stanzas. The main object of the work is to describe the *svayamvara* of Sītā, and the purpose is chiefly achieved by collecting all verses relevant to the purpose

1. The Western recension of *Dāmodara* and the Eastern attributed to *Madhusūdana* are well-known. Dr. S. K. De (*IHQ.* VII. 537 ff.) points out a *third* recension given by eight MSS. in the Dacca University Manuscript Collection. I have on hand a *fourth* recension of the *Mahānāṭaka* which I have announced in another paper [*Adyar Library Bulletin* (October 1942), pp. 227 ff.]
2. The *Sītāsvayamvara* of *Harikṛṣṇabhaṭṭa* printed in the *Kavyamālā* (Part XIV) is different from this. Aufrecht (CC. I. 723 b) mentions a MS. (Bhr. 174) which is related to the *Hanumannāṭaka*. It may perhaps be the same as the work under consideration now.

from the *Mahānāṭaka*. Nearly half the text is composed of verses taken bodily³ from this play as will be clear from the following table :

SĪTĀSVAYAMVARA	MAHĀNĀṬAKA	
	Dāmodara	Madhusūdana
1. Ādvipāt parato'pyami ...	I.10	I.24
2. Śrṇuta janaka śulkam ...	I.18	I.23
3. Sārdham hareṇa ...	I.17	I.20
5. Deva śrīraghunāṭha ...	I.11	I.27
7. Kamaṭhapṛṣṭha ...	I.9	I.26
9. Pṛthvi sthirā bhava ...	I.21	I.29
14. Utksiptam saha kauśikasya	I.23	I.32
15. Truṭyadbhimadhanuḥ ...	I.26	I.37

The verse *Sādhārāṇe nirātaṅkaḥ* which is the *fourth* stanza in the *Sitāsvayamvara* is only slightly amended from *Mahāvīracarita* (I.31).

The following verses in the *Sitāsvayamvara* seem to be composed by the author himself :

जानक्युवाच—

इदमयुक्तकृतं भवता कुतः कथमसौ नियमो भविता तव ।

मम मनो रमते रघुनन्दने तदपि तात वृथा वचनं पणे ॥ (Verse 6)

अनेकशः सन्ति समर्थभूपा यु(ध्य)⁴न्तु ते बाहुबलेन गाढम् ।

किं भग्नचापेन ममास्ति कार्यं मज्जीवितेशो यदि रामनामा ॥

(Verse 8)

3. Slight variations in reading are also noticeable sometimes.

4. MS. wrongly reads युद्धन्तु.

आक्रम्यमाणस्य शरासनस्य भारेण दीर्णमिवनीं समीक्ष्य ।

निशम्य सीतावचनं स पश्चाद्विमृश्य रामो(ऽ)⁵नुजमाजुहाव ॥

(Verse 10)

सौमित्रिणा पाणितलं स्वकीयं (ट्)⁶ष्ट्वा धृतं भूतलरक्षणाय ।

ततो वदन्भूमिभुजो विहस्य धृतं धनू राघ(व)⁷योः कराभ्याम् ॥

(Verse 11)

सज्जीकृते शंभुधनुष्यमुष्मिन्को जानकीं प्रा (प्स्य)⁸ति पुण्यकर्मा ।

ज्यायान्कनीयानथ तावुभौ किमहो नृपाः पश्यत कौतुकं हि ॥

(Verse 12)

श्रुत्वा तदा वाक्यमसन्नृपाणां श्रीलक्ष्मणः पाणितलं स्वकीयम् ।

दूरीचकाराथ शनैर्विहस्य संसक्तवानात्मपदाग्रभागे ॥

(Verse 13)

सीतासख्युवाच-

सीते भग्नं धनुः (शै)⁹ वं रामेण मृदुबाहुना ।

वृथा पणमथो वेहि रा(मो)¹⁰ भर्ता भवेत्तव ॥

(Verse 16)

भग्नं भूनेशचापे पुलकिनि जनके कौशिके संप्रहृष्टे

सत्रीडे राजवृन्दे व्रजति निजनिजस्थानमप्राप्तकण्ठे ।

मालामाधत्त कण्ठे नरपतितनया कामि(नो)¹¹भिर्वृताङ्गो

सत्रीडा लोकरम्या स्मितमधुमुखी सा सदास्तूपदाया ॥

(Verse 17)

These go a great way in making the whole group of verses connected, and in giving a fitting conclusion to the narrative.

5. This is not in the MS.

6. MS. erroneously reads दष्ट्वा.

7. This letter is missing in the MS.

8. MS. wrongly reads प्राप्स्यति.

9. MS. has only धनुशैवं which is wrong.

10. MS. reads रामभर्ता erroneously.

11. MS. has only short नि here. It is wrong.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS. NEW SERIES. No. VII

On an Ancient Indian apologue about the Filial Affection of the Black Partridge and the Painted Partridge.

BY THE LATE SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ALTHOUGH the bird referred to in the undermentioned ancient Indian apologue has been described by Sister Nivedita as a lapwing,¹ I am definitely of opinion that her identification is wrong as the lapwing is not found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. On the other hand, I am of opinion that the bird referred to therein must be either of the two undermentioned birds :—

- (1) *Francolinus vulgaris*, Stepp. Black Partridge. Specimens of this species of partridge, which have been collected from the Kheri District of Oudh, Kumaun, Gorhwal, Nepal, Terai and various localities in the Himalayas are included in the collection of birds contained in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.
- (2) *Francolinus pictus*, Ierd. and selb. Painted Partridge. Specimens of this species of partridge, which have been collected from the Jhansi District in the United Provinces are also in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.²

From the names of the localities from which the Lucknow Museum specimens have been collected, it would appear that the aforementioned two species of partridges are commonly and abundantly found in the plains and fields of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It must be stated here that, in the localities mentioned above, was situated the famous battle-field of Kurukṣetra. It is, for this reason, I am of opinion that the bird mentioned in the following apologue must have belonged to either of the aforementioned two species of partridges. It would further appear from the Catalogue of Birds in the Lucknow Provincial Museum that, if the lapwing (mentioned by Sister Nivedita) had been commonly and

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1. Tales of Hinduism. By Sister Nivedita, Longmans Green & Co. 1912, page 240.
 2. Catalogue of the Birds in the Provincial Museum, N. W. P. and Oudh, Lucknow, Allahabad, N. W. P. and Oudh Government Press 1190, page 232.

abundantly found in the United Provinces and, for the matter of that, in the locality wherein the battle-field of Kurukṣetra was situated, specimen thereof would surely have been included either in the Lucknow Museum collection or the ornithological fauna or the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Now I shall return to the main subject of the apologue which is to the following effect :—

When, in the battle-field of Kurukṣetra, the terrible battle was about to commence, Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who was the charioteer of Arjuna, suddenly heard a little partridge's cry of distress and anxiety. On going up to the spot, he found that the little bird had built its nest on a hillock in the midst of the battle-field and was rearing its young ones therein. It was uttering its cry out of anxiety for the safety of its nestlings.

Hearing its cry, Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa very tenderly and compassionately addressed the following words to it :—

“Poor little mother ! let this be thy protection.”

So saying, he took up a great elephant's bell that had fallen nearby and threw it over the partridge's nest. As the result of this act, the little partridge and its young ones were kept in perfect safety in their fragile nest through the eighteen days' terrible battle and carnage that followed. It is in this way that, by the mercy of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the poor little bird and its young ones were preserved even in the midst of great danger.³

From the study of the foregoing apologue, we find that :—

- (1) The ancient Indo-Āryans were remarkable for their kindness towards the lower animals. This trait has been inherited by their descendants, the present day Hindus who, though they sacrifice animals by way of offerings to their deities, kill them in such a humane way that it inflicts the minimum amount of pain and suffering on the sacrificial victims.
- (2) The foregoing apologue also inculcates two moral lessons of great value and importance. The first is

3. Cradle Tales of Hinduism. By Sister Nivedita, London ; Longmans Green & Co. 1212. Page 240.

that "Whomsoever Lord Kṛṣṇa (or God) preserveth, no one can destroy or slay and whomsoever Lord Kṛṣṇa (or God) destroyeth or slayeth no one can preserve" (राखे कृष्णमारेके, मारे कृष्णराखेके). By the mercy of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the little partridge and its nestlings were preserved from all harm whatever, even in the midst of the terrible carnage that followed the battle of Kurukṣetra.

- (3) The second moral lesson that the ancient Indian moralist teaches us therein is that "Thou shouldst be tender-hearted and kind to all beasts and birds and all members of the lower orders of the creation."
- (4) From the foregoing apologue, we also learn two important biological facts. The first of these is that all beasts and birds and even all other lower animals possess an instinct or sense whereby they can detect the approach of danger.
- (5) The other one is that all beasts and birds and even the members of the lower orders of the creation are endowed with great affection and tenderness for their young ones and will do all that is in their power to preserve the latter from all kinds of harm and danger.
- (6) We also come to know therefrom that, in ancient times in India, huge bells of metal used to be suspended from the neck of elephants in order that the clanging thereof and the blowing of conch-shells and the blasts of war horns and trumpets might create the maximum of din and noise in the midst of raging battles and thereby strike feelings of terror and horror into the hearts of the combatants. This practice of hanging bells from the necks of elephants while on the march is practised in India even at the present day.
- (7) The ancient Indo-Āryans were adepts in the art of metallurgy and could manufacture even such large bells of metal as are described in the foregoing apologue.

A NOTE ON SĀNCHĪ

BY P. S. LAKSHMINARASU

SĀNCHĪ, though not hallowed by any association with the incidents in the life of Gautama Buddha, is yet famous for its admittedly most imposing and best preserved of all the monuments that Hinayana Buddhism has bequeathed to India. In 1818, General Taylor found the monuments intact and three of the gateways of its great stupa still erect and standing showing that, while Bhilsa (Bhailasvāmin) was thrice sacked by Moslem conquerors and its temples were destroyed for the fourth time in Aurangazeb's reign, Sāñchī hardly five miles away from it and prominently situated on a steep hill was luckily enough left unscathed. Thus is preserved to us a work begun possibly in the pre-Mauryan period by the construction of a temple, and carried out by Aśōka by the additions of stupas, sand-stone umbrellas and pillar in 257 B.C. and enriched by additions and improvements by the Sungas, Āndhras, Guptas and others down to the age of the Paramāras of Mālwa in the twelfth century A.D. These monuments show traces of destruction by Puṣyamitra, the persecutor of the Buddhists, of the restoration by his successors like Agnimitra and of the unwitting damage caused between 1822 and 1851 A.D. by Capt. Johnson, Sir Alexander Cunningham and Capt. Maisey by digging the stupas without knowing the excavator's job.

With the active help and generosity of the Bhopal Durbar to whom these treasures belong, Sir John Marshall put eight years' of hard work from 1912, excavated the area, took steps for their preservation, erected a museum on the spot and brought the three volumes under review* rightly dedicating them to the memory of Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam Sahiba, the late Ruler of Bhopal. The first volume deals with the history, art and epigraphy of the Sāñchī monuments while the other two volumes

* The Monuments of Sāñchī, Vols. I, II and III—By Sir John Marshall C.I.E., Litt. D., F.S.A., and Alfred Foucher, with the texts of inscriptions edited, translated and annotated by N. G. Majumdar, M.A., F.R.A.S.B. Available from the Manager, Government Publications, Civil Lines, New Delhi, Price Rs. 210—0—0 or 15 Guineas,

contain 141 plates in all with a description given on a page facing each plate by Foucher chiefly and by Sir John Marshall in some cases. Foucher also contributes his interpretation of the sculptures and details of iconography in the third part of the first volume while the editing, translating and annotating of the inscriptions found in the Sāñchī area are done in the fourth part of the same work by N. G. Majumdar. The history, the art and the place of Sāñchī art in the early school is sketched by Sir John Marshall himself.

Peace, quietitude and nearness to the busy haunts of men, the three requisites of a Saṅghārāma mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*, were noticed by Aśōka, as Viceroy at Ujjayini, when he halted at Vidiśā and married Devi, a banker's daughter, by whom he had Mahendra and Sanghamitra who later went out on a Buddhist mission to Ceylon. Possibly there was already a temple and a Buddhist settlement before Aśōka erected a stupa and a pillar in that place. The allusion to a viihara in Vidiśagiri (Cetiyaḡiri) in the *Mahāvamśa* to Devi's taking her children suggests that the stupa had been completed before they set out on their mission. That the great stupa and the lion pillar spring from the same floor, that the structure of the stupa is in brick like other Aśōkan stupas and that fragments of highly polished Chunar sandstone umbrellas were found in the debris nearby all go to show that Aśōka must have built them marking the place with his pillar on which his edict of 265 B.C. is engraved. The various layers of the floors from the bed rock on which the pillar rests, terrace, the solid circuit wall of the great stupa, the artificial terrace of the second stupa etc. were added subsequent to the time of Aśōka. If the Sungas had repaired and restored the great stupa, the Āndhras added the gateways and the Guptas installed the images on the processional path. With the rise of Bhilsa, Sāñchī had fallen into ruins in the later Gupta period. Sir John Marshall assigns various dates to these monuments, relying on inscriptional evidence. In Sir John Marshall's view the pillar cult was first set by Aśōka as a fashion though the *Yupa* pillars were common from the Vedic period; a self-contained monastery had not been evolved by the time of the *vinaya* texts or in the days of Aśōka but it was the creation of the Kuṣāṇa period and not until the Gupta age did it

find its way from the north-west of India into Hindustan and Central India. The origin of the apse as due to the shape of the stupa is rejected by Sir John Marshall. Temple 18 which bears a striking resemblance to the rock-cut caitya halls at Karli and elsewhere with the difference that the apse is here enclosed, not by columns but by a solid wall, is assigned to a period earlier than 650 A.D. when the four-faced pillar with unfinished designs was the fashion of the day.

Confronted by the revolutionary discoveries revealed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro pointing to a civilization of India's own long anterior to the Vedic Āryans, Sir John Marshall is at some pains to fix the extent of foreign influences in, if not the authorship of, the Sāñchī art. From the absence in the Sāñchī monuments of any trace of the traditional decorative motifs found in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa like the lotus, half or full-blown, and again, of the suspended garland or the sinuous creeper met with in the later schools and periods, he concludes that the Sāñchī art bears a close affinity to that of the Assyrian or the Achæmenid Persia. Though the subjects, motifs or reliefs are essentially and indisputably Indian and though there is no question of their being of any foreign authorship, yet the Sāñchī art is not the work of a single genius like Masaccio leaping ahead of his age but is the work of several clever craftsmen of Mālwa itself, who stimulated by the Greek art that had been disseminated in India in the second and third centuries B.C. in the form of coins, gems, terra-cottas, small carvings and textiles, worked at Sāñchī with new motifs and methods of technique. For the Greek influence was then the strongest in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier where the Greeks had established principalities two generations before the erection of the Sāñchī balustrade containing some of the finest carvings of centaurs, human-headed horses and lions, griffins, fish-tailed stags, mermaids, the sun-god in his four horse charriot and perhaps the Yakṣi grasping the tree. These and the Aśōkan pillar are, according to him, executed by the foreign artists employed by Aśōka, while the inferior ones like the lions of the capital with disproportionately broad and swelling chests, legs widely sparsed and manes mechanically treated are the work of local craftsmen

or some from the Mauryan dominions poorly trained in Hellenistic school. The second stupa has for the same reason a small percentage of carvings of an unusually free and advanced style.

Examining next the sculptures of Sāñchī with Barhut, Bodhagaya, Ajanta Paintings and Amarāvati, Sir John Marshall comes to the conclusion that the promise of beauty and strength of the Barhut school is perhaps eclipsed by the Mathurā school in the first century B.C. due to the Śaka conquest of Mathurā; that the Bodhagaya balustrade embodies the two arts of Mālwa (Sāñchī) and the Barhut-Mathurā; that the Amarāvati misses the religious tone of Sāñchī and runs riot with secular element unknown to Barhut and influenced by the emotional art by presenting the Buddha and the Boddhisattvas in human shape including the nudity, court and other scenes; and that the Ajanta Paintings elevate humanity into the spiritual sphere retaining the natural and serene atmosphere of the Sāñchī art. The device of continuous narration, as in the siege of Kuṣinagarā in progress in the war of the seven kings for the Buddha's relics, was a favourite with the Indian as well as the Roman sculptor. This Siege scene as well as the Shadḍanta Jātaka repeat themselves in a number of panels and their close examination shows that it has been treated differently by workmen of varying skill, thus accounting for superior workmanship in one and inferior in another place. On the whole the Sāñchī sculptures constitute more than "The Jungle Book of India" inasmuch as it is a compendium of life in all its aspects.

A consideration of tools and processes used in the Sāñchī art reveals that the processes of high polish and red staining remain a secret probably come down from the pre-Āryan days, that the Sāñchī craftsmen did not rely upon clay, or wax models, though their making was known to them, but drew their inspiration largely from the 'memory image' and that they had known the use of files, chisels, saw, abrasives and so on.

Turning to the interpretation of the Sāñchī sculptures, we find Foucher dividing them into Buddhist and non-Buddhist carvings. The first group deals purely with Buddha and his great departure from the palace, the other miracles connected with Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Śrāvastī and Sankasya, his past lives from a small number

of Jātakas, and previous Buddhas and these carvings are observed to be confined to the balustrades, gateways and *torāṇas* leaving a considerably large surface for the sculptor to fill up by emptying his whole bag of the heap of motives, native or foreign, religious or profane. From our present lack of knowledge of the folk-lore then known to the craftsmen we are apt to assume that this large bulk of carvings are intended as decorative and not as religious in tone. In the portrayal of the Buddhist themes, more attention is paid to the main biography of the Buddha than to the incidents in the Jātakas as can be judged from the sketchy way in which the elephant with the six tusks, the *Mahākapi* making a bridge over the river to let the other monkeys escape from the archers, *Iṣiṅga* or the unicorn, *Syama* or filial piety and *Visvantara* of boundless charity are executed leaving us to go to Barhut and Amarāvati for a detailed information. The miracles great and small are arranged in cycles to give us the impression of a spontaneously moving drama of the Master's life in selected acts as it were. But for the inclusion of Aśoka's visit in the Bodhagaya cycle, if the interpretation in the light of *Divya-vadana* be accepted to represent the watering of the tree, the procession of men with clubs, and a royal personage supported by the two queens, it is the only piece of anachronism entering into the Buddha's story so exquisitely carved without words.

The sculptors at Sāñchi have used the symbols familiar to them like the lotus, the tree, and the wheel to depict the story which their donors had asked them to do. In doing so they transformed the basrelief itself into an icon and monopolised it to the detriment of the old narrative it once gave. 'Fates have granted us the exceptional favour of possessing *in situ* and practically intact' all the monuments necessary to trace the essential stages from the symbolic to the late mediæval cult in the history of Buddhist iconography.

Passing next to part four dealing with 842 inscriptions collected from the time of James Prinsep in 1837 down to Sir John Marshall's excavations, we find them engraved in Brāhmī and its later derivations and belonging palæographically to the following clearly defined six groups :

(1) The edicts of Aśoka ; (2) inscriptions on the pavement slabs and balustrades of stupa 1 including the ground, berm, stairway

and harmika balustrades, inscriptions on relic boxes and railings of stupas 2 and 3 and those of Temple 40; (3) inscriptions on the gateways and balustrade extensions of stupa 1 and on the ground blaustrade of stupa 3; (4-6) inscriptions of the Kuṣān, Gupta and later periods respectively, which are easily distinguishable from one another and from the group of the first three mentioned above.

As regards the palæography of the first three groups Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda in a valued article on 'Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stupas at Sāñchī' clearly shows that the assumption of Cunningham endorsed by Bühler to the effect that the ground balustrade of stupa 1 with the extnesions belong to the age of Aśōka cannot be sustained on account of differences in writing the letters, *dha*, *bha*, *ha* and the medials of *i* and *o* characteristic of later ages. For many of them are really later than the Heliodorus inscription at Besnagar and the inscriptions of Nanāghat and Hatigumpha.

Unlike the Sarnath and Kausāmbi edicts that are addressed to the *Mahāmātras* requiring the *Patimokkha* to be recited on every *Uposatha* day, the Sāñchī edict has no reference to the *Mahāmātras* at all. It is directed against dangerous and not minor schism and the sectarian attitude of the emperor in these three edicts is much later than R.E. XII in which stress was laid on religious toleration in its widest sense.

Fresh interpretation has been offered here and there lending some support to the overdrawn *Dīpavamśa* version. Thus *Kasaṇḍagota* referred to in the casket inscriptions as *sava Hemavat ācariya* and interpreted by Cunningham as the teacher of all the Himavat region is now rendered as the leader of the mission to the Himalayas. So also *Kākanāva pabhāsana* is taken as an epithet of *Gotiputta* meaning the light of *Kākanāva* and not as the gift of *Kākanāva pabhāsana* which Cunningham meant or as the gift of the *pabhāsanas* of *Kākanāva* according to Lüders. The saints at Sāñchī are those of three generations beginning with *Kasaṇḍagota* and ending with *Vachi Suvijayita*.

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REVIEWS

Speeches By His Highness Yuvarāja Śrī Kantirava Narasimharāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.I.E. Yuvarāja of Mysore. 1910-1939. Compiled by Rajasevasakta N. Rama Rao. Copies can be had from the Government Central Book Depot, Bangalore. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

THE Yuvarāja of Mysore, whose lamented demise on the 11th of March 1940 at Bombay cast a gloom over the whole of Mysore and elsewhere, was highly esteemed and loved. A guide, friend and philosopher of every movement in the State calculated for the amelioration of its masses, he had endeared himself to one and all by his easy accessibility and grace of manners. He was a unique and dynamic personality hard to replace, a person of generous impulses and wide sympathies, an ardent advocate of enlightened progress, a prince of ripe experience, deep knowledge and unrivalled personal influence in the country and an accomplished gentleman of very refined tastes and fond of sports. One hundred and thirty-seven of his speeches and addresses on a vast range of topics and subjects are printed in this collection and we are grateful to the Government of Mysore and to the Government Branch Press at Mysore for this publication which has come none too soon. They are an indication of the strenuous life the Yuvarāja led, and the vast mine of information will be highly instructive to the student of progress. The publication is a duty discharged to the people of Mysore whom the Yuvarāja loved so well and to whom his life was dedicated. It is his legacy of wisdom and ideals which was not destined to be transferred into a beneficent rule by him but he has left in his beloved son—the present Mahārāja of Mysore—an inheritor of all the greatness and high renown of the Royal House of Mysore: and to him this work is very appropriately dedicated.

To the man in the street, hostels, schools, towns, villages, streets named after him as well as the numerous foundation stones bring the grateful recollection of the charm and glamour of the Yuvarāja's personality but these speeches exhibit the development of

the human touch of a prince of the Mysore Royal House to whom during his lifetime sufficient justice does not appear to have been rendered. The editor, Rajasevasakta Navaratna Rama Rao will have the proud privilege and satisfaction of providing the Indian public with a long-felt want by this publication and the public in turn are extremely grateful to him for the development and portrayal of this magnificent prince in his introduction, with a care and attention and earnestness all his own.

Unaffected charm of manners and an open and genial nature were a natural endowment of the Yuvarāja and to a mind equipped by education and travel he added the sympathetic and patriotic love of the Mysorean. His passion for justice and tolerance of differences of opinion, his deep sympathy for the poor and the ignorant, the under-dog generally, were well-known. He was not content to live in the idealistic past but wanted to move on keeping pace with modern progressive movements elsewhere. If any individual was neglected in the society, corporate life to that extent was weakened and people therefore had to be properly educated for democracy. Co-operation must be the guiding principle for individuals as well as for governments. Scientific education would sweep off old cob-webs of musty edifices and let in the sunlight of knowledge. Scouting would prepare us to be ever ready to show kindness in another's trouble and courage in our own. His close association with several movements in the State—notably Scouting, Co-operation and Harijan uplift—brought him into contact with all kinds and classes of all ages and gained personal affection and loyalty throughout life.

His social charm was irresistible. He was a wonderful host and entertainer and a shrewd judge of human nature. There was no sense of pride or superiority in the man and if you talked to him you soon felt you were conversing with one interested and forgot the Yuvarāja in him. And invariably it was you who returned profited by his speaking and informing conversation in a free, easy and unassuming manner.

The Yuvarāja seemed to symbolise the union of what was best in the twin cultures of the world and to him the unity of faith was greater than anything else. This was also characterised

by his love for the weak, the fallen, the destitute, the degraded and the dumb and to the youth of the rising generations his advise was a true fellowship and brotherhood transcending all distinctions of class and creed and an appeal to work for the common welfare of our dear, beloved motherland. We have had a glorious past and we are linked with a still more glorious future : so be it : but then we have to consecrate ourselves to a life of harmony, goodwill and understanding and press forward to secure with zeal and courage our rightful place among the nations of the world for the lasting benefit of humanity.

S.S.

Rājadharmā—By Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A.

Published by the Adyar Library. Adyar Library Series No. 27.

Price Rs. 3-8-0.

RAJADHARMA is a subject of absorbing interest as much to the man of affairs in the modern world as to the antiquarian. In its widest sense it will include all dharmaśāstra and not to recognise it will land one in trouble in understanding our ancient life and ideals.

The Veda, eternal, omniscient, infallible, limitless, contains everything ; what is not there is nowhere else. If, then, all law and usage as well as all knowledge be enshrined there, it clearly follows that there is internal consistency in law, the differences which appear are only apparent and resolvable by enquiry and for every rule of law a Vedic basis can be discovered. Where none exists, it is only apparently so and a commentator's skill is in discovering the texts bearing on the matter in question as indeed Medhātithi and Visvarūpa have done.

Dharmaśāstra was a living subject of study in India down to the threshold of the nineteenth century, being assiduously cultivated at all the great centres of Hindu learning. Its importance lies chiefly in the light it throws on the institutions and ideals, the life and thought of an age remote from our own. Modern conditions of life and upheavals due to political disturbances and the break-up of the Hindu Family and the social order made many inroads into the traditional methods of approach laid down either for its study or for the application of its essential principles

and these became further emphasised by the absence at the time of a proper perception of the philosophic back-ground of Hindu life and thought so much needed for applying those principles. Strange results followed. Sir Henry Maine, for example, ready to see parallels between the ancient law of Rome which he knew and the Hindu law, made generalisations concerning Hindu jurisprudence from a belief that what he noticed in his day existed from time immemorial in Hindu India, relying on a cursory perusal of English translations of Smṛtis and digests. There was then no access to the large mass of Sanskrit literature, digests, commentaries, Smṛties, now available, in manuscripts, print or in the form of translations. Our judge-made law in large measure was like-wise dependant on these translations or the opinions of pandits at English courts. Many errors and wrong conclusions thus persisted and are today perpetuated on the principle of *stare decisis*, even at a time when there are available Sanskrit scholars amongst Hindu judges. Yet, we must acknowledge the great contributions of European savants like Colebrooke, Bühler and Jolly which opened our eyes and made possible the present knowledge of our Smṛtis and commentaries on these vast subjects.

The Hindu view of life makes no distinction between religious and secular duties except in the matter of the distribution of duties and obligations. For life is a continuum uninterrupted by death and so are deeds and thought. The several subjects of study like dharmaśāstra or arthaśāstra which go to help for a final interpretation of the rule of life or an institution are cognate and inter-dependant. Thus the King's dharma (Rājadharmā) is and comprises and represents the sum of knowledge of the personal and functional duties of a king with reference to his people and in the state *i.e.* the whole of *dharma*, dharmaśāstra. As told of Śrī Rāma, the king is the subject as well as the protector of the *dharma*.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is a self-contained work, of a master-mind like Aristotle, and the opinions expressed therein have entered into the warp and woof of Indian political thought and life. Yet it is only a small part of the whole, the bigger literature of sociology. There are sections on Rājadharmā in the epics and in

the purāṇas. The later works of Lakṣmīdhara, Viṣṇūśeṣvara, Jīmūtavāhana, Mādhava, Raghunandana and others have provided excellent digests of Hindu Law but regarding the Vyavahārikanda of the dharmaśāstra, several aspects left out there have to be considered. For example, in our old criminal law, as in other archaic penal law, spiritual and secular punishments were intermixed. An offence was treated both as a sin and as a crime. Punishment for sin was much more dreaded than that for the crime involved in committing it but in the present sceptical age the sentence of the spiritual authority and the imposition of even an exacting penance or rite of expiation for the sin committed will be regarded as light in comparison with imprisonment, banishment or death. That is how persons scoff or cavil at these so-called lenient punishments for the crimes and misdemeanours of the higher castes. The explanation obviously is that standards, usages and customs differ from age to age and in the same age in different climes. We have heard of Svami Vivekananda being horrified at the polyandrous customs of the Tibetan families while it was they who were shocked at the manifest selfishness of an Indian in the plains below who wanted a woman all for himself. There is a school of thought which believes arthaśāstra to be a work on polity, different from dharmaśāstra, different in aim, outlook, method and origin so much so in case of a conflict between the two, arthaśāstra according to them, not dharmaśāstra as others would have it, would prevail. Naturally, one would expect no conflict would arise and if it did, in the natural order what is laid down as *dharma* would have precedence. That in such a scheme the arthaśāstra would be derived from a secular source the learned author would consider as opposed to Indian tradition. Smṛtis are mentioned amongst the sources of law and they provide for judicial decisions by judges and assessors who were to be experts both in arthaśāstra and dharmaśāstra. Rājaniṭi prescribed that in granting audience the king must give preference to heretics, magicians, learned brāhmaṇas and destitute women. Criminal jurisprudence was also ascribed to a divine origin, daṇḍa being a divine creation. Kauṭilya's arthaśāstra shares the same belief as is found in the corresponding portions of the dharmaśāstra. Kauṭilya is generally reputed to have lived in the second century B. C. when Buddhism pervaded the entire continent

of India. What is laid down in his great work has to be viewed with reference to the conditions and circumstances of his day.

The scope of dharmaśāstra is to take into the mind an idea, grasp, analyse, receive, know and understand it in an etymological sense. The expansiveness of the understanding with reference to the compass of the idea itself is denoted by it. What is contained in a single text of the dharmaśāstra requires a great deal of exposition, elaboration and commentary to comprehend it. The Smṛtis do not apparently contain such worldly matters. In Gautama, Āpastamba, Bodhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu, the core of legal matter in the modern sense is there, making a small part of the total, possibly because, in a simpler world without much economic competition, there was more sin and less crime, and wealth *qua* wealth was not sought after. Commentaries on dharmaśāstra were handed down even like the Smṛti texts, from teacher to pupil, from generation to generation, by oral tradition and to the initiated few and consequently ran the risk of being lost, when those who possessed the traditional explanations gradually dwindled and in many cases, the explanation itself perished. Further, dharmaśāstra shared the misfortune of all technical literature in Sanskrit through the drying up of the springs of patronage. Added to this, its contact with the more vigorous and wordly European and neo-Indian cultures which more particularly in the nineteenth century produced amongst us an admiration for whatever was not our own. No wonder, the Hindu dharmaśāstra was placed beside works on magic, drawing inspiration for doing so from the scanty Smṛti material on law, the existence of two classes of Mauryan courts in ancient times as mentioned by Kauṭilya, and the assumption that Indian thought differentiated between religious and secular elements as elsewhere. It is, therefore, appropriate that the author should have started with the reflections on the character, scope, progress and content of the Indian literature of *dharma* which has for centuries influenced the life and thought of the people of India. Kāmandaka, Somadeva, Hemacandra, Bhoja and Someśvara, Bṛhaspati, Śukra and Vaiśampāyana have provided vast material for the investigator's spade. Such are the aspects of Rājadharmā which have become obscured in the course of ages, and which it

has been the aim of Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar's lectures to elucidate, expound and re-state.

In his treatment of the subject, the author has enlivened the text with copious foot-notes at the end both to support his statements and to elucidate them, in a manner characteristic of him and only to be expected of a man of his learning and attainments. We compliment Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Sanskritist, scholar, administrator, historian and economist, on his agreeing to deliver these initial lectures on a foundation bearing the honoured name of the late Diwan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao in the Madras University and are grateful that, while closely associated with the Benares Hindu University at the time, the author found it possible to give these lectures in 1938. Every Indian University should make a provision for the advancement of Indian Culture. As even the University of Madras were hard-pressed for funds, our indebtedness to the Adyar Library is considerably enhanced for undertaking this publication, which is so useful and so excellently got-up. That his invaluable services should be available to the Adyar Library and to Baroda for editing Hindu Law texts is a matter for universal congratulation and gratitude. In the near future, we are expecting five volumes of *Kṛtya-Kalpataru*, the oldest digest extant of the *Dharmaśāstra* by Lakṣmidhara in fifteen volumes to be followed in due course by the *Vyavahāra Nirṇaya* of Varadarāja and the *Keśava Vaijayanti*, the famous commentary of the ancient Viṣṇusmṛti by Nanda Pandita.

S.S.

Four Essays on Suddha Yoga—By Janardana. Published by the Suddha Dharma Office, Mylapore, Madras. Price. Boards Re. 1-0-0. Paper As. 10.

"FOUR Essays on Suddha Yoga" by Janardana is an appeal offering help to synchronise one's own variegated nature in oneself and also in outer relationship as a prelude to general synthesis. Ignorance is death: wisdom does not consist in sacrificing oneself nor erasing oneself under false notions of sacrifice: but utter and unconditional surrender to *Īśvara* is the greatest sacrifice. The

first chapter deals with *Sannyāsa* and *Tyāga*, the second with *Gāyatri Upāsana* and *Yōga*, the third with *Prāṇayāma* and its role in *Yōga*, and the last in *Dhyāna* and *Yōga*. Meditation whether of *Saṅga* or of *Suddha* type, is the sole means to the *yōgis*, devotees and sages as well. *Dhyāna* is, therefore, necessary and may *Īśvara* enseat in the hearts of one and all urge and lead them all through *Suddha-Dhyāna* and *Suddha-Yōga* to the great realisation of *Suddha Brahman*.

S. S.

The Veeraśaiva Weltanschauung—By Śrī Kumarasvami, B.A. Published by V. R. Kopal, M.A., B.T. Navakalyanamath, Dharwar.

ŚRĪ KUMARASVAMĪ, the young ascetic, here gives an intelligent exposition of *Veeraśaiva* philosophy in the light of Western metaphysics so as to make it more intelligible to the modern minds. Sayings of the *Saraṇas* or *Veeraśaiva* mystics are said to be the spontaneous and direct outcome of the divine afflatus springing from within as a result of inspiration through God-intoxication. Will is a supreme fact in *Veeraśaiva* philosophy but it is the transcendent will termed *Cit-Śakti* the delight of which lies in moving in the ether of supreme awareness. The cosmic will and instinctive memory always seek guidance from the transcendent will for in it is truly revealed the free character of *Cit-Śakti* as the primal existence. Will or *Śakti* as the supreme principle of expression has a locus in *Śiva*, the absolute truth and there is identity between *Śiva* and *Śakti*, truth and will. Infinite silence and the immanent sublimity are the two between which the *Saraṇa* has attempted harmony. *Śiva* transcends this immanent sublimity or *Śakti*. The integral association of *Śiva-Śakti* or *Śakti viśiṣṭādvaita* is the world view of a *Veeraśaiva* who views the whole world as an expression of the divine will under the stress and guidance of the divine truth. The liberation of spirit from the tyranny of matter which is considered to be the high ideal in Indian thought does neither loom large in his mind nor attract his attention. Not liberation but transfiguration of every movement of life, not sublimation of primordial instincts and crude impulses but spiritualisation of all the forces in man is the greater ideal to him. In this greater ideal

which the Sarana calls as the *sarvalingasthala*, all the beauties and harmonies of the mysterious life are thrown open to man and every moment of being shall be felt as divine. Life is to be completely divinised and humanity be installed in a divine society.

S. S.

Life Negation—An Indian Study of Christ.—By A. McG. Coomaraswamy Tampœ. Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co. 46, Great Russell Street, London. Price 2sh. 6d.

AN Indian Study of Christ by Coomaraswamy Tampœ deals with the subject in several chapters commencing with the Will to live and after dealing with Self-sacrifice in chapter eight concludes in chapter nine, hereby perceive we the love of God, because He laid down His life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for our brethren. Whether man's discovery is the fall of man or the treasure of conscious will to love we know not. Retaliatory murder is the cause of the retribution. The human mind is a focus of appreciation having the knowledge of good and evil and with that knowledge arises the instinctive reactions to environments and there commences sin. That to rouse mankind to the level capable of achieving is the earliest recorded thought of ancient India and there starts Life Negation, the mysticism of the identity of the souls of all things with the universal soul. Man carries a spark of the divine or the Universal Soul within him. God is within us and within all creatures. Far from the unchanging come all kinds of living beings and all return to it again. To this end, for realising God, one has to practise increasing abstemiousness, simplicity of habits, and surplus personal cleanliness. Simple and clean life, self-disciplined by gradual communion with God is necessary. The spiritual existence makes a grasp and then communion with the absolute, the all-pervading and the omniscient God is easy. Spiritual appeals receive their response and the life of a man like St. Francis of Assissi would have had no conflict at all because he led such a spiritual life. The faculty in Cordelia which makes her shrink with grief and horror from the evil in her sisters' answers to their father Lear, is not responding in its spiritual purity and undivided goodness when it comes to her own turn to answer. In the world

of the competitive, spiritual life suffers ; hence, recluseness and ascetism and as Śrī Kṛṣṇa has said "surrender all the powers, come for refuge to Me alone, I will deliver thee from all sins ; grieve not." Arjuna's problem was the division of goodness and the solution offered for his internal conflict is that in carrying out the spiritual aim, if we are intensely conscious throughout of the divine nature of the aim, we need not hesitate to employ the methods necessary for securing that aim, even if they be methods which are borrowed from the world of ordinary competitive life. As Christ says, "if any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." That is to say, if he has to subserve the benefit of society he has to give up self-consciousness. He (Christ) believed in the practice of the maximum renunciation consistent with efficiency of mind and body to do that which Christ had set himself to do. He believed in practising it. He laid the chief stress on the communion with God. He had no possession of his own, no, not even a place to lay his head. He made the great sacrifice as they were enjoined to do, of abandoning domestic life and modifying the specific claims of family affection into an equal love for all fellowmen. He shared with them the extreme merit of turning his back completely on self-interest. He too had no recognised position as a religious teacher. Hence the teachings of Christ make a powerful spiritual appeal to Indians. Christ lived the doctrine of Life Negation in its Indian completeness as an ordinary man among ordinary men co-operating with all at all times working for others and enhanced the efficiency of his work by working in unselfish and sympathetic co-operation with everybody.

This little book is full of thought and suggests a response to the perplexities of humanity and the tragedies of life in the revelations of the Cross : the supreme Self-sacrifice whose methods are of the world of struggle resulting in the chastening of the person who makes it, a type of unselfishness which is the admiration and real award of human response, the irresistible assertion of the affinity of Goodness. Our attitude towards God as Father creates a near attitude and to love him is to love all.

S. S.

Āḷvar Saints—Their lives and teachings—by Svami Shuddananda Bharathi. Anbu Nilayam, Sri Ramachandrapuram, Trichi Dt. Price : Wrapper Rs. 1-8-0. Calico Rs. 2-0-0.

THE lives and teachings of the Āḷvar Saints of India, Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite, by Svami Shuddananda Bharathi make instructive and interesting reading as they give us a glimpse of our cultural heritage for several centuries of the early times.

The Āḷvar saints belonged to different castes and lived between the seventh and ninth centuries A.D. Śrī Rāmānujācārya, the great Vaiṣṇava teacher propagated far and wide the spirit and message of the *Divya Prabandam* of 4000 hymns of the saints, a veritable treasure of divine knowledge.

The Dravidian culture had signal results in the Tamil land where most of these lived. The divine out-pourings of Manickavacakar, Tirugñāna Sambandar, Kulaśekara Āḷvar and others lift us to great heights above the mundane sphere. Chapters IV and V relating to Śrī Andal and her companionship with God in her ultimate realisation of Him is delightful reading. We are grateful to the Svamiji for this excellent work.

R.B.P.

Krishna and His Song—by D. S. Sarma. International Book House, Ash Lane, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8-0.

PROFESSOR D. S. Sarma, author of a translation of the Bhagavad-Gita and lectures on the Gita has now published in book form the series of articles on the Gita which he contributed to *the Aryan Path*.

The Gita has been the source of inspiration for people of diverse tastes and habits and religions, more particularly in India. "Starting with our natural endowments we have to pass through the world doing our duty to society in a spirit of detachment and to reach our home in God". Chapter V "Freedom through Service" describes *svadharma*. The chapter dealing on the Knowledge of the One shows the author's love of Advaita. "God is not an object but the universal subject. So the more we become like Him the more we know Him. Man, strictly speaking, cannot know God, but he can grow into Him". The opening chapter is an

excellent introduction to a study of the song of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the book helps the reader to a proper understanding of the Gīta.

R. B. P.

Two Plays of Bhāsa—by A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S. The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras. Price Re. 1-8-0.

IN *Malavikāgnimitra* Kālidāsa while he doubts whether side by side with the dramas of great poets like Bhāsa, Saumila, Kaviputra and others, his own would attract and delight, says :

Puranamitye Vanasadusarvam

Nachapi kavyam navamitya vadyam.

Of the excellent plays of Bhāsa may be mentioned *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, his greatest. Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar has added to the translations of Bhāsa already existing, his rendering of *Pratigñā-Yaugandhararāyaṇa* and *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* and we congratulate the author who amidst the exacting duties of a judicial officer has found time to study and give delightful translations of these works. An interesting portion of the introduction is given to comparing Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, a critical study of various *rasās* as found in various plays of Bhāsa, and restoring certain stanzas said to be missing in the plays to their proper places.

R. B. P.

Vikramorvasie or the Hero and the Nymph—A Drama of Kālidāsa.—

Translated from the Sanskrit by Sri Aurabindo and Published by Sri Aurabindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

The Aurabindo Ashram, Pondicherry has published this English rendering of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvasie*, a play in blank verse interspersed with some prose here and there, adapting it to the English stage, omitting even certain passages for the purpose. Amongst the peculiarities in the rendering may be mentioned : Titan for *Rakṣasa*, Amazon for *Yavani*, immutable for *sthanu*. In the fourth act, consequent on the separation from his beloved *ūrvasī* Puru soliloquizes on his lonesomeness, a most moving scene which has been successfully reproduced in the English rendering. Like

all the grace, the beauty and the charm of the original are vividly portrayed here in a style which adds majesty and grandeur to it.

M.B.N.

Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XVII.—Proceedings of the Seventeenth Meeting held at Baroda, December 1940.

THE Seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in December 1940 in Baroda under the patronage of His Highness the Gaekwad. Baroda State was the first to join the Sessions of the Commission in the past and has published all its historical records in excellent editions. The Marāthi records so far published have resulted in many volumes and its historical documents have been published in five volumes. The publication of the Sayyaji Rao Gaekwad Oriental Series in which many works of supreme value have been included is a credit to the State. As His Highness in tracing the history of Guzerat observes there is abundant original material available for the study of Marātha history. The study of history would have no meaning and would be barren and futile if the knowledge of the past had no significance for the present and was no guide for the future.

Of the forty-one papers by different scholars read before the meeting may be mentioned: (1) the Gold Charter of the Foundation of British Power in India (in Madras) by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar would be found appealing. The Charters are gold cowle which have granted the town of Chinapatam to the Company for perpetual enjoyment, and the right to coin pagodas with the images of Chennakeśava with his consorts: (2) Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasa-chari's interesting article on *the Indian Courtiers of the French East India Company* who were holding the post of *Mudaliar* (Dubash): (3) Mr. R. K. Ranadive's paper on *the Navy of the Gaekwads* relating to the establishment of Marātha Navy and the part played by the Gaekwads: (4) The romantic Episode of Bajee Rao and his mistress Mastani is a picturesque narration by Mr. Vasant Dinanath Rao and (5) Dr. B. A. Saletore's certain unknown events in Venkoji's career is the subject of research.

The list of exhibits in the Exhibition held in connection with the sessions are from the Baroda State and include Imperial Records and from the States of Travancore, Jodhpur and Patna.

R. B. P.

Humāyūn Bādshāh. Vol. II—By S. K. Banerji. Published by Maxwell Company, Lucknow. Price Rs. 8-0-0.

THE first volume of this work reviewed in Vol. XXX. Pp. 451-452 gave a graphic account of Humāyūn's administration, campaigns and travels, glimpses of the society, the Mughal princes and their administrative and artistic talents, the Mughal nobility and its relations with the king, and the people and the religious reforms of the day. In this time Humāyūn was mostly a refugee or fugitive wandering through various countries—the Punjab, Sindh, Rajaputana. Excelling his brothers both in private and public virtues, he was yet unfit to act as a bold leader and failed to initiate far-reaching reforms. Great preachers advocated the formation of a new society with more democratic and spiritual ideals. In this formative period of religious revival Akbar was born in 1542 of Hamida Banu whom Humāyūn had married the previous year. The date of birth of Akbar is a matter of controversy; the author says he was born on 15th October 1542 as against Vincent Smith who says November 23rd, 1542. In the next few years he withdrew to Afghanistan, appealed to the Shah of Iran for shelter and accepted Shi'ism itself. Bairam Khan guided his chief through the Shia land and his wife, Hamida Banu's influence with Sultan Khanam, the Shah's sister, was of considerable value in tiding over a crisis during a discussion in the Shah's family whether Humāyūn's cause could be supported or not. Humāyūn's sojourn in Iran re-cemented the cordial relations of the two peoples of India and Iran allowed the Iranian language and culture to permeate more deeply into the Mughal court and the Indian society and Iranians were allowed to emigrate in large numbers and they furnished soldiers like the Shia Bairam Khan and the Sunni Shah Abul Ma'ālī. Humāyūn recaptured Qandhar in 1545, occupied Kabul and Badakhshan in succession. Humāyūn looked a roving warrior like his father ever-ready for a campaign though being more delicate by constitution he was often thwarted in his aims by illness. His struggle with Kāmran continued and he was enabled by the end of 1553 to put an end to strife and disorder in the kingdom. The tranquility that prevailed in the kingdom of Sher Shah disappeared. From country to country and from town to town all was in a state of rebellion.

The struggle among the successors of Sher Shah enabled Humāyūn to proceed against Ibrahim. The rebellions in Bengal and the other disturbances in India encouraged Humāyūn to start his invasion. Bairam Khan his trusted lieutenant came to his assistance. Akbar was declared the heir-apparent. The Mughals had now occupied the whole of the Punjab and were within two hundred miles from Delhi. The Government of the Punjab was brought to the Delhi ruler. The kingdom was broken up and the situation of 1524-25 represented itself. Humāyūn had to depend, however, in this invasion on his own resources. He had not had the reputation of Babur and he bore the calumny associated with failure in the past. Now he had partially redeemed his previous failures by his late successes in Balkh and against Kāmran in Kabul. The actual director of the policy was, however, Bairam Khan whose dictatorship had secured success. But Humāyūn was incapacitated by sickness, and his son and deputy Akbar was a boy. The Turkis were opposed to him and the favourites insulted him.

Bahlul Lodi and Sikandar Lodi were good rulers and the second was exceptionally strong and efficient. When he died and Ibrahim Lodi succeeded and introduced a policy of exterminating the Afghan nobles, troubles arose and Babur came in. When Humāyūn neglected the administration in Bengal and his brothers rose in rebellion, the people rallied round the new leader Sher Shah, who promised them peace and prosperity and had otherwise no pretence of kingship, his ancestors having been only second class noblemen under Afghans and Mughals. When after Salam Shaib's death, there were rival claimants among the Suri princes and Humāyūn had also arrived, the people of the Punjab rallied round him and made him their ruler. Humāyūn's triumphal march was advancing though the Afghan nobles did not come over to him. After Sikandar Shah ceased to be a political figure, people wanted peace and were aware that Mughal culture and system of Government could give them peace. Humāyūn who restored the Mughal rāj in India died by an accident within a few months and was succeeded by Akbar who completed the subjugation of the Afghans and established the Mughal Empire. Humāyūn's death no doubt gave rise to troubles but in a short time they were all

completely put down. The Index and the bibliography are full. We would also invite the attention of our readers to various other matters dealt with in this book—like Akbar's heritage having a cosmopolitan outlook, a sobriety of views, a healthy moral tone and a love for the people, in short, a sane tradition. Babur had ordered his soldiers to protect the Hindu subjects of the Punjab while Akbar granted extensive privileges to his Hindu subjects.

Unlike his father Humāyūn was no administrator. A weak-minded man, he neglected the financial aspects of his administration and dressed in different colours of robes on different days of the week. He introduced the drum of justice. A large drum was placed near the audience hall. The complainants would strike it, the number of strikes indicating the gravity of their wrongs, *e.g.* one beat, petty dispute; two beats, non-payment of wages or salary; three, contention about property or its total loss; four, the shedding of blood. He had many ideas of reform both in the system of revenue administration and in decentralising the administration by making divisions of the kingdom. He was a lover of painting and artists gathered in his court under his patronage. He was interested in Sufism breathing the union of man with God, anxious to respect the feelings of the Hindus, by refraining from cow-slaughter or destruction of their temples, had liberalized views and was ambitious to maintain good relations with them and with the Rajaputana states. He knew that it was the Hindu Rānā Virsāl of Amarkot who aided him in his retreat where Akbar (afterwards the Great) was born. Humāyūn could at least claim that if he had lost his kingdom he regained it and made it possible for his successors to make improvements upon what they had received from him. He had, like his father, a large share in the establishment of the Mughal culture in India. The trouble was always from the nobility which he at times found difficult to manage.

If Akbar's reign be the golden age for art and literature it was because his two predecessors had placed them on a high pedestal. In chapter eighteen the author deals with the prominent women of the Mughal period in India that appear in history. Hamida Banu wielded great influence on her son Akbar and she had something to do with Akbar's leanings to Shī'ism.

The ascetic Hindu princess Mirā Bāi, an early devotee of Kṛṣṇa, daughter of Ratna Singh of Metra, born in 1498 A.D. was married to Bhoraji, the eldest son of Rana Sanga, in 1516 but widowed two years later and over-borne by the revival of the Kṛṣṇa Cult abandoned her princely home for Mathurā and Brindāvan and turned into a devotee of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa. She became a wandering minstrel roaming from Hindustan to Rajaputana and from there to Kathiawad, singing her songs in praise of the all-loving Kṛṣṇa. To a Hindu Mirā Bāi is the supreme expression of self-effacement in quest for the eternal and the absolute. She moved to Dvāraka in later years and died in 1543. Likewise Karmāvati, the queen of Rana Sanga and mother of Vikramājit was a notable political figure and supported her son's cause during his princehood and also later when he became a ruler. She rallied the Rajputs by appealing to their sense of patriotism and also wrote to Humāyūn, dubbed him a *rākhī bandh bhai*, sent him a bracelet and made an appeal for succour.

In the chapter on people the author refers to Rāmānandi disciples, Kabir and Tulsidas, the greatest exponents of the Rāma Cult. Along with this cult also spread the Kṛṣṇa Cult with which we are familiar and both had existed for several centuries previously. It was however Vallabācārya (1471-1531) that gave a fresh impetus to this cult. Kabirpanthis accepted Rāma as a personal God but rejected idolatry or the doctrine of incarnation, the Rāmānandis including Tulsidas permitted idolatry and accepted Rāma as an incarnation and adored him as the supreme being. With the adoration of Kṛṣṇa grew up the deification of Rādha. Rādha's self-abandonment to Kṛṣṇa was the theme of the yearning of the individual soul for the deity, to the personal adoration of a woman for her lover.

Mirā Bāi, already referred to was another important figure of the time. Later on Caitanya who brought about a close relationship of the vaiṣṇava family by marrying at an early age the daughter of Vallabācārya, became a sannyāsi in 1509. His influence spread over Hindu Bengal, admitted decadent Buddhists, Vāmācaris and Sahajiyas to his fold and purged them of their vices. He abolished caste distinctions and proclaimed the equality of man without making celibacy an indispensable condition for admission to his fold.

He set an example for his celebate followers to keep aloof from the company of women. He maintained an intensity of faith for Kṛṣṇa in his followers by his personal example. He bridged the gulf between monism and dualism by preaching that the individual souls though separate from the supreme being, obtain their faith and fervour, a state of perfection, when they see nothing but Him. "The senses, in fact instead of leading to the consciousness of the many make the devotee aware of the presence of Him only so absolutely that he forgets his own existence". He succeeded in converting the Muslims of India into Vaiṣṇavism and even persuaded the Sultan's ministers to become his disciples. The sixteenth century was a period of social reconstruction commencing with Sultan Sikandar Lodi in Delhi and ending with Akbar. The State was prosperous, the reformers continued their mission freely criticising the practice and institution of the land. The Muslim Sufis took to Pantheism and some Hindus to monothism and negation of idolatry. The preachings in the vernaculars encouraged the people to think for themselves. Islam continued to be the dominant religion and the orthodox Muslims looked for inspiration or guidance to Arabia or Persia. The State organisation was inefficient. The villagers lived in a world apart and the ideas of the learned men residing in the larger towns did not filter down to the masses. The State neglected to care for the moral elevation and uplift of the people and dared not tackle the problem that faced them. The religious reformers touched only the fringe of the masses though messages of Tulsidas, Rāmadās and Kabir and the reformers like Vallabācārya, Rāmānuja and Śaṅkara were well-known but their preachings were very high for the language of the people who hardly had the mental equipment to comprehend them fully. The caste distinctions were being lowered down and the foundation for a state organization based on moral uplift, mass education and civic consciousness might have solved most of the major problems of India in those days.

S.S.

Birūnī's Picture of the World.—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 53—Edited by A. Zeki Validi Togan.

PROFESSOR A. Zeki Validi Togan of the University of Istambul who has edited for publication the text of the ninth and tenth chapters of the fifth treatise of Birūnī's *al-Qānūn al-Masūdī* (Codex Masudicus) which contain the description of the world as well as the tables of the latitude and longitude of its different parts says that the translation of Oriental scholars in the past was not satisfactory on account of errors in the Elliot-MS. The Itambul MS. of the Codex Masudicus has furnished us correct comprehensive geographical data and Birūnī's other works, *Tahdid Nihāyāt al-Amākin* (a book on the method of scientific geographical work), *al-Gawāhir* (a book on stones), and *Saydana* (a treatise on drugs) are laid under contribution for the purpose.

The original text itself is published in the Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India Series as No. 53 in advance of the English Translation and a Commentary by Professor Togan and scholars interested in world-geography await the publication.

R. B. P.

Sikh Ceremonies—By Sir Jogendra Singh with a Foreword by Rāja Sir Daljeet Singh. International Book House, Ash Lane, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

IN this work Sir Jogendra Singh presents in a most readable and intelligent form the ceremonies concerning the Sikhs such as the child-naming ceremony, the initiation, the marriage and others and the formalities to be observed on these occasions. In the introduction Rāja Sir Daljeet Singh shows the essentials of Sikh Religion to be practical Hinduism without too much ritual or ceremony and devoid of the strict taboos, we are familiar there, with certain elements taken from the practices of the followers of the Islamic faith. The words of the Guru that Hindus and Muslims should live together is also of topical interest and cannot be sufficiently emphasised. The Sikh belief in God, in *Atma-Budhi-Manas* and in reincarnation is not a new one. Self-hood and "I amness" are responsible for the origin of *karma* which binds a soul to the wheel of birth and death. The *Japa* the repeating of a

Divine Name is valuable to the Sikhs. The OM is the visible symbol of the invisible oneness. This is devotion pure and simple, and self-surrender to the Almighty. Devotion or *Bhakti-marga* is said to be the surest way to self-transcendence and the Sikh, therefore, more than anybody else, cherishes the company of devotees who are nearer God. Prayers alone are useless unless accompanied by right conduct. Sikhism does not encourage the life of a recluse, or separation from family-life but makes for brotherhood in the family and outside.

In *Guru Granth Sahib*, the Holy Book, the Bible of the Sikhs, are the sayings of well-known Hindus, Muslims and Depressed Class Saints :

Birds that fly hundreds of miles
Away from the young,
Who cares and feeds them ?
Just think of this.

Those who have not found refuge
In the company of Godly men,
Unblessed is their existence,
Unblessed their hope of living.

As bubbles arise
On the surface of a stream
And disappear in it again,
God and man are one,

There is no distinction whatsoever.
Dirty hands; feet and body,
Can be washed clean with water.
Soiled clothes washed clean with soap.

Mind dirty with misdeeds,
Can be washed clean with the Divine Name.
There is no end of good and evil deeds,
People commit them and carry the seed.
What they sow they reap,
Says Nanak, they come and go,
Under His Divine Law.

The above and such like are of perennial interest and universal application.

R. B. P.

Chakravalam—By Nalapat Narayana Menon. Translated by N. Balamani Amma. International Book Co. Ltd. Ash Lane, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 1-12-0.

A POET is a visionary, who thinks not of an individual but speaks to himself. A poem is not a sermon or a speech, and if it results in any tangible results, apart from quiet enjoyment, it is an accident. So too the symbolic expressions of the mystic poet who is never understood or appreciated except by him who knows the source which has inspired the poet.

In *Chakravalam* in Malayalam, meaning horizon, Nalapat Narayana Menon, the Poet of Malabar expounds in the most condensed form the philosophy of life through symbolic expressions of which Śrīmati N. Balamani Amma, the niece of the gifted poet has given us an excellent English rendering and to it Śrīmati Sophia Wadia has given a valuable Foreword.

Even as the elusive horizon, spiritual perfection ever recedes from the touch of man. But yet,

“This horizon, like the circle on earth traced by the invisible ropes which fasten me to everchanging posts, eagerly waits for an opportunity to embrace”.

Here is the vision of the illimitable, the great beyond, in a grain of sand which mirrors the entire universe. The Universal Law of birth and death is couched in symbolic expressions.

“My brow bumped against another wall and again I fell prostrate on the ground.”

“After a long while my face, perspiring with the foam of a turbulent heart, turned upwards, only to see the great riddle board of the sky”.

We heartily commend this delightful and remarkable poet's works to our readers.

R. B. P.

Marriage and Family in Mysore—By M. N. Srinivas. Published by The New Book Company. 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 7-8-0.

HERE is a study of the cultural complex of Hinduism and how it

affects the lives of thousands of the inhabitants of Mysore. The book was prepared under the guidance of Dr. G. S. Ghurye as a thesis for the Master of Arts degree of the Bombay University and contains a Foreword by Rājākaryapraṇa N. S. Subba Rao. The institution of marriage is at the root of human society, and variations in the practices relating to it whether in space or in time, are matters of great importance as well as of scientific interest. For the most powerful spring of human action at any rate is the desire of family society and hence arise rights which sanction and protect the gratification of this desire. The rites and beliefs of the Kannada castes in the Mysore State that pertain to marriage and family life which are considered here have been dealt with by Rice, H. V. Nanjundaiya and L. A. Anantakrishna Aiyar and others but the author has selected a number of items on social life from linguistic standpoints and collated the facts on a variety of topics the discussion of any one of which might easily take a volume. The well-known marriage restrictions are dealt with and illustrated with reference to the principles of endogamy, exogamy and so on. As many of the illustrations and references are taken from modern times, it would be difficult to say to what extent they bear any impress of scientific interest, for instance from Srinivasa's *Manjula* and Narasimhachar's *Rāmācāriya nenapu*. The marriage rites of Brāhmins and Non-Brāhmins are all accurately described. *Kuduvali* on page 111 is said to be an inferior kind of marriage either to the form of marriage by the bridal pair, exchange of garlands or to the marriage of a virgin with a bachelor. A *Kuduvali* might be of a *de facto* union or might not be. A woman who is given up or abandoned by her husband might take another for her husband; she need not necessarily be a widowed girl or an unmarried girl with a previous *de facto* union. There are also cases where two exchanges have made for a *kuduvali* but that is an extreme case. It must not be taken that they are treated as different from their previous unions. Removing the old *taḷi* and putting on a new *taḷi*, paying a caste fine and a general dinner would perhaps make for a *kuduvali*. The impression that adultery among the lower classes is common is not right. These classes are as virtuous or as pure as the others and marriage amongst them also is considered

as a sacrament and much more than a contract. Compared with the punishment which is referred to in Pampa the important thing to be remembered is that we ought not carelessly to quote instances of adultery to tarnish a whole community. The social habits and customs of the community from generations past and in use in bygone times are also to be considered. Society places a high value on the married state. The glorification of the married state is the fruit of the realisation of the necessity of the family because the unmarried are a danger to the moral code of the society. On page 134 the author says that the non-Brāhmins in the Malnad believe that woman walking into a garden during her monthly defilement period will anger Mother earth or the devil in the garden. It is well-known that women generally have no rest and rest for reasons of health is provided during such periods and during pregnancy, by various devices. The author is less than fair to Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao in saying that the interpretation of Basavi is clearly motivated by a desire 'to ride his hobbyhorse of a prior matriarchate in Mysore.' Those of us who are familiar with the social habits and customs of the various castes in regions with which parts of Mysore were closely linked—and in the early days the heart of Mysore was in the Banavasi Kadamba country close to the Western Ghats—find it impossible to believe that a custom which is a custom starting from the west might not suggest the matriarchal theory. *Manevālutana* to which the author refers on the following page would also suggest that Mr. Hayavadana Rao was not wrong. Folk-songs sometimes do give an idea of the social habits and customs but they may also be imaginary thoughts of the author in which case it would not be safe always to base generalisations on it.

S. S.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Silver Jubilee Number 1942.—

Vol. VI. Nos. 2 & 3.

THE combined special number of the Journal of the Benares Hindu University is issued in commemoration of the Silver Jubilee of the University and it contains learned contributions from renowned scholars. The speech of Sir S. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of the laying of the Foundation Stone of "Holkar House", made

possible by the magnificent munificence of the Mahārāja of Indore, and the Convocation Address delivered by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru are inspiring and enlightening. Dr. D. S. Altekar in his scholarly article on "The Conceptions and Ideals of Education in Ancient India" refers to the development of Character and Personality as the chief characteristic features of ancient education. A stimulating article on "Politics, National and International" has been contributed by Mr. S. V. Puntambekar. "Rabindranath Tagore" and "Mahatma Gandhi" are two essays of great interest written by Mr. P. Nagaraja Rao and Mr. B. L. Sahney. Mr. B. S. Upadhyaya, Dr. R. B. Pandey and Dr. C. Narayana Menon have given us material of value in their articles, "On the River Sindhu in Malavikagnimitra", "Atharva-veda Conception of Motherland" and "An Approach to the Ramayana" respectively.

A number of scientific and technical articles of which "Some Aspects of Oil Mining in India" by Mr. A. Nandi, "Dialectic Constant of Iodized Air" by Dr. S. S. Banerjee, "Water Alcohol Complex" by H. J. Arniker and the closing article on "Humour" by Mr. M. M. Desai may be also referred to.

R.B.P.

The Triveni Quarterly — Editor Ramakotisvara Rao, Associate Editor K. Sampathgiri Rao. Vol. XIV. No. 1. January-March, 1942. Annual Subscription Rs. 5, or 11 sh, or \$ 3. Single copy Re. 1-4-0, or 2 sh. or 75 c.

"I am glad that it has been possible to revive *Triveni* after a suspension of six months". With these words Sri K. Ramakotiswara Rao, its Editor, opens the fourteenth year volume of *Triveni* which with this number reappears as a Quarterly, published from Bangalore.

R. B. P.

SANSKRIT

Śrīvenkatachala Itihasamāla—Edited by Rājasevāsakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Series. Price Re. 1-0-0.

THE author of the history of Śrī Venkatachala temple at Tirupati,

Anantārya, was a contemporary and disciple of Śrī Rāmānuja. For the claim of the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas for the image of Śrī Venkateśvara and Śrī Rāmānuja's decision of the temple being one dedicated to Viṣṇu, the various arguments advanced are given in detail. The editor in his valuable summary affirms that there was no persecution of the Śaivas at the time of Śrī Rāmānuja. We congratulate the T. T. Devasthanam Committee for publishing this work which gives a correct picture of the affairs of the temple in the eleventh century A. D.

M.B.N.

Śrī Vimanārcana Kalpa.—A Section of Maricisaṃhita. Published by the T. T. Devasthanam, Tirupati.

IMAGE worship is said to be as old as the Vedas, as there are said to be clear references in the hymns to images of the Gods. From the common appellation of the gods as *divo narās*, 'men of the sky' or simply *narās* 'men' and from the epithet *nripesas*, 'having the form of men' (Ṛgveda iii-4.5), the Indians apparently did not merely in imagination assign human form to their gods, but also represented them in a sensible manner. Rules are prescribed for the proper worship of the images in the *vaikhanasa āgamas*, which are supplemented later on by the *pañcarātra āgamas*. The tradition is that Viṣṇu himself taught the *vaikhanasa āgama* to Vaikhanasācārya regarded as the incarnation of Brahma, the creator, sometimes also as one who was possessed by the demon. Vaikhanasācārya in return revealed this *āgama* to Marīci who in gratitude composed this *āgama* for the benefit of the temple-going public. The worship in the temple, it is stated, gives the same benefit as the sacrifices performed according to the Vedic rites in the earlier ages.

Maricisaṃhita itself is devoted to the worship of the gods installed in the temple according to the *vaikhanasa āgamas*. The earlier portion of the work elaborately treats of the construction of the temples with special reference to the size and measurement of the *sanctum sanctorum*, the *yāgasālā*, and the various enclosures etc. and also the form and size of the various gods and goddesses to be installed therein. Then the ceremony of consecrating the temple and installing the images therein are graphically described followed by

an account of the various kinds of worship in the temple. The *prayascittams* or expiatory ceremonies intended to purify the temple for the acts of commission and omission on the part of the temple priests and also for other acts of sacrilege committed by others. Finally, a short treatise on the nature of the individual souls and their attempts to attain God, by resort to *Japa* (repeating prayers in an undertone), *homā* (sacrificing oneself at the altar of God), *Dhyāna* (abstract contemplation on God) and *arcana* (the worship of the images in the temple) are described.

Pavitrotsavam performed once a year in all the temples, as an expiating ceremony intended to pray for the peace and prosperity of the world is fully dealt with. At the close of the book is given a long list of *vaikhanasa āgamas*, several of which have not been so far printed, an omission which we hope will be made good at an early date. We congratulate the T.T. Devasthanam for having published this valuable work.

M.B.N.

KANNADA

Yeshodhara Charitre Sangraha (ಯಶೋಧರಚರಿತ್ರೆ ಸಂಗ್ರಹ) — Edited by K. V. Raghavachar, M.A., B.T. Mysore University Kannada Granthamale Series. No. 16. Price As. 12.

Greekara Tatvasara Sangraha (ಗ್ರೀಕರ ತತ್ವಸಾರ ಸಂಗ್ರಹ) — By K. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, M.A. Mysore University Kannada Granthamale Series. No. 17. Price Re. 1.

Hindudeshada Bhucharitre (ಹಿಂದೂದೇಶದ ಭೂಚರಿತ್ರೆ) — By Y. Nagappa, M.Sc. Mysore University Kannada Granthamale Series. No. 18. Price As. 12.

Copies can be had from the Curator, Oriental Library, Mysore. *Yeshodhara Charitre* is intended to inculcate *dharma* and teach *ahimsa*. It is carefully edited and the stories of *Nompia* and *Candaśāśana* make very interesting reading. The author, Janna who has also written *Anantapurāṇa*, was the engraver or composer of the inscriptions Channarayapatna 179 and Tarikere 42, 45 and 69. These suggest that he belonged to the later half of the twelfth or the earlier half of the thirteenth century. His father Kavi-sumanobāṇa lived in the Hoysala court of Nārasiṃha and his son Ballāḷa conferred upon him the title of '*kavi cakravarti*.' His mother was Ganga or Gangadevi who had good contact with

families versed in excellent literary pursuits and patronised by the Hoysala court. The intelligible and carefully prepared sketch of the life and times of Janna in the preface by Mr. Raghavachar makes a fitting introduction to a study of this work.

Professor B. M. Srikantia's prefatory note to *Greekara Tattvasāra Saṁgraha* is really in sutra form : so difficult to get the full meaning of what is implicit in this short note : in the style of Aristotle the master of those that know, the most famous of the Greeks who perhaps was as aphoristic. Without the influence of the multi-faced and all-pervading Greek literature and culture it is apparently difficult to appreciate or take much lively interest in the world around us, of the march or the beauty of science or of king-craft or of anything else, in short in anything which may pass for any advance in philosophy or knowledge. Greece was the home of piety, of drama, of poetry, of philosophy, of history, of religion, of astrology, of legend, of the art of Government, of law, of administration, of the fine-arts, of architecture, of painting, of music and of the art of life itself. India inter-changed, inter-mixed, inter-crossed with that Greece in the hey-day of her glory. Hence anything which tells of Greek culture, Greek teaching, Greek philosophy is welcome. Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Aeschylus, Herodiotus, Thucydides, Pericles, Alexander, Demosthenes, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, each was a world by himself. The Upaniṣads revive, in day-to-day life, godliness, divinity, simplicity and harmony, what road should we travel, which is the chain that we must disconnect, what are these burning truths which we must make burn more brightly. For these the guidance is also to be found from the Greek philosophy and Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar is opening the window plank from which the light that sheds is made visible. Greek was the home of the city states, the home of the giants in philosophy of a calibre remarkable for investigating qualities. In the introduction a readable account is given in Kannada of the development of the Greek philosophy stage by stage, in a style and in a diction which leaves nothing to be desired. The work concludes with an appeal that while contemporary philosophy in the west is making head-way under Bradley, William James, Bergson, Davies, Alexander, Russell, Moore, Whitehead and others, we in India are still in the sleep of ages and that for five hundred years have

not opened our eyes. That is a broad statement. Apart from the fact that the Indian philosopher is not keen or very anxious to make his philosophy or what he thinks or feels about life known to others like his contemporary elsewhere, because essentially he aims at securing his salvation, commune with the infinite and tries to merge and be merged in the absolute. If so, he is not bothered what is left behind of his philosophy. Life and death are one and the same to him, from birth to tomb and tomb to womb : it is the way of Samsāra: existence itself, even like death is a Samskāra. He wants to reach God and what is it to him that he should leave written records of what is for himself ! It might be said that the great sages and philosophers of ancient days have left imperishable records of their work and deeds : that is true : but they were born age to age to proclaim faith in *dharma* which appeared to diminish and for the subjugation of vice in this world. Hence it became necessary to propagate the essential values of life.

Mr. Y. Nagappa's *Hindudesada Bhucharitre* contains much valuable information. The age of the Earth is determined from the sciences of Geology, Physics and Astronomy. As Earth is a part of the solar system it is possible like the other planets it was thrown off at some stage from the burning sun which itself was a fizzy ball of gas tracing its origin from a nebulous state and subsequently cooled down and solidified. Various geological principles have been discussed in the first chapter as a preliminary to the statography of India itself. The several divisions have been given on page 111 to which a reference might be made. Āryakalpa consists of Quaternary or Post-Tertiary Era, Cainozoic, Mesozoic and latter part of the Palæozoic Eras. The details to these are given on page 103. The Dravidian Kalpa is the Palæozoic Era, the Purāṇa Kalpa is the Proterozoic Era and the Nirjivakalpa is the Azoic Era which is the *atiprācina* era. The author has tried his best to analyse complicated matters in simple and understandable Kannada. I have gone through the classifications in this work and I am glad to say they are correct, accurate and clear. The words and their English renderings are given in the glossary. With such works coming into Kannada it ought not to be difficult to have the medium of instruction in the University in the vernacular of the country.

CORRESPONDENCE

ABOUT A "WILD IDENTIFICATION"

BY REV. FATHER H. HERAS, S.J.

IN a series of articles contributed by Mr. S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri to this journal on "Proto-Indic Religion", he has tried to show that the seals, amulets, and other objects found in the Indus Valley cities, belonged to the Atharvavedic civilization. We are not inclined to discuss this point any more since we have shown elsewhere,¹ that the Indus Proto-Indian civilization cannot be Brahmanic, much less therefore strictly Vedic.

The author of these articles has on several occasions compared the objects of the Proto-Indians with others found in Sumer, Egypt and Crete, apparently for the sake of erudition; for, while doing so, he has not tried to explain those resemblances. In point of fact there cannot be any explanation of them on the supposition that the civilization of the Proto-Indians is Atharvavedic and therefore Āryan; as those ancient nations of the near East and of the Mediterranean had no Āryan elements at all. Mr. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri readily acknowledges that those nations were dolicocephalic (as the majority of the Indians are), this anthropological division being the characteristic of the Mediterranean race.

While speaking of some of these objects of Sumer in connection with those of the Indus Valley he refers to three metal statues discovered in Khafaje by Mr. Preusser about which he writes as follows: 'At Khafaje, Preusser discovered three statues of naked bearded priests with hands clasped in front in adoration. On the head is a four horned branch perhaps to support some ritual vessel. Heras wildly identifies the three images with An, Enlil and Ama and does not take them to be priests'.² We do not as a general rule reply to those scholars who have contradicted our views, for we consider that on many occasions there may be two

1. Cf. Heras, "Were the Mohenjo-Darians Āryans or Dravidians", *J.I.H.* XXI, pp. 23-33.

2. *QJMS*, Vol. XXXII, p. 173.

different points of view of the same object or fact. Yet when one is introduced as having said something which has never been said, one is finally bound to cross the t's and dot the i's for the sake of truth.

Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri in the above para says that we have identified those three images as the images of An, Enlil and Ama. But we do not remember to have identified them as such in any way. In fact, it would be a very *wild* identification, the identification of one of the three *nude priests* with the *mother-goddess* Ama, as Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri makes us believe.

The cause of this misleading statement of Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri may have perhaps been the fact that he has written all this by heart, so to say, without verifying our statement concerning these three images. The fact that he does not give any reference to our own statement neither in the body of the article nor in his footnotes, confirms us in our suspicion. We are sorry to be forced to point out this negligence.

In point of fact, when we have spoken of these three images, we have also referred to three more images discovered at Khafaje in a further expedition of the Oriental Institute of the Chicago University.³ Now, this second group of three images is totally different from the first, for these images which are also nude, represent two men and one woman, and these have been identified by us with An, Enlil and Ama (or Antum). Evidently Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri confused these two groups of images, thus introducing us as the author of that "wild identification."

As regards the first group of images (Figure 1) Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri, following the views of the discoverer,⁴ who could not be so well acquainted with the Mohenjo-Daro finds, as we are, opines that these three images represent three priests.⁵ It is worth studying carefully these images to show whether they are all priests. Two of the images are absolutely equal, but the third one has some essential differences. First, it is much taller than the

3. Heras, "The Plastic Representation of God among the Proto-Indians," *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, pp. 227-229.

4. Frankfort—Jacobson—Preusser, *Tell Asmar and Khafaje, The First Season's Work in Eshnunna, 1930-31*, p. 78 (Chicago, 1932).

5. *OJMS*. XXXII, p. 173.

other two. Second, it has two long locks of hair falling over the chest. Third, upon its head, there appears a four-branch appendix which we have described in our previous article as a trident, seen as such from all the four points of the compass, and which Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri supposes to be a supporter of "some ritual vessel".⁶ Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri in his article seems to suggest that the three priests have this appendix on their heads: "At Khafaje, Preusser discovered three statues of naked bearded priests with hands clasped in front in adoration. On the head is a four horned branch".⁷ But it is not so. This "four horned branch" is only found upon the head of the higher statue. Moreover, the other two smaller images have not the locks of hair on each side of the head; the upper portion of their head seems to be shaved. The rest of the hair is bobbed on the level of the nape of the neck. What is the reason of these differences between the three statues? Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri may perhaps allege that the taller statue may represent a high-priest and the other two ordinary priests. Yet, some of those differences mentioned above clearly show that the taller statue is the representation of An.

First of all, the two side-locks of hair are a characteristic of the Divinity. In Mohenjo-Daro, two images of An are shown with a very long lock of hair.⁸ (Figures 2 and 3). In Egypt, gods Khonsu,⁹ and Horus, (when represented as a boy,¹⁰) are also represented with a lock of hair. God Telepinu of the Hittites is shown likewise, with plaited hair, on the rocks of Iasili Kaia.¹¹

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, pl. XII, fig. 18. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, II, Seal No. 235.

9. Museum of Cairo, No. 38. 488; Pillet, *Thebes*, I, p. 125, fig. 1021. (Paris 1930). Pierret, *Le Pantheon Egyptian*, pp. 14, 76. (Paris 1881). As a general rule this lock of hair is on the right side; very rarely it is seen on the left. Cf. Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, p. 217 (London, 1924).

10. So is he in the famous stele of Metternich, Cf. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 271, (London, 1904).

11. Garstang, "The Hittite Empire", pl. XXII (London, 1929). Even the very name of this god in Tamil, *Taleipinuan*, means "The One who has plaited Hair", so is this god represented in the sculptures.

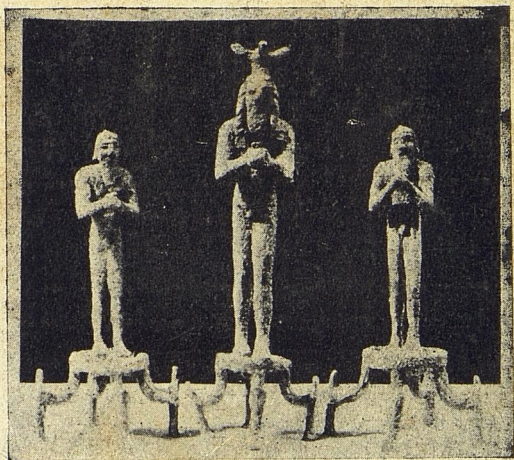


Fig. 1. First group of images discovered at Khafaje :
An and probably two other male deities.
(Frankfort, Jacobson—Preusser, *op. cit.* p. 75, fig. 32.)



Fig. 2. An having a long lock of hair in
a Mohenjo-Daro seal.
(Copyright—Archæological Survey of India.)



Fig. 3. Proto-Indian seal showing Figure of An standing with a trident upon his head and a lock of hair in the centre of a pipal tree.

(Copyright—Archæological Survey of India.)



Fig. 4. Second group of images discovered at Khafaje: An, Enil and Ama.

(Illustrated London News, Nov. 6, 1937.)

In Greece and Rome nevertheless, the archaic images of Apollo and of a few other gods are shown with two locks of hair;¹² so also happens in the paintings on Greek vases,¹³ as is the case of this image under study. At a later period, four and even six locks of hair appear at times. Such long locks of hair seem to be a symbol of the strength and power of god.¹⁴ In the same way, the trident placed over the head of this image also suggests that we have in the latter the representation of An, the supreme god of the Sumerian Triad. Amongst the Proto-Indians, the image of god which is shown upon a tree and is represented with a long lock of hair, also has a clear trident on his head.¹⁵ (Fig. 3). The central portion of this trident develops into a sort of a *mukuta* in the famous seal which may be considered as the Proto-type of *Śiva Paśupati*.¹⁶ In two other cases, the central portion develops into a flower.¹⁷ (Fig. 2). This flowery development is still seen in some images of Āyanars or village-gods of South India.¹⁸ On some Kuṣano-Sassanian coins the image of Śiva standing next to the Nandi, holds the trident in his left hand, having still a trident upon his head.¹⁹ The Jangamas, a clan of Śaivite ascetics, also bear a trident, sticking out from the knot of their hair.²⁰

12. Deonna, *Les Apollus Archaiques*, p. 163, fig. 45-46; p. 176, fig. 66, p. 177, fig. 67-68; p. 178, fig. 69; p. 202, fig. 97-98; p. 237, fig. 163-164, p. 243, fig. 168-169; p. 277, fig. 187. (Genève, 1909); Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pls. LXXXVIII, C, (London, 1929); Zervos, *L'Art en Grece des temps prehistoriques au debut du XVIII Siecle*, p. 54, pl. XLI (Paris, 1922); Musee de Louvre, *Catalogue Sommaire des Marbres Antiques* p. 54, XLI, I (Paris 1922); Rodenwaldt, *Arte Classico* pp. 286, 336.
13. Ducati, *Storia della Ceramica Greca*, II, p. 300, fig. 231 (Firenze, 1922); Notar. *La Femme dans l' Antiquite Grecque*, p. 19, (Paris. 1901).
14. Cf. Judges, XVI, 17, and Desnoyers, *Histoire de Peuple Hebreu des Juges a la Captivite*, I, p. 207. N. 1. (Paris, 1922).
15. Marshall, *op. cit.* pl. XII, fig. 18.
16. *Ibid.* fig. 17.
17. Mackay, *op. cit.* II. Seals Nos. 222 and 233.
18. Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Iconography of Southern India*, p. 133, fig. 36 (Paris, 1937).
19. Hertzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins*, pl. II, 15 b and d. This trident is also seen in other coins placed upon the head of the king himself; *Ibid.* pl. III 18a and 19b.
20. Pai, *Monograph on the Religious Sects in India among the Hindus*. p. 69, (Bombay, 1928).

Besides, the girdle round the waist of this image is another striking parallel characteristic with the two images of An of the Proto-Indians mentioned just now.

Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri takes the position of the hands of these three images as a decisive factor in favour of his contention. He says that my *wild* identification "is impossible from the attitude of adoration."²¹ He seems to suppose that their hands are clasped in the ordinary *anjali mudrā* of the Indian images. But it is not so; the fingers of both hands are tightly entwined as is common in many early images of Sumer. Elsewhere, I have explained the evolution of this characteristic Sumerian pose.²² That this pose of the hands was not precisely a religious pose used only in images which were left in the temples in perpetual adoration is shown by the diorite seated statue of Gudea, the patesi of Lagash, kept in the Louvré Museum;²³ no statue of a human being, not even a king's would be represented seated in the presence of the deity.

Now, the representation of the two long locks of hair on each side of the head of this statue (as well as the girdle round the waist) make its identification with a priest quite impossible, for the Sumerian priests are always represented fully nude and totally shaved,²⁴ when performing a religious ceremony.

This circumstance makes us doubt about the identification of the other two statues, for they also wear girdles,²⁵ and both sport long beards and long hair, though not in locks. This attire does not seem priestly, but we are not certain about their significance. They may represent two inferior deities, for instance, Enlil and Enki; but, on no account, any of them may ever be identified with the mother-goddess, as Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri would make us believe I have done on a previous occasion.

21. *QJMS*. XXXII, p. 173.

22. Cf. Heras, "A Proto-Indian Icon", *JBORS* XXIII, p. 474.

23. Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art* pl. 60, b. (London).

24. *Ibid.* pl. 17 b, 18 a' and 54 a; King, *A History of Sumer & Akkad*, p. 68. fig. 20, (London, 1923); Jeremias, *Handbuch Der Altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, pp. 62, 350, 393.

25. Frankfort—Jacobson—Preusser, "*op. cit.*" p. 76.

The comparison between the main image of this group with the main image of the other group referred to above, strengthens our identification of the same. (Fig. 4). This second image has also two locks of hair and a girdle round its waist, in the same way as the one described above. Its hands are also in the same position. It is likewise higher than the other two images of its group, one male and another female, who are evidently Enlil and Ama. Enlil is practically a reproduction of the figure of An but of a smaller size. He has hair-locks, he wears the girdle and his hands are also in the same position. I hope Mr. Śrikanṭha Śāstri will not qualify the identification of the images of this second group as "wild".

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