

INDIAN CULTURE

Vol. XIV, No. 1 (July—September 1947)

EDITED BY

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.,
Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B. (Hony.).

BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
F.R.A.S. (Hony.), F.R.A.S.B., F.Bom.R.A.S.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH, D.Phil., D.Lit.



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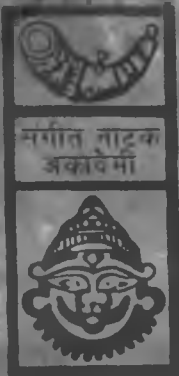
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Dr. A. B. Keith.—It is a most interesting number and if the standard of achievement is maintained you will have secured a very valuable addition to the number of scholarly periodicals issued in India.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, C.I.E.—May I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of your *Indian Culture* and my congratulations upon the completion of a whole volume, with Index and Table of Contents—a very important appendage? The volume contains a large number of articles of a scholarly and serious character and is a credit to India. Many of the authors of the articles are old friends of mine, and I would gladly plunge into the fray again, if I could only get free from my present entanglement in Central Asian studies. You have an army of capable contributors.

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—The *Indian Culture*, I am glad to see, still maintains the same high level of scholarly excellence.

Dr. J. Przyluski.—... Fine Journal.....

Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky.—A splendid issue.

Mr. Charles E. A. W. Oldham.—May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the standard being maintained by the *Indian Culture* and the success you have achieved with this Journal.

It is gratifying to notice how *Indian Culture* maintains its high level of scholarship and appears with such comparative regularity in the face of present day difficulties.

Sir C. W. Gurner, I.C.S.—... a publication of a very high standard.

Director, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad-Deccan.—I congratulate you heartily on the excellence of the articles published in the first number and I hope the standard will be maintained under your able management.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I,

admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the
are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient
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partial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under
the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta
who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like
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INDIAN CULTURE

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The Journal, which is a quarterly one, will be issued annually in four parts in July, October, January, and April. The inland subscription is Rs.6 (including postage) and foreign subscription is 10 shillings (including postage) per annum, payable in advance. Each copy is priced at Rs.2 (inland) and 3s. 6d. (foreign). The rates of advertisements may be ascertained on application to the Managing Director at 170 Maniktala Street, Calcutta, to whom all remittances should be sent. Any change of address should be promptly intimated to him. In case of non-delivery within a fortnight from the approximate date of publication, the office should be informed at once. Luzac & Co., London, and the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, are the selling agents.

The Journal deals with topics relating to Indian history, geography, art, archaeology, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, religion, literature, philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, folklore, etc., etc., from the earliest times to the eighteenth century A.D. Contributors are requested to send articles, notes, reviews, etc., type-written, addressed to the editors at No. 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta. They are further requested to add or alter in the galley proofs but not in the page proofs. The editors reserve to themselves the right to accept or reject the whole or portions of the articles, notes, reviews, etc. The Board of editors is not responsible for the opinions of the writers of articles, notes and reviews published in the Journal. The rejected contributions are not returned to authors if postage is not paid. Books for reviews, journals for exchange, etc., should be sent to the editors at No. 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.

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By Dr. B. C. Law

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E. J. Thomas.—It is the most extensive and complete of any work I have seen on the subject. I have lately been noticing with much satisfaction the good work that is now being done both in India and Ceylon in the pursuit of historical subjects, and I am glad that India is now taking an independent place for itself in the scientific world as well as in the political. It is only so that we can realize that the aims of science are international or cosmopolitan. When progress is made in historical investigation we always come upon a debatable margin where there is much room for discussion. I shall look with interest to see how your fellow-workers will welcome your new advance. For myself you have given a great amount to digest and all set forth so clearly.

R. L. Turner.—I am particularly interested in the linguistic history of Ceylon and I have, therefore, found very much of the greatest interest to me in your book.

I. B. Horner.—I am sure there was room for such a work, treated under the three aspects as you have here done, and you have no doubt made the position of the Chronicles and their relations to one another much clearer. A great deal of work must have gone into this book, which is so nicely printed and got up. I am very glad there is an index. Too few books still have such things which to my mind are necessities.

L. D. Barnett.—You have been fully successful in your object, and the book will be very helpful to students, who hitherto have greatly needed such a scholarly survey.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.—I have read it and found in it a concise authoritative and up-to-date treatment of the problems raised by the several chronicles of Ceylon and their mutual relations. A very handy and useful work which all scholars would welcome. Congratulations.

Hindu, Oct. 12, 1947.—The book under review is yet another gift from the Zamindar-savant of Bengal. He gives a definitive account of the chronicles, 'their kernel and main bulk being nothing but history their permanent value as an *indefensible* source-book of history remains unchallenged' (p. 43). He examines their chronology, literary form, and historical value. As regards the relative chronological positions of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, he differs from Dr. Oldenberg and thinks that the *Dīpavaṃsa* is an earlier work presupposed by the *Porāṇatthakathā* in Sinhalese, and both of these constituted the foundation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Dr. Geiger regards the *Dīpavaṃsa* as 'the first unaided struggle to create an epic out of already existing materials' (p. 33), but Dr. Law says that 'so far as the narrative of the *Dīpavaṃsa* is concerned, the historical motive predominates over the poetical' (*ibid.*). He discusses and clarifies the value of the chronicles for the early history of Ceylon. Moreover, he surveys critically several other Pali chronicles of the island like the *Chūlavāṃsa*, as well as the later Sinhalese chronicles.

Aryan Path, March, 1948.—In this brilliant monograph Dr. Law presents an exhaustive study of the Chronicles of Ceylon . . . Like his all other writings, the present monograph is fully documented and written in a spirit of disinterested research. We congratulate the indefatigable author on its production.

ASVAGHOSA

By Dr. B. C. Law

Price Rs.3

A connected account of the life and labours of *Aśvaghōṣa* is given in this book. It supplies new historical data and presents some new aspects of the problems concerning *Aśvaghōṣa*.

Journal of the Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute, Vol. IV, Pts. 3-4.—Dr. Law has exhausted almost all the available material for this book from different sources, and has placed the results of his researches before the scholarly world in this form. The conclusions are well considered. His style is very lucid and interesting. I congratulate Dr. Law for such a scholarly contribution to our knowledge.

F. W. Thomas.—To the exhaustive information which it shares with your other works, it adds an ethical and aesthetic valuation which the works of *Aśvaghōṣa* certainly merit, and your abundant citations of literature which may be thought to have influenced him or to have been influenced by him afford much light upon his rank and quality in Indian literature and upon the question of his date. All Sanskritists should be grateful for the information and the instructive judgments which you have placed at their disposal.

E. J. Thomas.—Your valuable work on *Aśvaghōṣa* is not only full of the most valuable information but also written in a style that is very attractive and sympathetic.

R. L. Turner.—It forms a most fitting first volume to the new monograph series started by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. In addition to its own contribution to the life and works of *Aśvaghōṣa*, it is extremely useful to have all the references to other writings about him so carefully and exhaustively collected together.

L. D. Barnett.—Interesting and helpful gift.

Oldham.—Very interesting. The vast extent of reading involved in quoting all the authorities cited by you astonishes me. May you long be spared to pursue such researches which contribute to the elucidation of your country's past history.

P. V. Kane.—You have ably collected together a very large number of facts which have been of great use to me also.

Nilakanta Sastri.—I am sure the whole world of Indological scholars will be grateful to you for your excellent contribution.

Sir Edward Maclagan.—I have found most interesting reading. Apart from the research and erudition shown by the work, one is much taken by its arrangement and style and it will form an excellent beginning of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Series.

The Legend of the Topes

(English Translation of the *Thūpavaṃsa*)

By Dr. B. C. Law

Price Rs.3

- E. J. Thomas.**—The whole translation reads fluently and idiomatically and the rich stores of information in the notes will furnish much material for future historians and philologists.
- L. D. Barnett.**—Vācissara's *Thūpavaṃsa* has the merit of bringing the traditions down definitely to his age and all students of Buddhism are deeply indebted to Dr. Law for his labours in this rather difficult field.
- I. B. Horner.**—A good deal has been done to improve the text.
- S. Paranavitana.**—Your translation is eminently readable and gives a faithful rendering of the text. By this work you have added to the debt which the scholarly world (in particular the students of Pali and Buddhism) already owes you for your numerous valuable contributions to research.
- F. W. Thomas.**—Your translation rounds off your work on that text. I have read the translation and also your notes which seem to furnish all needed information concerning places, persons, doctrines, and terminology. The text as it embodies a fair summary of early Buddhist history and beyond, might, as you have suggested, serve along with your translation as a good reading book for Pali Buddhism.
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Vol. XIV

JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1947

No. 1

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TIBETOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1927-1947)

By G. ROERICH

DURING the period under review several centres of Tibetological studies continued their research work.

The French school directed by Professor J. Bacot (recently elected President of the Société Asiatique, Paris), continued its work on the historical chronicles discovered by the late Professor Paul Pelliot in the walled-up library at Tun-huang (W. Kansu, W. China). The first volume has been published in 1940: J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint: 'Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet'. Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris. In 1946 Prof. Bacot published his 'Grammaire du Tibétain Littéraire', Paris. His other important works published during the period were: 'Décoration Tibétaine', Paris, 1927, 'Les slokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa', Paris, 1928, 'La Vie de Marpa' (Buddhica, Paris, 1937), and 'Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanscrit', Paris, 1930. Ch. Toussaint published a French translation of the Pad-ma thañ-yig—'Le Dict de Padma' (Paris, 1933). Mlle M. Lalou, a pupil of Prof. Bacot, published a 'Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale' (Paris, 1931) and an Index of the bsTan-'gyur after the Catalogue of the late P. Cordier ('Repertoire du Tanjur', Paris, 1933). In 1932 the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi published an edition of the Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga (Paris, 1932), including its Tibetan version. E. Lamotte published the Tibetan version and the translation of the Samdhinirmocana-sūtra (Paris-Louvain, 1935). In 1938 he published at Louvain the Tibetan and Chinese versions of Asaṅga's Mahāyāna-saṃgraha. The death of J. Hackin was a severe blow to Tibetan studies in France. In 1931 he published 'La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au musée Guimet.' Important for the study of Tibetan religious life are the works of the French explorer Mme David-Neel: 'La Vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling.' Paris, 1931 (the Khams version of the epic), 'Mystiques et Magiciens du Thibet' (Paris, 1929), and 'Initiations Lamaïques', Paris, 1930.

The Russian school headed until 1942 by the late Professor Stcherbatsky, continued editing Tibetan Buddhist texts in the series Bibliotheca Buddhica, published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The important works published during the period include: Prof. Stcherbatsky's 'The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa' (Leningrad, 1927), Stcherbatsky & E. Obermiller: The Sanskrit text and the Tibetan version of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra-

Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra (Bibl. Buddhica, XXIII, 1929), Obermiller's *Indices Verborum* (Sanskrit-Tibetan and Tibetan-Sanskrit) to the *Nyāyabindu* (Bibl. Buddhica, XXIV-V, 1927-8), Stcherbatsky's monumental work on the *Pramāṇa-vārtika* of Dharmakīrti (Bibl. Buddhica, XXVI, 1930-32), Obermiller's edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Mahāyāna-saṃcaya-gāthā* (Bibl. Buddhica, XXIX), Stcherbatsky's translation of the *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga* (Bibl. Buddhica, XXX), Obermiller's translation of the Tibetan version of the *Uttara-Tantra* (*Acta Orientalia*, IX, 1931), and his exposition of the Doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā* according to the *Abhisamayālamkāra* (*Acta Orientalia*, 1932). Dr. Obermiller also published an English translation of the famous *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-che (Heidelberg, I-II, 1931-32). Baron A. von Stael-Holstein published the Tibetan and Chinese versions of *Sthiramati's Commentary on the Kaśyapaparivarta* (Peking, 1933), the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *sūtra* having been published by him in 1926 (Shanghai). The Academy of Sciences of the USSR. are planning the publication of a Catalogue of the rich Tibetan Collection of the Oriental Institute in Leningrad (the richest in the world, outside Tibet proper).

In England Professor F. W. Thomas continued his work on the Tibetan documents discovered by the late Sir Aurel Stein in Eastern Turkestan ('Tibetan Literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan', I, Oriental Translation Fund, Vol. XXXII, London, 1935, also numerous articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London). The late Sir Charles Bell published a series of well-documented volumes on modern Tibet: 'The People of Tibet' (Oxford, 1928), 'The Religion of Tibet' (Oxford, 1931), and 'Portrait of the Dalai Lama' (London, 1946). Sir Basil Gould and Hugh E. Richardson brought out a *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (*Tibetan Word Book*, Oxford, 1943), mainly colloquial.

In Italy the school of Professor G. Tucci has been very active. Prof. Tucci himself conducted a number of expeditions to Western Tibet (Ladak, Spiti, Tsaparang) and Central Tibet (Sa-skyā, Gyangtse). The results of his researches have been published in a series 'Indo-Tibetica', published by the Italian Academy of Sciences (*Indo-Tibetica*, I-IV, Rome, 1932-41). Tucci also published the Tibetan version of Dignāga's *Nyāyāmukha* (*Materialien*, XV, Heidelberg, 1930). To the *Greater India Studies* (No. 2) he contributed a volume entitled 'Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat valley' (Calcutta, 1940). Tucci's pupil, Dr. Luciano Petech published, 'A Study on the chronicles of Ladakh' (Calcutta, 1939).

In Germany publications in the field of Tibetan studies were few. The late Albert Gruenwedel published his translation of the Tibetan text of the *Life of Nāropa* (Leipzig, 1935), and Dr. Johannes Schubert published the Tibetan text and translation of a *Tibetan Grammar*

by the lCan-skya bLa-ma Rol-pa'i rdo-rje ('Tibetische Nationalgrammatik', Leipzig, 1937). A new edition with notes of Jaeschke's Tibetan Grammar was brought out by A. H. Francke and W. Simon (de Gruyter, Berlin, 1929). Dr. A. H. Francke published the Tibetan text of the Bon-po gSer-myig in the Asia Major. Professor F. D. Lessing assisted by Dr. Goesta Montell published the first volume of his monograph on the Yung-ho-kung Monastery in Peking ('Yung-ho-kung. An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking', The Sino-Swedish Expedition, VIII, I, Stockholm, 1942).

In Japan the Tohoku Imperial University published in 1934 a Catalogue of the Sde-dge edition of the Buddhist Canon (Sendai, 1934), and the Otani University a Complete Analytical Catalogue of the bKa'-gyur division of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka edited during the K'ang-hsi era (Kyoto, 1930-2). In 1932 Professor Wogihara published the text of Haribhadra's Commentary on the Abhisamayālamkāra.

• In the field of Tibetan dialectology the following were active: Stuart N. Wolfenden ('Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology', Prize Publication Fund, XII, 1929), A. F. C. Read ('Baltī Grammar', James G. Forlong Fund, XV, London, 1934), and G. Roerich ('The Tibetan Dialect of Lahul', Tibetica I, 1933).

In the U.S.A. Professor E. Clark edited the Stael-Holstein Collection of Buddhist Iconography ('Two Lamaist Pantheons from the materials collected by the late Baron A. von Stael-Holstein', Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1937). Dr. W. Evans-Wentz edited a number of translation into English by the late Kazi Dawa Samdup ('The Tibetan Book of the Dead', Oxford, 1927; 'Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa', Oxford, 1928, and 'Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines', Oxford, 1935).

In China the works of Dr. Yu Dawchyan should be mentioned; his edition of the Tibetan text of the songs attributed to the Sixth Dalai Lama Tshans-dbyans rgya-mtsho (Peking, 1931) is worthy of notice.

In this country Tibetan studies centred round the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the University of Calcutta, the Vishvabharati at Shantiniketan, and the Himalayan Research Institute (Kulu, Panjab). The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal published during the period Part III of Csoma de Kőrös' Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary (Mahāvyyutpatti), Calcutta, 1944, and completed the publication of the Lower Ladakhī version of the Kesar Saga by the late Dr. A. H. Francke (Calcutta, 1941). Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya published in the Vishvabharati Series, chapters VIII-XVI of the Catuṣṭaka by Āryadeva (Vishvabharati Series No. 2, 1931), and S. Mukhopadhyaya the Sanskrit text and the Tibetan version of Vasubandhu's Trisvabhāvanirdeśa (Vishvabharati No. 4, 1939), and the Tibetan text of the Nairātmypariṇcchā (Vishva-

bharati Series No. 4, 1931). Prof. V. Bhattacharya published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (No. XXXIX) the Tibetan text of the Nyāyapraveśa by Dignāga (Baroda, 1927). The Calcutta University published Anukul Chandra Banerjee's edition of the Sanskrit text and Tibetan version of the Kāvya-darśa (Calcutta, 1939), and a Bhoṭa-prakāśa (A Tibetan Chrestomathy) by V. Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1939. Important discoveries of Sanskrit MSS. have been made in Tibet by Professor Rahula Sankrityayana (JBOS. XXI, 1935 and XXIII, 1937). Of great importance is his edition of Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa-vārtika (JBORS. 1938-9, and separately at Kitab Mahal, Allahabad).

Mention must also be made of the revival of Sanskrit studies among Tibetan scholars. In recent years the Rev. dGe-'dun Chos-'pnel published a Tibetan translation of Ch. XII of the Bhagavad-gītā (Darjeeling, 1941), and a Tibetan translation of the Dhammapada (Anagarika Dharmapala Trust Publication, No. 2, Gangtok, Sikkim, 1946).

JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (VI)

By B. C. LAW

Ovavāiya Sūya

THE *Ovavāiya Sūya*¹ (*Aupapātika Sūtra*) which is also called the *Uvavāiya* is counted as the first *upāṅga* among the texts of the Svetāmbara Canon. Some hold that the Sanskritized form *Aupa-pātika* is erroneous. *Uvavāiya* means the attainment of an existence as pointed by S. Lévi.² An *upāṅga* is by its name and definition an ancillary work. Abhayadeva Sūri has written the earliest commentary on it. This text consists of 189 *sūtras*, each of which is represented by a complete paragraphic statement on a particular topic or by a particular stanza, if it is in verse. The suttas forming the concluding part of the text are in verse, while the preceding portion is mostly in prose. The stanzas forming the concluding suttas 168-169 are really interesting and important as epitomizing the statements in prose on the spiritual position and destiny of the *siddhas* or perfected ones. There are similar mnemonics also under a few other suttas such as 49, 56, 76 and 144. The method of treatment followed is catechetical. The text seeks to combine a treatise and a book of discourses into an organic whole. It presents its subject matter broadly in two contexts: (1) the meeting of Mahāvīra and king Kūnika of Campā, and (2) the meeting of Mahāvīra and his senior disciple Indrabhūti. Its object is to impress on the mind of the hearer or reader the unsurpassed greatness of Mahāvīra's personality, the superior worth of his teachings, and the superior position of his disciples, lay, ordained and advanced. The place assigned to the *siddhas* is the highest of all. The hierarchical order is carefully shown in the second context or book comprising the suttas 62-189. The Pali *Puggalapannatti*, a book of the *Abhidhammapitaka*, presents the classified human types in a hierarchical order of its own, but its treatment is thoroughly psycho-ethical but not historical. The true Pali counterpart of it is to be traced in those *suttas* in which the *nitthās* or goals are distinguished.

The *Aupapātika Sūtra* follows a distinct literary art of its own with its direct appeal. Naturalness and the sense of ease characterize

¹ E. Leumann has edited this *sūtra* under the title *Das Aupapātika Sūtra* in the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, heraus von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, viii. 2, Leipzig, 1883; a complete edition in the *Āgamodaya series* has been published.

² J.A., 1912, t. XX.

its mode of presentation. It seems on the whole what may be described as an artless art. Its diction is clear, racy, sober, and dignified, in spite of the fact that the Jain theological motive of self-glorification and self-exaltation runs through its whole length. The descriptions of the city of Campā, the sanctuary of Punnabhadda, the *Asoga* tree in the garden surrounding it, King Kūṇiya, son of Bimbisāra, his queen Dhārini and Mahāvīra given in it are vivid and graphic and they well serve the purpose. The text also contains the account of Mahāvīra's *śamosarāṇa* in Campā and the pilgrimage of Kūṇiya to this place.

The *Aupapātika Sūtra* places the *Vemānika devas* as the highest in the scale, then the *Jyotiṣis*, the *Vāṇamantaras* and *Bhavanavāsīs*. The *Vemānika* gods and angels are represented by *Sohamma Isāna*, *Sanankumāra*, *Māhinda Bambbhā* (*Brahmā*), *Lantaga*, *Mahāsukka*, *Sahassārā*, *Acchutapadī* and the rest. Māhinda's heaven is the heaven of thirty-three gods together with the *lokapālas*. In the *Jyotiṣi* class are placed the Sun, the Moon, the planets, comets, and stars including Rāhu. The *Vāṇamantara devas* comprise the *Bhūtas*, *Pisācas*, *Yakṣas*, *Rākṣasas*, *Kinnaras*, *Kimpuriṣas*, *Gandhabbas*, etc. The *Asuras*, *Nāgas*, *Supannas*, *Vijju* (*vidyut*, lightning), fire, continent (*dīva*), ocean (*udahi*), *Diśākumāras* (quarter gods), *Pavana* (wind gods), and thunder gods (*Thaṇiya*) represent the *Bhavanavāsīs*. Below them are the earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives, and wind-lives. Above all of them stands the incomparable *Jina* with his advanced disciples (sections 32-37).

The eight *maṅgalas* were the eight auspicious symbols or emblems of the Jains: *sovattiya* (*svastika*), *sirivacca* (*śrīvatsa*), *nandiyāvatta* (*nandyāvarta*), *vaddhamānaga* (*vardhamāna*), *bhaddāsana* (*bhadrāsana*), *kalasa*, *maccha* (*matsya*), and *dappana* (*darpana*).¹ Other enumerations of *maṅgalas* are also met with in the Jain text.² In order to oust the Brahmin vested interests from the field, the Jains and the Buddhists had to introduce certain *maṅgalas* claimed as very efficacious. The Buddhists introduced chanting of the *Maṅgala sutta* laying much stress on the 37 points of *maṅgala* or moral conditions of human welfare.³

The Brahmins as *Lakkhaṇa-pāthakas* suggested certain prominent bodily characteristics of a *mahāpurīṣa* or great man. As the early Jain and Buddhist texts go to prove that the Jains and the Buddhists simply utilized them in establishing that the founder of their own order was the greatest of men.⁴ In the *Aupapātika Sūtra* (sec. 16) Mahāvīra is praised as *Dhammavara-cauranta-cakkavattī* as the Buddha is called the supreme founder of the kingdom of righteousness.

¹ *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 49.

² *Ibid.*, secs. 53-55.

³ Cf. *Maṅgala Sutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, pp. 2-3; *Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka* (No. 453); and the *Sutta Nipāta*, pp. 46-47.

⁴ *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 16; cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii, *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta*.

The *Aupapātika Sūtra* speaks of the *tāpasas* as those *religieux* who adopted the *vānaprastha* mode of life on the banks of the sacred rivers typified by the Ganges. They were either fire-worshippers, family men or those who slept on the bare ground. They were either sacrificers, or performers of funeral rites or owners of property. The water jugs and cooking pots were among their belongings. They followed different modes of bathing in the holy waters. Some of them used to blow conch shells or were winnow-beaters (*kula-dhamakas*). Some of them killed deer for venison and skin, and some killed elephants to make food provision minimizing the slaughter of life. Some went about holding a stick erect or with the gaze fixed on a particular direction. They used the bark of a tree as their garment, and lived either on the sea-shore or near water at the foot of a tree, feeding on water, air, water-plants, roots, bulbs, barks, flowers, fruits and seeds. They rendered their body cooked by the heat of the five kinds of fire and stiffened by the sprinkling of water (sec. 74). The same *Sūtra* mentions a class of recluses (*pabbaiyā-samanā*) who were addicted to sensual pleasures, vulgar ways and vaunting and were fond of singing and dancing (sec. 75). It distinguishes between the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya *Parivṛājakas* and describes them as those *religieux* who either followed the Kāpila School of Sāṅkhya or the Bhārgava School of Yoga or represented the four grades of Indian ascetics: Bahudakā, Kuṭibratā (Kuṭicakā), Hamsā and Paramahamsā. Some of them were Kṛṣṇa-parivṛājakas (secs. 76–81). The Ājīvikas are placed in a different category, their description being the same as in the Theravāda Buddhist texts (*Ibid.*, sec. 120). A gradation of *niṭṭhā* or goals aimed at by the *tāpasas*, *parivṛājakas* and *ājīvikas* is suggested in the *Aupapātika Sūtra* as in Buddhaghosa's *Papañcasūdanī* and some of the later *Upaniṣads*. Gośāla's doctrine of six *abhiyātas* or grades of spiritual advancement may be compared with *niṭṭhā* or goals.

According to the *Aupapātika Sūtra* the destiny of worldly men is *Vānamantara*, that of the *vānaprastha tāpasas* is the world of the *jyotiṣī* gods, that of the *parivṛājakas* is *brahmaloka* and that of the *ājīvikas* is *acyuta-pada* (secs. 70, 71, 74, 81 and 120). According to the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa, *brahmaloka* is the goal of the Brāhmaṇas, *ābhassaraloka* is that of the *tāpasas*, *subhakiṇṇaloka* is that of the *parivṛājakas* and *anantamānasa* is that of the *ājīvikas*. The *sūtra* speaks of some recluses who extol themselves, denounce others and do work for the welfare of the householders. After going through many births and rebirths they are reborn among the *Ābhiyogika* gods (sec. 121). There are some *religieux* called *ninhagas* (*nihnakas*) who discard the words of wisdom and adhere to wrong views. They are recluses in their outward garb only. The *Trai-rāsikas* (*Terāsiyā*) are counted among the seven such classes of men. They are destined to be reborn after going through a long cycle of

rebirths among the upper *Graiveya* gods (*ubharimesu gevejjesu*—sec. 122).

There are men in the world who are virtuous, practise piety, and honestly earn their livelihood. They keep their vows and do not commit life-slaughter. They are free from anger, pride, deceit, greed, etc. They are typified by the lay worshippers who after their death are reborn in the heaven of *Acyutakalpa* (*accue Kappe devattāe*—secs. 123-124). The lay worshippers as householders cannot be expected to be completely free from attachment and capable of completely abstaining from killing. It is possible for those among the followers of Mahāvīra who have renounced the world to practise the *samitis* and *guptis* and to carry out the instructions of the Master. Those who are not much advanced among the ordained disciples are destined to be reborn among the gods of the *sarvārthasiddha mahāvimāna* (secs. 125-129). Those who are far advanced find their place in the realm of souls above the mundane world (*loy'agga-paiṭṭhānā havanti*—sec. 130). The *sūtra* is ultimately concerned to give us a clear description of the destiny of the *siddhas* or perfected ones. The eternal and immutable spiritual world in which they live after the completion of their mundane career is variously called *kevalakappa*, *isipabbhāra*, *taṇu*, *taṇutaṇu*, *siddhi*, *siddhālae*, *mutti*, *muttālae* *loy'agge*, *loyagga thūbhiyā* (*lokāgrasthūpikā*) and *loy'agga-padibujjhaṇā*. *Isipabbhāra* is the most familiar name for this world. It is far above the worlds of gods and *Brahmās*. It is nevertheless called a world by itself (*pudhavi*) where the *siddhas* dwell for all times to come. It is absolutely free from birth, decay, death, and the cycle of births and re-births. The *siddhas* while they live on earth cannot altogether get rid of physical troubles, the duration of life and their designation by name and family. They utterly destroy all that binds the soul to this earth and contaminates it. They too carry on their routine work of the day but when they attain to the final state of perfection and emancipation and pass away forever from mundane existence, they make an end of all pain. Thus with the Jainas the ultimate state of individual existence is an eternal and unchanging world which is the abode for the liberated souls. It is nowhere pointed out how the liberated souls pass their days in that world whether in a state of activity or in that of passivity (secs. 160-167).

The *sūtra* gives us an interesting list of Vedic branches of learning or subjects of study consisting of the *Riurveda* (*Rgveda*), *Yajurveda* (*Yajurveda*), *Sāmaveda*, *Ahavanaveda* (*Atharvāna-veda*), *Itihāsa* the fifth *Veda*, *Nighaṇṭu* the sixth *Veda*, six *Vedāṅgas*, six *Upāṅgas*, works on *rahassa* (*rahasya*), *Satthitamta* (*Saṣṭitantra*) and many other Brahmanical treatises. The six *Vedāṅgas* are said to have been represented by the auxiliary works on *saṃkhāna* (arithmetic), *sikkhā* (phonetics), *kappa* (ritual), *vāgarāṇa* (*vyākaraṇa*, grammar), *chanda*

(metre), *nirutta* (exegesis) and *joīṣa* (*jyotiṣa*, astronomy—astrology) (*Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 77). It (sec. 76) speaks of the two allied systems of Sāṅkhya and Yoga, while the Jain *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* (sec. 41) mentions *Buddhasāsanam* (Buddhism), *Visesiyam* (Vaiśeṣika system), *Lokāyatam*, *Purāṇas*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nātakas*, *Vaiśikas*, *Kodilīyām* (*Arihaśāstra* of Kautilya), the *Kāmasūtras* of *Ghoḍaya-muham* (*Ghoṭamukham*), etc. The same *sūtra* (sec. 107) refers to the development of *vatthuvijjā* (*vāstuvidyā*) or science of architecture. The *vatthuvijjā* and *vaddhakisippa* as understood in a comprehensive sense included as subjects of study the planning and founding of cities, towns and villages, the erection of buildings of various styles, palaces, Council halls, forts, gateways, decorative designs, selection and sanctification of sites, examination of soil, selection and preparation of building materials, laying out of parks, gardens and the rest. The architects were known as *thapatis* or *vaddhakis*. Carpentry, wood-carving, stone masonry, etc. were all connected with the art of building.

The early Jain and Buddhist texts bear evidence to the progress made in *jyotiṣa* which was otherwise known as *Nakkhattavijjā* or study of the lunar constellations, their positions, movements, cataclysms and effects. In Buddha's time people were familiar with the phenomena of lunar and solar eclipses, the names of the seven planets, the appearance and disappearance of the comets, and the succession of three or six seasons. The experts in *jyotiṣa* were required to make forecasts of all coming events, celestial or terrestrial (*Aupapātika Sūtra*, secs. 36 and 107; cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, p. 10).

The consecration of King Kūṇiya (variant Koṇiya), son of king Bhimbhasāra (variant Bhambhasāra, Pali Bimbisāra, Bimbasāra of the *Lalitavistara*) in the city of Campā is the grand occasion when Campā was visited by Mahāvīra. The scene of action is laid in the *Punnabhadda cetiya* (*ceie*) which was evidently a *Yakkha* shrine. This shrine was surrounded on all sides by large woodlands. The august presence of the Master is said to have attracted a large number of visitors including all sections of the citizens and all high officials of the State and different Kṣatriya tribes such as those of the Licchavis and Mallas, the Ikṣvākus and Jñātris. King Bhimbhasāra, father of Kūṇiya, does not appear to have been present at the ceremony of his son's consecration. The queens of king Kūṇiya are said to have been headed by Dhārīnī in some sections and by Subhaddhā in other contexts. Vajirā, who is mentioned as the wife of Ajātaśatru and daughter of king Prasenajit of Kośala, is conspicuous by her absence in the Jain account. Even the political connection of Aṅga having Campā as its capital with the kingdom of Magadha is not indicated. Whether Kūṇiya was consecrated to the rulership of Aṅga and Campā as an independent monarch or simply as a viceroy of his father, the text is silent on this point. Even it

may be doubted whether Kūṇiya of the *sūtra* is the same person as Ajātaśatru of the Buddhist texts and *Purāṇas*. The tendency of the compiler of the *sūtra* is to describe all persons and things connected with Mahāvīra in their ideal aspect. The queens of King Kūṇiya were all well-accomplished ladies and perfect beauties. The king himself was endowed with all good qualities and bodily perfections to be installed, hailed and obeyed as the rightful sovereign of Campā. The city itself with its walls, gates, ramparts, palaces, parks and gardens, wealth and prosperity, internal joy and happiness, was a veritable paradise on earth. These ideal descriptions are just a part of the general artifice for magnifying the glory of Mahāvīra and his religion. But it is not difficult to make out that the *sūtra* in its extant form is a much later compilation than the age which witnessed the advent of Mahāvīra and the rise of Jainism. The *sūtra* refers to certain high officials such as *gananāyaga*, *dandanāyaga* and *talavara*, whose designations are met with in the Indian inscriptions of the post-Christian period (sec. 15). That the Jainas were out to excel the Brahmins, the Buddhists, and the rest in the art of poetical and laboured exaggerations, is particularly noticeable in the enumeration and description of the physical characteristics of Mahāvīra as a great man, the characteristics that are said to be 8,000 in number in place of 32 only of the Buddhist tradition (*aṭṭha-sahassa-varaṇpurīṣalakkhanadhare*). There are nevertheless a few earlier references that help us to clarify some parallel Pali passages. For instance, the *sūtra* expressly mentions the *Atharvaveda* which is left to be understood in the Buddhist *nikāyas* before the expression *Itihāsa pañcamam*, *Itihāsa* the fifth *veda*. Although some of the later categories of Jain thought such as *davva*, *khetta*, *kāla* and *bhāva* (sec. 28), *loe*, *aloe*, *jīvā*, *ajīvā*, *bandhe*, *mokkhe* and the like (sec. 56) are met with, the method of their treatment is still in an earlier age of development.

ON THE DATE OF LALITĀDITYA MUKTĀPĪDA

By N. N. DASGUPTA

IN the year (of the *Laukika* era three thousand nine hundred and thirty-one, equivalent to the year 855-6 of the Christian era, came to the throne of Kāśmīra Avantivarman, the first king of the Utpala dynasty. This is as much a settled fact as is admittedly correct the duration of the regnal periods ascribed in Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* to each of the seventeen kings (including Jajja) of the preceding, viz. Karkoṭa or Nāga, dynasty. Nobody, I believe, has ever questioned the correctness of these figures recorded by Kalhana, notwithstanding the high degree of probability of their admitting, in this or that case emendment in respect of month and day, where the regnal period is put only by year. Where, however, incertitude prevails is about the chronology of the kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty, —in particular the date of Lalitāditya Muktaṭpīda, its fifth representative and the greatest scion.

Kalhana's dates for the first five kings of the dynasty, as calculated by the late Mr. S. P. Pandit in his learned *Introduction* to the *Gauḍavaḥo* of Vākapatirāja,¹ are as follows:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| (1) Durlabhavardhana, | |
| <i>alias</i> Prajñāditya .. | 36 years (596-632 A.D.) |
| (2) Durlabhaka, | |
| Pratāpāditya II .. | 50 years (632-682 A.D.) |
| (3) Candrāpīda .. | 8 years, 8 months (682-691 A.D.) |
| (4) Tārāpīda .. | 4 years, 24 days (691-695 A.D.) |
| (5) Lalitāditya | |
| Muktaṭpīda .. | 36 years, 7 months, 11 days
(695-731 A.D.) |

The sum-total of the regnal periods of all the dynastic successors, 12 in number, of Lalitāditya is 119 years, 1 month and 22 days, but by adding this to 731 A.D., we arrive only at 850-51 A.D., which thus falls short, it will be noted, of approximately four or five years from 855-6 A.D., the real date of Avantivarman's accession.

Once upon a time when the knowledge of both history and chronology of India of the eighth century A.D. was in its infancy, it so happened that Cunningham, having drawn upon M. Rémusat's writings on Chinese annals, detected, as is well known, an 'error in the Kashmir chronology amounting to exactly thirty-one years'. 'According to the chronology of the *Rājataranginī*', opined Cunningham, 'the king of Kashmir in A.D. 631 was Pratāpāditya; but the mention of his maternal uncle shows that there must be

some error in the native history, as the king's father came to the throne in right of his wife, who had no brother. Pratāpāditya's accession must, therefore, have taken place after Hwen Thsang's departure from Kashmir in A.D. 633, which makes an error of three years in the received chronology. But a much greater difference is shown in the reigns of his sons Chandrāpīḍa and Mukṭāpīḍa, who applied to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs. The date of the first application is A.D. 713 while, according to the native chronology, Chandrāpīḍa reigned from A.D. 680 to 688, which shows an error of not less than twenty-five years. But as the Chinese annals also record that about A.D. 720 the emperor granted the title of king to Chandrāpīḍa, he must have been living as late as the previous year A.D. 719, which makes the error in the Kashmirian chronology amount to exactly thirty-one years. By applying this correction to the dates of his predecessors, the reign of his grandfather, Durlabha, will extend from A.D. 625 to 661.²

The chronology of the entire Karkoṭa dynasty, in the light of this reckoning, would stand thus:—

A.D.	King.		Years.	Months.	Days.
625-661	Durlabhavardhana	..	36	..	..
661-711	Durlabhaka	..	50	..	..
711-720	Candrāpīḍa	..	8	8	..
720-724	Tārāpīḍa	..	4	..	24
724-760	Mukṭāpīḍa	..	36	7	11
760-761	Kuvalayāpīḍa	..	1	..	15
761-768	Vajrāditya	..	7	..	..
768-772	Prthivyaḍīpīḍa	..	4	1	..
772-772	Samgrāmapīḍa	..	..	..	7
772-775	Jajja	..	3	..	..
775-806	Jayāpīḍa	..	31	..	..
806-818	Lalitāpīḍa	..	12	..	..
818-825	Samgrāmapīḍa II	..	7	..	..
825-837	Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa	..	12	..	..
837-874	Ajitāpīḍa	..	37	..	..
874-877	Anaṅgapīḍa	..	3	..	..
877-879	Utpalapīḍa	..	2	..	..

This means that according to Cunningham (and those who follow suit), either some reigns of the Karkoṭa dynasty have got to be expunged from history, or the date of Avantivarman's accession has got to be dragged down to 880 A.D., in which latter case the date of the very composition of the *Rājatarāṅginī* having had to be placed 24 years later than its actual date, viz. 1149 A.D.! What other absurdities are liable to follow from this chronological scheme, based on Chinese evidence, will be noticed later on.

As early as in 1913, Mr. Anand Kaul published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (pp. 197-204), a note on the Gonarda dynasty of Kāsmīra on the basis of Maulvi Hasan Sah's (1832-98 A.D.) Persian *History of Kāsmīra*. The latter based his work on Mulah Ahmad's Persian translation of the *Ratnākara Purāṇa*, which was discovered in the time of Zain-ul-ābdin of Kāsmīra (1422-74 A.D.) and translated by Mulah Ahmad under royal orders. The *Ratnākara Purāṇa*, presumably based on old records as the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is, is now lost, but its contents have, fortunately for us, been utilized in Persian by Mulah Ahmad as well as by Hasan. While Kalhana, unable to muster up the genuine facts and figures relating to the later part of the history of the Gonarda dynasty, had filled up the lacuna by the silly attribution of 300 years to the reign of Raṇāditya alone, the Persian *History of Kāsmīra* says, and to all appearance correctly, that (i) Raṇāditya reigned for only 60 years and 3 months, that (ii) seven kings ruled, six preceding and one following him, whose accounts have altogether been omitted in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, and also that (iii) this period extended over not 300 years but 329 years and 5 months. On the authority of this Persian *History of Kāsmīra*, Mr. Kaul has assigned the dates 414 to 474 A.D. to Raṇāditya and 474 to 521 A.D. to his immediate successor, Vinayāditya. After him, two more kings, Vikramāditya and Bālāditya, ruled for 42 years and 37 years and 4 months respectively, as we learn from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Accordingly, Vikramāditya dates from 521 to 563 A.D., and Bālāditya, the last representative of the Gonarda family, from 563 to 600 A.D.

Mr. Kaul's paper has, however, failed to draw the attention of scholars that it did merit. Nor he himself has attempted, so far as I know, to see what light the evidence of the Persian *History of Kāsmīra* is apt to shed on the chronology of the kings of the next, viz. the Karkoṭa dynasty, which, however, in the light of dates thus deduced from Persian evidence, may be worked out as follows:—

	A.D.
Durlabhavardhana Prajñāditya	600-636
Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II	636-686
Candrāpīda Vajrāditya	686-694
Tārāpīda Udayāditya	694-699
Muktāpīda Lalitāditya	699-736
Kuvalayāpīda	736-737
Vajrāditya Vappiyaka Lalitāditya	737-744
Prthivyāpīda	744-748
Samgrāmapīda	748-748
Jajja	748-751
Jayāpīda Vinayāditya	751-782
Lalitāpīda	782-794
Samgrāmapīda II, Prthivyāpīda	794-801

A.D.

Cippaṭa Jayapīḍa Vṛhaspati	..	..	801-813
Ajīṭapīḍa	..	..	813-850
Anaṅgapīḍa	..	..	850-853
Utpalapīḍa	..	..	853-855

This chronology, which shows a general discrepancy of roughly 4 to 5 years in all the cases with the chronology as obtained by the late Mr. Pandit from the *Rājataranginī*, fits in so strikingly well with the dates of all later kings of Kāśmīra that it readily puts forth a claim to receive our serious attention. Although calculating back from the date of Avantivarman's accession, a result much similar to it was liable to be easily surmised, it could not, however, be proved. To the ineffective statement of Cunningham that there must have been an error of three years in Kalhana's date of Pratāpāditya's accession, a reply was given by Mr. Pandit in the following words: '..... the reigning king in Kashmir in A.D. 631 was not Pratāpāditya as General Cunningham supposes, but his father Durlabhavardhana or Prajñāditya, and Pratāpāditya, according to calculation, did not come to the throne till towards the close of the year 632 A.D. The inaccuracy, therefore, of three years based upon the suggestion that Pratāpāditya, who had no (maternal) uncle, was the reigning prince in A.D. 631 must, it is clear, be given up as altogether untenable.'³ But as Pratāpāditya II did not come to the throne until Hiuen Tsang's departure from Kāśmīra in 633 A.D., my chronology which places Durlabhavardhana in 600-636 A.D. answers better to Cunningham's charge.

But the date of Lalitāditya Mukṭapīḍa, as it is in my chronology, comes into conflict with the evidence of the Chinese *Annals* of the T'ang dynasty, which record that 'after the first Chinese expedition in the country of *Po-liu* (Baltistān) in the neighbourhood of Kashmir (between 736 and 747), the King *Mou-to-pi* (Mukṭapīḍa) sent the ambassador *Ou-li-lo*, carrying a missive to the court of China (during the reign of the Emperor Hiuen-tsung) for soliciting the establishment of a Chinese camp near the lake *Mo-ho-po-to-mo-loung* (Mahāpadma Nāga). He flattered himself that he could make provision for an auxiliary army of 200,000 men, and he reminded that, in concert with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five routes of Tibet, and obtained many victories over the Tibetans, then the dreaded enemies of China.'⁴ The king of Central India with whom *Mou-to-pi* is said to have concluded an alliance is assumed to have been Yaśovarman, the *I-cho-fan-ma*, king of Central India, who is recorded to have sent in 731 his minister *Seng-po-to* to the Chinese court,⁵ with what object and result nobody knows.

The correctness of the restoration of the two Chinese names, *Mou-to-pi* and *I-cho-fan-ma*, to Sanskrit as Mukṭapīḍa and Yaśo-

varman, we need not doubt. But either this Chinese date for the Kāśmīrian embassy (after 736-47 A.D.) is correct and my date for Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa (699-736 A.D.) is wrong, or *vice versa*. Hitherto most of the scholars, European and Indian, have preferred to entertain the Chinese dates in respect of the Karkoṭa dynasty, being considerably prevailed on by the anomaly that be in the later history of the Gonarda dynasty in consequence of Kalhana's attribution of three centuries to one particular reign. But since that problem has been solved, it will now be more a matter of opinion, and perhaps of sentiment, too, than anything else to go on abiding by the artificial emendations which we have been practising so long, and thus suffer the whole chronology of the Karkoṭa dynasty to remain into the same hopeless state of confusion.

There is, of course, nothing that is absurd, silly or incongruous in a possibility, as is evinced by the Chinese story, of an alliance of Mukṭāpīḍa of Kāśmīra with *the* or *a* king of Central India. But what the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* tells us is not that. It knows entirely a different story, and relates it with that unfaltering tone of an authority which renders it more than difficult to discredit the account even in the matter of details.

According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the first exploit of Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa after he ascended the throne was the discomfiture of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja, and the event has obviously to be placed early in Lalitāditya's reign. The operation was of 'long duration', implying probably that the victor had to encounter a strong resistance from the king of Kānyakubja, who was ultimately decreed to be 'entirely uprooted' (*samūlāṃ udapātayat*, *Rāj.*, IV, 140). The land of Kānyakubja from the bank of the Yamunā to that of the Kālikā (probably the Kāli-nadī) submitted to Lalitāditya even like the courtyard of his own palace:

Kimanyaṃ Kānyakubj = orvī Yamunāpārato'hsyasā |
abhūd = āKālikā-tīraṃ grha-prāṅganavadvāṣe || Ibid., 146.

And not only the poets Vākpati, Rājaśrī and Bhavabhūti, who had been in the court of the king of Kānyakubja, went over to the king of Kāśmīra to chant his songs but irony of fate led Yaśovarman himself, too, after the loss of his civil existence as a monarch, to be a panegyrist, evidently in Kāśmīra, of his conqueror's virtues (*Jito yayan Yaśovarmā tadguṇa-stutivanditām*,—*Ibid.*, 144). Never again could Yaśovarman regain his kingdom which was thus annexed by Lalitāditya, and what we find afterwards (after his *dig-vijaya* was over) is that, 'swelled with pride Lalitāditya bestowed the land of Kānyakubja with its villages to (the shrine of) Āditya (which he had erected) at the town of Lalitapura' (Latpur). The enduring occupation of Kanauj and its adjoining territories by Lalitāditya is also

indubiously borne out by the hoard of his coins discovered in the Banda district of the United Provinces.⁶

If the Chinese account of Lalitāditya's alliance with the king of Central India whom we have been accustomed to identify with Yaśovarman, and their embassies in 731 and after 736-47 A.D. to the Chinese court be not untrue, Kalhana's narrative of Yaśovarman's overthrow by Lalitāditya early in the latter's reign must be viewed as a fabricated and out-and-out bogus one, even with 724-760 A.D. as the date of Lalitāditya. The attempt at compromise of the two facts, viz. Yaśovarman's discomfiture at the hands of the Kāśmīrian hero and yet an alliance between them, by saying, 'In this case Muktāpīḍa's war with Yaśovarman, and the latter's defeat, must fall after the date of Muktāpīḍa's embassy to the Chinese court',⁷ may very well satisfy the condition from the Chinese point of view, but the evidence, so sharp and positive, of the *Rājatarāṅginī* categorically refuses to admit of any such compromise as would seek to place the event of Lalitāditya's routing Yaśovarman so very late in his reign. This is exactly the consideration which has led Dr. R. S. Tripathi to turn a corner and remark that Lalitāditya 'suffered his adversary after a nominal acknowledgement of supremacy to remain on the throne' (of Kanauj) so as to render the possibility of the alliance in question of the two kings after 736-47 A.D. feasible'. But the remark is but the outcome of begging the question on the conjectures that Kalhana's statement of Yaśovarman's being 'uprooted entirely' means that he was 'perhaps put to death during the course of the conflict', and that Kalhana's testimony is 'dubious' inasmuch as he after indicating the 'death' of Yaśovarman elsewhere affirms that he (Yaśovarman) became by his defeat a panegyrist of Lalitāditya's virtues, and so on. No testimony is, however, more indubious than that of Kalhana when he narrates the Lalitāditya-Yaśovarman episode, and if one gives credit, as Dr. Tripathi has done,⁹ to the catastrophe of Yaśovarman's overthrow as having occurred early in Lalitāditya's reign, one cannot in the same breath maintain that the self-same Yaśovarman after having lost his crown and kingdom could possibly be a party to the alleged alliance of the Chinese *Annals*. With this image in the mind, one does, necessarily, repose trust in the innocent anecdotes of the Jaina *Caritas* and *Kośas*, which invent a date between 750 and 754 A.D. as the year of Yaśovarman's demise,—anecdotes which otherwise deserved, I am afraid, a categorical refusal even for a passing glance in the making of history. If, even, Yaśovarman really continued to live somewhere near Gwalior till *circa* 752 A.D., he cannot be 'the king of Central India', whom the Chinese sources mean to have been Lalitāditya's confederate in the matter of begging Chinese help.

The next point for consideration is why at all should a mighty potentate like Lalitāditya go to apply for aid to the Chinese emperor.

The only two probable quarters from which he might apprehend trouble or invasion were the Arabs (*Mlecchas*) in the west, and the Tibetans (*Bhauṭṭas*) in the north-east. As to the Arabs, the late Mr. Pandit very aptly remarked about sixty years ago that, 'The account of this (Lalitāditya's) reign is particularly detailed (in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*), and so full, both as regards his internal and external policy, that it is not credible that a mention of or reference to an invasion of his kingdom by the Arabs could have been omitted. Nor is it likely that any invasion by the Arabs could have taken place or been threatened during his reign, which was one of aggression all round and full of brilliant victories. He is described as having carried his arms of conquest far beyond the borders of Kashmir towards the north and the north-west'.¹⁰ 'General Cunningham is wrong', pointed out also Lévi and Chavannes, 'in supposing that the fear of the Arabs had driven him to take that step. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Ed. Stein, IV, 167) seems to make allusion to a tripple victory (of Lalitāditya) over the Arabs.'¹¹ The same can also be said, with equal aptitude, of the Tibetans, for while recounting the Chinese notice of the *Annals* of how Lalitāditya reminded the Chinese emperor that in concert with the king of Central India he had blocked the five routes of Tibet, we are also distinctly told that he (Lalitāditya) 'had obtained many victories over the Tibetans',¹² and in support of his victories over the Tibetans, Lévi and Chavannes quote the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, 168:

Cintā na dr̥ṣṭā Bhauṭṭānām vaktre prakṛtipāṇdure |
Vanaukasām iva Krodhah svabhāvapakṣile mukhe ||

If, therefore, neither the Tibetans nor the Arabs proved to be any source of menace to Lalitāditya, why should he then possibly induce himself to beg help of the Chinese (or any other foreign) king? The Tibetans are reported to have been 'then the dreaded enemies of China' (*adversaires alors redoutés de la chine*),¹³ and if aid against them were a requirement on the part of somebody, does not the fact of the case demand that it was, on the contrary, for Hiuen-tsung to supplicate aid from one who had already won many victories over the Tibetans?

There is, moreover, some bearing of Lalitāditya's reign on the contemporary history of Bengal. In course of his *dig-vijaya* in the early part of his reign, Lalitāditya marched to the east when, as Kalhaṇa (IV, 148) relates, a troop of elephants from Gauḍa-*mandala* (W. and N. Bengal) joined Lalitāditya, implying acknowledgment, direct or indirect, of his suzerainty by the kingdom of Gauḍa. After the lapse of a considerable period of time, as the interspersing of the number of verses in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in and between the two events would bring home, the king of Gauḍa was, at the behest of Lalitāditya, compelled to go over to Kāśmīra to be murdered there (*Rāj.*, IV,

323-30), in spite of the guarantee of safety that Lalitāditya had offered him previously. There are reasons to suppose that this king of Gauḍa (if he was different from the king of Gauḍa-maṇḍala who had supplied him with the troop of elephants during his *dig-vijaya*) also acknowledged the supremacy of Lalitāditya.¹⁴ Our knowledge of the past of Bengal has advanced to this extent that we can today safely place the establishment of the Pāla kingdom of Gauḍa by Gopāla I in the second quarter of the eighth century, or at the latest by 750 A.D. If we still have the fancy for making Lalitāditya rule till 760 A.D., we do thereby run the risk of postulating that Gopāla I was to have been the wretched vassal-king of Gauḍa who was treacherously assassinated by his overlord, Lalitāditya, in Kāśmīra! Furthermore, the date 724-60 A.D. for Lalitāditya makes the reign of his grandson, Jayāpīḍa, fall as late as in 775-806 A.D., and those students of Indian history of this period to whom it really concerns would readily realize how the history of Jayāpīḍa, thus a contemporary of Dharmapāla of Bengal and Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha of Kanauj, ill suits the exigencies of chronology, when they have got to explain the fact, in particular, of the reconquest by Jayāpīḍa of Kānyakubja which had in the meantime asserted independence (*Rājāt.*, IV, 470).

I agree with all those whoever maintain that 'the Chinese have been more precise in their system of chronology', but this, I trust, does not amount to saying, or is not another way of putting, that a gospel truth the Chinese narratives invariably contain with regard to dates and facts. Rockhill's experience led him to say in his *Life of the Buddha* what may profitably be quoted here in this connection: 'I remark, *en passant*, that all Chinese works do not agree about events in Tibetan history; thus in the Wei-thang-thu-chi, p. 127, we hear of a treaty concluded between Te-tsung and Khri-srong. But Te-tsung only became emperor of China in 799. It, moreover, calls them the uncle and the nephew. We know, however, that Khri-srong's uncle was the Emperor Tchong tsong (684-716)'.¹⁵ Another case in point is the evidence of Ma-twa-lin, for whom it was left to correct the *Life of Hiuen tsang*, when it originally read that Harṣavardhana died towards the end of the young Hui period, i.e. in or about 655 A.D. Again, according to the History of the Miang dynasty, *Gai-yā-sju-ting* (Giyās-ud-dīn), king of Bengal, sent in 1409 A.D. an embassy to China with many presents; but the history of Bengal knows of no king of that name in that year (or early in the fifteenth century) when it was Sāms-ud-dīn who ruled over the province.¹⁶ Some more instances there are to be cited, but need they not. 'Embassy'-complex seems to have characterized the early Chinese much more than any other nation of the world, and the authenticity of the stories of the Indian embassies of Candrāpīḍa, Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya in so quick a succession

as within less than thirty years' time, to the court of China, without any reason which is capable of standing scrutiny, requires to be unreservedly questioned once, twice and hundred times. If even the embassies were realities, there seems to have been errors of date in the Chinese *Annals*. But, nevertheless, what is advanced here as merely a suggestion has no design to assume the character of dogmatism. The suggestion only places on record an alternative date for Lalitādit̥ya Mukṭāpiḍa, and thus for all other kings of his dynasty, which appears likely to be more in keeping with the contemporary and nearly contemporary events of Indian History. We cannot gauge the amount of authenticity of the *Ratnākara Purāṇa* of unknown date as a historical record, but what date it has given us for Lalitādit̥ya Mukṭāpiḍa, even as a stroke of accident, if it be really so, can very well challenge the date obtainable from the Chinese *Records*, which requires a constrained shifting of events from here to there in the Indian History of that age, and throws the history of the Karkoṭa dynasty of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* to the threshold of fiction, where every event narrated is fated to be at the mercy of option for acceptance or not.

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- ³ *Gaudavaho*, Introduction, p. lxxxii.
- ⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 351, footnote, and *Calcutta Review*, 1922, p. 487 footnote.
- ⁵ M. A. Stein's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, p. 132, note.
- ⁶ *J.A.S.B.*, Num. Suppl., XLI, 1928, pp. N. 7-8.
- ⁷ Stein, *op. cit.*, note 134.
- ⁸ *History of Kanauj*, Benares, 1937, p. 203.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.
- ¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii.
- ¹¹ *Op. cit.*
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca Univ., p. 84.
- ¹⁵ W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 222, footnote.
- ¹⁶ Cf. *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, Vol. II, R. D. Banerjee, p. 159.

THE STATUS OF ŚŪDRAS IN THE DHARMASŪTRAS

By U. N. GHOSHAL

The materials in the *Dharmasūtras* enable us to trace with some fulness the status of the *varṇas* at the two opposite poles of the social system, namely the Śūdras and the Brāhmaṇas. The old Vedic dogma of origin of the four *varṇas* out of different parts of the Creator's body, furnishing the grand justification for differences between the *varṇas*, is mentioned by Vasiṣṭha (IV. 3). To this Vasiṣṭha adds (VI. 23-24), in the fashion of some of the older texts, a pointed contrast between the high qualities of the Brāhmaṇas and the evil characteristics of the Śūdras. It is in the background of such views that we can best understand the remarkable list of disabilities of the Śūdras in our present works. These disabilities may be summarized under three broad heads, namely, Social, Religious and Civil.

I. *Social disabilities*.—Repeatedly in the *Dharmasūtras* contact with the Śūdra is declared to be a sinful act on the part of the higher classes. To take a few examples, Gautama (IX. 11) forbids the *snātaka* to sip water offered by a Śūdra. According to Vasiṣṭha (VI. 26-30; X. 31) a Brāhmaṇa by eating such food disgraces himself and his family, while by abstaining from the same he gains great spiritual merit.¹ Āpastamba (I. 5. 16. 33; I. 5. 17. 1) goes so far as to state that if a Śūdra touches one during his meal, the latter must leave it off. Gautama (XXV. 7) includes connexion with Śūdra women in the list of sins requiring to be expiated with a penance. Āpastamba (I. 7. 21. 13; *Ibid.*, 17) includes cohabiting of Aryan women with Śūdras and eating the remnants of a Śūdra's food in the list of acts causing impurity. Baudhāyana (II. 1. 2. 6) mentions serving Śūdras among acts causing loss of caste. In another passage (II. 3. 6. 22) Baudhāyana forbids a *snātaka* to go alone on a journey with Śūdras.² Viṣṇu (XL. 1-2) includes service of the Śūdra among sins rendering one unfit to receive alms, and requiring a penance for their expiation. In another place (LXXI. 48) Viṣṇu declares that the householder must not give advice to a Śūdra. Again, he says (LXXI. 64) that the householder must not dwell in a kingdom governed by Śūdras, thus showing that the latter was regarded as

¹ With the above cf. Śaṅkha-Likhita, No. 434.

² It may be added that a passage (IV. 1. 5) belonging to the later and less authentic portion of Baudhāyana's work imposes similarly a penance for eating Śūdra's food or for cohabiting with a Śūdra woman.

lying outside the pale of civilization. Finally, we may mention that marriages of men of higher classes with Śūdra women, though recognized, are viewed with strong disapproval in the *Dharmasūtras* and the issue of such marriages are not allowed to share in the inheritance.¹

II. *Religious disabilities*.—The Śūdra by contrast with the other *varnas* is an *ekajāti* and is, as such, excluded from the privileges attendant upon investiture with the sacred thread (*upanayana*). Āpastamba (I. 1. 1. 6) expressly excludes the Śūdras along with those who have committed evil deeds from the privileges of initiation (*upanayana*), Vedic study and kindling of the sacred fire. Vasiṣṭha (IV. 3), quoting a Vedic authority (*Rgveda*, X. 90. 12), shuts out the Śūdra from sacraments. With him agrees Viṣṇu who declares (II. 3) that for the first three classes alone who are called twice-born, there are prescribed the whole series of sacraments beginning with impregnation and ending with cremation, to the accompaniment of *mantra* utterances. How much the presence of Śūdras at the domestic ceremonies was banned, is proved by a number of passages. According to Viṣṇu (V. 115) entertainment of a Śūdra at an offering to the gods (*daiva*) or to the manes (*pitrya*) is to be punished with a fine of a hundred *pañas*. Elsewhere (LXXXI. 16) he forbids Śūdras even to look at a *Śrāddha*. The use of a Śūdra wife for gratification alone and her unfitness for religious performances are expressed with emphatic, almost brutal frankness in a number of texts. According to Vasiṣṭha (XVIII. 17-18) a Brāhmaṇa must not approach his Śūdra wife after building a fire-altar for the Śrauta sacrifice, for such a wife is espoused for pleasure only. According to Viṣṇu (XXVI. 4-5) no twice-born man shall ever perform religious duties (*dharma-kārya*) with his Śūdra wife, for such a wife can never cause religious merit (*dharma*), but is intended only for gratifying lust (*raśi*).² Again, the *Dharmasūtras* take special care to prevent the Śūdra's participation in the privileges of sacrifice. According to Gautama (XX. 1) sacrificing for a Śūdra and accepting a Śūdra's money for performing a sacrifice, are acts for which a father must be cast off by his son. Similarly Vasiṣṭha (XV. 11) includes one who sacrifices for Śūdras in the list of those who are to be cast off.

¹ Vasiṣṭha (I. 25-27) quotes a view permitting the twice-born classes to marry Śūdra women only to reject it. One whose only wife is a Śūdra is unfit for invitation to a funeral repast according to Gautama (XV. 18) and to make offerings to the gods according to Vasiṣṭha (XIV. 11). Baudhāyana (II. 3. 6. 32) says that a Brāhmaṇa with a Śūdra wife, who lives for twelve years in a village with water obtainable from wells alone, becomes equal to a Śūdra. The son of a Śūdra wife, being not an heir, but a kinsman, is entitled to maintenance alone according to Gautama (XXVIII. 39) (Cf. Vasiṣṭha, XVII. 38f; Baudhāyana, II. 2. 3. 32f).

² For a repulsive reference to the sinful consequences attending connection with a Śūdra woman immediately after a funeral repast, see Gautama (XV. 22).

The *Dharmasūtras*, above all, keep the privilege of Vedic study as a secret to be closely guarded against Śūdras. Gautama (XVI. 19), as also Viṣṇu (XXX. 4), forbids the study of the *Veda* in the neighbourhood of Śūdras. Baudhāyana (I. 11. 21. 15) requires a Brāhmaṇa to discontinue recitation of the *Veda* as long as he is within hearing or sight of Śūdras. Āpastamba (I. 3. 9. 6; *Ibid.*, 9), after declaring that the *Veda* must not be studied in a cremation-ground (*śmaśāna*) says that the Śūdra and the outcast are included under the last term. The climax is reached in Gautama who imposes (XII. 4-6) punishments of atrocious cruelty upon Śūdras intentionally listening to a recitation of the *Veda*, or else reciting or even remembering Vedic texts. Vaiśiṣṭha (XVIII. 13) utters a comprehensive ban against the Śūdra's participation in the social and religious privileges of the higher classes. As the sinful Śūdra stock, he says from Yama's quotation, is manifestly a cremation-ground, the *Veda* must not be studied in the presence of a Śūdra. One must not, Vaiśiṣṭha continues, give advice (*mati*) to a Śūdra nor eat the remnants of his food (*ucchiṣṭa*), nor teach him the sacred law (*dharma*), nor order him to perform a penance (*vrata*).

III. *Civil disabilities.*—The different scales of penalties for Śūdra and Brāhmaṇa offenders against person and property are well illustrated in Āpastamba (II. 10. 27. 8-9). Here we read that a man of the first three *varṇas* committing adultery with a Śūdra woman is to be banished, while a Śūdra committing the same offence with a woman of the first three classes, is to suffer capital punishment. In another place (II. 10. 27. 16-17) Āpastamba tells us that a Śūdra who commits homicide or theft or appropriates the property of others is to be punished with confiscation of his possessions and death, while a Brāhmaṇa committing the same offences is to be blindfolded. We have a still more glaring instance of the inequality of penalties and penances in the clauses of our present works relating to the punishments for murder. In Vaiśiṣṭha (XX. 31f.) the penalty for the murder of a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra consists of penances for eight, six, and three years respectively. In Āpastamba (I. 9. 24. 1f) it comprises payment of one thousand, one hundred and ten cows respectively along with a bull. Combining the two groups, Baudhāyana (I. 10. 19. 1f. combined with II. 1. 1. 8f) prescribes the respective payments of the same numbers of cows and the bull along with penances for nine years, three years, and one year respectively. Similarly Gautama (XIII. 14f) mentions payments of the cows and the bull as aforesaid together with keeping the vow of continence (*brahmacarya*) for six years, three years, and one year respectively. We may conclude this point by offering a few examples of punishments relating specifically to Śūdra offenders against the higher classes. For intentionally abusing or assaulting a man of the twice-born classes, the Śūdra is to be punished with

mutilation according to Gautama (XII. 1), while the Śūdra speaking evil of such a man is to have his tongue cut off according to Āpastamba (II. 10. 27. 14). For criminal intercourse with a woman of the first three classes, the Śūdra is to suffer mutilation of his limb and confiscation of all his property according to Gautama (XII. 2) or else, capital punishment according to Āpastamba (II. 10. 27. 9). Even for assuming a position equal to the twice-born classes, the Śūdra is to suffer corporal punishment according to Gautama (XII. 7), Āpastamba (II. 10. 27. 15) and Viṣṇu (V. 19).

And yet it would appear that the Śūdras were too important or numerous a section of the population even within the Aryan pale, to be treated as a class without rights. To begin with their right to a relatively high social status, a somewhat obscure text in Baudhāyana (I. 5. 10. 20) hints at the employment of Śūdra cooks under the superintendence of Āryas (*āryādhiṣṭhita*), provided they observed simple sanitary rules. Āpastamba (I. 6. 18. 14) allows eating the food even of a Śūdra on the condition of his living under one's protection for the sake of spiritual merit (*dharmopānata* explained by Haradatta,¹ as *dharmārthaṃ upānata āsritaḥ*).² In another passage (II. 2. 3. 4f) Āpastamba distinctly sanctions preparation of food for the Vaiśvadeva ceremony (i.e. as explained by Haradatta, for use of the householder and his wife) by Śūdra cooks under superintendence of Āryas (*āryādhiṣṭhita*) or even without such supervision (*parokṣam*). Only the Śūdra must observe the necessary sanitary precautions, and in the latter case his food must be placed on the fire and sprinkled with water.³ After this it is intelligible that Āpastamba (I. 5. 16. 22) forbids food brought by an impure (*aprayata*) Śūdra to be eaten. Viṣṇu (LVII. 16) allows the food of certain classes of persons including a slave, a herdsman and a barber to be eaten, although they are Śūdras. Honour to an aged Śūdra fellow-citizen is enjoined by Gautama (VI. 10).⁴ Āpastamba tells us how Śūdra guests apparently belonging to two distinct classes are to be entertained by Brāhmaṇas. According to him (II. 2. 4. 19-20) a Śūdra coming to a Brāhmaṇa as a guest shall be given some work and then entertained, or else the Brāhmaṇa's slaves shall fetch food from the royal stores (*rājakula*) and honour (*pūjayeyuh*) the Śūdra

¹ Commentary on *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*. Ed. in Kashi Skt. Series, No. 93. Benares, 1932.

² Haradatta takes this qualifying clause to mean that the food of a Śūdra who lives under one's protection for the sake of wealth (*artha*) is not to be eaten. According to the same commentator, Āpastamba's text quoted above applies to times of distress, but this interpretation lacks corroboration.

³ Haradatta, whom Bühler follows, would confine the scope of Āpastamba (I. 6. 18. 14) quoted above to times of distress.

⁴ The text is to the effect that among fellow-citizens (*pauras*) even a Śūdra of eighty years or more shall be honoured by one young enough to be his son, by rising though not by salutation (*abhivādanam*).

as a guest.¹ The kind treatment of Vaiśya and Śūdra guests by the Brāhmaṇa householder is enjoined by Viṣṇu (LXVII. 37).

More important than the above as an illustration of the Śūdra's social status is the reference to his occupation. Following the older Vedic authorities the *Dharmasūtras* declare the Śūdra's duty (*dharma*) to be the service of the higher classes. But at the same time they assign the practice of mechanical arts as the Śūdra's alternative or additional occupation. Thus Gautama (X. 56f), while declaring service (*paricaryā*) of other *varṇas* to be the Śūdra's duty (*dharma*) as well as means of livelihood (*vytti*), says that the Śūdra may live by practising the mechanical arts.² Viṣṇu who distinguishes (II. 4f) clearly between the *dharma* and the *vytti* of the four classes says that the Śūdra's duty is to serve the twice-born classes while his means of livelihood are all mechanical arts (*sarvaśilpāni*). We may refer in this connection to the remarkable text of Gautama (X. 69) which not only takes for granted interchange of occupations between Śūdras and other classes but also places them in such cases on the same social level. In this passage we are told that when Aryans and non-Aryans exchange their occupations, there is equality between them.³

While enjoining upon the Śūdra the duty of service, our present authors leave us in no doubt that he was entitled to the privileges of family life. Gautama (X. 53-55) prescribes the Śūdra's duty of offering funeral oblations, of maintaining his dependants, and of living with his wife.⁴ How much the Śūdra's position was removed

¹ Haradatta takes the above to imply that the king has to keep stores of rice ready in each village for honouring Śūdra guests. This would imply State provision for Śūdra guests in the villages, matching no doubt the State guest-house in the capital spoken of by Āpastamba (II. 10. 25. 8-9).

² Maskari (commentator on *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, Ed. in *Bibliotheca Sanskrita*, No. 50, Mysore, 1917) tries to reconcile Gautama's statements by saying in his commentary on Gautama (X. 56) that a good Śūdra shall simultaneously practise agriculture, etc., and service, while his opposite shall only perform agriculture, etc. Again he says (on Gautama, X. 59) that the Śūdra who is unable to perform service shall live by the occupation of a craftsman (*śilpin*), and failing in this, by the occupation of an artisan (*kāru*). It is, however, improbable that in actual practice the Śūdra would prefer service to an independent profession, or would even care to practise both.

³ Explaining this passage Haradatta says that in such a case there does not exist the relation of master and servant between Aryans (identified with the three higher castes) and the non-Aryans (identified with the Śūdras). In such a case even a Brāhmaṇa who performs the occupation of a non-Aryan need not be served by a Śūdra. On the other hand, even a Śūdra who does the work of an Aryan must not be despised by others following non-Aryan occupations, because of his inferior birth. The explanation of Maskari is closely similar.

⁴ Haradatta and Maskari agree in taking Gautama's injunction (X. 59) to a Śūdra to live upon the remnants of his master's food to apply to one who has not entered the householder's life.

from that of a slave is proved by another passage. If the Śūdra places himself under the protection of an Ārya, continues Gautama in the same context (X. 61), the latter must support him when he is unable to work.

We have seen how the *Dharmasūtra* texts quoted above permit the Śūdra the alternative or additional occupation of living by the mechanical arts. This evidently gives the Śūdra the title to acquire property by adopting an independent profession. We have indirect evidence of the Śūdra's acquisition of property and even of his hoarding wealth in the very texts which charge him with burdens of a different character. Gautama (X. 62) declares that the Śūdra must support his master of the higher caste when fallen into distress, the Śūdra's hoard (*nicaya*) serving this purpose. Again, according to Gautama (XVIII. 24f) a Brāhmaṇa for the purpose of completing a marriage ceremony (*vivāhasiddhi*) and of providing means of performance of religious rites (*dharmatantrasamyoga*), can take an article (*dravya*), evidently by force, from a Śūdra.¹ Again, according to Āpastamba (I. 2. 7. 20-21) a Vedic student (*Brahmacārin*) may take the wealth (*artha*) of a Śūdra for his teacher's fee (*Vedadakṣiṇā*) when the latter has fallen into distress, or according to others at all times.

As regards the Śūdra's title to religious rights we think that the extraordinary severity of Gautama's punishments for Śūdras for even hearing or remembering Vedic texts indicates a determined attempt made by them in some cases to invade this most cherished privilege of the Brāhmaṇas. Similarly, the heavy penance for sacrificing on the Śūdra's behalf would suggest that Brāhmaṇas sometimes could be found for performing sacrifices with the Śūdra's money. More significant for our present purpose is the express permission given to the Śūdras by our present authorities for performing sacraments and sacrifices to a limited extent. An authority quoted by Gautama (X. 52) permits a Śūdra to wash his hands and feet for the ceremonial sipping (*ācamana*), while Gautama himself (X. 53) expressly allows a Śūdra to offer oblations to his ancestors (*śrāddhakarma*).² In the same context Gautama (X. 65) quotes an authority allowing Śūdras to perform a select list of seven small Vedic sacrifices (*Pākayajñas*). We may quote here the specific instance of the *Rathakāras* (chariot-makers) to show how far a

¹ The above follows Haradatta's reading *dharmatantrasamyoge* together with his explanation. Maskari's reading *dharmatantrasamge* meaning 'in the event of discontinuance of religious rites' practically leads to the same conclusion. It deserves to be remarked that according to Haradatta as well as Maskari just enough may be taken that is necessary, and taking more than that is a sin.

² In the passages of Baudhāyana (I. 5. 10. 20) and Āpastamba (II. 2. 3. 4f) quoted above permitting the use of Śūdra cooks, they are allowed the right of ceremonial sipping of the water (*ācamana*) after the fashion of their masters.

professional class recognized in the older Vedic works as belonging to the Śūdra caste and in our present authorities as deriving their origin from the union of Śūdra males and Vaiśya females, was credited with religious as well as civil rights during this period.¹ It has been shown in another place² how *Āpastamba Ś.S.* (XVIII. 10) alone among the *Śrautasūtras*, includes the *Rathakāras*, though alternatively with the *Akṣāvāpa* ('thrower of dice') and *Govikarta* ('hunter') in the list of *Ratnins* ('Jewel-holders') at the *Ratna-havīṃsi* ceremony of the *Rājasūya*. Again *Baudhāyana Gr. Sū.* (II. 5. 8. 9) by prescribing different seasons for the initiation (*upā-nayana*) of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Rathakāras, implicitly admit the last-named to the most important of the Vedic sacraments. In the *Dharmasūtras*, however, including that of Baudhāyana this privilege is withheld from the *Rathākāras*.

Turning, lastly, to the civil rights of the Śūdras, we may state that the clauses of the law of penances and of criminal law above-mentioned for offences against Śūdras, are indeed proportionately much lighter than those prescribed for offences against the higher classes. But they at least imply that the Śūdra was invested with the rights of person and property. In particular the Śūdra, as we have seen, has a weregild of ten cows, and alternatively or in addition, his murder is visited with penance of one year (or three years). Again, the Śūdra is qualified in the *Dharmasūtras* to be a witness in judicial trials (*cf.* Gautama, XIII. 3; Vaiśiṣṭha, XVI. 29-30; Baudhāyana, I. 10. 19. 13). Viṣṇu moreover mentions a penance for the Śūdra's giving false evidence (VIII. 17) as well as the form of the judge's address to a Śūdra witness (VIII. 23). Reference may be made, finally, to the important text of Gautama (XI. 22-23), which entitles cultivators, herdsmen and artisans, among others, to declare their customs (*artha*) through their proper spokesmen at the judicial trials. As there is little doubt that the classes here mentioned mostly belonged to the Śūdra caste, it would follow that some of the Śūdras had developed a stable organization under authorized leaders and that their customs had acquired binding authority in the law-courts.

¹ For references to *Rathakāras* in the *Yajus saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, see U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Public Life*, Pt. I, p. 134f. For their mixed origin, see Baudhāyana (I. 9. 17. 6).

² *A History of Hindu Public Life*, loc. cit.

MISCELLANEA

THE BACKGROUND OF AJAKALĀPAKA (AJAKĀLAKA) YAKKHA AND ASSAMUKHĪ YAKKHINĪ IN THE INDUS MYTHOLOGY

IN my article—*Indus Script and Tantric Code*¹—I was interested *inter alia* in the question of continuity of the tradition of the Indus Valley civilization in the subsequent history of India. It may be recalled that in it, the Indus seals could not but be taken as belonging to three groups: (1) those used as anklets, a few in number; (2) those used for instructional purposes, also few in number; and (3) those serving the purpose of trade-marks and forming the bulk. It was shown that the continuity of the technique of the Indus seals belonging to the third group might be traced in that of the punch-marked coins, the inscriptions on which, consisting in a number of picture-signs, contain either the name of the manufacturer or that of the place of their origin. As regards the seals belonging to the second group, their obvious purpose was to indicate from which picture-sign a particular letter-sign was derived. And with regard to the seals of the first group, it was suggested that in their mythological devices one might get the key or clue to the decipherment of the inscriptions recording presumably the name of the divinity or divinities prominently represented. In one of these devices was found the Indus symbolical background of the Vedic allegorical verse speaking of the Tree of Life, *i.e.* the *Āsvattha* on which dwell two *suparnas* (mythical birds) as inseparable comrades, one eating the fruit thereof and the other not eating but simply looking on (reflecting). If it be a correct surmise from an objective study of the Indus inscriptions that the script, as distinguished from the pictographs of Egypt and Sumeria, represents mostly a syllabic system of writing, one cannot help being tempted to think that the inscription below the mythological device records somehow or other the name of the two divinities as *sauparana*, pronounced *suparna*. But until corroborated by a stronger evidence, this is nothing more than a pious wish or pure guesswork (Pl. II, fig. 1 of the *B. C. Law Vol.*, Part II).

I have just received a reprint from an informative and highly suggestive article—*Rgvedic River-goddesses and an Indus Valley Seal*—contributed by Dr. O. H. De A. Wijesekera to the *University of Ceylon Review*, in which he has creditably attempted to explain

¹ *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 46iff.

the details of the mythological device on another amulet seal (see Pl. II, fig. 2) with the help of certain descriptions in the hymns of the *Rgveda*. Here the seven female divinities in the register of the seal concerned appear in tunic and fast-moving gait. They are human-bodied but cow-hoofed and horse-necked and horse-faced. Another female divinity in the middle of the middle row, also cow-hoofed and horse-faced, figures in a kneeling posture and suppliant attitude before a standing male divinity within the arbour of two *aśvattha* branches. Behind this female divinity one can see a horse-necked and horse-faced bull. The Rgvedic references, exhaustively cited by Dr. Wijesekera, enable him to suggest that here most probably is a plastic representation of Vṛṣan, the male god, the river-goddess Sarasvatī and her seven sisters, also described as 'the seven milch-cows', 'the seven damsels' and 'the seven mothers' in other contexts.¹ Proceeding in this train of imagination, the bull itself might be taken to stand for the Vṛṣabha regarded as the symbol of the virile energy. Assuming his interpretation to be sound and correct, who knows that the happy day may not come in near or distant future when the inscription of six letter-signs above will be found to record the name of the seven female divinities in the register as *sapta priyaśa* (= *sapta priyāśaḥ*) meaning 'the seven damsels'!

All these are by the way. My immediate concern is with two other amulet seals. The mythological device on one of them (Pl. II, fig. 3) presents in the upper row six cow-hoofed and horse-headed human figures, three male and three female, all in a walking posture, and in the lower row a male sacrificer in a kneeling posture behind a he-goat with its head turned towards him, while before it there is to be seen a standing divinity within the arbour of the same two *aśvattha* branches. Although the upper part of the divinity is missing, it seems very likely that there figured the same mule-god as that on the seal of Pl. II, fig. 2. The seal bears no inscription. It would seem almost certain that in the lower device we have the Indus mythical background of the Ajakalāpaka² or Ajakālaka³ Yakkha tamed by the Buddha.⁴

The device on the second seal (Pl. II, fig. 5) shows a cow-hoofed and horse-faced female divinity, who has come out of her tree-abode to attack and catch hold of a conventionalized lion-like or tiger-like wild beast frowning at her. Here we have definitely the Indus mythical background of the Assamukhī Yakkhinī (Horse-

¹ The device may also be regarded as an Indus prototype of the later representation of the sun-god in a chariot drawn by seven horses.

² *Udāna*, IV, 5; also its Commentary, *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 94ff.

³ Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 67ff.; Barhut, Bk. II, pp. 59ff., Bk. III, Pl. LVII, 61.

⁴ Fausböll, *Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 502; No. 432.

faced she-demon) in the *Padakusala-mānavaka Jātaka* (Pl. II, fig. 6).¹

B. M. BARUA.

TRADE GUILDS IN SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE

ABOUT seven years ago, I published a small paper on 'Economic Guilds in the Kuṣāṇa Period' in the *Indian Culture* and the study was based on inscriptions alone. I have now traced names of trade guilds in the *Mahāvastu*² which unfortunately have escaped the attention of previous writers. It is interesting to note that the *Samitarkara* guild mentioned in the Mathurā Brāhmī inscription³ of the time of King Huviṣka, is also noticed in this list. It shows the posterior character of this work. The trade guilds may be enumerated as following:—

1. Goldsmiths—*Sauvarnika-hairanikā*.
2. Makers of coral ornaments—*Prāvārikā*.
3. Perfumers—*Gandhikā*.
4. Jewel beautifiers—*Maniprastārakā*.
5. Cotton cloth makers—*Kārpāsikā*.
6. Makers of pot for storing ghee—*Ghritakundikā*.
7. Oil millers—*Tailikā*.
8. Makers of molasses—*Golikā*.
9. Curd makers—*Dadhyikā*.
10. Makers of candy sugar—*Khaṇḍakāarakā*.
11. Makers of sweets—*Modakakāarakā*.
12. Wheat flour dealers—*Samitakāarakā*.
13. Flour grinders—*Cūrṇakuttakā*.
14. Dealers in perfumed oil—*Gandhatailakā*.
15. Grinders of barley—*Śaktukāarakā*.
16. Provision dealers—*Attavāñijā* or *Aviddhakā*.
17. Fruit dealers—*Phalavāñijā*.
18. Dealers in roots—*Mūlavāñijā*.

There is a reference to *Kośavikā* in this list, which might mean *Cocoon carters*, as the word *Kośa*⁴ occurs in this sense in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.

It would appear on a perusal of this list of trade guilds, that it is quite different from the one mentioned in the *Jātakas*, and there is hardly any identical name in the two lists. Specialization in the economic life seems to have set in, and there are references to

¹ Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, Vol. II.

³ *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 55.

² Vol. III, pp. 442ff.

⁴ III, 147.

the process of making vessels,¹ and manufacture of needles by blacksmiths.² There are also references to the organization of these guilds in the same work. Thus the chief perfumer was known as गन्धिकमहत्तरक,³ and the mechanic headman कर्मरिग्यामिक.⁴

BAIJ NATH PURI.

IRON INDUSTRY IN NORTHERN INDIA ON THE EVE OF TURKO-AFGHAN CONQUESTS

ON the analogy of European history it was presumed that the period between the eighth and the twelfth century was a dark age in India. Valuable researches in the dynastic history of the north and south have filled up the blank, left by earlier historians of India, in the political history of India from the death of Harshavardhana to the invasion of Muhammad ibn Sam. But mere details of wars and conquests of the rival princes ruling simultaneously in the different parts of the country cannot dispel the idea of the general backwardness of India during the aforesaid period. It is presumed that India was mainly an agricultural country with a feudal type of socio-political organization. This idea, however, is proved to be erroneous when we make a close study of the technical literature produced during the age. Two outstanding works on such technical literature are Bhoja's 'Yuktikalpataru' and Vāgbhaṭa's 'Rasaratnasamuccaya'. The former was written in the tenth century and the latter is believed to be a compilation of the thirteenth century. Like Vātsāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* these two are a compendium of the knowledge gathered by previous writers in the fields of technique of production of industrial goods. I have made an humble attempt to inquire into the iron industry in this short paper, mainly based on those books. They reveal a surprising state of manifold activities in the production of producer's goods. These works also supply valuable data on the production of consumers' goods. The technical processes described by these works could not have been possibly undertaken by small scale farms. Minute subdivision of labour is presupposed in the production of many of those commodities, especially of the metallurgical goods. Many men must have been required to work under a common management, if not under the same roof. We cannot, however, expect production in

¹ अथ खलु ये ते भवन्ति सूयोनिरा वा सृत्तिका सृत्तिकामादाय भाजकानि कृत्वा चतुर्भङ्गपथे निक्षिपन्ति ।

Vol. I, pp. 326-327.

² कर्मादौ यो शक्नोति सृष्टौपि कर्तुं सो आचरियो । Vol. II, p. 87.

³ Vol. I, p. 38.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 83.

middle ages on a scale similar to that prevailing today, because of the lack of power resources. Still the production of many goods by the complex roundabout processes, described in these works, must evoke both admiration and astonishment, when, we remember that it was not before the middle of the eighteenth century that England showed the way in the production of machine-made goods to the West.

Iron came to be used on a pretty large scale and for a greater variety of purposes. Utbi in his *Tārīkh-i-Yāmini*¹ informs us that on both sides of the city of Mathurā, 'there were a thousand houses, to which idol temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron'. But Indian blacksmiths did not manufacture pegs and rivets only. They are known to have produced beams also. About 239 beams ranging up to 17 ft. long and up to 6" by 4" or 5" by 6" section have been counted in the Gunduchabari at Puri. This Puri temple was built c. A.D. 1174. Graves² gives a detailed record of these beams: 95 beams at lintels of doors and 114 below the temple. He has also measured the length, breadth and height of the beams at the lintels of doors in outer compound wall, inner and outer doors of the temple and pillar plates. Iron beams are to be seen in the Bhuvaneshwar temple which was constructed in the seventh century A.D., and also in the Konārak temple.³ In the Konārak temple Stirling⁴ in 1824 counted 9 beams and Graves, 29 beams. Dr. R. L. Mitra noted the length of beams 21 ft. with average cross-section 8" by 10". But Graves found the largest beam being 35 ft. long and 7 to 7½ inches square weighing 6,000 lbs.

It may be mentioned in this connection that even today when India has made considerable progress in metallurgical skill, large beams are not being produced in sufficient quantity to meet even the most urgent needs of the government and educational institutions. The finds of these beams are not the only evidence of the North Indians' acquaintances with iron and steel, but literary works like *Rasendrasārasaṃgraha*, a Tantric work of the thirteenth or fourteenth century; the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja, the *Rasaratnasamuccaya* refer to the varieties of iron. The *Rasendrasārasaṃgraha* quotes a passage from the *Yuktikalpataru*. Bhoja relates relative qualities of iron: 'Crouncha iron is twice better than Sāmānya iron, Kalinga iron 8 times better than Crouncha iron, Bhadra iron hundred times better than Kalinga iron, Vajra iron one thousand times better than Bhadra, Pandi iron again hundred times better than Vajra, Niranga

¹ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, p. 44.

² Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute, 1912, Vol. LXXXV, No. 1, pp. 200-02.

³ Konaraka—the black pagoda of Orissa.

⁴ Asiatic Researches, XV, p. 330.

iron ten times better than Pandi and Kantha iron million times better than Niranga iron'. These gradations of iron distinctly refer to the pig, cast and wrought iron. But the author of the *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* is more precise in describing the characteristics of each quality of iron. Munda¹ or cast iron has been classified thus: Mrdu or easily malleable but unbreakable and glossy, Kuntha² which expands very little after hammering, and Kadara³ which is breakable. Tikṣṇa or steel has been classified into six varieties—Khara, Sāra, Hrinnāla, Tarabhata, Vājira and Kālalauha. Kanta⁴ has also different varieties: Bhṛāmaka or iron which moves all other iron, Chumbaka and Karsaka, i.e. magnetic iron, Dravaka or iron which at once melts, Romakanta, i.e. iron which when broken shoots forth hair-like filaments. So these characteristics of iron and steel significantly point out that the manufacture of iron reached a high stage of development and the workers were acquainted with the science of metallurgy. Sir P. C. Ray⁵ brought in several evidences from Sanskrit books regarding the process of killing iron. The Kashmir manuscript of Vrinda prescribes that iron is to be lighted first and then 'macerated in the juice of the emblic myrobalan and trewia nudiflora and exposed to the sun and again to be macerated in the juice of certain other plants and then to be rubbed in a mortar'.⁶ Cakrapāṇi of the eleventh century A.D. prescribes a better method. After the bar of iron is rubbed with impalpable powder, as described by Vrinda, and then heated to fusion point and plunged into the decoction of the myrobalans and roasted repeatedly in a crucible. The *Rasaratnasamuccaya*⁷ informs us, that, if a piece of iron is rubbed with cinnabar, weighing one-twentieth of the weight of that iron, lemon juice and sour gruel, and roasted in a covered crucible forty times, Kāntam, Tikṣṇam and Mundaṁ are killed. Tikṣṇa iron can also be powdered if it is repeatedly heated and plunged into water.⁸ The medieval blacksmiths were so expert in melting iron that fine powdered iron could pass through linen.⁹

Crucibles, swords and water-vessels were manufactured from iron. The making of the Jāranāya Yantram has been mentioned in the *Rasārṇava*¹⁰ and the *Rasaratnasamuccaya*. Iron crucibles were twelve digits long. Regarding the ingredients for crucibles, Vāgbhaṭa¹¹ recommends: 'Earth, which is heavy and of a pale colour, sugar or earth from an ant-hill or earth which has been mixed with the burnt husks of paddy, fibres of hemp plant, charcoal and horse-dung pounded in an iron mortar and also rust of iron, are to

¹ *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, Bk. V, śl. 71-72.

³ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

⁹ *Ibid.*, śl. 134-37.

¹¹ *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, Bk. X, 5-6.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, śl. 84-89.

⁷ Bk. V, śl. 113-14.

¹⁰ *Rasārṇava*, Bk. IV, 7.

⁵ *History of Hindu Chemistry.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, śl. 107-08.

be recommended for crucible-making.' The Edilpur plate¹ of Kesavasena mentions 'water-vessels or iron'.

Weapons of war such as arrow-heads, spear-heads and swords have been mentioned by a host of medieval Muslim historians. Manufacture of swords is an old industry² of India. Utbi³ says that the soldiers of Brāhmanpāl, the son of Āndpāl, used white swords, blue spears and yellow coats of mail. White swords evidently mean that the best steel⁴ was used in the manufacture of sword, which when swung appeared to be only a flash of light, a radiant whiteness. Nizami in his *Taj-ul Ma-asir*⁵ has given a more vivid picture of Indian swords used by the soldiers of Gwalior. 'That sword was coloured of caerulean blue, which from its blazing lustre resembled a hundred thousand Venuses and Pleiades, and it was a well tempered horse-shoe of fire, which with its wound exhibited the peculiarity of lightning and thunder; and in the perfect weapon the extreme of sharpness lay hid; like (poison in) the fangs of a serpent, and (the water of the blade) looked like ants creeping on the surface of a diamond.' This is not a mere poetic hyperbole. The elaborate description of the processes of manufacturing arms and weapons, found in Sanskrit technical literature, proves the truth of the statement made by Nizami. It is a well-known fact that industrial skill is developed and perfected by the localization of industries. Certain localities specialized only in the making of swords. Thus Yuktikalpataru⁶ states that Benares, Magadha, Nepal, Saurāṣṭra and Kalinga had a reputation for producing swords. According to Śaṅgadhara⁷ who flourished in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, Khati-Khattara, Rishi, Vanga, Surpāraka, Videha, Madhyamagrāma, Vedideśa, Sahagrāma and Kalinjar were the centres of manufacture of swords. The best swords were of Benares, Saurāṣṭra, Risika and Anga and the swords of Kalinjar could stand the test of time. A comparative study of the works of different periods show that some localities developed their skill in course of time, while others fell into decay. Thus according to the Yuktikalpataru⁸ the swords of Anga were light, dirty, and blunt-edged, but in the course of next three hundred years, i.e. by the thirteenth century when Śaṅgadhara⁹ is supposed to have written his work, the Anga swords became famous for their sharpness, strength and excellent handle. The decadence of Magadha in the medieval age is well known and a reference to the bad type of swords produced here, by Bhoja¹⁰

¹ IB. 128.

³ Elliot and Dowson, II, p. 33.

⁵ Elliot and Dowson, II, p. 227.

⁶ Yukti, p. 170, śl. 24-29 (Cal. Ed. 1917).

⁷ Śaṅgadharapaddhati, śl. 4672-79 (Ed. Peterson, 1888).

⁸ Yukti, p. 170, śl. 27.

² Agni P. 245, 21.

⁴ Yuktikalpataru, śl. 24.

⁹ Śaṅgadharapaddhati, śl. 4676.

¹⁰ Yukti, p. 170, śl. 26.

in the tenth century illustrates the decay of an once famous industrial city. Bhoja in the chapter on Khadgaparīkshā dealt on the method of distinguishing between bad and good swords by the sound produced by swords. Śrāṅgadhara¹ devotes nine ślokaś on swords of good quality and nine on bad quality. That sword which “आहूते यच्च मधुरध्वनिः समुपजायते । पूज्यः स खड्गो नृपतेः शत्रुसङ्घयनाशनः” is worshipped by kings and that which is “तिर्यग्यस्य भवेच्चिह्नमपि सर्वाङ्गोच्चरम् । खड्गाघमं तं नृपतिर्दूरादेव विवर्जयेत्” should be thrown away by the king. Other weapons of war² were bows and arrows, ardhachandra, nārācha and paraśu.

B. P. MAJUMDAR.

THE NAIYĀYIKA TRILOCANA AS TEACHER OF VĀCASPATI

THE extant literature of the Nyāya system of Indian Philosophy does by no means give us a comprehensive idea of its former richness. Many important works are lost and perhaps irrevocably. Citations from some of them in extant philosophical works with approval or otherwise are the only source of information left to us. In some cases the quotations are vague. No idea of the exact contribution of these authors to Nyāya philosophy can be made out from them. But to a historian of Indian thought these quotations and references are extremely valuable. They must be collected and arranged so that a connected chronological link, though very thin, may be found.

Some two centuries separate Vācaspati, author of the *Tātparyā tīkā* from Uddyotakara, author of the *Nyāya Vārtika*. It will be unwise to hold that in the teeth of opposition from the Buddhists the Nyāya Śāstra, the chief defender of the Vedic religion, remained inactive and Vācaspati rose up all on a sudden with his critical acumen to revive the school of Uddyotakara which he himself characterizes as very old (*atijarati*). There is no denying the fact that Vācaspati was a master mind. His works earned for him the title of *Sarvatantrasvatantra*, an independent writer on all the branches of philosophy. But a study of his works shows that he was mainly a Naiyāyika. It is probable that his work, the *Tātparyā tīkā* overshadowed the works of many of his predecessors and in the struggle for existence, he only survived.

Vācaspati refers and acknowledges his debt to his teacher Trilocana whose work or works have been lost. But it is evident from the quotations that his work commanded great respect in his

¹ *Op. cit.*, śl. 4658, 4666.

² *Yukti, Athastrayukti*, śl. 28-29.

own school and in that of his adversaries. Vādideva in his *Syādvādaratnākara* mentions one *Prakīrnaka* (Miscellany) as a work of Trilocana.¹ This may also be a section of a larger work.

Udayana, successor of Vācaspati, had high regard for our author. According to him, the school of Uddyotakara represents the youth of the *Nyāya Vidyā*. In course of time it became languished and Vācaspati after receiving stimulus (*rasāyana*) in the form of instructions from his teacher Trilocana, revived it.² Here Vardhamāna commenting on Udayana says that Trilocana was the spiritual father of Vācaspati.³ The assertion itself arises in connection with the explanation of an introductory *śloka* of the *Tātparya tīkā* in which Vācaspati remarks that the views of Uddyotakara had been lost in the mire of bad treatises.⁴ The cause of this temporary deterioration of this system is not far to seek. The bad treatises referred to were none but those of Dharmakīrti, a formidable opponent of the author of the *Nyāya Vārtika*, whose ruthless criticism necessitated Vācaspati to write the *Tātparya tīkā*.

The views of Trilocana have been quoted in the *Nyāya Vārtika-tātparya tīkā*, *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, *Apohasiddhi*, *Syādvādaratnākara*, *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* and *Tarkikarakṣa*. Some of the quotations refer to topics in the *Nyāyasūtra*. But it is difficult to say whether he wrote any commentary on the *sūtras* of Gotama or any sub-commentary on the *Vātsyāyanabhāṣya* or the *Nyāya Vārtika* of Uddyotakara.

Haraprasād Śāstrī thinks that of the several Trilocanas mentioned by Aufrecht none goes beyond the Mahomedan conquest. S. C. Vidyābhūṣana refers to a poet called Trilocana. We are not in a position to establish their identity with our author and our concern is with Trilocana, the logician alone.

The *Nyāyasūtra* (I. i, 4) defines perception as follows:—It is a determinate (*Vyavasāyātma*), unnamable (*aryapadeśaya*) and uncontradictory (*avyabhicāri*) knowledge arising from the contact of a sense-organ with its object (*indriyārtha sannikarṣotpanna*).⁵ Old interpreters, such as Vātsyāyana, are of opinion that the condition 'determinate' excludes doubt from valid perception which must satisfy all the conditions stated above. The *sūtra* does not apparently

¹ तथा च विलोचनः प्रकीर्णके . . . p. 787.

² उद्योतकरसम्प्रदायो हि चमूषां योवनम् । नच कालपरिपाकवशाद् गलितमिव । किन्नामात्रं विलोचनगुरोः सकाशादुपदेशरसायनमासादितममूषां पुनर्नवीभावाय दौयत इति युज्यते ।

Nyāyavārtikatātparya parīśuddhi, p. 9.

³ विलोचनष्टोकाकृतो विद्यागुरुः—*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴ इच्छामि किमपि पुण्यं दुस्तरकुनिबन्धपङ्कमग्रानाम् ।

उद्योतकरगवौनामतिजरतीनां समुद्धरणात् ॥

⁵ इन्द्रियायैसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानमव्यपदेश्यमव्यभिचारि प्रत्यक्षम् ।

distinguish between *nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa*—sensation which is bereft of any element of reasoning or thinking and *savikalpaka pratyakṣa*—perception characterized by naming and identifying it with a class. But Vācaspati here suggests that by the expression *Vyāvasāyātma* or 'determinate', the *sūtrakāra* kept in his view the latter variety. In contradistinction to the Bhāṣya he holds that the condition 'determinate' is not necessary to exclude doubt as an element in perception since the case is met by the other condition that it must be uncontradicted. He holds that the words *vyāvasāya*, *vinīścaya*, and *vikalpa* are all synonymous and all of them signify perception as distinguished from sensation. Vācaspati maintains that neither Vātsyāyana nor Uddyotakara has raised the point as it is a simple one. He has of course followed his teacher Trilocana and asserts that such is the nature of things and it is supported by arguments also.¹

Hemacandra in his *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* makes the above point more clear. According to him Trilocana, Vācaspati and others hold that the definition of perception constitutes three conditions only: (i) that it must arise from the contact of the sense organ with its object; (ii) that it must be uncontradicted. They would take the word *yataḥ* as understood and the whole would mean that a knowledge or something else producing another knowledge and satisfying the above conditions is the means of a valid perception. The resulting knowledge is of two kinds, *avikalpaka* and *savikalpaka*, signified by the words *avyapadeśya* and *vyāvasāyātma*, respectively.²

In the same context Vācaspati refers again to another view of his teacher. The word *avyapadeśya* unnamable according to Uddyotakara in the aforesaid *sūtra* has been used to exclude verbal knowledge. Here he must have hinted at a knowledge that arises from both sense-contact and verbal suggestion. To Uddyotakara the resulting knowledge is verbal. But Vācaspati differs to say that verbal suggestion is only an aid, while the knowledge is perceptive

¹ अयमिच्छारिपदेनैव संशयज्ञाने निरस्ते सविकल्पकप्रत्यक्षाचरो (वा) धार्थमुपादीयमानं व्यवसायात्मक-पदम् । व्यवसायात्मकपदं साक्षाद्विकल्पस्य वाचकम् । तथाहि व्यवसायो विनिश्चयो विकल्प इत्यनर्थोत्तरम् । स एवात्मा रूपं यस्य तत्सविकल्पकं प्रत्यक्षम् । तदेतदतिस्फुटत्वात् शिष्यैर्गम्यत एवेति भाष्यवार्तिककाराभ्यामस्याख्यातम् । अस्माभिः—विज्ञोचनगुरुद्वीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः । यथाज्ञानं यथावत् व्याख्यानमिदमौदृशम् । *Tātparya śikṣā*, p. 114.

² नैयायिकास्तु इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोपपन्नं... प्रत्यक्षम् इति प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमाचक्षते । अथ च पूर्वोक्तार्थ-कृतव्याख्यावैमर्शेन संख्यावद्विज्ञोचन-वाचस्यतिप्रमुखैरयमर्थः समर्थितो यथा इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोपपन्नं ज्ञानमन्यपदेश्यमन्यभिचारि प्रत्यक्षमित्येव प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् । यतः शब्दाध्याहारेण च यत्तदोर्नित्यसम्बन्धादुक्त-विशेषणविशिष्टं ज्ञानं यतो भवति तत्तथाविधज्ञानसाधनं ज्ञानरूपमज्ञानरूपं वा प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणमिति । अस्य च फलभूतस्य ज्ञानस्य द्वयौगतिरविकल्पं सविकल्पं च । तयोर्बभोरपि प्रमाणत्वमभिधान्तुं विभाग-वचनमेतदप्यपदेश्यं व्यवसायात्मकमिति ॥ p. 22.

and it is clearer that the other knowledge through verbal suggestion is mediate, while that through perception is immediate. In support of his view Vacaspati quotes an authoritative verse from a current stock, but there is no certainty that it was composed by Trilocana. But it is said that he learnt it from his 'Teacher'. It can, however, be inferred that Trilocana held the same opinion with regard to the point at issue.¹

While examining 'Universal' of the Naiyāyikas, Ratnakīrti refers to the view of Trilocana. To him a Universal is the inherence of the Universal-particulars such as horseness and cowness in their substratum. And this universal serves to express a concept and to make it intelligible.²

In his *Kṣāṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, Ratnakīrti twice quotes a passage from 'Trilocana's work in connection with the contribution of the attendant conditions (*Sahakārikāraṇa*) to the effect. Trilocana is said to have remarked:

'It is an effect that depends upon concomitant conditions and not the cause thereof. The causal efficiency to produce an effect is of two kinds, internal and external, the latter arising from the concomitant conditions. Hence we can explain the difference in the successive effects arising out of the difference in the successive concomitant conditions though the cause is permanent and the momentariness of existences cannot be proved.'³

Kṣāṇabhaṅgasiddhi twice refers to our author in other connections.⁴

Vāḍideva in his *Syādvādaratnākara* quotes another passage from 'Trilocana's *Prakīrṇaka*, in which he refutes the Buddhist view of momentariness.⁵

¹ तत्र गुरुपदिष्टा गाथा पठित्वा ।

शब्दज्ञानेन शब्दं चेत् प्रत्यक्षं चाक्षजन्तः । स्पष्टग्रहणरूपत्वाद् युक्तमिन्द्रियकं हि तत् । P. 126.

² यत्तु त्रिलोचनः अक्षलंगोलादीनां सामान्यविशेषाणां स्वाश्रये समवायः सामान्यम्; सामान्यमित्यभिधानप्रत्यययोर्निमित्तम् । चण्डोद्दिष्टिः p. 13.

³ त्रिलोचनस्याप्यर्थं संचिन्तार्थः कार्यमेव हि सच्चकारिणमपेक्षते । न कार्योत्पत्तिहेतुः । तस्माद्विविधं सामर्थ्यमिज्जमागन्तुकञ्च सच्चकार्यन्तरम् । ततोऽक्षणिकस्यापि क्रमवत् सच्चकारिणान्वादापि क्रमवत् कार्यनानात्वोपपत्तेरशक्यं भावानां प्रतिक्षणमन्यान्यलसुपपादयितुमिति । pp. 39 and 58.

⁴ pp. 70 and 73.

⁵ तथा च त्रिलोचनः प्रकीर्णके—

सर्वेषां नाशहेतूनां वैकल्यप्रतिबन्धयोः । सर्वदासम्भवाद्वाशः सापेक्षोऽपि ध्रुवत्वभाक् । यवश्च ध्रुव-

भावित्वस्थानपेक्षतावष्टम्भस्य भग्नत्वाद्वाशस्थानपेक्षत्वमसिद्धम् । किं च । अत्र कोऽर्थं नाशोऽनपेक्षतया विवर्चितः किं विनश्यतीति विनाशोऽनवस्थाविभावस्वभावः पर्युदासप्रतिषेधरूपः किं वा विनश्यनं विनाशोऽभावमात्रं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधरूपम् । नादाः कल्पः । अनवस्थाविभावस्वभावस्याहेतुवत्त्वेन केनाप्यनभ्युपगतत्वेनासिद्धत्वात् द्वितोयपक्षेऽपि प्रसज्यरूपो यद्ययमहेतुस्तदा सदा सत्त्वमसत्त्वं वा स्याद् व्योमवत् । व्योमाश्च ध्रुवश्च । तथा च

While discussing the points of defeat Varadarāja twice refers to the views of Trilocana. In a debate a party is to be declared defeated if he fails to understand the import of the thesis of his opponent even if it is repeated thrice, the point of defeat is called *avijnātārtha*.¹ Here Trilocana does not object if the thesis is repeated even four times.² In the other passage Varadarāja says that his explanation of the point of defeat *paryanuyogyāpekṣaṇa*³ is such that there can be no objection of Trilocana and Vācaspati in any respect.

Rāghava Bhaṭṭa while explaining the *sūtra* (*anyetu sandeha-dvārenoparānastāvudāharanā bhāmān varṇayanti*) which refers to others who speak of eight fallacious instances, points out that by 'others' the author primarily meant Trilocana.⁴

The references to Trilocana discussed above do not seem to justify S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's opinion that Trilocana was a Vaiśeṣika writer. On the other hand, these go to connect him directly with the Nyāya system.

ANANTALAL THAKUR.

प्रथमपक्षे भावाभावयोर्यदि विरोधस्तदा कदाचिद्भावोपलब्धी न भवेत् । अथाविरोधस्तयोस्तदा भावाभावयोः सद्भावस्तिग्धवात्त्वयोरिव युगपदेकत्वा[चा ?]वस्थानं स्यात् । द्वितीयपक्षेऽपि समस्तवस्तूनां शाश्वतिकता प्रसङ्गः स्वविरोधिनो नाशस्य सदैवासञ्जात् । ननु नास्माकं भावस्य किञ्चिद्भवति केवलमेवाज्ञायुः स्वकारणादुत्पन्नः क्षणान्तरे स एव न भवति । तथाच रक्षस्य,—न तस्य किञ्चिद्भवति न भवत्येव केवलम् । pp. 787-8.

¹ परिपत्प्रतिवादिभ्यां त्रिरभिहितमप्यविज्ञातमविज्ञातार्थम् । N.S. V. ii, 9.

² चतुरभिधानेऽपि न कश्चिदोप इति वदतस्त्रिलोचनस्यापि स एवाभिप्रायः तार्किकरक्षा । P. 337.

³ अत्र त्रिलोचन-वाचस्पतिप्रसूतीनां न काचिद्विप्रतिपत्तिः । *Ibid*, p. 356.

⁴ V. P. Vaidya, Notes on *Nyāyasāra*, p. 35.

REVIEWS

INDIA ANTIQUA, a volume of oriental studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E., on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his Doctorate. Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, 1947, pp. 329 with a few illustrations and sketches.

Dr. Vogel, an orientalist of international fame, ought to have been honoured by his friends and pupils long ago. I agree with Sir John Marshall in pointing out that Dr. Vogel's achievements in the field of Indian archaeology are highly esteemed by the Indologists all over the world.

This volume consists of forty-three contributions from scholars of repute. Some of the articles are of great value and among them may be mentioned Bachhofer's *Maitreya in Ketumatī* by Chu Hao-ku, Bajpai's *A new inscribed Image of a Yakṣa*, Kempers' *Archaeology*, Bhattacharyya's *Some Remarkable Buddhist Bronzes in Baroda*, Bosch's *The Bhīmastava*, Casparis' *L'importance de la disyllabie en javanais*, Chhabra's *Yūpa Inscriptions*, Coedès' *L'année du lièvre 1219 A.D.*, *The Sea* by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Sanskrit Suffix Titha* by Franklin Edgerton, *Mrcchakatikā and King Lear* by Faddegon, Foucher's *Deux Jātaka sur ivoire provenant de Begram*, *Skt. Utsava festival* by Gonda, Goetz's *The Coming of Muslim Cultural Influence in the Punjab Himālayā*, Herzfeld's *Early Historical contacts between the Old Iranian empire and India*, Sten Konow's *Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions*, *Traces of Laryngeals in Vedic Sanskrit* by Kuiper, Lamotte's *La Critique d'authenticité dans le bouddhisme*, *Mithilā in Ancient India* by B. C. Law, *Two Notes on Mathurā Sculpture* by L. De Leeuw, *The Sailendra Interregnum* by F. H. Van Naerssen, Paranavitana's *The subject of the Sigiri Paintings*, Pott's *Plural Forms in Buddhist Iconography*, E. J. Thomas' *Nirvāṇa and Parinirvāṇa*, *Kaṇiṣka Year 14* by F. W. Thomas, *The validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition* by Tucci and *The so-called Sun god of Multan* by R. B. Whitehead. The other papers are of general interest and are not of high standard. The Presentation Volume as it stands is really a valuable addition to the rich stock of indological studies.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

THE STŪPA IN CEYLON (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. V) by S. Paranavitana, 1947, pp. 105 with xxii plates.

In this memoir Dr. Paranavitana has made an attempt to trace the evolution of the *stūpa* in Ceylon and to bring out the real significance and functions of its various parts by comparing the relevant Sinhalese and Pali references to the subject with that of the remains of the ancient Ceylonese *dagobas*. The book consists of seven chapters. In the first chapter the author has dealt with the historicity of the *stūpa*. He has tried to find out its real meaning and the difference between the *stūpa* and the *cetiya*. In the second chapter he has said something about the form of the *stūpa* and has dealt with the terraces, their mouldings and the dome. In the third chapter he has traced the development of the superstructure of the Ceylonese *stūpas*. From the *Mahāvamsa* account (chap. xxxii) it is clear that in early times Ceylon *stūpas* did not have the spire above the tee as they had in later times. It is true that the superstructure of Ceylon *stūpas* underwent an important development during the mediaeval period. Among the great *stūpas* at Anurādhapura only the Abhayagiri has enough of its superstructure still preserved. The Jetavana too had enough of its superstructure preserved till the end of the nineteenth century. The

fourth chapter treats of the *Vāhalkaḍas* or frontispieces such as gateways, offsets or projections. These *Vāhalkaḍas* are from the architectural standpoint the most important features of the Ceylon *stūpas* and are the earliest examples of plastic art of the island. In front of every *Vāhalkaḍa* at Anurādhapura and Mihintale there is a stone altar, chastely moulded, for flowers and other offerings of the devotees. The four animals which once crowned the stelæ of the Kāṇṭaka Cetiya namely the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse are also depicted on the carved semi-circular slabs of stone locally known as moonstones which are frequently found at the foot of the flights of steps in the ancient buildings of Ceylon. No Pali term corresponding to *Vāhalkaḍa* has been met with. The fifth chapter dealing with the precincts of a *stūpa* contains a few words about the origin and purpose of the various types of guard-stones, balustrades, steps, and moonstones. The author has referred to the *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which contains a description of the palace of a *Cakkavattī* monarch having posts or banisters, crossbars and copings in connection with flights of steps. The author is right in pointing out that in Buddha's time the people of India believed that a deity called *Vatthu-devatā* (house god) had his abode in every important house such as the residence of a king or a rich man. The sixth chapter deals with *Cetiya-ghara*. In the *Thūpavamsa* the *Cetiya-ghara* in the *Nāga* world of Mānjerika is also called a *Dhātughara* or a relic house. A shrine of this class can also be referred to as *Dhātu-geha*. The author is also right in holding that the Pali terms *Thūpa-ghara*, *Cetiya-ghara*, *Dhātu-ghara*, *Dhātu-geha* and *Vatṭa-dhātu-ghara* and the Sinhalese *dāge* and *Vatadāge* are all used for the same type of structure. The seventh chapter contains an account of some uncommon types of *stūpas*.

The book under review is on the whole very interesting and instructive. Its value has been greatly enhanced by a useful index supplied by the author. The illustrations are no doubt worthy of the volume, but there are some misprints in pages 37 and 71 to which the attention of the author should be drawn.

B. C. LAW.

OBITUARY

B. M. Barua

It is with a heavy heart that I record the news of the sudden and unexpected death of our esteemed friend and co-editor, Dr. B. M. Barua. He was connected with the *Indian Culture* from its inception and used to take considerable interest in its improvement. He himself not only contributed valuable articles to its pages but also he collected many interesting papers for it. He was a sound scholar and a fine gentleman. He was free from anger, self-conceitedness, narrow-mindedness, meanness and insincerity. He was kind-hearted and catholic in his views. He had a keen sense of duty and responsibility. On account of his genial nature and open-heartedness, he made a large circle of friends. He was thoroughly honest in the discharge of his duties. On account of his remarkable intelligence and assiduity he made himself great. He was not only interested in Buddhism and Buddhistic studies but also in all branches of Indology, specially Indian philosophy. Future generations of scholars will no doubt be benefited by some of his valuable writings. His *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, History of the Ājīvikas, Gayā and Buddha Gayā, Bārhut, Bārhut Inscriptions, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, Asoka*, etc. bear ample testimony to his critical scholarship, wide reading, and sound judgment.

Dr. Barua was born in 1888 in the village of Pahartali in the District of Chittagong. After completing his brilliant educational career in India, he went to England as a State scholar to qualify himself for the Degree of Doctor of Literature of the University of London. He was a favourite student of T. W. Rhys Davids, Hobhouse, F. W. Thomas, and Barnett. After having received his Doctorate, he came back to India and was given the post of a Lecturer in the University of Calcutta. Later he was made the Head of the Department of Pali and the designation of Professor was given to him by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in recognition of his outstanding merits. This post he held up to end of his life. He was elected an ordinary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and in recognition of his conspicuous contributions to Buddhistic Studies, he was awarded the Dr. B. C. Law Gold Medal by the same Society. The title of *Tipiṭakācariya* was conferred on him by a learned body of Ceylon. His place is difficult to be filled up in near future. May his soul rest in peace!

B. C. LAW.

NOTES AND NEWS

Indus Civilization

The first explorer to discover the Indus Civilization was the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni. He was excavating at Harappa a year before the late R. D. Banerjee went to Mohenjo-Daro and when Banerjee wrote to Sir John Marshall about his finds at the latter site, he described them as having similar to those which Daya Ram Sahni had already found at Harappa. I am grateful to Sir John Marshall for this piece of information. He has already given the facts in the Introduction to his volumes on Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization.

One of our co-editors Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has been duly elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Another co-editor, who is no more in this world, Dr. B. M. Barua, was elected an ordinary Fellow of the same society, and was awarded the Dr. B. C. Law Gold Medal for his conspicuous contributions to Buddhism and Buddhistic Studies at the last Annual Meeting of the Society held on the 16th February, 1948.

A Volume containing important articles on Indology under the Joint Editorship of Dr. B. C. Law and Mr. C. D. Chatterjee will be issued by the Indian Research Institute to perpetuate the memory of one of our distinguished editors, the late Dr. B. M. Barua.

Dr. B. C. Law's term as President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal expired on the 16th February, 1948, and he was succeeded by Dr. W. D. West, C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B., as President for 1948. Dr. Law served as President for 1947. We congratulate Dr. West on his new appointment.



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