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Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi

Memorial Volume

BHARATIYA VIDYA

[Volume V]

MISCELLANY

EDITED BY

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CONTENTS

PART I

Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi— <i>Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni</i>	i-v
Some Important Principles and Postulates in the Ancient Indian Educational System— <i>Dr. A. S. Altekar.</i>	1
Vālmiki, The Literary Critic (How Ānandavardhana interprets Vālmiki)— <i>Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.</i>	15
Some Problems of Mughal History— <i>Principal Sri Ram Sharma.</i>	25
The City of Bengāla— <i>Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar.</i>	34
Some Aspects of the Administration of Candragupta Maurya— <i>Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.</i>	43
The Pronunciation of -t- as -l- in certain Positions— <i>Prof. K. R. Pisharoti.</i>	55
The Vedic Sacrifice and Temple Worship— <i>Acharya T. A. Venkateswara Dikshitar.</i>	62
European Pioneer Studies in South Indian Languages— <i>Prof. C. S. Srinivasachariar.</i>	71
Studies in the Regional History of Indian Paper Industry (The Paper manufacture at Harihar on the Bank of the Tungabhadra in A.D. 1790 as described by Capt. Edward Moor)— <i>Prof. P. K. Gode.</i>	87
The Gupta Era (A Reply)— <i>Shri Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee.</i>	96
Veśyā—Synonyms and Aphorisms— <i>Dr. L. Sternbach.</i>	115

SUPPLEMENT

Veśyā—Synonyms and Aphorisms—Part II— <i>Dr. L. Sternbach.</i>	1
Jainism and Meat-Eating— <i>Shri M. V. Shah.</i>	20
A New Grant of Paramāra King Bhojadeva from Modāsā— <i>Prof. Hariprasad Shastri.</i>	37
Viṇāvāsavadattam, Act V— <i>Dr. Kunhan Raja.</i>	41

दानशील - साहित्यरसिक - संस्कृतिप्रिय
स्व० बाबू श्री बहादुर मिहजी सिन्धी



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BABU SHRI BAHADUR SINGHJI SINGHI

By

Acharya Jina Vijayaji Muni

THE 7th OF JULY, is a sorrowful day for me. This day last year (1944), Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi left his mortal coils at the comparatively early age of fiftynine. His loss has been widely felt. His aged mother received this rude shock so ill that she did not long outlive him. His worthy sons have lost an affectionate and noble father, the industrialists and businessmen of the country one of their pioneers, the large number of his employees a benevolent master, scholarship one of its best patrons and the poor people of his native district a most generous donor. To me his loss is personal. My contact with him was a turning point in my life. Whatever I have been able, during the past fifteen years, to achieve in the field of scholarship is due directly to him. The financial assistance with which he backed up my activities was the least of his contributions. But for his love of scholarship with which he inspired me, this chapter of my life would have been entirely different. To his sacred memory I am penning these few lines. This volume is also brought out in his memory.

Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi was born in Azimganj, Murshidabad, in Vikram Samvat 1941, in the ancient family of the Singhis, who were of old the treasurers of the Mughal emperors. The family had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune and in the 17th century it migrated from Rajaputana to Bengal, but thanks to the energy and enterprise of Singhiji's father, Babu Dalchandji Singhi, the family firm became a very flourishing concern.

At an early age Singhiji joined the family business and by pushing ahead with his father's enterprises, succeeded in

making the firm the foremost in the mining industry of Bengal and Central India. Besides he also acquired vast zamindaries and had interests in many industrial and banking concerns. This early preoccupation with business affairs prevented his having a college education. But Singhiji was studious and introspective by nature. Unlike many other wealthy men who spend their money and time in such fads as the races, the theatres, and the like, he devoted all his spare time to study and cultural development. He acquired an excellent command over several languages. Art and literature were the subjects of his choice. He was very fond of collecting rare and invaluable specimens of ancient sculpture, paintings, coins, copperplates and inscriptions. His manuscript collection contained a large number of rare works of historical and cultural importance, among which mention must be made of a unique manuscript of the Koran which was handed down from Baber to Aurangzeb and bears the autographs of all of them. It is recorded therein that it was considered by them all as more valuable than the empire. His numismatic collection, especially of Kushan and Gupta coins, is considered the third best in the world. He also had a good and large collection of works of art and historical importance. Singhiji was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (London), a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Indian Research Institute and a Founder-Member of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. He was also the President of the Jain Swetambara Conference held in Bombay in 1926. Though he had made no special study of law he was well up in legal matters. On one occasion when he found that his lawyers were not properly representing his case he himself pleaded out the case successfully, much to the surprise of the bench and the bar who took him for an accomplished advocate.

Though a highly religious and leading figure in the Jain Community he had an outlook which was far from sectarian. More than three-fourths of the six lakhs and over of his donations were for non-Jain causes. More often than not he preferred to give his assistance anonymously and

he did not keep a list of his donations even when they were made in his name. To the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, Calcutta, he gave Rs. 10,000/-, when Mahatmaji had been to his place for the collection of funds; to the Hindu Academy, Daulatpur, Rs. 15,000/-, to the Taraqi-Urdu Bangala 5000/-, the Hindi Sahitya Parishad 12,500/-, to the Vishuddhanand Sarasvati Marwari Hospital 10,000/-, to several maternity homes 2,500/-, to the Benares Hindu University 2,500/-, to the Jiaganj High School 5,000/-, to the Jiaganj London Misson Hospital 6000/-, to the Jain Temples at Calcutta and Murshidabad 11,000/-, to the Jain Dharma Pracharak Sabha, Manbhum 5,000/-, to the Jain Bhavan, Calcutta, 15,000/-, to the Jain Pustak Prachar Mandal, Agra, 7,500/-, to the Agra Jain Temple 3,500/-, to the Ambala Jain High School, 2,100/-, for the Prakrit Kosh 2,500/- and to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 10,000/-. At the Singhi Park Mela held at his Ballyganj residence in which Viscount Wavell, then Commander-in-Chief and Lord John Herbert, Governor of Bengal and Lady Herbert participated, he donated Rs. 41,000/-, for the Red Cross Fund.

• The people of the district of Murshidabad, his native place, will ever remain grateful to him for having distributed several thousand maunds of rice at the low price of Rs. 8/- when rice was selling at Rs. 24/- in those terrible years of 1942-43, himself thereby suffering a loss of over three lakhs. In May-June 1944 he again spent Rs. 50,000/- for the distribution of cloth, rice and coins for the people of that place.

• My close association with Singhiji began in 1931, when he invited me to occupy the Chair for Jain Studies which he was starting at the Vishvabharati. Due to unfavourable climatic conditions of Shantiniketan I could not continue to work there for more than four years, but during those years was founded the Singhi Jain Series. During the period of ten years of my principalship of Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmadabad, and even before that I had been collecting materials of historical and philological importance and folk-lore etc. which had been lying hidden in the great Jain Bhandars of Patan, Ahmadabad, Baroda etc. I persuaded Singhiji to start a series which would publish works dealing with the vast

materials in my possession, and also other important Jain texts and studies prepared on the most modern scientific lines. On the works of the Series he spent through me more than Rs.75,000/-. During this long period of over a dozen years he not even once asked me as to how and for what works the amount was spent. Whenever the account was submitted he did not ask for even the least information, but sanctioned it casting merely a formal glance on the accounts sheets. But he showed the most discriminating interest in the matter that was being published and on the material and manner in which they were being brought out. His only desire was to see the publication of as many works as possible during his lifetime. In May 1943 at my instance he gave over the Series to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In September 1943 I had been to Calcutta to negotiate the purchase, for the Bhavan, of a well-equipped library of a retired professor. Singhiji casually asked me what arrangements had been made for meeting the cost. I promptly replied that there was no cause for worry as long as donors like himself were there. He smiled; he had decided. Eventually he persuaded me to go in for the Nahar Collection which was a still more valuable one. He did not live long enough to present this literary treasure to the Bhavan; but his eldest son and my beloved friend, Babu Shri Rajendra Singh has fulfilled his father's wish though he was totally ignorant of it and has got this unique collection for the Bhavan and spent Rs. 50,000/- for the purpose.

By the end of 1943 his health began to decline. In the first week of January, 1944, when I went to him at Calcutta in connection with the work of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti I found him extremely unwell. Notwithstanding his ill-health he talked to me for more than a couple of hours on the day of my arrival there. The first thing he did in the course of this lengthy, though very sweet talk, was to give me a mild reproof for undertaking the long and tedious journeys to Calcutta, Benares and Cawnpore in spite of my ill health. He discussed with absorbing interest the details of the Samiti's proposed History of India, a subject of great interest

to him: Our talks then drifted to the subject of the History of Jainism in which connection also he expressed his opinion about the material to be utilised for such a work. At the termination of our talks, which this time lasted for over three hours, I found him much exhausted and drooping in spirits.

On the 7th January his health took a turn for the worse. On 11th January I went to take leave of him, which he, full of emotion, gave with a heavy heart, exclaiming "Who knows whether we shall meet again or not?" I requested him to take heart and remain buoyant. He would be soon restored to normal health. But while I was stepping out of his room, my eyes were full of tears and his last words began to eat into my heart. Ill-luck prevented our second meeting. That lofty and generous soul finally left its mortal habitat at mid-day on 7th July, 1944. May his soul rest in peace!

His sons, Babu Rajendra Singh, Babu Narendra Singh and Babu Virendra Singh are treading in the footsteps of their revered father. During the past year on the Singhi Series alone they have spent over Rs. 20,000/-. I have already mentioned how Babu Rajendra Singh purchased for the Bhavan the valuable Nahar collection. Babu Narendra Singh has also spent Rs. 30,000/- for the foundation of a Jain Bhavan at Calcutta. Babu Rajendra Singh and Babu Narendra Singh have also very generously promised me to continue to meet all the expenses of the Singhi Jain Series and requested me to bring out as many works as possible, at whatever cost so that this unique series founded and cherished by their late lamented father may continue to bring to light the invaluable treasures of Jain literature and culture.

In recognition of his unique assistance the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has decided to perpetuate Singhi's memory by naming its indological library after him. Further, one of its main halls will bear his name. The Bhavan's Jain Department will also be known as the Singhi Jain Shikshapith.



BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

Volume V

June 1944

Some important Principles and Postulates in Ancient Indian Educational System.*

By Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR, M. A., LL. B., D. LITT., Benares.

IN RECENT times, there have come forward many books dealing with Education in Ancient India, but the question of the general principles and postulates underlying the Educational System has not received proper attention in them. This may be partly due to the fact that our source books of the subject do not discuss these principles and postulates in a connected manner at one place; we have rather to infer them from educational practice and gather them from diverse and scattered sources. It is however very desirable for every student of education to ascertain these principles and postulates; for otherwise a proper understanding of the educational system and its achievements would hardly be possible. It is therefore proposed to briefly enunciate and discuss these principles and postulates in the present paper.

* This paper is based upon a portion of a new chapter added to the forth-coming second Edition of the writer's book on '*Education in Ancient India*'.

EDUCATION FOR ALL: In ancient Greece education was regarded as the privilege of those few who had the necessary leisure to devote to its acquisition. In ancient India however, it was held very strongly that education should be regarded as desirable for all those who were properly qualified to receive it. It was with this end in view that the Upanayana ritual, which marked the beginning of religious and literary education, was made obligatory to all the Aryans in course of time. It was further declared that a person can discharge his debt to ancestors, not merely by procreating children but by educating them. Every Aryan, i. e. every Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, thus received at least the rudiments of literary and religious education. Things however changed for the worse during the first millennium of the Christian era, when Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas gradually ceased to perform the Upanayana ritual and sank to the level of the Śūdras. This gave a setback to their literary education. As far as the professional education was concerned, it was ensured to almost all persons anxious to receive it, when the caste system became hereditary; every family was expected to train its children and bring them up in the traditions of its profession.

STEPS TAKEN TO REALISE THE IDEAL: Society also took several other important steps to realise this ideal. To ensure an adequate supply of teachers, it enjoined that teaching should be a holy duty which a Brāhmaṇa was bound to discharge irrespective of the consideration as to whether any fee was likely to be received or not. It made education free and held to public opprobrium any teacher who would stipulate for fees. In order to bring education within the reach of the poorest, it not only permitted students to beg, but elevated begging itself into the highest duty of the student life. In order to ensure a reasonable maintenance to teachers, who were expected to devote their lives to the cause of teaching in a missionary spirit of self-sacrifice, society laid down that both the public and the state should help learned teachers and educational institutions very liberally. This recommendation was widely accepted.

EDUCATION A SERIOUS PROPOSITION: Though ancient Indians held that all should normally receive the benefits of

education, they have laid down that persons, who were morally and intellectually unfit to receive it should be excluded from its benefit (*Nirukta*, 11. 4). This was a necessary precaution to avoid waste. They further pointed out that real scholarship cannot be obtained by dilettante or perfunctory studies; impatience is as great an enemy of learning as self-complacency¹. The rich and the poor have both to submit to stern discipline in order to become learned. Long, continued and laborious preparation is necessary to acquire real grounding and efficiency in a subject. One who is anxious to dabble in several matters or one who wants to have a merry time during his school and college days cannot become a good scholar².

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

LAPSE FROM THIS IDEAL: Owing to several causes, which cannot be discussed here, the marriageable age of girls began to fall down gradually from c. 600 B. C. From 16, it came down to 14, then to 12 and then to 11 or 10. The last mentioned limit was reached during the early centuries of the Christian era. The lowering of the marriageable age of girls naturally brought down the marriageable age of boys to about 16 or 18; marriage thus became inevitable before the end of education. As early as the 3rd or 2nd century B. C. we find occasional references to the cases of husbands staying away from their wives for some years during their educational course³. These cases later became common. We may safely conclude that from about the beginning of the Christian era,

1 अशुश्रूषा त्वरा, क्षाया विद्यायाः शत्रवस्त्रयः ।

2 सुवार्थिनः कुतो विद्या कुतो विद्यार्थिनः सुखम् ॥

3 *Arthasāstra*, III. 4.

more than 50 per cent students used to marry before their education was completed.

EDUCATION TO BEGIN IN CHILDHOOD: Ancient Indians were convinced that no good results would follow if education is begun late in life. A boy who begins his education at 16 is not likely to bring any credit to his teachers. During childhood, mind is pliable, memory keen and intellect receptive; during this period of life it is possible to form good habits that may be of life-long use to us. Ancient Indians have therefore held that education ought to commence in childhood. One thinker observes that parents themselves would become the greatest enemies of a child, whose education has been neglected during its childhood¹. It was held that the 5th year and the 8th year would be the proper time for the beginning of the primary and the secondary education respectively. Our educationalists had however recognised that it would be necessary to vary these years in accordance with the cultural traditions of the families from which the students hailed.

STUDIES NOT TO STOP WITH THE COURSE: Even in modern times, when books are cheap and library facilities fairly good, students forget a good deal of what they learn within a few years of their leaving the school or the college. The danger was much greater in ancient times when books were rare, costly and fragile. Our educationalists therefore emphasise that every graduate should recapitulate daily a portion of what he had learnt in the school or the college. At the time of his convocation, the Chancellor particularly exhorted him not to neglect his duty of daily revision². During the rainy season, every graduate was expected to devote extra time to his studies 'in order to remove their staleness'. Some thinkers like Śvetaketu even recommended an occasional stay of a few months at the college for this purpose (*A. D. S.*, I. 1. 2. 12.). To forget what had once been learnt was pronounced to be a sin as great as the murder of a friend or a Brāhmaṇa (*Yāj.* III. 228)

1 माता शत्रुः पिता वैरी बालो येन न पाठितः । *Subhāṣita.*

2 स्नाभ्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रवदित्तथ्यत् । *T. U.* I. 11.

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

VIEWS ABOUT PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT: As may be expected, there was no unanimity of views among ancient Indian educationalists about the advisability of the physical punishment. Āpastamba recommends that a teacher should try to improve refractory students by banishing them from his presence or by imposing a fast (1. 2. 8. 30). He seems to be opposed to physical chastisement. Manu grows eloquent over the virtues of gentle persuasion (II. 159-61), but eventually permits the imposition of mild physical punishment by a thin rod or rope. Gautama agrees with him¹, but adds that a teacher giving a severer punishment would be liable for legal prosecution. A teacher in Taxila, when ordering a few blows to be given to a prince-student from Benares, who would not give up his stealing habits in spite of repeated exhortations, exclaims that the use of the rod cannot be altogether given up by a teacher (*Jātaka*, No. 252). He takes up the position of Manu and Gautama, which represents the *via media* and seems to have been generally followed in ancient India. The Taxila teacher seems to have held views similar to those of Locke, who permits corporal punishment for moral remissness.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT ELSEWHERE: In ancient times corporal punishment was the order of the day. It was given in Sparta not only as a corrective but also as a means

1 शिष्यद्विषयवधेन । अशक्तौ रज्जुनेषुषिदलाभ्याम् । अन्येन व्रज्राहा शास्यः । 1. 2. 48-50.

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

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

IMPORTANCE OF ROUTINE: It was recognised that routine plays a great part in the formation of habits. The daily routine was carefully determined with a view to enable students to form good habits and master their subjects at the end of the course. Students of poetics and literature were constantly engaged in practising composition and versification. Students of theology had to take a daily part in the performance of sacrifices, which they would be called upon to conduct in their after life. Apprentices in

sculpture and painting had to go through a long course of routine practice before they could finish their course. Students in primary and secondary schools went through the daily routine of recitation and recapitulation which enabled them to master their subjects. This routine was made interesting by making several children take part in the recitation simultaneously.

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

THE GURUKULA SYSTEM : The Gurukula system, which necessitated the stay of the student away from his home at the house of a teacher or in a boarding of established reputation, was one of the most important features of ancient Indian education. *Smrtis* recommend that the student should begin to live under the supervision of his teacher after his Upanayana; etymologically *antevāsin*¹, the word for the student, denotes one who stays near his teacher and *samāvartana*, the word for convocation, means the occasion of returning home from the boarding or the teacher's house.² The rules which require the student to rise earlier and sleep later than his teacher, to show him alms gathered at midday and to attend to the night service of

1 *Antevāsin* is an abbreviation of *ācārya-kula-vāsin*; *Ch. Up.* II. 23.

2 uses this expression in the case of the general student; cf. द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचारी आचार्यकुलवासी ।

2 Stories like those of Upakośala, where we find the wife of his teacher coming forward to induce him to give up his fast, also show incidentally that students must be living with their teachers. See *Ch. Up.* IV. 10. 3.

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

GURUKULA SYSTEM WHY RECOMMENDED: The recognition of the importance of association and imitation was one of the main reasons for the great emphasis laid on the Gurukula system. Direct, personal and continuous contact with a teacher of noble character naturally produces great effect on the minds of the scholar during the pliable period of childhood and adolescence. The close association with elderly scholars, who had made progress in education and won applause of their teachers, naturally induces the new entrants to imitate their example. The invisible yet all-pervading influence of established traditions of the institution naturally spurred the student to identify himself with them. The system eliminated the factors in home life prejudicial to the educational atmosphere and facilitated better studies; it however did not altogether eliminate the refining influence of the family life, because students came into indirect contact with it when living under the guardianship of their teachers, who were usually householders. It also served to tone down personal angularities of pampered children and made all students more

resourceful and self-reliant and better acquainted with the ways of the world¹. It was felt that students trained at home would lack the benefit of school discipline and would thus compare very unfavourably with those trained in a Gurukula².

GURUKULAS NOT ALWAYS IN FORESTS: The general belief that Gurukulas were located in forests away from the din of city life is but partly correct. There is no doubt that majority of the philosophical teachers in Hinduism and Buddhism lived, thought out and taught their spiritual theories in sylvan solitudes. The same was the case with celebrated teachers like Vālmiki, Kaṇva and Sāndipani, who used to stay in forests, though they had made arrangements in their Āśramas (forest retreats) to teach hundreds of students in subjects like philology, grammar, astronomy and civics in addition to Veda, religion and philosophy. In the *Jātakas* we sometimes come across the stories of teachers leaving cities like Benares and retreating to Himalāyan forests with a view to be free from the disturbances of the city life (No. 438). They were confident that the villagers around would supply their few and simple wants. But in the majority of cases Gurukulas were located in villages or towns, as was the case with most of the educational centres of note in ancient India. This was but natural, for teachers were usually householders. Care however was taken to locate the Gurukula in a secluded place or garden³ and in holy surroundings. The case of Buddhist Universities like Nālandā or Vikramaśilā and of Hindu *agrahāra*⁴ settlements was

1 *Jātaka* No. 252.

2 अवि च ज्ञानसंपन्नः सर्वान्वेदान् पितुर्गृहे । ऋषिमान इवाषीयाद् ग्राम्य इत्येव तं विदुः । *Mbh.*, XIII. 36. 15.

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

4 An *agrahāra* village consisted only of famous scholars, who were assigned its entire revenues for the purpose of their maintenance. It may therefore be compared to a settlement of teachers, each of them being engaged in teaching some students free of charge.

2 भा. वि.

peculiar; they were like modern University Towns of Oxford, Cambridge or Benares Hindu University independent educational settlements, where arrangements were made for the lodging and boarding of students who flocked in hundreds and thousands. They combined the advantages both of the town and forest life.

FAMILY AND THE PRE-SCHOOL PERIOD: As is well-known, the preservation of the national culture was one of the important aims of education and the family was expected to cooperate with the school in its realisation. The ambition of the child was fired and its imagination set aglow for the first time not by the lessons it received in the school but by the stories it heard from its mother and grand-mother. Well known is the part which the home influence played in shaping the career and firing the imagination of heroes and saints like Shivaji and Rāmadāsa. Multiplication tables, noun declensions and some metrical rules about grammar were also taught at home to the child during its early childhood in all cultured families.

THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY IN PRE-HISTORIC TIMES: In pre-historic times, i. e. before about 1000 B. C., the family played a still greater part in the educational system. At that early period, the professional teacher was yet rather rare; so generally the father was the usual teacher and the home the usual school. Several examples are preserved in Vedic and Upaniṣadic literature of fathers themselves teaching their own sons and daughters. Nay, the father himself was to begin the Vedic education, because it was he and he alone who was regarded as eligible for teaching the Gāyatrī Mantra to the boy; recourse was had to another teacher if he were unavailable for the purpose. In course of time owing to greater specialisation that became inevitable, home education became possible only in the case of a few cultured families. Remaining families were however expected to take prompt steps to send the children to a teacher or a school at the proper time and supervise their lessons at home if necessary.

FAMILY AND THE FEMALE EDUCATION: In the case of the education of girls, the family played a decisive part. We do come across rare cases of girls being educated at boarding

schools or colleges; for instance we read in the drama *Mālatīmādhava* how Kāmandakī was educated at a college along with Bhūriवासु and Devarāta (Act I). These cases were however exceptional, for there was a general prejudice against sending girls outside for their education. *Dharma-sūtras* insist that they should be taught at home by their male guardians like the father, the brother or the uncle. This was of course possible only in well-to-do and cultured families. Home of course was the main centre of the education of girls in the domestic science.

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

VEDIC AGE BELIEVED MORE IN NURTURE: As may be expected, there is no unanimity of views among ancient Indian thinkers also about the relative importance of nature and nurture. A young people, fortunate to have a series of successes, naturally feel that there is nothing impossible or difficult for a man. Vedic Aryans belonged to this category and their age therefore did not much believe in heredity or natural endowments. This is emphatically

expressed in one of the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* where we are told that given proper education, every thing can be accomplished. Even Indra owes his supremacy among the gods, not to any penance or previous merit, but to his proper training during his studenthood¹. A few centuries later we find a patriarch praying that some of his sons should become good priests, others brave warriors and the rest successful merchants (*S. Br.*, X. 4. 1. 10). Obviously he did not much believe in heredity and held that a good deal depended upon proper training and education.

KARMAN THEORY: Growing Faith in Nature: In the course of time, however, the supreme confidence that was placed in nurture began to weaken to a great extent. When the Aryans settled down in a less spectacular and more peaceful life and began to investigate more carefully the phenomena of life around them, they began to feel that man is not entirely an architect of his own fortune and that the powers and capacities with which he is born determine the scope of his capacity and activity to a considerable extent. The doctrines of Karman and Punarjanman, which were unknown in the Vedic age, became universally accepted in course of time, swinging the pendulum considerably in favour of nature as against nurture². It began to be averred that Karman in previous lives rather than training in the present one will determine whether our intellect is to be bright and moral propensities strong. The development of the caste system on hereditary lines did not strengthen the hands of the advocates of Nurture; it began to be argued that the efficiency of a person as a priest or a warrior does not so much depend upon the training he receives in this life as upon the inherent qualities with which he is born as a consequence of his Karman in previous births. The Karman determines the qualities and characteristics of an individual and gods assign him birth in that particular caste in which they would be most needed. As a natural consequence of these theories,

1 इन्द्रोह ब्रह्मचर्येण देवेभ्यः स्वराभवत् । V. I. 19

2 बुद्धिः कर्मानुसारिणी ।

educationalists began to aver that nature is more important than nurture; a bamboo tree cannot blossom into a sandal one simply because it is assiduously watered and manured and planted upon the Malaya mountain¹. If you have no natural capacity, education cannot create it; a mirror can show reflection only to one who has the eyesight². A conscientious teacher imparts education as assiduously to a brilliant as to a dull student; there is however a world of difference as to the results. One shines forth in the world of scholars, while the other hardly succeeds in making any progress. Glass alone can reflect solar rays, not a piece of earth, howsoever polished³. This view is similar to that of Plato who has pointed out that education is not like putting sight into blind eyes; it is only turning the eyes to light.

THE FUNCTION OF NURTURE: Though natural endowments thus play a great part, it was realised that they exist only in a potential condition in our childhood and would not flower into perfection unless they are properly developed by training and education. One may be born in a Brāhmaṇa family on account of his past good Karman; one may be also endowed by nature with the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa like self-control and love of learning. Still he will be not a whit higher than a Śūdra if he does not receive proper Samskāras and get the necessary education⁴. Past Karman may determine the mental and intellectual qualities of an individual. But they will deteriorate if he does not receive proper education, and improve, though within a limited degree, if he gets the benefit of a good training under a competent teacher. That nature can thus be considerably modified by nurture seems to have been the considered opinion of the ancient Indian educationalists from about the beginning of the Christian era. This

1 अतः सारविहीनस्य सहायः किं करिष्यति । मलयेषु स्थितो वेणुर्वेणुरेव न चंदनः ॥ *Subhāṣita*.

2 यस्य नास्ति स्वयं प्रज्ञा शास्त्रोक्तं किं करिष्यति । लोचनाभ्यां विहीनस्य दर्पणः किं करिष्यति ॥
Subhāṣita. •

3 *Uttararāmacarita*, II. 4

4 जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद्भिज्ज उच्यते ।
विषया याति विप्रत्वं त्रिभिः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते ॥

view is similar to the theory of Stern who sought to effect a compromise between the extreme positions of Galton and Locke by maintaining that man is born with tendencies, which are conditioned by heredity, but which are transformed into qualities of human personality through a process of development and training.

VĀLMĪKI THE LITERARY CRITIC*

(How Ānandavardhana interprets Vālmiki)

By Dr. C. KUNHAN RAJA

IF We begin to investigate the field of Sanskrit poetry, we can find a rich treasure of theories on poetry and on art in general. If we are to understand in full the utterances of poets having imagination, we must have some imagination in ourselves. From the fact that there are no works like Wordsworth's *Preface* or Shelley's *Defence of Poetry* in the case of Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti, we shall not say that they had no theories about poetry as an art. In this paper I propose to examine Vālmiki's theories of poetry and Ānandavardhana's interpretation of such theories. After an examination of the opening portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* I feel that according to Vālmiki what is termed poetry is neither language nor matter, nor even a combination of the two. Poetry has no parts. I am not here concerned with the identity of Vālmiki. Is Vālmiki the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or is he only one of the characters of the poem, who is introduced into the poem as the person who first composed the poem with the story of Rāma as the theme. At present I am not interested in this problem. When I speak of Vālmiki, I do not mean the sage who was a contemporary of Śrī Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. I mean only the great poet who wrote the poem and presented it as seen in the poetic vision of a sage called Vālmiki, the contemporary of Śrī Rāma.

* Portions of a course of lectures on *Poetic Beauty* delivered in January 1943 under the auspices of the University of Madras.

Ānandavardhana definitely says that he had derived his inspiration about his theory of *Dhvani* from Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. He says :

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।

क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥

Dhvan. I. 5

To understand this verse, we must examine the opening portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself. The work begins with a conversation between the sage Vālmiki and the sage Nārada. The former asks the latter who the greatest hero of the age was :

तपःस्वाध्यायनिरतं तपस्वी वाग्विदां वरम् ।

नारदं परिप्रच्छ वाल्मीकिर्मुनिपुङ्गवः ॥

को न्वस्मिन् साम्प्रतं लोके गुणवान् कश्च वीर्यवान् ।

धर्मज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च सस्यवाक्यो दृढव्रतः ॥

and so on up to

कस्य बिभ्यति देवाश्च जातरोषस्य संयुगे ।

And the reply of Nārada is :

बहवो दुर्लभाश्चैव ये त्वया कीर्तिता गुणाः ।

मुने वक्ष्याम्यहं बुद्ध्वा तैर्युक्तः श्रूयतां नरः ॥

Then he narrates the story of Śrī Rāma up to his coronation after killing Rāvaṇa. Continuing he says that after a very prosperous reign for a long time Rāma would ascend heaven; and here he uses the future tense. This is the first chapter of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

What is contained in this first chapter of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is only the subject matter or theme of the epic. It is not a poem. After this conversation Vālmiki goes to a river for performing his midday worship. There a hunter shoots the male bird of a pair of cock and hen Krauñcas. The male bird falls down on the ground and struggles on the ground with mortal pain; the female bird wails in bitterness.

तस्याभ्याशे तु मिथुनं चरन्तमनपाथिनम् ।

ददर्श भगवांस्तत्र क्रौञ्चयोश्चाह निःस्वनम् ।

तस्मात्तु मिथुनादेकं पुमांसं पापनिश्चयः ।

जघान चैरनिलयो निषादस्तस्य पश्यतः ॥

तं शोणितपरीताङ्गं चेष्टमानं महीतले ।
भार्या तु निहतं दृष्ट्वा रुराव करुणां गिरम् ॥

Seeing this incident, the sage is filled with pity and, in so far as this was a wicked act, he, seeing the female bird wailing, utters these words :

तथा विद्धं द्विजं दृष्ट्वा निषादेन निपातितम् ।
ऋषेर्धर्मात्मनस्तस्य कारुण्यं समजायत ॥
ततः करुणवेदित्वा दधर्मोऽयमिति द्विजः ।
निशाम्य रुदतीं क्रौञ्चीमिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥

What he uttered was in the form of a verse :

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत्क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥

The fact that without any effort on his part, his words proceeded in the form of a verse surprised the sage himself.

तस्येत्थं ब्रुवतश्चिन्ता बभूव हृदि वीक्षितः ।
शोकात्तेनास्य शकुनेः किमिदं व्याहृतं मया ॥

At that moment, the Creator himself appeared before Vālmiki, told him that the goddess of speech had inspired him through his will and that what he uttered would be a *sloka* (poem).

तमुवाच ततो ब्रह्मा प्रहसन्मुनिसत्तमम् ॥
श्लोक एवास्वयं बद्धो नात्र कार्या विचारणा ।
मच्छन्दादेव ते ब्रह्मन् प्रवृत्तयं सरस्वती ॥

Then the Creator instructed him to compose an epic dealing with the story of Rāma as he had heard it from Nārada.

रामस्य चरितं कृत्स्नं कुरु त्वमृषिसत्तम ।
वृत्तं कथय रामस्य यथा ते नारदाच्छ्रुतम् ॥

Brahmā assured him that he would be able to know everything and that whatever he said would be true.

यच्चाप्यविदितं सर्वं विदितं ते भविष्यति ।
न ते वागनृता काव्ये काचिदत्र भविष्यति ॥

Then in his *samādhi*, Vālmiki was able to see the whole of the *Rāmāyana* like a berry in the palm of his hand. :

ततः पश्यति धर्मात्मा तत्सर्वं योगमास्थितः ।
पुरा यत्तत्र निर्वृत्तं पाणावामलकं यथा ॥

This is the introductory portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Now the question is: what is it that Vālmiki saw in his *samādhi* or vision? Is it a series of events as stated in the lines:

रामलक्ष्मणसीताभी राज्ञा दशरथेन च ।
 सभार्येण सराष्ट्रेण यत्प्राप्तं तत्र तत्त्वतः ॥
 हसितं भाषितं चैव गतिर्यावच्च चेष्टितम् ।
 तत्सर्वं धर्मवीर्येण यथावत्संप्रपश्यति ॥
 स्त्रीदृतीयेन च तथा यत्प्राप्तं चरता वने ।
 सत्यसन्धेन रामेण तत्सर्वं चान्ववैक्षत ॥

What he saw cannot be a series. He saw the whole story as a berry in the palm of his hand, as a single unit. The line is very definite on the point.

The subsequent passages show that there were two stages in the composition of the epic, one of vision or intuition and the other of expression or communication. The passages are:

तत्सर्वं तत्त्वतो दृष्ट्वा धर्मेण स महामतिः ।
 अभिरामस्य रामस्य तत्सर्वं कर्तुमुद्यतः ॥
 स यथा कथितं पूर्वं नारदेन महात्मना ।
 रघुवंशस्य चरितं चकार भगवान् मुनिः ॥

What appears from these lines is that at the stage of vision, or to use a more appropriate term, at the stage of intuition, there was only the subject matter. The language came in at a later stage, the stage of expression or communication. It is true that in the portion from which I have given copious citations, there is an indication that the matter was something external to the poet and that to this external object the poet gave the clothing by way of language. It would also seem that in his vision or intuition, he saw the matter as an external object independent of him.

But the entire introductory portion must be taken as a whole. This incident of the composition of the epic must be taken along with the episode of the shooting of the bird that preceded. At the end of the narration of this episode there is the passage:

तस्य शिव्यास्ततः सर्वे जगुः श्लोकमिमं पुनः ।
 मुहुर्मुहुः प्रीयमाणाः प्राहुश्च भृशविस्मिताः ॥

• समाक्षरैश्चतुर्भिर्धः पादैर्गीतो महर्षिणा ।

सोऽनुग्याहरणाद्भयः शोकः श्लोकस्वमागतः ॥

The disciples were reciting that first poetic composition of man, namely, the verse :

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वम्

They recited it over and over again and then said that that particular song of the sage in four lines of equal syllables, was really the grief itself of the bird appearing as a verse; here it is the grief of the bird that appeared as a verse. The subject, namely, the grief, is nothing different from the form, namely, the verse. There is no difference between the matter and the language in the verse; one is the other. The poet is only the medium. The grief of the female bird reflected itself on the imagination of Vālmiki as a verse. So the passage :

ऋषेर्धर्मात्मनस्तस्य कारुण्यं समजायत ।

and

ततः करुणवेदित्वात् ॥

do not mean that the sage had any grief. The commentator explains the term *karuṇavedin* as one who had pity generated in him :

करुणवेदित्वात् संजातकरुणत्वात् । विदेः सत्तार्थात् लाभार्थाद्वा गितिः ।

But I feel that the meaning "having the grief known through his imagination" is enough as an appropriate one. And the former passage :

• कारुण्यं समजायत

means only that grief entered the imagination of the sage. From the next verse, it is certain that the sage was not uttering the verse consciously and deliberately. That means that he was not putting a definite thought into a definite language shape. What happened was that a feeling or a pathos entered his imagination and found itself expressed in audible words in the form of a verse. It is the grief of the bird that expressed itself in the form of a curse through the sage as a medium. The three stages, namely, the hunter's crime, the bird's grief and the sinner's retribution, all appear as a unit in the form of a verse. This also implies that in poetry there is no question of a series of

impressions. There is only a single unitary impression. The whole of the *Rāmāyana* story was a series when it was narrated by Nārada, when it was only a normal experience. But in the poetic vision of Vālmiki, it became a single unitary impression, like the sight of a berry on the palm of the hand. It is the story itself that appeared as a poem. In the composition of the epic there were no stages like the sage Vālmiki getting the vision of a whole story and his expressing the impressions in a number of verses. There were really no two stages like

तत्सर्वं तत्त्वतो दृष्ट्वा

and

तत्सर्वं कर्तुमुद्यतः

So far as the disciples were concerned, they understood the process as two distinct stages, since they had the experience only after hearing the poem. They did not know the real nature of the experience of Vālmiki. But to Vālmiki himself, the intuition and the communication are identical. He had the intuition only as expressed in a language form. What he saw was not a series of events, which he had to express later in a series of verses. It was a unitary experience like seeing a statue, with a definite form of expression. The poetic form was as much in that experience as the subject matter of the poem.

From this it follows that the subject matter of the poem was nothing external to the poet. When it is said that the poet is only a medium, what is actually meant is that the external object becomes the matter of poetry only when it is reflected on the imagination of the poet. In so far as the vision of the poet is a factor in the life of the poet, and in so far as the vision itself is the poem, the poem is not something external to the poet. This is a much bigger problem which cannot be dealt with satisfactorily here. Similarly the statement of the Creator that whatever Vālmiki saw would be true also contains a grand poetical doctrine. Poetic truth as different from physical truth is a subject matter that requires a separate treatment.

The first four chapters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* form a sort of Preface to the work. In ancient times, the poets did not edit their works adding a Preface to them. They did not deliver lectures on the theory of poetry. The introduction that we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* was the normal device in those days for expounding their doctrine. What the poet wanted to convey in the introductory portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was that, so far as his poem was concerned, there is no distinction between form and matter. It is not that the poet had certain ideas which he expressed in the form of a large number of verses. That is not poetry. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is a poem unit. The language, the form, was the matter itself.

When Nārada narrated the story of Rāma, Vālmiki had only a series of ideas in the form of a story. But when the grief of the Krauñca bird impressed itself on the imagination of Vālmiki, there was no grief in the sage himself. There was an impression which expressed itself in audible sounds, these sounds as a form being the impression itself. Similarly when later the story of Rāma produced an impression on him during his *samādhi*, he did not have the picture of a series of situations in his mind. What he had was a unitary impression. The expressed meaning of the language is in the form of a series of situations. But along with this series of situations there was also an ultimate impression and this ultimate impression was what is called the *Rāmāyaṇa* poem. This poem is quite distinct from what Nārada narrated to Vālmiki. In the narration of Nārada, the story is the matter and the language in which the story was narrated is the form. But the *Rāmāyaṇa* poem is quite distinct from both these factors. That poetry was not present in the narration by Nārada. That was present in the words of Vālmiki.

It is only a critic like Ānandavardhana who can understand a poet like Vālmiki. Ānandavardhana says that a person who can understand a poet is the *sahṛdaya*, one having a heart in common with the poet, one who can feel with

the poet. Nārada's narration of the story of Rāma is like a dim flame that does not emit any light. Vālmiki saw the light and Vālmiki's narration is like a flame that emits a good light. It is only a poet who can distinguish between what can produce this ultimate impression and what does not produce it, what remains a dry narration. It is only a *sahrdaya*, one who can feel with the poet, that can receive the ultimate impression from the words of the poet. It is just like this. It is only a man with eyes that can distinguish a flame which has a bright light and another flame that has only a dim light. When a man who can distinguish between these two kinds of flames brings a flame that sheds a bright light, it is only another man who too has eyes that can make use of the flame by seeing.

Ānandavardhana makes it quite clear that there is no such thing as beauty, the beautiful, the beautification. To him poetry is only the *Dhvani*, the final impression. Beauty, beautifying and the beautiful, signify a series. But what Vālmiki makes clear in his Preface, which is far more eloquent than the *Preface* of Wordsworth, is that in poetry there is no such thing as a series and links in a series. In the Krauñca episode, as a physical fact, the element of grief is only a link in a series. But in the impression produced on the imagination of Vālmiki, there is no series and, as such, there can be no element of grief. Grief implies a series like the sin, the sinner, the victim and suffering. To Vālmiki it was only a final impression, a unitary impression. And in such an impression there can be no element of grief. As a total impression there was only beauty. To Vālmiki there was music and rhythm in it. So says Vālmiki:

पादबद्धोऽक्षरसमस्तत्रीलयसमन्वितः ।

शोकात्स्य प्रवृत्तो मे

By seeing the suffering there might have been grief in the sage as a man. But as a poet, he had only a total impression which was in the nature of beauty, in the form of music and rhythm.

Grief, like love and heroism, is only a physical experience. In the physical experience there are the elements

like an event, one who inflicts pain, one who suffers pain, and one who witnesses these. But in poetic experience there is no such analysis possible. The series of the physical impressions produces a new ultimate impression which does not have such parts; and when there are no distinct elements like pain and suffering and the sufferer, the sin and sinner, how can there be an element of grief and pain at all in this ultimate impression? This is just what Vālmiki means when he says :

शोकः श्लोको भवतु नान्यथा ।

And the disciples also say :

शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ।

Certain situations create a physical reaction on the person who sees it. The same situation under different conditions produces a final impression also. It may be another situation or the impression may be in another person. We cannot define the conditions under which this ultimate impression is produced. When an ultimate impression is produced, that impression is what is called aesthetic experience. This experience is poetry when the medium is language; when the medium is marble it is sculpture; when it is expressed in notes, there is music. It does not mean that the same art can be expressed in language or in marble or in musical notes. But this is a different problem. The medium and the matter form a unitary experience in art.

Ānandavardhana says that this must be the view of Vālmiki, that poetry is the ultimate impression. He says :

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।

क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥

“The nature of the essence of poetry is that same thing, namely, the *Dhvani*, the ultimate impression; thus had the ancient and first poet the vision of the grief resulting from the separation of the Krauñca pair appearing as poetry.” Here the commentator Abhinavagupta says that though the final impression may be with reference to some matter or some embellishment or some human pathos, it is the last of these three that is really poetry. This shows that in writing the *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana

was trying to understand poetry from the poets themselves and to postulate certain theories of poetry deduced from the poems themselves. That the total impression produced on a reader when he reads a poem is really what must be called poetry and that poetry is neither language nor matter nor even a combination of the two—this position, he says, he has taken from Vālmiki, the first poet according to Indian tradition. He mentions only Kālidāsa, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* among what may be called a real poet and real poetry.

Ānandavardhana was the first to derive theories of poetry from poetry itself. All the earlier Ālaṅkārikas judged poetry by the application of external standards. Poetry was analysed into the two elements of language and matter and in the case of each there are the three aspects of the existence of *Guṇas*, the absence of *Doṣas* and then the presence of *Alaṅkāras*. Although the Ālaṅkārikas did not recognise a factor called *Dhvani*, yet even from ancient times, those who enjoyed poetry recognised such an element. What Ānandavardhana tried to do was only to explain the nature of the enjoyment which a reader gets from poetry and to locate the source of this enjoyment. It was he who first propounded that a critic too must have imagination, and that erudition is not what is wanted to enjoy poetry. Just as in understanding the meaning of a word, there are two elements, namely, the cognition of the form of the sound and the cognition of what is conveyed by that sound, similarly, in understanding poetry too there are two elements, namely, the understanding of the primary meaning of the language and then the receiving of the secondary impression. This secondary impression is the real poetry and the words and the primary meanings are only inevitable accompaniments. This doctrine of the enjoyment of poetry, Ānandavardhana developed after an examination of the greatest poets, of whom Vālmiki is the foremost. In *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana was really interpreting the poets themselves, unlike other Ālaṅkārikas who tried to measure and to sit in judgment on poets.

SOME PROBLEMS OF MUGHAL HISTORY*

By Principal SRI RAM SARMA

The Mughal period is supposed to be the best studied period of Indian history. Series of monographs have been written on Mughal kings, their system of administration has been studied with care, the economic structure has attracted both avowed historians and economists. Its painters and paintings have been duly appraised, its gardens described with care. It can claim even a descriptive Bibliography of its original material. The Persian writers of the period have always been receiving considerable attention. Of late some students have evinced their interests in its Sanskrit and Hindi writers as well.

Yet there are some aspects of the period that have not yet received the attention that they deserve. Meeting at Aligarh, hallowed by the works of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Molvi Zaka-ullah, I should like to speak to you about some of them. At the top stands the problem of education in Mughal India. At one time it was customary to imply that every thing good—or shall I say apparently good—in India started with the British acquisition of India. Most of our historians assumed that this was true of education as well. Even when attention was directed to certain educational efforts what caught the fancy of our historians was the patronage of learning by Rajput princes, Mughal kings and Mansabdars. They quietly missed what the investigations of ADAMS in Bengal and LEITNER in the Panjab brought to light. Both these stalwarts proved that judged by the standards of the contemporary world, elaborate arrangements for education existed in

* Presidential Address at the Mughal section of the Indian History Congress held at Aligarh, 1943.

Bengal and the Panjab before the British started doing anything serious in the matter. LEITNER went to the length of asserting that education in the Panjab declined after its acquisition by the British. So disturbing were the conclusions of these two writers to British official classes that Sir Philip HARTOG had to demonstrate to his London audiences recently that both these writers were careless, unreliable, given to exaggeration and so forth. But I know from the records in the Panjab Education Department that Dr. LEITNER's observations were proved to be correct by official figures that were collected by the district officers soon after he started his work. I put it to you that if the pre-British Panjab had the amount of education revealed in LEITNER's report, it is safe to assume that its extent could in no case have been less during the Mughal period. What is true of the Panjab is true of the rest of India as well. I am unaware of any special circumstances that might have distinguished the Panjab from the rest of contemporary India in this respect. That considerable arrangements existed for education in Mughal India is proved by the astonishing amount of literary output of the period. As I pointed elsewhere, more than 2500 Sanskrit works, written by 650 writers, are even today extant scattered in the libraries of the world. More than 600 Hindi writers of the period have been traced. The large number of Persian and Arabic works of the period cannot be easily dismissed as the appendage of the royal patrons. Most of this literary output was called for by the practical and topical purposes of the moment. There was a reading public that needed new Manuals of Sanskrit Grammar. The *Tuhfat-ul-Hind* could not have been written for one princely scholar alone. The schools where Hindus and Muslims studied together must have been drawing quite a large number of students before they could attract the wrath of Aurag-zeb towards them. Yet of all this we know very little to-day. Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hindi and its cognate languages, the Indian system of accounting were all taught in the institutions of various types all over the country to quite a large number of people. I submit that time has come when leaving the princely figures of the period alone, one should turn

to the study of such topics not in their relation to Mughal rulers but as forming a part of the history of the people. I can assure those interested in a further study of the subject that there is enough material for patient work on the subject.

The second aspect of the period, like the first, arises from our paying too much attention to Mughal rulers and administrators. They fill the pages of contemporary writers, Indian and foreign. Their loves and hates seem to dominate the contemporary scene. Even when they are not heroic figures, our writers discover something interesting about them. Yet all this while India had several millions of people living within her borders several of whom left a greater impress on the history of their country than some of these rulers. I would therefore like to draw your attention to the Hindu and Muslim saints of the period. The country is full of their relics even today. Some have left mosques, some temples behind them. The graves of a few draw thousands even today, the *smadhs* of others attract followers from all over the country. From Kashmir to Mysore and from Sindh to Bengal the country is studded over with the memories of their miracles. Yet no systematic effort has yet been made to carry through a comprehensive study of the lives and times of these leaders of men as a part of the history of the period. Even to progressed students of the period, they are seldom anything more than bare names flitting across the pages of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbei* or the *Aml-i-Salih*, or at least fit instruments to illustrate, in general terms, the inter-action of Hindu and Muslim religious thought on each other. I submit again that here is a rich field of work waiting for enthusiastic scholars in the field who would not be content with prattling about the Bhakti movement and its effects in general terms but who would study the lives and particularly the times of these saints as a part of the history of the people. I know some valuable work has already been done in this field by students of comparative religion. I am however suggesting that the students of the Mughal period as such should turn their attention to the subject and make the story of the period richer by their results.

There is then the history of the people at large. Despite the bulky tomes that have been written on the period, how much do we really know of the people of the period? It is very reassuring to be told that we are very conservative, that we have generally bowed our heads before the storm to raise them again in proud disdain when it was all over. Yet along with the obvious continuity of life in India we find compelling evidence of prevailing changes as well. How did they arise? To take one example, the much derided caste-system has been supposed to be a hoary institution persisting for centuries. But you would discover that some provinces in India have only one caste today, others two, a few three and fewer still four. There are large classes of people having a respectable place in society who stand outside the system. There are subcastes that are replete with the essence of ages. I could understand my being a Qanungo-Brahman by sub-caste; Aurang-zeb appointed an ancestor of mine a Qanungo without demanding that he should be converted to Islam. I have known Bakhshi Brahmans and Bakhshi Mahajans as well. But when at Srinagar I recently met a pandit Badri Dutt Qazi I could not help wondering. A pandit Qazi; that was really a curious combination. It was very patiently explained to me that Qazi is a sub-caste of Brahmans in Kashmir. In view of these facts are we justified in asserting that the caste system represents an unchanging institution? If not, we should like to know some thing about its changing structure and organization down the ages. I have just a faint suspicion that the Mughal period added considerably to and subtracted largely from the structure of the system that was handed down to it. There are several sub-castes besides my own that I visualize emerging during this period. Every such emergence would always have an interesting social story at its back—migration of families due to otherwise unrecorded local causes, assumption of new professions hitherto closed, performance of new social functions called forth by new circumstances. Pooling together all this knowledge we would get a better insight into the period than what is afforded us by royal autobiographies or official histories.

Another unchanging Indian institution is said to be the village. It was a state within the state, it remained unruffled by changes of dynasties at Delhi or Agra, we have been assured. Howsoever true the insight which gives us this picture, it should be possible to verify or amend it by trying to study the life in a Mughal village. At present we know precious little about it. The Panchayat and the Muqaddam are supposed to be two distinct features of the village life. Of the first so far as northern India is concerned, we possess at present no authentic records. But on that account it would be idle to deny its existence or assert its disappearance. Such a suggestion is belied by the fact that customary law was found to be occupying a considerable field in various parts of the country when the British appeared on the Indian political scene. Even the Muslims were governed by it. Now it stands to reason that customary law could not have survived without courts of its own. These could only have been the Panchayats. We can thus safely assume that Panchayats were efficiently and effectively functioning during the period. But this would not take us very far. Again I am quite sure that a patient search among family records, caste and sub-caste names, and local traditions would bring to light a mass of material that alone would enable us to understand how the villagers lived and worked in their villages. We would then be able to appreciate at their true value the changes that were introduced from time to time in the life of the villagers and understand what difference it really made to Bhagat Ram when his neighbour Ram Nath became Abdul Ghani. It would then be time to talk of fusion of cultures or their inter-action alone in India.

If the Panchayat represented the social organization of the times the Muqaddam stood for its economic organization. But we know very little about the actual relations between the Muqaddam and the individual cultivators in the village. It has been suggested that the Muqaddam was the Sarpanch in his relation with the state. But I have yet to come across a precise account of the place occupied by the village community, the Muqaddam, the individual cultivator and the state

in the village economy. Even the Report of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission had to be content with adapting my tentative suggestions about these questions. We do not yet possess a full picture of the village life of these days. As the Report of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission and the questionnaire of the Panjab Land Revenue Committee implied, it is of practical importance for us to know out of what type of village economy did the present—at places—muddled economy of the modern Indian village emerge. If ownership of land by the village community with partial rights in his and the waste land vesting in the individual cultivator worked in the Mughal times—I do not assert they did, but if they did—one need not go to either U. S. S. R. or the Friends of the Soviet Union in order to get an inspiration for the solution of our village problems to-day. There is thus enough room for painstaking research work in connection with the economic organization of the village in Mughal times. As one who has skimmed the surface of this problem, I am prepared to assure those willing to rush 'in where angels fear to tread' that systematic work in records and patient local inquiries would certainly result in their adding largely to our knowledge of the period.

These examples are only illustrative of the great gap which exists in our knowledge of the people of the Mughal period. Many more problems would strike some of you. The beginning of wisdom, it is said, lies in asking questions. I am quite sure that if we would but start asking questions, we might in time get some satisfactory answers to them.

From people I would turn to the princes. Though historians of the British period have seldom admitted it openly, the relations between the princes and the Government of India have turned, in the past century and a half, more on what the contemporary British administrators thought were Mughal usages and practices in various matters than on the Treaties, Sanads and Engagements between the princes and the British Government of India. Believe it or not, the Doctrine of Lapse was supposed to represent a Mughal practice and not the interpretation of the treaty

relations between the princes and the East India Company. It is extremely unfortunate therefore that we do not yet possess a full and precise account of the constitutional relations between the Mughal emperors and the feudatory princes. Such an account would illuminate many dark corners of Mughal history. It would also enable us all to understand what rôle the Indian princes played in the history of their country—apart from that of their states—during the Mughal period. It is possible that some of them might be persuaded by that knowledge to play a somewhat similar rôle now, but I am sure that it would certainly make it very difficult for them to play a contrary rôle in Indian politics to-day and still exalt it by talking of it as their historic destiny. More than twenty years ago I made an attempt to draw the attention of the Indian scholars to this question and made some tentative suggestions. The material at our disposal since then has accumulated vastly, many more states have made their ancient records accessible to the public. Here is an almost unexplored field of work which would amply reward those who would care to study it.

I have been trying to indicate hitherto that some of the gaps in our knowledge of Mughal history, if filled, might provide some guidance for some of our present day problems. But I should like to warn you against making the study of the Mughal period the playing-field of rival political parties and factions. To-day more than ever, it is necessary for us to strive to ascertain the truth, it is no use placarding wishful thinking as the result of deep study. If the Mughal period represents a glorious epoch in the history of our country, let us sing its praises in verse and prose. But it is gone; all that glory is no longer ours to-day. An essential part of our study of the period would be the inquiry how and why it came to the dismal end it did. Let us study it in both its greatness and decay, but let us study it without any mental reservations. There is a view of Indian history that sometimes seems to be in danger of gaining acceptance in some circles. Put bluntly, it demands that we should demonstrate that India was always great, all her rulers were all-wise. Would that it were so.

Truth seems to hurt some times, but its suppression hurts all the more. At this critical juncture in our country's history we cannot afford to be soft. We cannot play the ostrich with safety. I would therefore earnestly entreat you to continue studying the period scientifically and impartially without being swayed by voices which though they ostensibly call for historians, really need political pamphleteers at their service.

Several years ago while conducting a research seminar, I happened to point out to a young man that two statements he had made on the same page contradicted each other. He tried to convince me that he meant no harm. Both the statements had been made originally, several centuries ago by a contemporary observer—and presumably had ceased to be contradictory on account of their great age. I am afraid that in our study of the Mughal period we have sometimes adopted this attitude and have not made necessary discount for the propaganda element in our material. When Babur tells us that he was accompanied by ten thousand soldiers only when he left Kabul and alleges that he was told that the enemy had 100,000 soldiers we assume that the battle of Panipat was fought between 10,000 soldiers under Babur against 100,000 under Ibrahim Lodhi. When Abul Fazl, not content with ascribing miracles to Akber, extends his field of operations backwards making Babur's death a greater miracle, we nod our heads never imagining that he is probably pulling our leg. If Khurram in rebellion protests that he is loyal to Jehangir but resents Nur Jehan's place in administration, we take him at his word and at once jump to the conclusion that not only was Jehangir a cipher in administration but so were all his ministers! We forget that if we had only possessed Jehangir's account of his own rebellion, we should have concluded similarly that Salim was a dutiful son who got Abul Fazl murdered for the safety of Akber's empire! When *Badshah-nama* calls an independent Chief a zamindar and reviles him as a rebel for not submitting to Shah Jahan, to whom neither he nor his had ever owed any allegiance, we adopt Lahori's terminology and talk of the Chief's rebellion! If prince Aurangzeb declares that he was about to wipe out the Deca-

ness kingdoms in 1658 when Shah Jahan, inspired by evil Dara recalled forces which had not been sent for such a purpose, we smile at Shah Jahan's folly! We forget however that these very states took more than a decade of Aurangzeb's own ampler resources in the eighties—when they had not grown any the stronger—before they succumbed. Similar other propaganda statements of other contemporary actors in the drama of the Mughal period can be accumulated which have not been properly discounted. Those who are interested in historical revisions would find in such statements an interesting field for the exercise of their faculties.

In these and other directions there is enough work yet to be done in the Mughal period. Many have ploughed the field but many more are yet needed. At Hyderabad my predecessor in the presidential chair, Professor COMMISSARIAT stressed the 'eminently satisfactory state' of Mughal studies. Without venturing to depart from the view taken by such an eminent historian, I have tried to indicate to-day something which might yet be attempted and something which might still be done.

THE CITY OF BENGALA*

By Dr. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M. A., PH. D.

European (mainly Portuguese) writers of the 16th and 17th centuries place a certain City of Bengala near the Meghnā estuary, i. e. the joint mouth of the Padmā and the Meghnā. This estuary extends over the wide area between the Districts of Buckergunge and Chittagong. As Bengala (like the modern name *Bengal*) is a European corruption of *Vaṅgāla*, Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR has recently suggested¹ that this late-medieval City of Bengala (which he locates near mod. Chittagong) was the capital of the ancient Vaṅgāladeśa and “gave its name to the kingdom, or *vice versa*, and in either case the old kingdom of Vaṅgāla must be located in the region round the city”². He also suggests that the celebrated Pāla and Candra dynasties of Bengal originally ruled in this region³. The theories of Dr. MAJUMDAR appear to be unwarranted. The City of Bengala, mentioned by foreign travellers in the late-medieval period,⁴ seems to have nothing to do with the early-medieval

* This paper was read before the eleventh session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad in 1941.

1 *IHQ.*, XVI, pp. 227-35.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 229; cf. p. 232, “.....this original kingdom must be located in this region (of Chittagong and Dianga)”.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 235.

4 On the strength of Ibn Batuta's reference to “Sudkawan (Sātḡāon) and Bengal” and to “Lakhnauti and Bengal”, Dr. Majumdar suggests that in these two early cases Bengala refers to the city and not to the country. There can be no doubt however that the names refer to provinces. According to Muslim authors both Rāḷ (Rāḍha) and Barind (Varendra) formed parts of Lakhnauti (RAYCHAUDHURI, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 191). Here Bengala apparently means

kingdom of Vaṅgāla, which originally denoted a smaller area, but whose geographical sense gradually expanded so as to include at length the whole of the land of the Bengali speaking people.

In this connection we have to trace the gradual expansion of the geographical connotation of the name Vaṅgāla. This name is not found in records and works of the period prior to the 11th century A. D. The earliest reference to Vaṅgāla is found in the Tirumalai inscription (1024 A. D.) of Rājendra Coḷa¹, which speaks of king Govindacandra as the lord of Vaṅgāladeśa. The Ablur inscription of Kalacurya Vijjala² (1157-67 A. D.) mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla separately. This differentiation seems to be supported by a work called the *Dākārnava* which makes separate mention of Vaṅgāla and Harikela (=Vaṅga, according to the *Abhidhānacintāmani* of the 12th century lexicographer Hemacandra)³, and by the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri (15th century) which mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla side by side⁴. In the 16th century however Abul Fazl says, "The original name of Bangāl (=Vaṅgāla) was Bang (=Vaṅga). Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth, throughout the province, which were called *āl*. From this suffix the name (i. e., Bangāl) took its rise and currency"⁵. This 16th century identification of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla has to be reconciled with the earlier evidence referring to them as two different countries.

the province of south-eastern Bengal, sometimes also called Sonārgāon after its chief city. Some later Muslim writers refer to East Bengal as *Bang* and to the whole of Bengal as *Bangāl*. Orissa was usually called Jājnagar by Muslim authors. Reference to Bihār, Lakhnauti, Bang and Jājnagar (*IHQ.*, p. 235) would, if we follow Dr. MAJUMDAR'S argument, suggest the existence also of a city called Bang.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 229 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, V, p. 57.

3 RAYCHAUDHURI, op. cit., p. 189.

4 *IHQ.*, p. 237.

5 Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbārī*, II, p. 120.

The *Raghuvamśa* reference to the defeat of the Vaṅga people in the lands intervening the lower streams of the Ganges¹ and epigraphic references to Vaṅga comprising the Vikrampur region of the Dacca District² and to the *Nāvya* region of Vaṅga very probably in the Faridpur and Buckergunge Districts,³ leave hardly any doubt that Vaṅga certainly included at least parts of the present Dacca, Faridpur and Buckergunge Districts. In the lower part of this region very high roads or earth-mounds are constructed even today in order to prevent the tide of floods and to facilitate communications during the rainy season. It may therefore be suggested that the southern part of old Vaṅga thus at first came to be known as Vaṅgāla. It is interesting to note that this view is supported by other evidences.

The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Coḷa refers to Govindacandra as the lord of Vaṅgāladeśa. The inscriptions of the Candra dynasty of East Bengal, to which Govindacandra belonged, however say that Trailokyacandra, the first king of the family, became lord of Candradvīpa and flourished as the mainstay of the fortune (i. e., as a feudatory) of the king of Harikela (= Vaṅga).⁴ Thus the Candra kingdom is called

1 Vaṅgān = utkhāya tarasā netā nau-sādhan-odyatān/ nicakhāna jayastambhān gaṅgāsroto = ntaṛeṣu saḥ// *Raghu*, IV, 36. Mallinātha explains "gaṅgāsroto = ntaṛeṣu" as "gaṅgāyāḥ srotasām pravāhānām antareṣu dvīpeṣu"; cf. gītāntareṣu, "in the intervals of singing", vāṣpa-salil-āntareṣu, "in the interval of weeping", na mṛpāl-sūtram racitaṃ stan-āntare, "...in the space between the breasts", etc.

2 Cf. vaṅge vikramapura-bhāge, etc., *Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 125.

3 Cf. vaṅge nāvye rāmasiddhi-pātake, etc., nāvye vinayatilaka-grāme pūrve samudraḥ simā, etc., *ibid.*, p. 146. *Nāvya* means a region accessible by boats. That this region was then not far from the sea (*samudra*), i. e. the estuary, is also clear. The word means apparently the same thing as Bengali *bhāṭi*, "with the tide, the region towards the sea" (from *bhāṭā*, floods of the tide running towards the sea). Cf. also East Beng. *bhar*, low region. In the Muslim period the district called *Bhāṭi* sometimes indicated the coast strip between the estuaries of the Hooghly and the Meghnā. A late work called *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* places Vaṅgadeśa between the *ratnākara* (sea) and the *Brahmaputra*.

4 *Ind. Cult.*, VII, p. 411. It is possible that Harikela actually denoted the northern part of Vaṅga, and not its southern part which included Vaṅgāla or Candradvīpa,

Candradvīpa according to one evidence and Vaṅgāladeśa according to another. Candradvīpa and Vaṅgāladeśa thus appear to be more or less identical. As Candradvīpa is no other than the celebrated Bāklā-Candradvīp (i. e. parts of the Buckergunge District and the adjoining region), the Buckergunge area was apparently included in Vaṅgāladeśa.

The suggestion is further supported by the identification of Vaṅgālayaḍā-bhū in the Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka of the *Nāvya* region of Vaṅga, mentioned in the Sāhitya Pariṣat grant of Viśvarūpasena, with modern Bāṅgrorā in the region of Rāmsiddhi in the Gaurnadī Sub-division of the Buckergunge District. Vaṅgāla thus appears to have been first mentioned as a separate political unit only after the Candras had established a kingdom in Vaṅgāla, i. e., the southern part of Vaṅga. Śrīcandra, son of Trailokyacandra, conquered the Dacca and Faridpur Districts, as the find-spots of his records would show. Layahacandra, a successor of Śrīcandra, apparently ruled also over the Tipperah District. Thus Vaṅga proper was now included in the new kingdom of Vaṅgāla. As a result of this, the name Vaṅgāla could be optionally used in an expanded sense to indicate a large area in East Bengal that formed part of the kingdom of Śrīcandra and his successors. By this time Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla apparently signified more or less the same territory.

Early Muslim authors refer to the Mahommedan kingdom of Bengal first as Lakhnauti or Gaur, as their first settlement did not include East Bengal. The kingdom of East Bengal was sometimes referred to as Bang, Bangāl or Sonārgāon; and sometimes the whole of Bengal was mentioned as Gaur-Bangāl.¹ Sātgaon was sometimes recognised as a separate political unit. But as early as the reign of Tughluq Shāh (1320 A. D.) some Muslim authors are known to speak of Bangāl in a wide sense so as to include Lakhnauti, Sonārgāon and Sātgaon.² In the 16th century, the name

1 The *Śaktisaṅgama* also divides Bengal into two halves, viz. Vaṅga and Gauḍa (lying between Vaṅgadeśa and Bhuvaneśa or Bhuvaneswar).

2 RAYCHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, p. 191; RAVERTY, *Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī*, p. 590n. Muslim authors popularised the use of *Bangāl* in preference to

Bangāl loosely indicated a wider area. It may or may not have geographically included the Chittagong region which was included in the Mughal Subah of Bangāl only during the reign of Aurangzib in the 17th century. There is absolutely no proof that the Chittagong area formed part of the old kingdom of the Candras and the Pālas. It must be noted that not a single inscription of those dynasties has so far been discovered in the Chittagong District.¹

other names to denote the whole of Bengal. A Nepal inscription of 1346 A. D. refers to the army of Sultān Shamsuddīn Ilyās as *vaṅgāla-bahula-bala* (*JBORS.*, XXII, p. 81; *IHQ.*, p. 227).

- 1 The Arab merchant Sulaiman (851 A. D.) refers to the powerful kingdom of Rahma which Dr. MAJUMDAR identifies with the kingdom of the Pālas. He also supports the identification of Rahma, Rahmi and Ruhmi of the Arabs with Ramu, a few miles east of Cox's Bazar (*IHQ.*, pp. 232-34). Apart from the fact that there is absolutely no proof of Pāla occupation of Ramu, it seems unconvincing that the Bihar-Bengal empire of the Pālas (even if it included Ramu), with the emperors residing at Jayaskandhāvāras in Bihar, would be named after Ramu which probably formed a part of Arakan. That Dr. MAJUMDAR'S theory is unjustifiable is proved beyond doubt by Ibn al'Fakih (902 A. D.) who says "In India lies a realm called Rahma bordering on the sea. Its ruler is a woman. It is ravaged by the plague and any man who comes from elsewhere in India and enters the country (Rahma) dies there. Yet many come by reason of the great profits to be made" (*Harvey, Hist. Bur.*, p. 10). In 902 the Pāla empire is definitely known to have been under Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 857-911 A.D.) and not under a woman. Rahma may be the kingdom of Thaton called Rāmaññadeśa (Lower Burma). Marco Polo who placed Bangāl "tolerably close to India" and under the rule of the king of Mien (Burma), and Fakir Muhammad who placed Bangāl to the east of Bhāṭī apparently made some confusions. The Bengali ballad called *Māṅkicandra-rājār gān*, which says *bhāṭī haite āila vāṅgāl lambā lambā dārī*, "the Vāṅgāls (people of Vāṅgāla proper) with their long beards came from Bhāṭī (the southern country)", proves beyond doubt that the people of East Bengal who were responsible for the original composition of the ballad knew Vāṅgāla to be identical with Bhāṭī (see C. C. BANERJI, *Caṅḍī-maṅgal-bodhinī*, II, p. 765). Mukundarām (16th century) in his *Caṅḍī-maṅgal* (C. U. ed., p. 655) speaks of the Vāṅgāls as good sailors. As the Chittagong people are reputed sailors, it may be suggested that Mukundarām identifies the land of the Vāṅgāls with Chittagong. But Mukundarām was a man of

We now come to the City of Bengala mentioned by the European (mainly Portuguese) writers of the 16th and 17th centuries A. D. Duarte de Barbosa, Barthema (1510 A. D.), Ovington (1639 A. D.) and several other writers refer to the city. Some authorities identify the city with modern Chittagong or locate it not far from that place. It is shown in a map drawn by Gastaldi in 1651 and in a map in the *Travels of Cornelius le Bruyan* (published in 1701). In these maps and works as well as in those of Blaeu, Sausson, Purchas and others, the City of Bengala is indicated in the Chittagong region.¹ But Barbosa, one of the earliest Portuguese writers on Indian geography, says that the Bay of Bengal is "a gulf which enters towards the north and at its inner extremity there is a great city inhabited by Moors (Mahommedans) which is called Bengala, with a very good harbour".² The expression "at the inner extremity" may point to a locality far to the north of Chittagong, and Moreland suggested that the Portuguese meant Sonārgāon by the City of Bengala.³ But the city apparently belonged to what the Portuguese called the Porto Grande = Portus Magnus = Great Port, and we have to determine the location of the latter.

Portuguese writers when they speak of a voyage to Bengal usually refer to the Great Port as well as the Porto Pequeno = Portus Parvus = Little Port. Portuguese *porto* is usually understood in the sense of English *port*, and the Little Port is identified with Hooghly or Sāt-gāon while the Great port is located near Chittagong. Moreland has

West Bengal and to the people of his part of the country the inhabitants of any District of East Bengal are Vāngāls even today. Moreover the passages in question are certainly interpolated in the *Caṇḍīmaṅgal*. The *Māṅikcandra-rājār gān*, an East Bengal production, is therefore more important in this connection. There we see that the people of Bhāṭi were known even to the people of East Bengal as Vāngāls, i. e. inhabitants of Vāngāla.

- 1 RAYCHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, p. 189; *IHQ.*, p. 229n.
- 2 *IHQ.*, pp. 229-30.
- 3 *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 309.

however shown that "the word *porto* in the mouth of the sea-faring Portuguese at the period referred primarily to a gap in the coast line and not, as landsmen are apt to assume, a town on the sea-shore; in other words, *porto* might signify a gulf or estuary which might contain several sea ports"¹. He has pointed out that sometimes the Little Port indicated the Hooghly estuary, and the Great Port meant the Meghnā estuary and included both Chittagong and Śrīpur (in the Dacca District). The location of the Great Port therefore does not help us materially in locating the City of Bengala.

The chief points of interest in this problem are two. Firstly, there is not a single reference to this City of Bengala, so famous to the Portuguese, in the whole range of medieval Bengali literature, not even in the Bengali history of the Tripurā royal family which often mentions Chittagong. The Bengalis therefore did not know any place of that name, or knew it by a different name, i. e., a name of their own. Secondly, while some European writers (e. g., RENNELL) could not trace the city or its site, others denied the very existence of a city called Bengala. In 1689, Ovington

1 *Ibid*, 307-8. Father F. Fernandus, the Jesuit missionary who was sent to Bengal in 1598, speaks of the danger when his ship ran aground in the Portus Parvus; but it was afloat and after sailing for eight days within the Portus it reached the Portuguese station of Hooghly. By *Portus Parvus* therefore Fernandus meant the Hoogly river and not any port. He next went to the Portus Magnus and first reached Śrīpur which he describes as a station in the Portus Magnus. Śrīpur was a sea going port on the Ganges about 18 miles from Sonārgāon, the eastern capital of Bengal. The Father then arrived at Chittagong which was also a station belonging to the Portus Magnus. According to Fernandus therefore the Great Port extended from the Karnaphuli river to the immediate neighbourhood of Dacca. By the word *Porto* some writers however actually meant a port; Fitch, e. g., identifies Porto Pequeno with Sāt-gāon. According to Moreland, the change in the meaning may be attributed to the fact that "the Portuguese did not to any great extent trade directly with Śrīpur; their communications were with either Hooghly or Chittagong, that is, with only one *Station* in each *Porto*, and in these circumstances the transfer of the name from the *Porto* to the *Station* might easily take place, just as the *Mersey* has become a synonym for Liverpool" (*op. cit.*, p. 309).

remarks, "A late French geographer (Baudrand) has put Bengala into his Catalogue of imaginary cities, and such as have no real existence in the world"¹. It therefore seems quite clear that even Europeans other than the Portuguese sometimes considered the name of the City of Bengala as a misnomer and had no memory of it after the collapse of the Portuguese power in Bengal. The City of Bengala thus appears to be a name given by the Portuguese to a city which was usually known to others by its Bengali name. As however there is absolutely no proof (in the Bengali literature and Bengal records of any period) of the existence of any city called Vaṅgāla in the south-eastern part of Bengal, the Portuguese name *City of Bengala* seems to have originally indicated the city *par excellence* (i. e. the chief city) of the country of Vaṅgāla = East Bengal. Names like Andhrapura, Magadhapura or Māgadhapura, etc. are known to have been alternate names of the chief cities derived from the names of countries, and we have seen that the south-eastern, north-western and south-western provinces of Bengal were also known to the Muslim writers as Sonārgāon (Vaṅgāla), Lakhnauti (Gauda) and Sātgaon (Rāḍha) respectively after the chief cities of those provinces. As the chief city of East Bengal lay not far off from the Meghnā estuary,² it might have been called the City of Bengala by the Portuguese. But apparently that name was used by foreigners (chiefly Portuguese), and the Bengalis continued to use the local or Bengali name. That is why the name could not be traced after the Portuguese collapse in Bengal³.

1 *Bengal Past and Present*, XIII, p. 252; *IHQ.*, p. 230n.

2 Sonārgāon was the capital of East Bengal during early Muslim rule. Dacca was made the capital of the Bengal Subah early in the 17th century. The remark of Purchas that "Gauro (Gaur or Lakhnauti) the seat royal and Bengala are fair cities" (*IHQ.*, p. 230) apparently refers to the fact that the latter was the chief city of East Bengal and was looked upon as a secondary capital.

3 Quite different is the case with Meghnā (pronounced *Magnā* in East Bengal, that is, with the first vowel resembling *a* in *man*) apparently derived from the Latin word meaning great, which has
6 भा. वि.

It must however be admitted that some authorities locate the City of Bengala near about Chittagong.¹ It seems to me that originally the chief city of East Bengal was known to the Portuguese as the City of Bengala; but after the Portuguese port in the Chittagong region had become the most flourishing centre of trade in Bengal, they began to call it the City of Bengala. This again seems to have been done when Sonārgāon passed out of the picture due to the transference of the provincial capital first to Rājmahal and then to Dacca. The fact that Portuguese sailors came by sea and first reached this flourishing port after days of hardship in the sea may also have emphasized its importance to them as the city *par excellence* of the country of Bengal.

Whatever however the location of the City of Bengala may be, there is no doubt that it had nothing to do with the old country of Vaṅgāla known to have been the kingdom of the Candra kings of East Bengal.

supplanted the older name. The equation Meghnā = Magna was first pointed out to me by Prof. RAYCHAUDHURĪ.

- 1 It has been pointed out that Ortelius places Bengala in the same place where Hommanus places Chatigam or Chittagong. Yule refers to a chart of 1743 and concludes that Chittagong is probably identical with the City of Bengala. Campos also identifies Chittagong and Bengala. Ovington places Bengala to the south of Chittagong. In Blaeu's map and Sausson's chart the city is located on the southern bank of the Karnaphuli near about the place where Broucke places Dianga. This location is supported by Vignorla's map of 1683. But in an old map in Thevenot the city is placed above Xatigan or Chittagong. Hosten and Majumdar think that Dianga, opposite Chittagong, represents the site of Bengala. It is also suggested that originally both Dianga and Chittagong were included in the city. Hosten identifies Dianga with a place now called Bandar on the left bank and near the mouth of the Karnaphuli river. He also takes Dianga to have been the Porto Grande. Blochman identifies Dianga with Dakṣiṇāṅgā or Brāhmaṇḍāṅgā both on the Sāngu river to the south of Chittagong (see *IHQ.*, pp. 231-32 and notes). Blochman may be right, as the foreign name seems to correspond to the Bengali word *ḍāṅgā* which is pronounced in East Bengal as *daṅgā*, that is to say, with the first vowel resembling the English *a* in *man*.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF CANDRAGUPTA MAURYA.

By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A.

For instituting an enquiry into the governance of Mauryan India we have almost full and reliable materials. One is the evidence of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador who visited the capital city of Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Candragupta and left an imperishable record of what he saw and heard. The other evidence perhaps more valuable, is that of the *Arthasāstra* written solely for the guidance of Candragupta and his successors by Cāṇakya his Chancellor, or may we say, his guide, philosopher and friend. It must be remembered that Kautalya's *Arthasāstra* is an original contribution and the first of its kind. The author of this immortal work acknowledges his indebtedness to the previous writers on the subject and his was therefore a continuation, in a new garb, of the traditional polity that prevailed in India at least from the Vedic age. It was a revision of the old constitutional laws and statutes suitable to the varying circumstances and the needs of the times, without in the least infringing the fundamental principles of the ancient Indian polity. Thus we have two contemporary evidences, one foreign and the other native, one supplementing and even complementing the other. In several items the correspondence is wonderful and striking.

DAILY DUTIES OF THE KING : Obsessed by a keen sense of duty the monarch had a time-table chalked out for him. Days and nights were respectively divided into eight periods, and different functions assigned to each period of one and a half hour duration. In the first period of the day, 6 to 7-30

a. m., he was engaged in supervising receipts and expenditure ; in the second period, 7-30 to 9 a. m., he looked into the affairs of citizens and other people. In the third period, 9 to 10-30 a. m., he attended to his spiritual duties followed by his breakfast. In the next period he granted interviews to the officials of the state. From 12 to 1-30 p. m., he held consultation with his advisers and confidential agents. 1-30 to 3 p. m. was the period for rest and retirement. Afterwards he was engaged in supervising the army corps, while in the eighth period he ruminated with his military councillors on the plan of operations against enemies.

Turning to the night the first period was devoted to meeting the intelligence officers and other confidential advisers of the state. From 7-30 to 9 p. m., he was engaged in the evening prayers followed by dinner. In the third period of the night he was lulled to sleep by musical entertainments. He got up from his bed before 4-30 a. m., and received the blessings of his spiritual guides like the Ṛtviks, ācāryas and the Purohita. Afterwards he gave himself up to the thoughts of the morrow, specially to important state business. It is understood that Candragupta followed this rather heavy programme not punctiliously but punctually. Otherwise it would not have been possible for him to build up such a state. It was not a cut and dried programme. It was elastic and could be modified when occasion demanded. The *Arthasāstra* is, after all, a practical manual in politics (Book I, 19).

With such a seemingly rigid programme, the king was expected to be ever active. Insistence is made on the quality of *Uttāna* aptly rendered as alertness. That the king should be alert is repeated in many a place in the *Arthasāstra*. That Candragupta was ever on the alert could not be gainsaid. The varying circumstances of the time claimed a good deal of attention of Candragupta to be ever active whether he was engaged in hostilities fighting the foe, or was engaged in formulating a sound home policy. He was not behind the times and did things with a fund of real enthusiasm

(*utsāhagūṇa*). Candragupta possessed in a great measure royal virtues pertaining to noble birth (*abhiḡāmikagūṇa*), qualities of intellect (*prajñāgūṇa*), personal qualities of prudence, good memory, etc. (*ātmasampat*), in addition to the *utsāhagūṇas* already mentioned. Control of emotions, freedom from passions and other vices especially resulting from *Kāma* and *Krodha* are virtues to be cultivated by a reigning monarch.

SELF-PROTECTION: Though he was humane in his relations and public behaviours, still as an important personage being the symbol of sovereignty of the realm his person was sacred. He should endeavour to guard himself from his own queens and from his sons. Not that he was suspicious of them but prudence and discretion dictated such behaviour on the king's part to his queens and sons. All could not be expected to be faithful and dutiful. There may be a discontented queen or a refractory son. They should be kept in their proper places and even over-indulgence with them would not be for the well being of the state. So discipline of the mind as well as of the body was put in practice. Far greater significance attaches to this self-protection of King Candragupta who was animated by the political maxim ever realised in all climes that he who is protected protects the state. Candragupta felt it was his primary duty to protect his subjects who in their turn contributed their share to wean him from undue influences. Examined in this light, these precautions should be treated in a generous spirit. It is wrong to say that he was an autocrat because he had to behave like that.

SOME HABITS OF THE KING: From the classical writings of the Greeks we get some glimpses of some habits of King Candragupta. Candragupta often undertook hunting expeditions, and whenever he set out on such tours crowds of women surrounded him, spearmen being ranged on all sides. The road was marked off with ropes and any trespass within the ropes was punished with death. The procession was led by men with drums and gong: when he shot arrows from his stand in the enclosure, he had on his side two or three armed

women. If he hunted from the open grounds, he generally rode and shot from the back of an elephant.

Another custom was massaging the king while he was in the court hearing causes. How the Mauryan monarch appeared in court is explained in a long passage by the classical writer.

Yet another custom was to celebrate the king's birthday with festivities. It was a practice then to have the ceremonial washing of the hair of the king. He received many presents from his courtiers and officials. Candragupta's serious administration was enlivened now and then by amusement of different kinds. The king visited races, gladiatorial contests, combats of animals though he discouraged such sports as they involved the loss of life to the animals.

ESPIONAGE: It is generally believed that the Mauryan system of Government under its first kings was a bureaucracy, and we have fortunately details as to the actual working of the civil system of government under Candragupta Maurya. The system of civil administration was manned by as many as eighteen departments.

The character of any administration is largely dependent on the character of its officials, big and small. Much depends on their honesty and integrity. Only people who had been put to the test and who stood the test even when temptations of alluring sorts were offered, were appointed as Government servants. The test was of various kinds. One was religious allurements. A priest who was actually in confidence of the state went about saying that he had been dismissed for undertaking to get the sacrifices of an outcaste performed and to spread false rumours about the administration. If any official acquiesced in the view expressed he was noted as disloyal to the state. If, on the other hand, he refused to believe what this so-called dismissed priest uttered, then he was marked out as an honest servant of the state. He found employment both in civil and criminal courts of justice.

There were other allurements to detect the refractory officials and treacherous citizens, There was what is called

monetary allurement. Some army officials went about the kingdom saying that they had been dismissed and charged with bribery and extortion. It was desirable that the authorities in power should be subverted, and these dismissed officials offered money to those who were prepared to launch a movement for putting down the king and his ministers. Those who fell in with the views expressed were noted and reported. Eventually action was taken in such cases. The pure persons were drafted generally to the revenue department.

Yet another way of bringing to book the misbehaved officials was the allurement of women. A woman who had won confidence in the harem as honest and loyal would be set forth in the guise of a spy and was asked to announce to important officials including ministers that the queen was enamoured of a particular person or persons and to know whether he or they were willing to enjoy the pleasures of the harem. If the official agreed, then he was put down as unfaithful and his services were dispensed with. The women spies went about generally in guise of ascetics and nuns. Such persons who were considered pure were placed in charge of pleasure gardens and others.

A fourth allurement offered was that of fear. The king might arrest certain ministers who had been induced by his colleagues to sail to other lands on commercial ventures or similar business. A spy in the disguise of a disciple might approach these arrested persons and pretend to plot with them in accusing the king of his drastic action and suggesting his murder. Those who showed their willingness to join such a movement were treated as treacherous to the state, and ways and means were taken to remove them from their offices. Those who had stood such tests were appointed to the king's personal services.

There were, again, those distinguished persons who had satisfied all tests and were found good all round. These men of character and good conduct were generally selected to be ministers and advisers. There were also other officials who

satisfied one test but did not satisfy others. These persons of doubtful merit were set to do the hard tasks in mines and manufactories, in timber and elephant forests. Thus we see that the state took particular care to employ the right man for the right place. Anybody and everybody was not found fit to do any work and every work. A searching examination including what we call a searching of heart was made before one was appointed to a responsible place. The system beats some of the tests which our Public Services Commission do to ensure the right choice. Influence and personality did not enter in the choice of a candidate for a job. But merit and qualifications alone decided the selection. Needless to say that Candragupta by adopting such a course in appointing his ministers and officials, was actuated by only one motive viz., the purity of his administration.

Once appointed the official had no guarantee that he was left alone to do as his will dictated. An official might turn out bad, severe, or disloyal. So by a system of what is known to-day as C. I. D., these officials were watched and the misbehaved were brought to the notice of the authorities and disciplinary action was taken in such cases. These C. I. D. Officers went about in different disguises. One assumed the garb of a student, the other a recluse, a third a householder, the fourth a merchant, the fifth an ascetic, the sixth as *tikṣṇa* or firebrand, *rasāda* or poisoner. Women ascetics and spies were also sent out by the state, surely to test women officials of the state. That women were also in the employ of the Government is evident from this.

These intelligence officers wrongly termed as spies were often men of high character and foresight with the ability to read the minds of others. These officials were not the mere choice of the sovereign indiscriminately made. Only respectful people could go on these errands. The king appointed as intelligence officers only those persons who had been recommended by his cabinet of ministers. And the cabinet took care to select men who had been put to severe tests and found fully satisfactory. So skilled men and honest women

served this Intelligence department. Thus we see that in Candragupta's administration this department was manned by five kinds of officers, and the latter were often honoured with titles and presents in recognition of their meritorious services to the state.

These intelligence officers who constituted the five institutes of this department moved from one place to another to watch and report the conduct of government servants. Not because the Government was conducted in a state of suspicion and distrust but because the Government was anxious to combat corruption and profiteering on the part of its servants. It was anxious to preserve the purity of administration having for its object the welfare of the subjects at large. In those days when transport facilities were few and far between, and when the dimensions of the empire were so large and vast, it is admirable to know that adequate arrangements were made to carry the information to the Headquarters. The officials who went on errands reported to their immediate superiors by making use of code terms or cypher writing so that the information might not leak out in transmission but might reach the proper source in tact. It must be said in fairness to the administration of Candragupta and his successors that no immediate action was taken on the report. One report was not considered sufficient to warrant any action. Allowances were made to the personal prejudices and jealousies of individuals, and the wisdom of the administration is seen in the outstanding fact that action was taken only if reports from three independent sources coincided. Thus it was how the validity of the report was ascertained and thus it was how action was taken by the state.

In addition to this system of setting spies, to use the common term, to study and know the character of government servants in the state, there was another institution of Cāras which went by the name of *ubhayavedana*. While the Cāras were members of the secret service, the *ubhayavedana* may perhaps approximate to the permanent ambassadors or consuls in foreign states, though the term occurs in the section on

gūḍhapuruṣas. These *ubhayavedanas* from the literal interpretation of the term, received salaries from the state to which they belonged and from the state to which they were appointed. They were engaged in collecting information as regards the movements of the king of the alien state and to report to the authorities then and there. These officials were further engaged in studying the strength or otherwise of the enemy state having regard to its resources in men and material. Apparently there was a regular establishment of these consuls in every foreign state. Under this consul, there was a staff of secret agents who went about the country in different disguises as physicians, cultivators and merchants and gathered information of the enemy's plans and the movement of his armies. These were probably the 'supervisors' mentioned by Megasthenes. In addition to their ambassadorial duties, they helped the state in which they were posted in other ways. One was to catch hold of thieves and robbers who often disturbed the peace and security of the civil population. This explains why these consular officers received salaries from both the states.

Besides these secret and open agents, there were others who were posted at the frontiers, in forests and country parts. These ascertained the movements of enemies from one place to another. The chiefs of forest tribes and Śramanas engaged in penance were often enlisted to this service. They were generally expected to live on the borders of the kingdom and served a sort of watch and ward. It is setting a spy to catch a spy. While the Cāras helped the administration by putting their foot on the intrigue and jealousy of officials and on the treachery of its citizens, they got first hand information about the communal feelings and party feelings and averted civil war which is conspicuously absent in the annals of Hindu India. Whenever a faction was brewing or feelings of parties ran very high, the state immediately intervened and took prompt steps to avert such risings. Resort was had to bring about conciliation and compromise. Sometimes presents of title and money were a source of bringing round the

malcontents. Notwithstanding these peaceful methods if the discontented continued to revolt and took up the hostile attitude, recourse was had to arms, and the faction was put down with an iron hand. After suppressing such movements in the interests and welfare of the state, the latter proceeded to cement such conciliations with solemn compacts. In other words, the parties agreed to abide by the terms of arbitration, award or punishment, as the case may be. With such an institution of *Cāras* and *ubhayavedanas*, it is no wonder that the state thrived and the people prospered. It is a pity that this institution has been much misunderstood and held out as indicating the autocratic nature of Candragupta and his successors. This is far from truth. A healthy administration is ensured only by such sound institutions. In spite of all our vaunted progress and civilisation, profiteering and corruption are rampant in every country and the governments have to take effective steps to combat them. Considering the circumstances under which the Mauryan state was ushered in, it certainly goes to the wisdom and foresight of Candragupta to prevent malpractices, to put them down if any, and to ensure peace to the civil population by detecting all possibilities of the outbreak of civil wars.

THE PUROHITA: Candragupta's Purohita often accompanied the leader of the forces to the theatre of war, and encouraged the rank and file to take courage and put up a gallant fight to the end. The war is compared to a *yajña* or sacrifice. In those days there was so much faith in the efficacy of sacrifices that the orthodox made it a point to perform sacrifices or get sacrifices performed. So the Purohita appealed to the soldiers in the name of religion to sacrifice themselves, if such situations arose, in the sacrifice of war. While the Vedic sacrifice led them to the paradise, the sacrifice of war made them enjoy the *vīra svarga*, the special heaven intended for heroes and warriors. Instilled by this spiritual appeal, the warriors stood boldly the test and trial of the war until full success was assured. This

is the greatest service which the Purohita rendered to the state because Candragupta had to fight out to establish his empire on unshakable foundations.

In addition to this secular duty, he attended the religious ceremonies of the state and often arranged special days of prayer for the victory of the armies. He also engaged himself in charms and spells to avert disasters befalling his empire according to the belief of the times. A man of profound learning not only in *Trayi* but also in the *Atharva Veda* so as to propitiate gods by the various rites prescribed to ward off calamities, and a man of high character and rectitude coming from a distinguished Brāhmaṇa family of traditional learning, Candragupta's Purohita was followed by the king, as a teacher by his pupil, a father by his son and a master by his servant. The social ascendancy of this official was due to his remarkable learning and force of character, and to nothing else.

The department of the Purohita was not like the monastic organisation of the Buddhists. He was the highest paid state official and a confidential adviser of the King. This does not mean and did not mean that the king was a tool in his hands. The real position of the Purohita in Candragupta's state was that the king dared not disobey the Purohita, or the Purohita overrule the monarch. He supplied strength of will to the abounding energy of his king. He drew a handsome salary as befitted the high official he was, 48,000 paṇas annually. His assistants were each paid 1000 paṇas per annum.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Purohita occupied an enviable status, he was not above the law. If he failed in performing his duties or behaved treacherously to the interests of the state, he was punished like any other citizen of the land. The punishment amounted to imprisonment or banishment according to the gravity of the offences committed. From this it would not be difficult to infer that the Purohita did not have his way in anything and everything. So long as he discharged his functions backed by his character and marked

by his integrity, he enjoyed the confidence of the cabinet. If he fell short of his *svadharma* he was disowned and the state dealt with him severely.

Before we conclude it must be pointed out that the Purohita enjoyed the rare privilege of not being watched by the Intelligence department, a privilege extended only to two more—the crown prince and the commander-in-chief. It was Dharma and the Hindu view of life that was the foundation of Candragupta's empire.

THE CROWN PRINCE: In the list of the proximate factors of Candragupta's Government, the Kumāra (usually translated 'crown prince') occupied a prominent place. A prince of to-day was the guardian of destinies of millions of people to-morrow. So great significance was attached to the office of the crown prince. As the king of the morrow he received a sound and practical education. One important branch of studies was military science. The mornings were generally fixed for learning the theory and practice of arms. The afternoon was spent in hearing the *itihāsas*. The early portion of the night was devoted to memorising old lessons and learning new ones. Besides Vedic literature the prince was instructed in economics and politics. Specialists were engaged to impart instruction in these sciences. After the course of studies was over, they underwent training in the different administrative departments of the State. The prince was now attached to one and now to the other. After this period of apprenticeship was gone through, he was crowned Yuvarāja if he was the eldest and satisfied certain tests. If he did not satisfy the qualifications expected of a Yuvarāja, he was not selected though he happened to be the eldest.

In the case of Candragupta's son Bindusāra we have to labour under difficulties. We have no materials to show how he was trained and how he was anointed crown prince. But we have to assume that he underwent the educational training needed for the prince of his status, and was consecrated in the orthodox fashion as Yuvarāja or heir-apparent. He must have extended his hand of co-operation to his father who

was just building up an empire against odds. Trained in the school of discipline of Candragupta no wonder he succeeded in maintaining the state intact during his reign and bequeathed it to his son Aśoka. The crown prince of Candragupta's Government was a high official and occupied a rank equal to that of the Purohita and the Commander-in-Chief. His salary was 4000 paṇas a month, or 48,000 paṇas per year.

Though a refractory prince was severely taken to task, sent out of the kingdom or sent on dangerous errand, still the crown prince who enjoyed the confidence of his father and the citizens at large enjoyed a status of much distinction. Like the Purohita his movements were not to be watched by the officers of the Intelligence department. Bindusāra must be put down as a loyal prince who followed the king, his father, in all acts and deeds. He should have been a great and good prince. There is reason to believe that Bindusāra was posted Governor of South India and extended his jurisdiction up to the Tamil borders.

THE MINT: A Government however efficient, cannot carry on even for a day without a sound currency system. It is the barometer of any Government. Trade and commerce flourish if only good coins circulate. This is only by the way. The mint officer was responsible for issuing coins. Mention is made of silver and copper coins. There were four silver coins in circulation—a paṇa, half a paṇa, a quarter paṇa and one eighth of a paṇa. Similarly there were four copper coins—a māṣaka, half a māṣaka, kākaṇi (probably one-fourth māṣaka) and half a kākaṇi. The examiner of coins regulated currency both as a medium of exchange and as legal tender. Bad coins and coins which had ceased to be legal tender could be presented at the treasury while bars of silver and other metal given to the treasury were allowed on a payment of a fixed premium. The Mauryan money market must have been very busy all through the day. It was full of buyers, sellers and examiners of precious metals, precious stones and manufactured articles.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF *-t-* AS *-l-* IN CERTAIN POSITIONS

By Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, M. A.

In the Journal of Oriental Research of the Madras University, Vol. I, Parts I and II, has been set forth, under the title, *Notes on Sanskrit-Malayalam Phonetics*, the peculiar Malayali pronunciation of the Sanskrit sound *-t-* as *-l-* and of *-ṭ-* as *-ḷ-*; and an attempt has been made to explain this peculiarity. There are, however, some lapses in the paper which deserve to be pointed out.

It is implied that Malayalis are pronouncing Sanskrit words like Malayalam words—the exact significance of this statement is not at all clear—and that they have carried this peculiarity even into Vedic recitals thereby meaning that if Malayalis pronounce certain Sanskrit sounds peculiarly, it is the result of a Malayalamisation of Sanskrit. Starting on this premise the conclusion arrived at may be inevitable, but the premise remains yet to be proved. Secondly, the statements regarding the pronunciation of certain Vedic sounds appear to be loose. It must be confessed at the very outset that both that writer and myself have no direct knowledge of Vedic recitals and both of us have necessarily to be guided by what Nampūtiri Brahmins tell us. The peculiar pronunciation noticed by that writer exists only in Rig Vedic recitals. The Yajur Vedic Nampūtiris do not have this pronunciation in Yajur Vedic recitals. Thus while Rig Vedic Brahmins recite *-ātmā-* as *-ālmā-* in Vedic recitals, the Yajur Vedins recite *-ātmā-* as *-atmā-*; but both alike pronounce this word as *-ālmā-* in secular utterance. This differentiation is not noticed by that writer, and in not noticing it, a basic mistake creeps in and vitiates

his final conclusion. Again, it is said that the word *-salma-* is pronounced by Malayalis as *-salma-*, but, so far as we have been able to ascertain, such a pronunciation is not current amongst us in Vedic recitals, though it may occasionally be found in secular slang. Even if it be assumed that some people do speak *salma*, such pronunciation is certainly not so wide in its range as *palma* for *padma*, and in the few instances that the writer may have in view it has necessarily to be explained as the result of false analogy. It is again asserted that a trained ear can detect a subtle difference in the pronunciation of the *-lpa-* element in the words *alpa* and *salpate*. So far as the Rig Vedic recitals are concerned, we are assured that there is no difference in the Samhitāpāṭha recital. A difference is, however, noticeable in Padapāṭha recital, but that difference does not lie in the way that the writer has pointed out. Vedic exponents would have it that that difference arises from the fact of the *-lpa-* element being differently placed in the two words: in one word, it is a medial sound group, while in the other it is the final sound group of the first member of a compound word. The writer is again making a mess of things when he speaks of the effect of pronunciation on writing. He states that the sound group *-lpa-* in *alpa* and in *satpate* are written alike. It is no doubt pronounced alike, but, so far as we know, it is never written alike, the former being written *alpa* and the latter, *satpate*. The former is never found written as *atpa* and the latter, never as *salpate*. It is, indeed, a gratuitous remark that is made when it is said that *few Malayalis know that the name of the author of the Rāmāyaṇa is Vālmiki. They know it only as Vānmiki.* Those, who know anything, know Vālmiki as Vālmiki, but those who do not know anything of the *Rāmāyaṇa* may or may not know Vālmiki or Vānmiki. This statement is wide off the mark, and the less said about it the better.

When due allowance is made for these mistakes of fact and these unfounded assumptions, the statement of the peculiarity resolves itself to the following:

The Nampūtiri recital of the *R̥g Veda* reveals a peculiar pronunciation of *-t-* and *-ṭ-* in certain positions as *-l-* and *-ḷ-* and this peculiarity is carried

further into classical Sanskrit as well as words borrowed from Sanskrit into Malayalam.

This phenomenon is illustrated by the examples given by the writer which may be tabulated as follows:

The final of a		Between		Before	Remarks
Word	1st member of a compound	Vowels	A vowel & consonant	Terminations	
tasmāl	salpate ulkrṣṭaḥ talphalam ulsaṅgaḥ		ālmā alpa ālmanā		Palma is the result of analogy; sadma is not found
virāl	salpadam vaṣalkṛtiḥ	īle kṛlati	khalgam drlha	sal-bhiḥ	written as salma

A study of these examples would show that where assimilation, progressive or regressive, does not take place and where, therefore, the dental surd must stand as such, *-t-* is pronounced as *-l-*, irrespective of the fact whether it is the final element of a word or the first member of a compound or the medial element of a word, provided it is followed by a non-assimilable sound, such for instance as a guttural, labial, or sibilant other than *-s-* and the aspirate *-h-*; and this rule, be it noted, does not apply to *-d-*, for the only instance given by the writer is wrong, since we never correctly pronounce *sadma* as *salma*. As regards *padma* we do pronounce it as *palma*; but we hold that it is the result of false analogy, working through the peculiar nature of the *Rg Vedic* pronunciation of conjunct consonants not as one unit (*ekākṣara*) but as a composite group (*samdhyaḥkṣara*).

The question now before us is this: is the peculiarity a survival from the past of a dialectical variation or is it the result of a contact with the Dravidian? We may now consider which position is feasible or tenable.

Dr. RAJA would have it that one of the original peculiarities of the Dravidian was its aversion for conjunct sounds as well as final consonants; and he finds support for

this position by pointing out that Malayali children are not taught such consonant groups as *-pta-*, *-kta-* etc. These sound groups are not taught, he holds, because they were absent in the local Dravidian. This may or may not be correct, because we have now no means of deciding if such was the case in ancient days. If, however, we may argue from analogical facts, we may as well hold that that practice, even if it was true, need not necessarily lead to the conclusion he has arrived at. Our children are taught only *-ka-*, *kā-*, *-ki-*, *-kī-* etc. and not *-pa-*, *-pā-*, *-pi-*, *-pī-*; and are we on this basis justified to assume that the other surds are not used with vowels? It is patent such a position is very untenable and, for aught we know, we are not prepared to accept Dr. RAJA's conclusion as final. With the advent of Sanskrit, he says, Malayalam adapted itself to the needs of the new language and at the same time Sanskrit itself had to bend to the new environments in which it found itself: that is to say, both Malayalam and Sanskrit mutually influenced each other. This is his second conclusion, and for a *prima facie* reason we may accept that position with this reservation that while we know definitely that Sanskrit exerted its influence upon the vernacular—compare for instance the phonetic system in Malayalam—we can merely presume that Malayalam influenced Sanskrit, for in what way and to what extent this influence exerted itself is a subject that is yet to receive adequate consideration at the hands of scholars. Now on these two conclusions, one of which is wrong and the other, if at all, only partially true, one is not justified to rear up theories.

Dr. RAJA holds that Malayalam had an aversion for conjunct consonants and final consonants and this aversion must have been introduced into Sanskrit also. That is to say, he assumes that a euphonising tendency, which, according to him, has been manifest in our language at every stage of its existence must be held responsible for the change of the consonantal finals in Sanskrit at least at a later stage; and, therefore, would have it that the spirit of Malayalam euphony influenced the change of *-t-* to *-l-* and of *-ṭ-* to *-ḷ-* in actual pronunciation. *Prima facie*, this looks like a very feasible

conclusion, provided, indeed, the premises he has first set forth are proved. These, however, are yet to be proved. Further, there is at least one instance which the writer has given which belies this conclusion. Let us assume that Malayalam has had from its very inception an aversion for consonantal finals and that the natural tendency of the language was to euphonise consonantal finals in either of the two ways mentioned by Dr. RAJA. In this light let us examine the examples given by Dr. RAJA.

Āpat in Sanskrit is pronounced as *Āpal*, but in Malayalam as *Āpatt*.

Sampat is pronounced as *sampal* in Sanskrit, but in Malayalam as *sampatt*.

The question now arises why should Malayalis use two different methods of vocalising final consonants, one method reserved for Sanskrit and another for Malayalam? One can understand the use of different methods of treatment for different finals in the same language or the same finals in different languages, but it is certainly curious that the differential treatment in one case is the result of a phonetic peculiarity obtaining in the other language. One cannot understand why after having euphonised a sound in a Sanskrit word with a view to make it conform to Malayalam euphony for purposes of Sanskritic usage, the same sound group in the same word should again be subjected to another mode of treatment for usage in Malayalam. Does the writer mean that the same sound is treated in one way for Sanskritic purposes and in quite another way for the purposes of Malayalam language? If so, then we must flatly refuse to accept it. This apart, one cannot understand why a sound in one language should be subject to a process of sound euphonisation according to the tendencies of another language. We do find the term *judge* pronounced as *judji* in Malayalam, but it deserves to be pointed out that this term in the latter form is never found used in English by Malayalis. We are, therefore, constrained to reject Dr. RAJA's explanation.

This is not the only weakness of the theory advanced by Dr. RAJA. His theory implies that at the time of the

advent of Sanskrit, Malayalam had already attained to the position of an independent language with its features and tendencies fully fixed up, at least so far as they related to its phonetic system. Such an assumption is inevitable, since it is held that the law of euphonisation, operating in Malayalam, is also supposed to have influenced Sanskrit, not ~~æ~~ merely secular Sanskrit, but even Vedic Sanskrit. It is, however, the expressed opinion of all philologists who have worked in the field of Dravidian linguistics that Malayalam was the youngest of the Dravidian dialects to attain to the position of an independent language. This would mean that at the time when Sanskrit came into Kerala, the other Dravidian languages, such as Tamil, Telugu and Canarese must have already attained to a higher degree of development than Malayalam. If, therefore, the developing Malayalam could have exerted such a powerful influence on Sanskrit, religious and secular, it is surprising that the other, more developed, Dravidian languages should not have influenced Sanskrit at all, not necessarily in the same direction, but in some other direction, the said feature of the Dravidian being ever present in the Dravidian at every stage of its existence, according to Dr. RAJA. It then certainly behoves him to explain what exactly the circumstances were which prevented the euphonisation being effected in Sanskrit in the other Dravidian linguistic areas. So long, therefore, as this aspect is left unexplained by him, his thesis can hardly command acceptance among scholars. And, be it noted further, that Malayalam phonetics is thoroughly based upon Sanskrit phonetics. Hence the explanation offered by Dr. RAJA cannot be held to explain the peculiar feature of our pronunciation of these sounds, whether in religious or in secular usage.

In view, therefore, of the fact that Sanskrit was exposed to the same linguistic influence in Tamil and Telugu and Canarese areas, in view of the fact that the Malayali pronunciation of these Sanskritic sounds is not found adopted by the other Dravidian languages and in view of the fact the Yajur Vedic Brahmins even in Malabar do not use this euphonisation so far as Yajur Vedic recitals are concerned, we

cannot accept the position that the peculiar phonetic tendency of the Dravidian Malayalam influenced Sanskrit pronunciation.

In our peculiar pronunciation of these sounds we have possibly preserved a relic of the ancient Rig Vedic phonetic system which has been lost elsewhere; and this preservation has been rendered possible because of the seclusion in which Nampūtiri Brahmins lived on this side of the Ghats in their own exclusive way. That this peculiarity has not affected the Yajur Vedic recitals clearly indicates that its sources need not be sought for in any Dravidian phonetic peculiarity. And, be it noted, the phonetic peculiarities noticed by Dr. RAJA are not the only peculiarities that characterise our Nampūtiri Brahmins, an aspect that is proved by the fact that amongst them alone are found preserved even today the post-puberty *Ekavivāha*, the *Sarvasvadāna* type of adoption, and other socio-religious rites and ceremonies. All these, when taken together, would only indicate one general conclusion: the Rig Vedic Nampūtiris here belong to a particular Rig Vedic clan having their own dialectical variations, or having a particular recension of the Rig Vedic text.

THE VEDIC SACRIFICES AND TEMPLE WORSHIP

By Acharya T. A. Venkateswara Dikshitar

In this short thesis I have endeavoured to show how temple worship as sanctioned in Tantric works is intimately associated with Vedic sacrifices. It may be conveniently held that temple worship as prescribed in the Tantric Granthas is the purposefully intended modification of the Vedic sacrifices necessitated by the tendencies of the age. To an ordinary mind, performance of sacrifices in strict obedience to the rigid Vedic injunctions might seem to be very difficult of accomplishment. But there is ample evidence in support of the fact that all dvijas (twice borns) were performing Vedic sacrifices with implicit faith in them and as part of their duties towards God and to humanity at large. With the lapse of time, however, and with its resultant changes in the conditions of the people and their outlook on life, faith in the Vedic sacrifices gradually began to decline. The spirit of the age precipitated tendencies resisting the Vedic sacrifices and welcoming an easier form of worshipping God, easily practicable to one and all.

Idol Worship in the Vedic Period

In this connection I would request the readers to bear in mind that I do not wish to be understood as implying that idol worship was not in existence during the Vedic period, or that it was a subsequent innovation unknown to the Aryans. There are many hymns even in the Rig Veda to show that idol worship was undoubtedly in the minds of the Aryans. Idol worship there was in existence in the Vedic period, but emphasis should be put on the view that the idea of installing

Gods in temples in the form of idols and of offering oblations to them might have entered the Aryan fold to some extent from other cults.

In fact there are many scholars who opine that the Vedas do accord sanction for idol worship. Their judgment is based on the fact that many Vedic hymns that are to be recited in the sacrifices describe not only the abstract entities of particular Gods, but also their forms, their physical features and their individual weapons. But others believe that although the Vedas of course do contain many references to these features, there is hardly any Vedic injunction sanctioning the worship of Gods in temples in the form of idols. Hence it is their conclusion that idolatry in the form now existing must have solely entered the Aryan fold from other cults.

It may be of interest to note, that almost all Upāsānās, or rather the Vedic prescriptions of propitiating God, ordain that one should keep in one's mind only the form of God he is worshipping by concentrating upon Him. Hence the saying "प्रतिमास्त्रप्रबुद्धानाम्": Idol worship is intended as a first and fundamental step for those who do not possess the requisite subtlety and depth of vision to concentrate upon the form of any particular deity. As the Vedic form of worship by Upāsānā, or concentration, cannot easily be practised by all, other suitable preliminary forms of worship have been elaborated by the Tantras, the Āgamas, and the Purāṇas. Thus the installation of Gods in temples with forms and names has gained currency and Hinduism has provided various means of worship adapted to the capacity and inclination of each individual and the standard or development attained by him in spiritual evolution.

Intimate Relationship between the Two Forms of Worship

The scope of this thesis does not permit of my entering into any controversy on this point. But all I have said leads to one conclusion, namely, the institution of temple worship was not unknown to the Aryans but that the Vedic conception of worship of Gods differs very much from the

Tantric form of temple worship. In the course of my studies on this subject I have been able to collect materials from the diverse sources of references, both in the Vedic literature and the Tantric works, which unambiguously prove the intimate relationship that exists between the Vedic sacrifices and temple worship in general and between Garuḍacayana used in some important particular sacrifices and the Garuḍotsava of the Vaiṣṇava Āgamās in particular.

The Vedic sacrifices are of two varieties, Gṛhya and Śrauta. The sacrifices of the former variety bring good to the performer and his family alone and hence they are called Gṛhya. The sacrifices of the latter variety bring good not only to the performer and his family but also to the whole universe. It is said that such sacrifices go a long way in the creation as also in the protection of the universe. Two stanzas from the *Bhagavad Gītā* can be quoted to substantiate this statement:-

सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।

अनेन प्रसद्विष्यध्वमेव वोऽश्विष्टकामधुक् ॥ (३-१०)

देवान्भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः ।

परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ॥ (३-११)

I am giving below a few points of similarity between the two forms of worship.

1. Similarly idol worship also is divided generally into two forms as (Ātmapūja,) i. e. worship by one in his house and (Ālayapūjā,) worship in the temples for the benefit of all, thus the first resembling the Gṛhya and the latter the Śrautakarma.

2. Vedic sacrifices are to be performed in a place specially erected outside the village; and it is known to all that temple worship should be made in temples situated generally outside the village.

3. It is ordained in the Āgamas that the yāgāsālā should be erected in a temple where the fire is preserved and daily oblations are to be made in it. Thus one may easily be given to think that this represents exactly the Agniśālā in the house of every sacrificer, in which fire is being kept perpetually and oblations are poured in it.

4. The word *Yāga* is applicable to both of these forms of worship, the import of the word being *Devapūjā*.

5. Special oblations and offerings are ordained by *Āgamas* annually for 5, 7 or 10 days at the time of the festival, *Brahmotsava*, when the idol or idols are taken in procession round the village. This exactly resembles the special oblations and offerings which are being made in *Somayāga* as ordained to be performed once a year for 5, 7 or 10 days and more.

6. In Vedic sacrifices like *Somayāga* etc. many Gods are addressed and oblations are offered to them, whereas in temples though one deity is principally worshipped, numerous deities are also installed in different places through mantras.

7. Many Vedic hymns used in sacrifices are ordained to be recited in temples also by *Āgamas*.

8. Fire to offer oblations in is produced out of *Araṇi*, a wood in some particular form in the same way as it is being done in sacrifices.

9. Priests are appointed in both for conducting and supervising the functions, each having special duties to perform.

10. *Dhvajastambha*, i. e. the wooden post in the temples exactly represents the *Yūpastambha* in the sacrifices.

11. As there is a special portion in the *Śrauta Sūtras*, the sacrificial code by name *Prāyaścitta* section, so also we see in the *Āgama* the *Prāyaścitta* portion, which prescribes certain rites to be performed to appease the anger of Gods resulting from the rites not properly performed or performed wrongly.

Garudacayana

Before stating the similarity between *Garudacayana* of the Vedas and the *Garudotsava* of the *Āgamas*, it is essential to elucidate clearly as to what is meant by *Cayana* and why *Garuḍa* is associated with it and also what are the things that are ordained to be performed and so forth.

For the sake of convenience, the Vedic sacrifices can be divided into three varieties. They are *Iṣṭi*, *Paśuyāga* and
9 भा. वि.

Somayāga. In performing a sacrifice under any of these varieties, the Vedas ordain that three fires are to be kept burning in three different places such as Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇāgni and Āhavanīya. All offerings, or Homas as they are called, are made in the Āhavanīya fire. In Somayāga, offerings are made in Uttaravedi, which is the very Āhavanīya itself.

Cayana means piling of bricks which have special shape and form. Numerous shapes and forms are stated in the Vedas such as इ्येनचिति, कङ्कचिति, अलजचिति, प्रउगचिति, रथचक्रचिति. The most important of these is Garuḍacayana. This Cayana or altar is erected with 1000 bricks in a particular order which exactly resembles a Garuḍa (the vulture), lying with its head down and wings stretched out just as it may appear while soaring in the sky. On the back of the altar, the fire Āhavanīya is placed exactly in the centre. Here it should be remembered that the God of the Vedic sacrifice is Lord Viṣṇu while the fire, the important sacrificial factor, is described as Rudra, the fierce aspect of Viṣṇu.

The following three hymns are to be recited at the time of the installation of the fire in the Citi. The vidhi or injunction regarding this runs thus:—

सुपर्णोऽसि गरुत्मानिति तिसृभिः स्वयमातृष्णायां प्रनिष्ठाप्य

The fire is to be placed upon a particular brick called स्वयमातृष्णा (i. e. A brick having a hole not caused by any artificial methods but which is inborn).

These hymns address the fire as Suparṇa vulture and also describe it as having the all pervading lustre and all powerfulness which are the characteristics of the Supreme God. A homa oblation with curd is to be made in the same brick where the fire will be installed. The hymns to be recited in this connection are two in number and these are:—The first is नक्तोषासा समनसा विरूपे.....And the second is.....
अग्ने सहस्राक्ष शतमूर्धन्छतं ते प्राणास्सहस्रमपानाः । त्वं साहस्रस्य राय ईशिषे तस्मै ते विधेम वाजाय स्वाहा ।

Here the fire is addressed as सहस्राक्ष having thousand eyes and शतमूर्धन् which are the attributes of Viṣṇu the Omnipresent Virāt.

Common Hymns for Sacrifices and Temple Worship

The Brāhmaṇa of the second hymn addresses fire as *Prajāpati*, the Universal God. After the completion of the citi with its five layers, an oblation with milk is made in a particular brick called *Svayamātr̥ṇṇa*. This offering is known as *Śatarudriya Homa*.

The fifth Prapāṭhaka of the fourth Kāṇḍa is called *Śatarudriya* which should be cited at the time of the oblation in the the stone in the north which is the particular direction of Rudra.

After the installation of the fire, another oblation called *Vasordhārā* is performed in the fire. The sacrificer prays to the Citi with the hymn beginning with सहस्रशिर्षा पुरुषः which is called *Nārāyaṇam*. The deities of this homa are Agni and Viṣṇu. But *Śatarudriya Homa* is to be done on the *Svayamātr̥ṇṇā* brick while *Vasordhārā* homa is to be done on the fire placed on the citi or altar.

The best form of the idol worship in the temple is the installation of stone, which has the requisite qualities naturally that are worthy of such ceremony and not artificially done. This installation of the God in stone, the best form being that of *Svayambhū*, might have originated from the aforesaid *Svayamātr̥ṇṇa* brickstone. The placing of fire in the centre of the Citi, in the *Svayamātr̥ṇṇa* stone may be inferred as the origin of installation of Lord Viṣṇu with *Svayambhū* stone.

It may be interesting to find a parallel to these in the *Śaiva Āgamas* which enjoin that the *Śiva* temples should be built in the northern direction of the village. After the installation, *Śatarudriya Homa* is performed and the idol is washed daily with milk. The *Śatarudriya Prapāṭhaka*, which is chanted at the time of the sacrifice, is also recited in *Śiva* temples at the time of *Abhiṣeka*. The *mantras* to be uttered at the time of *Vasordhārā Homa* is *Camaka* portion of the eleven *Anuvākas*. The same is being chanted at the time of *Abhiṣeka* in *Śiva* temples.

The Functional Aspects of the Supreme God

Now it may be asked why *Śatarudriya*, which is addressed to *Rudra* or *Śiva*, is recited in a sacrifice whose God

is Lord Viṣṇu. It is indeed a fact that Camaka mantra is recited only in Śiva temples but not in Viṣṇu temples. The answer is apparent. No difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu is traceable in the Vedas as it is in the Tāntric works. According to the Vedic seers, there is only one Supreme God who has different aspects which are functional in manifestation. In particular, he has two well defined aspects, or two forms we may say, the Rudra, the fierce, and Viṣṇu, the mild or gentle. The glossary portion of the Brāhmaṇa relating to these two Homas describe these two functional aspects as follows:-

रुद्रो वा एष यदग्निस्तस्यैते तनुवौ घोराभ्या शिवान्या ;
यच्छतरुद्रीयं जुहोति यैवास्य घोरा तनुस्तांतेन शमयति ;
यद्रसोर्धारां जुहोति यैवास्य शिवा तनुस्तान्तेन प्रीणाति ।

The fire is verily Rudra while the sacrifice represents the gentle character. By the Śatarudrīya Homa the fierce form is being appeased and the Vasordhārā is performed to please the mild attribute.

It is already stated that the deities of the Vasordhārā are Agni and Viṣṇu. From this it is clear that the milder form is nothing but Viṣṇu. Puruṣasūkta, or Nārāyaṇa as it is called in Śrauta Sūtra, is to be chanted in the Upasthāna of the Citi after its completion by the yajamana.

This Puruṣasūkta which describes the all-pervading God is chanted in the Viṣṇu temples. From this it is evident that there is no difference in the entity of these two Gods in the minds of the Vedic seers.

Many are the hymns addressing the Supreme God having many aspects or forms. The idea of the form of Ardhanārīśvara of God Rudra is a developed form of these two aspects. Gradually this Īśvara and Nārī were separated for the sake of convenience in the worship. As time went on, this Devī was given the male aspect which is Viṣṇu. At this time many Purāṇas and Tāntric works have sprung up.

In the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas we see many passages to the effect that Viṣṇu is no other than Devī. Mohinī the Avatāra of Viṣṇu and the marriage with Śiva and the creation of the Harihara confirms this idea.

A careful reading of the later Purāṇas cannot but show a tendency to keep Viṣṇu as a separate entity. Reference may be made to some Puraṇās where Lord Viṣṇu is referred to as the brother of Śiva's consort Pārvatī. One can easily form the view that Viṣṇu, who in the Rig Vedic Period represented the milder aspect of Lord Rudra, came to be made through lapse of time, a separate entity. But Śiva worship preceded Viṣṇu's and the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas form a later text than the Śaiva Āgamas as evidenced by the similarity in the mantras.

But both Lord Viṣṇu and Lord Śiva have many vāhanas or vehicles; some of them are common to both while others are not. Among the vāhanas, the Vṛṣabha of Lord Śiva and Garuḍa of Lord Viṣṇu stand out as prominent. The Garuḍa corresponds to Garuḍacayana. We have already referred to this fact. The Garuḍa represents the Citi in the sacrifice and the idol placed on him, the sacrificial fire, described as Lord Viṣṇu himself.

In the Vedic period the duty of sacrificing for the support of the Devas was regularly performed. But the truly religious man's relations with the invisible powers are not confined to these regular and formal sacrifices. The human spirit, who is his Offspring, fragment of himself, earnestly seeks to rise and unite himself to his Parent, the Supreme Lord, Īśvara Himself. These feelings cannot find satisfaction in the sacrifices offered to Devas, connected as they are with the outer worlds. They seek after the inner, the deepest, the very self and remain craving and unsatisfied until they rest in Him.

Worship is the expression of this craving. It is a necessary stage in the evolution of all those higher qualities in the Jivātman which make possible his liberation and his union with the Supreme. The Nirguṇa Brahman, the Absolute, the All, cannot be an object of worship. It is beyond all subject and object, including all, inseparable.

The Saguṇa Brahman may be the object of worship for those whose minds are of a metaphysical nature and who find rest and peace in the contemplation of Brahman in His own

nature as Sat-Cit-Ānanda, the One the Supreme. Such contemplation is worship of a lofty kind and is peculiarly congenial to philosophic minds. But to most people it is easier to rise to Him through one of His manifestations, as Mahādeva, Nārāyaṇa or more concrete yet, Śrī Rāma, Śrī Kṛṣṇa or Devī. These arouse in them the Bhakti, the love and devotion which the other conception fails to stir and all the tendrils of the human heart wind themselves round such an image, and lift the heart into bliss unspeakable. The use of an image or idol in worship gives an object to which the mind can at first be directed and this steadiness is obtained. It will attract the emotions, and symbols present in such an image will direct the mind to the characteristics of the object of worship. The worshipper will gradually realise intellectually that the object of this worship, is a form of manifestation of the Supreme.

From this thesis it is evident that the mode of temple worship, as found in the Āgama Granthas, is the later development of the Vedic sacrifice. There are still many more points which would establish the close relationship between two forms of worship, the Vedic and Āgamic. A separate booklet will be necessary to deal with them more completely.

EUROPEAN PIONEER STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIAN LANGUAGES

By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachariar

I.

Good pioneer work was done in respect of a critical study of South Indian languages by missionary enterprise that was always promptly and willingly helped by Indian Pandit learning; and it was on the basis of this pioneer effort of the 17th and 18th centuries that the later writers of the 19th and present centuries have largely proceeded to work. Even in the 16th century, the great Saint Francis Xavier, when he was working on the Parava Coast, planned to have the Creed, the Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue rendered into Tamil and himself committed the translations to memory. Robert De NOBILI, another Jesuit missionary, served the Madura Mission for about half a century, in the first half of the 17th century. He combined in his own person the sanctity of the *Sanyāsi* and the erudition of the Pandit. NOBILI was a nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine and became the real pioneer of European scholarship in Indian languages.¹ He

1 Pere ROBERT applied his great skill to the production of a forgery in Sanskrit on an old bit of parchment. When questioned as to the genuineness of this certificate he solemnly swore before the Council of Brahmins at Madura that the document was authentic and that he, like all Jesuits, was directly descended from their Indian Divinity! Nor was this all. He forged a new Veda which was so well executed that, for nearly two centuries, it imposed upon the natives themselves. The trick was at last discovered; and it has recently been thoroughly exposed by Mr. ELLIS of Madras, who declares that the Ezour-Vedam was a 'literary forgery', or rather 'of religious imposition without parallel.' (See Mr. ELLIS's disquisition in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIV, p. 35. HOUGH's "Christianity in India", Vol. II, p. 239; see also "L'Esour Vedam de

was, however, the cause for introducing many Sanskrit terms and expressions into Tamil. According to Dr. CALDWELL, he set the pace for Jesuit writers after him, to naturalise in Tamil the Sanskrit superlative *tama*. But the attempt failed and Tamil resolutely adhered to its own idiom.

The still more famous Father BESCHI (1680-1747) spent the years 1710-47 in the southern Tamil districts where he acquired "a marvellous knowledge of Tamil especially of its classical dialect, as no other European seems to have ever acquired over it or any other Indian language. BESCHI's works in Tamil have been greatly admired, though perhaps not widely read.¹ They have served as the model for Protestant Missionaries engaged in Tamil studies like ROTTLER, CALDWELL and POPE. He is also credited by Father BESSE, a recent biographer of his, with the possible composition of a Telugu Grammar on the ground that the Telugu was the language spoken at the court of the Nayaks of Madura with which BESCHI must have been familiar and that a century before him, De NOBILI had composed works in Telugu without ever having left the Tamil country.

Even before BESCHI's time missionary effort had produced dictionaries and grammars in Tamil. According to Sir George GRIERSON (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 4—"Munda and Dravidian", p. 302) the first printed Tamil Dictionary was brought out in Cochin in 1679 by Father A. De Proenza. The first Malabar (Tamil) types had been cut by a lay brother of the Jesuits, GONSALVES, in 1577. According to Dr. A. C. BURNELL (Early Printing in India, an article in the "*Bombay Antiquary*", for March 1873) the Goa Jesuits began to print in the Roman characters at first for writing Konkani. Father STEPHENS, the first Englishman to visit India, speaks of the Roman character and the system of the transcription which he

Voltaire et les Pseudo Vedams de Pondichery par R. P. J. CASTETS" in the *Revue Historique De L'Inde française*-Tome VI (1936)-pp. 93-140;

¹ For an enumeration of his works and their different editions and variorum Mss. see the account of Father L. BESSE—pp. 177-246 (Part II) of *Father Beschi: His Life and His Writings* (1918).

used in his *Konkani Grammar* and *Purann*—based on the Portuguese pronunciation of the alphabet.¹ Ambalacatta in the Cochin territory is as famous as Goa for the development of Indian printing. Here the Jesuits built, soon after 1550, a seminary and church dedicated to St. Thomas. The place became famous for its college and learning soon after the Synod of Diamper. Sanskrit, Tamil, Malayalam and Syriac were studied by the Portuguese Jesuits of this place with great success and several important works were printed, of which only the names of some have survived. Father Paulinus tells us that “Anno 1679 in oppido *Ambalacatta* in lignum incisi alii characteres Tamulici per Ignatium *Aichamoni* indigenam Malabarensis, iisque in lucem prodiit opus iascriptum: *Vocabulario Tamulico com a significôcca Portugueza composto pello P. Antem de Proenca da Comp. de Jesu, Miss. de Madure.*”

A new *Tamil Grammar* by Baltasar Da Costa appeared in 1680 and the *Grammar* of ZIEGENBALG, the famous Danish and pioneer Protestant missionary of Tranquebar, was printed in 1716. BESCHI's much better known *Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language*, was written in 1728 for the use of his *confrères* in the Madura Mission and was published in the Tranquebar Press, 1737. Father BESCHI informs us that Anquetil Du PERRON, the pioneer French Orientalist, presented an abridged French translation of this *Grammar* to the Bibliotheqûe Royale (*Zend Avesta*, Tome I, p. dxi). BESCHI's *Grammar of High Tamil*, whose preface is dated September 1730, was composed in Latin and remained unedited for nearly two centuries, while an English translation, by B. G. BABINGTON, was originally printed at the Madras College Press in 1812, this translation being deemed by Dr. POPE “to be an exceedingly correct and scholarlike edition of a most masterly work”.

Connected with this *Grammar of High Tamil* (Literary Dialect) are two other works by BESCHI on the Tamil language:

1 STEPHENS' *Christian Purannas*, written probably in Portuguese and translated into Konkani (1614-16) exercised great influence on the Konkani Catholics; D. FERROLI-*The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. I—pp. 453-6.

(a) The *Tonnūl Viḷakkam*, all in Tamil; and (b) The *Clavis* (humaniorum litterarum sublimioris Tamulici idiomatis). Both these works are divided into five parts, embracing prosody, rhetoric, composition, orthography and etymology. The first work has been published several times; and a prose version of it is included in the Rev. TAYLOR'S *Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts with the Government of Madras* (1853), while the work itself is therein examined as Manuscript No. 2179. Mr. TAYLOR says that the manuscript prose version has the appearance of having been used as a class-book, when the Madras College had a native school attached to it. The noted French Tamil scholar, M. Julien VINSON, ranks the *Clavis* among the doubtful works of BESCHI, though the learned Dr. A. C. BURNELL, author of *Elements of South Indian Paleography*, (1874) had no doubt about BESCHI having written it; and the latter had it printed at Tranquebar in 1876 from a manuscript which he considered to have been revised by the author in person.

More important than these works on grammar, are BESCHI'S dictionaries. Of these the first was the *S'ādur Aharādi* (Quadruple Dictionary) consisting of five parts which was composed in the year 1732 and disclosed "in its author a vast erudition and an astonishing knowledge of the Tamil language and its classics" according to BERTRAND. It was later published, on the recommendation of F. W. ELLIS, by the Madras College, under the supervision of two Tamil Pandits who revised the manuscript and added a supplement. It has been reprinted several times in Madras and in Pondicherry, the last edition at Pondicherry of 1872 being by Father DUPUIS, an authoritative and accurate scholar. The next lexicon of BESCHI was the *Tamil-Latin Dictionarium*, with a long Latin preface (1741-42?) wherein the author compares himself to "St. Paul, the custodian of the garments of those who stoned St. Stephen". He then praises Father BOURZES, the author of a Tamil-Latin Dictionary, which had been useful to him in the compilation of this work. There was a French translation of this work, of which Anquetil du PERRON wanted a copy made for him by the Superior of the

Mission at Mahe. According to his original plan BESCHI was to have supplemented this work by a Portuguese-Latin-Tamil Dictionary as a second part. Portuguese was then the language commonly understood by all Europeans in South India. The Mission House of Trichinopoly possesses a copy of the second part in which BESCHI gives the meaning of 4353 Portuguese words.¹

Dr. CALDWELL holds that BESCHI can fairly claim to be placed in the very first rank of Tamil poets of the second class. He says that "the Tamil writers of the 18th and 19th centuries are classified as modern. The honours of that period are divided between a Śaivaite and the Italian Jesuit BESCHI. This missionary of genius and learning, not only wrote Tamil prose of the highest excellence, but composed a great religious epic in classical Tamil, which has won for him a conspicuous rank among Dravidian poets. This work, the *Tembāvāṇi*, gives a Tamil adaptation of the narrative, and even of the geography of the Bible, suited to the Hindu taste of the 18th century."

1 BESCHI is to be credited with the transliteration *rr* for in Tamil and for many other improvements, particularly in the field of a reformation of the Tamil alphabet letters. His place in the field of the history of Tamil scholarship has been evaluated by many. Father GONZALVES who was a Missionary in Ceylon till the date of his death in 1742, is credited by BESCHI with the authorship of the *Gnana Unarthudal* (Spiritual Instruction) usually ascribed to BESCHI. Father GONZALVES has written the equivalent work in Singhalese, *Gnana Anjanaya*; and the Singhalese work bears the marks of an original composition and not of a translation. A Ceylonese scholar is positive that BESCHI was not the author of the *Gnana Unarthudal*, which was published one century later and credited to BESCHI. He says: "No critic will for a moment attribute to the foremost European Tamil scholar the mixture of so much Sanskrit with such vulgar forms and endings as we find in the original Ms. of the *Unarthudal* whose style recalls more the manipravala of the Jains than anything we know of BESCHI. GONZALVES has been indeed influenced by another scholar, De NOBILI, whom he has evidently followed in his *Satyaveda Saritra Sankshepam* (No. 11), but in no way by BESCHI who was his contemporary in India and whose works, we may presume, did not reach Ceylon in GONZALVES' lifetime." For de NOBILI's works in Tamil, as enumerated by PROENZA, see FERROLI's *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol I. pp. 462-3.

Telugu Grammar was comprehended in the literary labours of the members of the Carnatic Mission whose field of activity was largely in the Telugu country. SCHULZE was the first European who made a thorough study of it. He translated the Bible into Telugu and gave to the Europeans an account of the Telugu alphabet in 1747. Later, a Telugu Grammar was printed at Madras in 1807, and a Telugu translation of the New Testament was issued from the Serampore Mission Press in 1816, followed by a version of the Pentateuch in 1831. It was in Telugu that the greatest necessity was felt by the Madras Government for encouraging the production of books which would serve the double purpose of assisting civilians, missionaries and other Europeans and also of helping the natives in the acquisition of English; and it was the Indian Telugu masters and scholars of Fort St. George that greatly helped in the promotion of Dravidian Linguistic Studies by the Madras Government from about 1803. Col. Colin MACKENZIE who joined the Madras Engineers in 1782 came into contact, when at Madura, in the company of the Johnstones, with the Brahmins and Pandits of that place and came to realise what a vast store of learning lay ready for the historian in their scholarship. Then he formed the plan of making that collection which has become the most extensive and valuable collection of historical documents relative to India that was ever made by any individual in Europe or Asia. MACKENZIE was helped in this collection and the utilisation of it by a group of learned Indian scholars, headed by Kavali Venkata BORLA of whom he speaks in the highest terms in the following words¹, in a letter to Sir A. JOHNSTONE.

1 The connexion I then formed with one person, a native and a Brahman was the first step of my introduction into the portal of Indian knowledge. Devoid of any knowledge of the language myself, I own to the happy genius of this individual the encouragement to pursue, and the means of obtaining, what I had so long sought; for which purpose an acquaintance with no less than fifteen different dialects, and twenty one characters, was necessary. On the reduction of Seringapatam, in 1799, not one of our people could translate from the Canarese alone; at present we have translations made not only from the modern characters, but the more obscure and almost obsolete characters of the Sassanams (or inscriptions)

The Carnatic Mission which was started for the Telugu country by the Jesuits in 1702 had the services of eminent scholars like John CALMETTE (1693-1740) who was a good Sanskrit Scholar and very probably the *Satyabodha Swamulavaru* of the *Vedānta-Rasāyānam* and who besides translated into Sānskrit a large *Catechism de la foi* including a book from the Tamā by BESCHI.¹

The earliest Protestant Mission to South India was the Danish Mission at Tranqueber started by ZEIGENBALG and

in Canarese and in Tamil; besides what have been done from the Sanscrit, of which in my first years in India, I could scarcely obtain any information: but from the moment the talents of the lamented BORIA were applied, a new avenue to Hindu knowledge was opened; and though I was deprived of him at an early age, his example and instructions were so happily followed up by his brethren and disciples, that an establishment was gradually formed, through which the whole of our provinces might be gradually analysed by the method thus fortuitously begun and successfully followed so far. Of the claims of these individuals, and the superior merits of some a special representation has been made to this Government.

The lamented Kavelli Venkata BORIA, a Brahman, then almost a youth, of the quickest genius and disposition, possessing that conciliatory turn of mind that soon reconciled all sects and all tribes to the course of inquiry followed with these surveys. After seven years' service he was suddenly taken off from these labours, but not before he had formed his younger brothers and several other useful persons of all castes, Brahmans, Jainas, and Malabars, to the investigations that have since been so satisfactorily pursued. "In 1817, the Madras Government bestowed on Kavelli Vencata Lutchmiah, the grant of a village near the Presidency, to be held by him and his two next heirs, in recognition of his public services." It was the unnamed collaborators, Indian Pandits, all of them, that enabled BESCHI to leave a literature in Tamil, as it were, behind him.

Dr. G. U. POPE thus writes of his old Pandit:—"My first teacher of Tamil was a most learned scholar.....who possessed more than any man I have known the *ingenium perfervidum*.....and from that noble enthusiastic teacher I learnt to reverence Tamil and its ancient professors."

1 He refuted metempsychosis and perhaps rendered into Telugu a work of Nobili-*Ātma Nirṇayam*.

PLUTSCHO. These learnt Tamil "without dictionary, grammar or Munshi"; and between 1708 and 1711 they contrived to translate the New Testament into Tamil, and followed it up shortly afterwards with the Hebrew Bible as far as the Ruth. By 1725 the Tamil version of the Old Testament begun by ZEIGENBALG was completed by his successor, SCHULZE. This was the Grand Work—the *magnum opus*—of the Tranquebar missionaries and received two appreciative letters of recognition from King George I of England.

The first printing press that was established in Madras was in 1711 by the S. P. C. K. which had recently begun its operations at the Presidency Town. It began to take a deep interest in the activities of the Tranquebar Mission which had its own press as well. Schulze subsequently took charge of a mission in Madras where he preached in Tamil, Telugu and the Portuguese tongues and translated portions of the Bible into Telugu and Hindustani. The Tranquebar missionaries subsequently brought out a Grammar in Tamil and German and a history of the Church in Tamil. BESCHI's first Grammar on the Common Dialect appeared in 1737; C. H. WALTER's *Grammar* appeared two years later. ZEIGENBALG's *Dictionarium Tamulicum* was prepared as early as 1712, but was never printed. A Tamil Grammar by J. Ch. FABRICIUS and J. Chr. BREITHAUPT, Missionaries of Madras, was issued in a second edition in 1789. In these efforts of the early missionaries, the scriptural system of instruction, the training of school-masters and catechists, the publication of manuals of the grammars of the vernaculars and of translations of the Bible, were the methods employed; and they opened not merely western education among the people, but also an era of critical study of the languages. Under the illustrious Christian Frederick SWARTZ who laboured in the country for nearly half a century from 1750, and his contemporaries and colleagues, GERICKE, KOHLOFF and KIERNANDER, translations of the Scripture and other works went on increasing, with large aids from the S. P. C. K. The style generally evolved from the writings of these missionaries developed a dialect, now known as Christian

Tamil. POPE thus makes the remark on its origin and growth.¹

II

It was at the beginning of the 19th century that the Government of the Presidency started the Board for the College of Fort St. George which began to bring out works in Dravidian and other Indian languages. The College had to train civil servants in the vernaculars of the province and to control the instructions of Munshis and others, who were to be appointed as lawyers and pleaders in the provincial courts. Government advised the College that "the acquirement of a knowledge of the general grammar and connexion of the several languages of South India and of some acquaintance with the sources whence they spring is the chief object of the first two branches of this course. The College Board had well-equipped linguistic scholars like F. W. ELLIS and A. D. CAMPBELL.² These were asked to report on the

1 There exists now much of what is called Christian Tamil, a dialect created by the Danish missionaries of Tranquebar; enriched by generations of Tanjore, German, and other missionaries; modified, purified, and refrigerated by the Swiss Rhenius and the very composite Tinnevely school; expanded and harmonized by Englishmen, amongst whom Bower (a Eurasian) was foremost in his day; and, finally, waiting now for the touch of some heaven-born genius among the Tamil community to make it as sweet and effective as any language on earth, living or dead.

There has been at least one real native Christian poet, Vethanayaga Sastriyar of Tanjore, whose writings should be collected and edited. Christian lyrics, of unequal value, abound. Mr. Webb, an able American missionary of Madura, did much to develop these. The 'Pilgrim's Progress' has been versified; and the first book of 'Paradise Lost', by V. P. Subramanya MUDALIAR, is a courageous attempt. Many more works might be cited, but this must suffice for Christian Tamil," (G. U. POPE: *Tiruvācagam, Sacred Utterances, Tamil Text, Translation, etc.* Preface, xii-xiii).

2 ELLIS, died 1819, was a great oriental linguist and an excellent Tamil and Sanskrit scholar and wrote papers on Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam languages. He published a commentary and translation of the Kural of Tiruvalluvar (only of a portion) and exposed the forgery of Sanskrit manuscripts at Pondicherry by the Jesuit Missionaries. He was a great authority on *mirasi* rights.

merits of the Carnatica (Kannada) Grammar and Vocabulary submitted by Mr. J. MACKERRELL. The Board addressed Government recommending the purchase of the copyright of "several elementary works of first utility in the High and Low Dialects of the Tamil language commencing with BESCHI'S Grammar of Low Tamil." The Board recommended the purchase of the copyright of a brief exposition of the Tamil by Chidambara PANDARAM, the Head Tamil Master of the College, and of a Telugu Dictionary entitled 'the Andhra Dipika' by one Mamudi VENCAYYA of Masulipatam, as the latter would greatly assist in the formation of an ample Telugu and English Dictionary. Consequent on the recommendation of the Board Government acquired, on public account, the manuscript of A. D. CAMPBELL'S 'A Grammar of the Telugu Language' which work was later dedicated to the Governor-General, Earl of Moira K. G., (1814). Next year efforts were made to produce works in Malayalam wherein Mr. WHISH claimed to have made considerable progress in the preparation of a grammar and desired permission to convert the two vocabularies which had been recently purchased from Mr. MURDOCK, into good serviceable dictionaries. In 1816, Mr. CAMPBELL proposed that he would compile a Telugu Dictionary. In the preparation of his Telugu Grammar for which the Directors gave financial assistance and which was first published in 1816, CAMPBELL was assisted by noted scholars like F. W. ELLIS and by a learned Telugu

A. D. CAMPBELL was also a noted scholar in Telugu. Along with C. P. BROWN, he might be regarded as having done much towards the promotion of studies in Telugu. BROWN'S long career is very interesting. He was useful in publishing tables of Hindu, Muhammadan and English chronology. His collection of manuscripts and literary works is now in the India Office Library.

Printing in Madras in Telugu was commenced in 1806 and the Gospel of Saint Luke was brought out in 1810. Eight years later the Serampore Mission printed their Telugu version of the New Testament. The Madras Religious Tract Society commenced its series of Telugu publication in 1819 and the London Mission printed both in Telugu and in Canarese at their present Bellary establishment in 1825. Telugu typography was largely improved by the presses of the American Mission and of the S. P. C. K.

scholar, Udayagiri Venkatanarayana AYYA, who was Head English Master at the College and later rose to be the Interpreter in the Supreme Court. It was now that CAMPBELL pointed out the radical and intimate connection existing between Telugu and the other South Indian vernaculars. A third edition of that Grammar was published as late as 1849. Government also prepared an Almanac with the help of the Indian astronomer of the College. Several works on Lexicography and Grammar were now available for Government. Already the College had been given charge of a portion of the books and manuscripts collected by Colin MACKENZIE.

We learn from a Despatch of the Directors (Public Consultations of 7th October 1823) that instructions were given respecting the purchase of W. BROWN'S *Gentoo (Telugu) Vocabulary*; CAMPBELL'S *Telugu Dictionary*; BABINGTON'S Tamil work; ROFTLER'S *Translation of the Liturgy*; MORRIS'S Telugu work; MACKERRELL'S *Karnataka Grammar* and other books. In continuation of their policy of patronising native authors, the Governor and Council sanctioned a reward to Thandavaraya VADHIAR and the printing of the *Amara Kos'a* and three other works in Tamil. The College Board was further asked to report on certain of the Mackenzie Manuscripts with a view to their extended use by means of publication.

Mr. Charles Philip BROWN, the well-known Telugu scholar, now began to rise into prominence. He had already translated the verses of Vemana, a rustic epigrammatic poet; and in 1827 he brought out, at the request of Mr. CLARK, a member of the College Board, *An Analysis of Telugu Prosody*, adding explanations of the Sanskrit system. Several books tendered by Mr. BROWN were purchased by Government who recommended to the Directors the payment of 1,000 pagodas to him for the original manuscript of his treatise on Prosody. A few years later, Government acquired the copyrights of the Dictionaries of MORRIS and REEVE on behalf of the Company.¹

1 BROWN'S works published by him either as author or as editor and quoted above should give an idea of his services to the resuscitation of Telugu literature in particular. The I. O. Collection contains a Ms. volume embodying plans for the revival and promotion of
11 भा. वि.

The continued assistance rendered by the College Board to Mr. ROTTLER and to his continuator Mr. TAYLOR, in the compilation of the former's Tamil-English Dictionary is seen in the association of T. Venkatachala MUDALI a certificated teacher of the College, in the work of its completion and revision. This comprehensive work refers nearly all words to their roots or primitives; the synonyms were largely drawn from the *S'adur Aharādi*; while BESCH's manuscript *Dictionary of the Common Dialect*, and another manuscript dictionary, Tamil and French, prepared by Du BOURGES seem to have been made use of to some extent, as well as FABRICIUS' Tamil and English Dictionary. In 1851, one Captain OUCHTERLONY solicited Government for the patronage of his Tamil-English Lexicon. In 1853 the College Board solicited authority for retaining the Rev. Mr. W. TAYLOR's services for the formation

Telugu literature 1825-1867. Among the plans are (1) observations made by him in 1827, regarding improvements in Telugu printing, in the collection of MSS, etc; (2) suggestions on the mode of transcription, mode of correction, payment and the best mode of printing in the field of preparing critically exact editions of the poets; (3) mode of compiling indexes; (4) his literary acquaintances; (5) hints regarding purchases of Mss. and for the guidance of those wishing to collect or edit Sanskrit or Telugu Mss. BROWN states in the course of this volume: "In 1825 I found Telugu literature dead. In thirty years I raised it to life." It is for students of Telugu literature to estimate the real value, at this date, of this claim.

Regarding WILSON's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* etc., first published in 1857, Mr. BROWN prepared a new edition, the Mss. of which is classified 443 Minor Collections, MSS. Eur. C. 60-61. BROWN's remarks on Wilson on this book are interesting. "BROWN writes: "WILSON too often tries to derive a Tamil or a Telugu word from a Sanskrit root. That book I hope will be reprinted, with some additions copied from WILSON's Glossary of which one half is labour wasted..... Yet Brahmans usually assert that all the languages in the world spring from Sanskrit; and WILSON bows to the Brahmans. The additions I have made are numerous; but I have erased so many useless words (particularly the cant or gibberish used among the Thags) that the volume, if reprinted, will be smaller than it was when first printed. (From the author's paper on C. P. BROWN—A Survey of His Services—*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. 11, pp. 94 and 98).

of a *Catalogue Raisonnee of the Oriental Manuscripts in the College Library* (1853). According to C. P. BROWN who had a hand in accumulating the Mackenzie Manuscripts in the Madras College Library, the method adopted by TAYLOR was unsatisfactory, as he was acquainted with colloquial Tamil alone, was unskilled in chronology and did not use the right method and phraseology in explaining the works. In 1854 the Rev. Miron WINSLOW, an American missionary in Madras, solicited Government patronage to his prospectus of "A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil" (1862). This work, published in 1862, superseded all earlier works and helped in proving that "in its poetic form, the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek and in both dialects with its borrowed treasures more copious than the Latin." About the same date CALDWELL'S *Dravidian Affinities* was published, Government rendering him some help. Thus, before the Company's rule ended a brighter day had dawned for Tamil studies with the appearance of the works of WINSLOW and CALDWELL who found worthy successors in POPE and others.

In Telugu studies, the labours of Mr. J. C. MORRIS supplemented by his brother, Mr. H. MORRIS, and of Mr. C. P. BROWN stand out very prominently. From a perusal of the index volumes to the Proceedings of the Madras Government in the Public Department which are furnished with abundant testimony as to the educative value and popularity of MORRIS *Telugu Selections*; BROWN'S *Dictionary*; and Campbell's *Telugu Grammar*. BROWN rates his *Grammar* as being the most difficult and intricate of all his works, with the possible exception of his *Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Muhammadan Chronology*. BROWN'S works in Telugu are too numerous and varied for a detailed notice in this paper; but one may remember the *Nistara Ratnākaram* (Ocean of Salvation) which he revised from an unknown author, being a summary of the Christian religion in Telugu metre.

An outburst of native authorship was the result which was to be marked in course of time by the development of a critical acumen. As early as 1839, one B. SUBBARAYULU

published Carpenter's *English Synonyms* with Telugu Explanations. Strangely enough, MORRIS' *Telugu Selections* was translated into Malayalam by A. J. (later Sir) ARBUTHNOT who submitted it for support by Government. Some years before this date appeared Captain WHISTLES'S Translation into Telugu of the Arabian Nights; and almanacs in Telugu were published by the College Board.

Among the earliest printed Malayalam books, according to MACLEAN¹ are the Malayalam-Portuguese-Malayalam dictionaries compiled by the Portuguese and Italian missionaries of Verapoly, at which they were printed in 1746. The *Pattam Pana* printed by the Rev. F. E. HANXLEDEN was probably prior in date. When this press was destroyed by Tipu Sultan, a new press was set up at Connemow which used vertical types. Later types were cast on the model of the lettering in cadjan leaves. The Protestant Missions next turned their attention to printing; the Church Missionary Society commenced to print at Kottayam in 1820. In 1839, the S. P. C. K. Press at Madras printed Mr. SPRING'S Malayalam Grammar. In the same year the Basel Mission Press commenced work at Tellicherry.

The London Mission Society produced at its press at Bellary the first Canarese types in 1825. The Wesleyan and Basel Missions at Bangalore and Mangalore respectively did much to perfect Canarese type.

Malayalam and Kannada (Canarese) came in also for proportionate attention and encouragement by the College Board and by Government. It was the Rev. Mr. WHISH that was first encouraged by the College Board in the compilation of a Malayalam Dictionary. A Consultation of 1834 supplied to England information regarding the works in the vernacular languages done by the late Mr. C. M. WHISH. In 1847, Government gave financial assistane to the Rev. J. REEK'S proposed grammar of the Malayalam language. It was Mr. F. W. ELLIS that first pointed out the abundance in Malayalam of Sanskrit derivations "in a proportion exceeding half, equal

¹ *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. I (1885) p. 550.

perhaps to three-fifths of the whole under the two heads... common to the dialects of South India, *tatsamam*, pure Sanskrit or *tat-bhavam*, derived from Sanskrit". The *Desya* (native words) may be divided into pure Tamil and Derivatives from Tamil. The study of the language was greatly facilitated in this generation by the Grammars of Mr. SPRING of the Madras Civil Service and of the Rev. Mr. PEET of the Church Mission Society; and by the good and useful Dictionaries of Malayalam and English, and English and Malayalam compiled by the Rev. Mr. BAILEY of the same Mission. In 1842, Government patronage was solicited for the work of Mr. BAILEY. Both Government and the College went only a relatively little way to meet the need for printed books in this language which would provide students with easily workable manuals for study.

With regard to Kannada the want of a good dictionary was supplied early enough in which the Madras College had a good share. A better dictionary, both Kannada and English and English Kannada, was published in four quarto volumes by Mr. REEVE's of the London Missionary Society in 1832. The copyright of REEVE's work was acquired by the Company on the recommendation of the College Board in 1831. REEVE commenced his labours as far back as 1817. He stressed upon the close affinity existing between Telugu and Canarese; and he made the fullest possible use of the Telugu dictionary of CAMPBELL and the Sanskrit Dictionary of WILSON. He had to encounter, as he says, the full force of adverse conditions "the rareness of ancient manuscripts, the endless blunders of drivelling and hireling transcribers, the paucity of duplicates for collation, and the comparatively very small number of men to be found among the natives, possessing appropriate philological information, soundness of judgment or zeal for literary research and improvement, have occasioned no inconsiderable suspense, annoyance and embarrassment." Records of 1849 tell us of the Government's recommendation to the Court of Directors that help should be given to the Rev. Mr. MOEGLING in publishing certain works of his in the Canarese language. The same author was later promised aid in publishing the *Basava*

Purana and the *Chenna Basava Purana*; but the Court of Directors considered that “the aid of Government should be confined to original works or to publications calculated to be useful to junior civil servants and the expense of which is moderate”.

STUDIES^o IN THE REGIONAL HISTORY OF INDIAN PAPER INDUSTRY*

The Paper Manufacture at Harihar on the Bank of the Tungabhadra
in A. D. 1790 as Described by Capt. Edward Moor

By Prof. P. K. Gode, M. A.

In my recent paper¹ on *The Migration of Paper from China to India*"—A. D. 105 to 1500 I referred to the question² of reconstructing the history of Indian paper industry since the introduction of paper into India c. A. D. 1000. In this connection I quoted the reference of Mahaun, the Chinese interpreter who visited Bengal in A. D. 1406 to the effect that the people of Bengal manufactured paper³ from the *bark of a tree* and that the paper so manufactured was smooth and glossy like a deer's skin. The manuscripts libraries in India are full of thousands of MSS⁴ on paper, mostly indigenous, manufacture of this indigenous paper belonging to

* This is the 280 the research paper from Prof. GODE's pen.

1 Vide pp. 205-222 of *Paper Making* by K. B. JOSHI, All-India Village Industries Association, Maganwadi, Wardha (C. P.) 1944.

2 Ibid, p. 216.

3 Cf. the use of palm-leaf in the Vijayanagar empire *Third Dynasty* (1529 to 1543 A. D.) by N. V. Ramanayya, Madras, 1935, p. 197. "The measurement of lands and several details pertaining to it were entered in *palm-leaf* registers called *Kavilas*. Each village had a *Kavila* of its own which was maintained by the *Karṇam* or the village accountant". "Copies of Village *Kavilas* were preserved in the *Cavadies* or offices of the *Sthala* or *Sima*. Probably copies were also kept in the *Aṭṭhavanam* or the imperial revenue Secretariat".

4 These MSS. are evidently the product of *old paper-making processes* described on pp. 6-8 of *Paper-Making* by K. B. JOSHI. We need, however, some historical testimony about these processes as current in different parts of India at different periods.

different dates and places. Such a history cannot be reconstructed in a short time as it pertains to different centres of paper industry current in different periods of time. I propose, therefore, to record in the form of occasional historical notes on this subject such data as I can gather during the course of my other studies pertaining to the history of Indian Culture in its varied aspects. It is hoped that such data will materially facilitate a systematic reconstruction of the history of indigenous paper industry in India say between A. D. 1000 and 1850 and thus clarify *our nebulous knowledge of this industry current at present*. In dealing with the history of Indian paper industry¹ between c. A. D. 1000 and 1800 we are of course concerned with hand-made paper. Even in Europe² “until the close of the eighteenth century paper-making was mainly a hand-process, at least so far as the actual formation of the sheets was concerned”. The method³ of preparing paper introduced and employed in Europe upto the invention of the stamping mill in A. D. 1151 at Xatina, (an ancient city in Valencia) Spain were as follows: “In the early days of printing, when Gutenberg, Fust and Schoeffer and later Jenson and Caxton practised, the hollander or beating engine was unknown to paper-makers. Rags were reduced to pulp in very elementary fashion. At the inception of paper-making the following was

1 K. B. JOSHI (P. 3 of *Paper-Making* 1944) observes:—

“The history of paper-making and its spread in this country still remains in shrouded mystery although during the Moghul and the Peshwa period it flourished throughout the whole country”. The industry flourished most in the Punjab. Sialkot produced paper worth 9 lacs in Jehangir’s time. Paper was produced at Multan, Rawalpindi, Jalalpur-pirwala, Delhi, Lahore etc. (See GER’s *Mono-graphs on Fibrous Manufactures of the Punjab*). During the British period paper-making was introduced in provincial Jails. JOSHI then gives a list of places in the U. P., C. P. and Bombay provinces etc., noted for paper-manufacture. He also refers to the Nepal paper manufacture and the art of paper-making as practised by Muslim *Kagzis* under the patronage of the Moghul Emperors.

2 Vide p. 8 of *Paper (its History, Sources and Manufacture* by H. A. MADDOX, London, Sir Issac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., 1933). In 1798 Nicolas Louis Robert invented a machine for making paper in lengths of 12 to 15 metres.

3 Ibid, p. 10.

the method adopted. The material was gathered together and allowed to ferment, then boiled in wood ashes and put into bags which were immersed for a considerable period in a running stream. Having thus removed the alkaline residue, and a large proportion of the dirt, the mass was beaten 2 or 3 lbs. at a time on the wooden blocks, with heavy sticks. By this process the material was gradually reduced to a pasty pulp, which was diluted with water to the required consistency. Sheets were formed by immersing in the pulp a rectangular sieve, with meshes formed of strips of bamboo or similar material connected together by silk threads. The pulp was contained in a vat and was constantly stirred during the making of the sheets. Sufficient fibre to form a sheet was picked up on the sieve and the drying of the sheets was afterwards performed by exposure to sun and air."

These methods current in Europe *before A. D. 1151* may now be compared with the method of preparing paper as current in the Maratha country and recorded with some detail by Captain Edward Moor¹ about A. D. 1790. Moor was one of the founders of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and an acute observer of Maratha life and customs as will be seen from all his writings and especially his account of the British co-operation with Parashuram Bhau PATWARDHAN, the celebrated Sardar of the Peshwa in the siege of Dharwar (A. D. 1790-91) against Tipoo Sultan. Moor in his account of the places visited by him describes Harihar² as follows:-

1 *A narrative of the operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Maratha Army commanded by Purseram Bhow; during the late confederacy in India against Nawab Tipoo Sultan Bahadur by Edward Moor, Lieutenant on the Bombay Establishment, London 1794 — Chap. V (pp. 97-113). "The armies arrive in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, and separate until the return of the fair season enables them again to cooperate. Transactions of the Bhow's army etc. between Bangalore and Chittaldroog. March of a party of Sick and Wounded to HURRAY HAL by the route of Raidroog, Harpoonelly, and Oochingadroog with some account of these places."*

2 Vide p. 806 of *Indian Companion* by G. H. KHANDERAB, Poona, 1894—"Harihar-Town and Railway station situated on the right bank of the Tungabhadra river 48 miles from Chitaldurg. Population about 5000. Harihar is a compound of Hari (Viṣṇu) and 12 भा. वि.

P. 110 " The name of this place is generally written *Hurry Hur* sometimes *Harea Har Ghur*, but from having been so often, and so long a time here, we will venture to affirm our method of spelling it to be preferred: we have, we allow, heard it, by the inhabitants called *Hurry Hur*; but nine in ten, indeed all the intelligent people, authorise us in deviating from the common mode. As this fort and town is situated hard by a principal pass over the river, that by the treaty of peace is become the *dividing boundary of the Mahratta and Mysorean empires*, it is likely to be a post of great importance to the latter as their northern frontier, and deserves therefore, particular notice, as well as of its future probable improvements, as of its present state.

Hurry Hal is most delightfully situated on the eastern bank of the Toombudra, which river in the rain washes the western wall of the fort, it is at present a pretty little fortification of no considerable strength against our operations but if garrisoned by our troops, capable of a good defence."

MOOR then makes his observations on the trade and industries of Harihar as follows:—

"Hurry Hal in itself is a place of no great trade; they manufacture their common cloths but import the silk dresses and other finery for the ladies; grain is furnished by its lands in quantities more than sufficient for the inhabitants and in peacable times a little is sold, *the only article they manufacture for sale, is paper*, of which they send some but in no considerable quantity to other markets. The paper made here is of a very inferior kind but we apprehend they could make finer were it in demand: the process¹ of making it is in the same

Hara (Śiva). According to a legend the god and goddess united in one form to destroy a giant who won from Brahma the gift of perpetual life and used it for the torment of gods and men. Harihar is an ancient town, and has yielded many inscriptions some of them dating back to the 13th century. The chief temple now existing was erected in 1223. Post Office."

1 Cf. the following inventions and improvements in the making of paper that took place in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries (Vide pp. 13-14 of MADDox: *Paper*):—

style of simplicity that we before mentioned being so observable in eastern artists: a shallow well of eight feet diameter is sunk, we will say four feet and chunamed; in the middle is inserted a block of hard wood; a heavy hammer or wooden beater is placed on the side of the well nearly equipoised so that a man standing on its centre by lifting either leg moves it up and down; its head falling on the wooden block, beats the materials of which the paper is made to a pulp; a second man remains in the well to keep the materials to be beaten in its proper place. Old cloths, old tents and such things are easiest to work, but when they cannot be procured, *the bark of particular* shrubs is substituted being first as well as cloths, well washed and soaked in water for several days. When sufficiently beaten, the pulp is mixed with a little quantity of water in chunamed reservoirs, into which the workmen dip their moulds and the mixture adhering to them when lifted out, instantly becomes paper: other persons remove it, and draw each sheet through a second piece of water, and hang it up to dry. A quantity of gum Arabic is dissolved in the water into which the beaten pulp is put; and that through which the paper is drawn is also a mucilage of that gum with a portion of alum dissolved in it. The moulds or forms of the workmen are made of thin shreds of bamboe. The tree from which the gum called *gum Arabic* exudes grows in abundance in every part of the upper country between

Between A. D. 1690-1720—Hollander or beating engine (invented by the Dutch).

A. D. 1774—Discovery of chlorine by Scheele.

A. D. 1785—Discovery of bleaching action of *Chlorine gas* by Berthelot (Frenchman).

A. D. 1791—Discovery of bleaching action of Soda ash by Leblanc.

A. D. 1800—Introduction of bleaching powder by Tennant of Glasgow.

A. D. 1807—*Moritz Illig* (German) introduced resin for sizing of paper pulp.

A. D. 1821—Strainers used on the paper-making machine.

A. D. 1840—Wood-pulp introduced by G. Keller (German).

A. D. 1860—*Routledge* discovered esparto grass as paper-making material.

Seringapatam and Poona :-it was known to us by the name of *babool tree*".¹

The foregoing description of paper-manufacture at Harihar by a scholar-soldier about A. D. 1790, though late,

1 I note here some dates of the inventions associated with the *evolution of paper-making* and allied matters as recorded by MADDOX in his book on *paper* :-

A. D. 795—Paper mills established at Bagdad (p. 4).

A. D. 11th Century—Moors introduced paper into Europe—*Toledo* (Spain) received the art first. Then it spread to Italy, France and Netherlands.

Between 13th and 14th Centuries A. D.—Art of *water-marking* invented in Italy. This factor greatly added to popularity and interest in paper. It also aided accuracy of historical research in succeeding ages.

A. D. 1336—First paper mill erected in Germany (p. 5).

A. D. 1496—Mention of earliest paper-mill in England in the Colophon of a work printed at Westminster (p. 6).

C. A. D. 1498—John TATE (the younger) erected a paper-mill at Stevanage (Hertford)—Tate's papers were *water-marked* with a five-pointed star.

C. A. D. 1548—Attempt of *Rémy* (a foreigner) to introduce paper-making in Cambridgeshire.

A. D. 1588—Spielman erected a Mill at Dartford in Kent with a ten years' licence from Queen Elizabeth. This mill produced coarse papers, not white.

C. A. D. 1641—Patent for the invention and manufacture of *white paper* granted to four Englishmen (p. 7).

A. D. 1665—First British patent to *Hildegard* for the manufacture of blue *sugar paper* from A. D. 1678; paper-making firmly established in England.

A. D. 1685—Influx of Huguenot refugees (highly skilled paper-makers) into England—John Briscoe took out an English patent for "*The true art for making as good paper as French or Dutch*".

A. D. 1760—*Whatman* of Maidstone (Kent) built a mill for manufacturing high quality papers. *Whatman* learnt the art in Holland. William *Balstone* succeeded him 1793.

A. D. 1690—First American Paper-mill commenced at Roxborough (Philadelphia) by William *Rittenhouse* (p. 8).

The foregoing chronology will give the reader a clear idea regarding the progress of the art of paper-making in Europe prior to A. D. 1790 when Capt. Edward Moor saw paper-manufacture at *Harihar* in the Mahratta country and described it in his book published in London in A. D. 1794,

has great importance for the regional history of indigenous paper manufacture in India between C. A. D. 1000 and A. D. 1850 or so. The method of preparing paper as current at Harihar 150 years ago was simple enough and took no count of the stamping mill invented in Europe in A. D. 1151 and the Hollander¹ (or beating engine) invented by the Dutch between A. D. 1690 and 1720. The hollander gradually superseded the stamping mill as it had the capacity to reduce the toughest material to a state of pulp in a few hours.

Side by side with historical descriptions of regional paper-manufacture in India it is worth while undertaking a chemical and microscopic study of the material used for the numerous *dated* MSS² (written on paper). Such a study may furnish definite tests regarding the materials used for paper-manufacture in different parts of India at definite dates recorded in these MSS. These tests are also likely to be useful for determining the dates of undated MSS in the manner of the *water-marks* introduced into European paper manufacture after the 13th century. The value of these *water-marks* for determining the age of a paper manuscript or document has been now recognised by historical research students of Europe. Unfortunately the paper MSS in India, with the exception of those written very late in the 18th or 19th centuries on

1 Vide p. 13 of *Paper* by Maddox.—“The hollander consisted of an oval-shaped wooden trough with a division running lengthways along the centre. At one side was fixed a wooden revolving cylinder fitted with steel knives which worked against a bed plate also containing knives.”

2 There are hundreds of dated paper MSS. in different libraries in India and outside. The copyists of some of these MSS. record at times the places where these copies were made but these places cannot give us a clue to the centres of paper-manufacture then current, as paper may have been transported from one centre to many places far away from the place of its manufacture. It is, therefore, our business to study the history of each paper centre separately as disclosed by provincial and other sources and then see for ourselves how the needs of the learned men and governments of the different states in India were met by the several paper manufacturers of different periods.

foreign paper, contain no water-marks. We must therefore, devise some tests on the strength of dated MSS before us, which can enable us to determine the age of undated MSS manufactured at a particular paper centre at a particular period of history.

Baber, in his memoirs, states that the best paper in the world in his time came from Samarkand. The paper used for state records during his reign may possibly have been imported from Samarkand. With the expansion and growth of the Mughal Empire during the reigns of Humayun and Akbar indigenous paper manufacture may have been started to meet the growing demands of the state departments. Though Akbar "had not taken the trouble to read" he was a great lover of books like his ancestors. All the books collected by him were manuscripts as he cared nothing for printed volumes and got rid of the choice specimens presented to him by the first Jesuit mission. In October 1605 an inventory of his books preserved in the fort of Agra was taken and it showed 24,000 volumes "adorned with extremely valuable bindings valued at Rs. 6, 463, 731. In this account¹ of the imperial library given by Vincent SMITH no mention is made of the paper used for the volumes in this library but we have reason to believe that some of these volumes may have been written on indigenous paper. The record office² organised by Akbar and a relic of which exists in the form of the record-room at Fathpoor-sikrī may have contained many records on indigenous paper, an exhaustive history of which needs to be investigated and recorded by some Persian scholars, if such a work has not already been done. What concerns me in the present study is the history of the centres of paper-manufacture in India

1 Vide p. 424 of *Akbar the Great-Moghul* (1542-1605) by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1917.

2 Cf. the Vijayanagar practice of inscribing every thing of permanent public interest on stones and copper-plates. The person in charge of inscriptions was called *Sāsanācārya* and the actual engraver was called the *Śilpi* or the Sculptor (p. 273 of Vol. I of SALETORÉ'S *Vijayanagar Empire*, 1934).

which produced during the last 600 years or so varieties of hand-made paper now represented by thousands of paper MSS in our MSS libraries.

These paper MSS old and young, musty or white, yellowish or bluish, thin or stout, rough or smooth, have preserved our ancient learning intact to the best of their strength and durability, which laughs at the pages of some of our printed volumes which have grown brittle at an early age of 50 to 60 years, while their ancestors are still strong and stout even after the lapse of 600 years. We await a categorical and convincing reply to this question from all concerned.

THE GUPTA ERA

(A reply)

By Shri Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee

Prof. P. C. Sen GUPTA, writes a paper under the heading 'The Gupta Era', to determine the beginning of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramādityas in the *JRASB*, VIII, pp. 41-56. Dr. FLEET with the assistance of the late Mr. B. DIKSHIT, mainly from astronomical verifications of a few inscriptions, came to the conclusion that the Gupta era began in 319-21 A. D. Prof. Sen GUPTA remarks on this: 'This indefinite statement or inference is not satisfactory. Mr. DIKSHIT was also not able to prove that the Gupta and the Valabhi eras were but one and the same. Prof. Sen GUPTA then hints at the attempts of this writer thus: 'Of recent years some have even ventured to prove that the Gupta era is to be identified with the Saṁvat or Mālava era.' Hence, he says, it has become necessary for him to try to arrive at a definite conclusion as to the true beginning of the Gupta era.

At the outset Prof. Sen GUPTA assumes the identity of the Saṁvat era, by which he means the Saṁvat of Vikramāditya, with the Mālava era, by which again, he means the Kṛta or the Mālava-gaṇa era. It is to be regretted that while trying to do research work he assumes the above identities for which there is not the slightest proof in any epigraphic or other evidence. Dr. FLEET assumed the identity of the Gupta era with the Valabhi era of 319 A. D. and as it is known from epigraphic evidence that the epoch of the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era must be about 400 years earlier than the epoch of the era of the Guptas, and finding no other era but the

Vikrama era the epoch of which lies (319+58, or) 377 years prior to the Valabhi era, he assumed the identity of the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era with the Vikrama era of 58 B. C. If now it can be shewn from unquestionable types of epigraphic and other evidence that the Gupta era is not identical with the Valabhi era, then Prof. Sen GUPTA has no other option but to admit the incorrectness of the identity of the Vikrama with the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era.

Prof. Sen GUPTA refers to my attempt to prove the identity of the Gupta era with the "Saṁvat era" by which he means the Saṁvat of Vikrama. I cannot follow what harm as a preliminary step I might have committed when in almost all Gupta inscriptions it is the 'Saṁvat' so and so that is written and not 'Gupta Saṁvat'.

I would draw Prof. Sen GUPTA's attention to the following remarks of Prof. Dowson and Monier WILLIAMS as quoted in Dr. FLEET's *C.I.I.* App. pp. 18 and 19, and also p. 37n. 'My (Prof. Dowson's) contention is that the word *Saṁvatsara* or its abbreviation wherever used alone must be understood to mean the *Saṁvatsara* of Vikramāditya until the contrary is shown.....The word *Saṁvat* has been so long absolutely used for the era of Vikramāditya, that it has the right of a lengthened possession, and it is not to be set aside without distinct proof.' Prof. Monier WILLIAMS seems to attach the same value to the word and its principal abbreviation, as meaning, without any qualifying expression, 'a year of Vikramāditya's era commencing B. C. 57.....'

'And Vikramāṅka, which is of constant occurrence as a synonym for Vikrama or Vikramāditya, occurs on a silver coin which seems undoubtedly to belong to Candragupta II. As regards Candragupta I it is still a moot point whether certain gold coins which bear the name of *Vikrama* or *Vikramāditya* are to be allotted to him or to his grandson; but I (Dr. FLEET) myself do not see any difficulty about allotting them to him and in understanding therefore, that he also had these secondary names. I have however, inserted them in brackets (in the genealogical Table, next page) as being open to the possibility of doubt.

His (Vikramāditya's) name of Vikrama may have come to be connected with it (the Vikrama era) through Candragupta I or II. I myself think it not at all improbable that, hereafter, it may be shown that the name of *Vikrama* or *Vikramāditya* came to be connected with the Mālava era of B. C. 57, in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Candragupta I or II'.

While citing the 'fourth instance of Gupta inscription date' on page 46 of his article, he quotes the date of the Kaira grant, as if from Dr. FLEET's work, as '330 Gupta Samvat,' *dvi-Mārgasīrṣa su Sudi 2 Some*'. I wonder whence he got this reading except from his imagination. The actual reading in the inscription is 'Samvat 330, *Dvi-Mārgasīrṣa S'u di 2*'. He inserts the words 'Gupta', 'Su' after 'Mārgasīrṣa' and 'Some' in the reading which is really deplorable. Not only this, he calculates the date as equivalent to Monday ('Some'), the 24th Nov. A. D. 648 which he characterises as the second (third?) day of the second Agrahāyana. But Prof. Sen GUPTA will find that the previous new moon occurred on Nov. 20. 496 d. and Śuklā Caturthī ended on Nov. 24. 367d. Hence by no stretch of imagination could he make Monday the 24th Nov. second or the third *tithi* of the second Agrahāyana.

At the end of his paper Prof. Sen GUPTA comes to the conclusion that the Gupta era was originally started from Dec. 20 A. D. 318; up to about A. D. 499, the year reckoning began from the light half of Pauṣa after which it was shifted forward to the light half of Caitra some three months later and in the summing up he remarks: 'It is hoped that further speculations as to this era would be considered inadmissible'.

Let us now come to an examination of Prof. Sen GUPTA's conclusions and remarks.

Lately an inscription of Dharasena II of Valabhī was found in Kathiawar, the dated portion of which was read by Mr. D. B. DISKALKAR, then Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot, twice as 'Sam. 257, *Vaisākha ba 15, Sūryoparāge*' in the *Annual Reports of the Watson Museum* for the years 1925-26 and 1926-27 and again the plate was edited in the *Mysore Arch. Rep.* for 1927 with a query by Dr. SHAMASĀSTRY

on the correctness of Dr. FLEET's epoch (A. D. 319-20) of the Gupta era as there was no solar eclipse in Vaiśākha in Saṃ. 257 = A. D. 576 or within a few years on either side of this date. Dr. SHAMASAstry in the *Annual Rep. of the Mysore Arch. Dep.* for 1923 showed from a set of evidence the incorrectness of Dr. FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era and assumed the same to be A. D. 200-01. Lately M. Govind PAI and this humble writer independently questioned the correctness of Dr. FLEET's epoch and cited as one of the instances this inscription, and I shewed in my paper that taking the Gupta era to be identical with the Vikrama era the solar eclipse nicely suits the date Saṃ. 257 (= A. D. 199 or 200; April 13 A. D. 199 partial solar eclipse, April 1, A. D. 200, total solar eclipse). I mentioned this to Dr. BHANDARKAR who, however, in his *List of Northern Inscriptions* in the *Ep. Indica*, assuming the correctness of Dr. FLEET's epoch doubted if the date had been correctly read. The necessity of examining a true copy of the plate was felt by all. Mr. DISKALKAR then edited the same for publication in the *Ep. Indica*, Vcl. XXI, and read the date again as 'Saṃ. 257', even after all the previous publications and remarks. But the then Editor of the *Ep. Indica* changed the numeral '7' into '4' and showed that in A. D. 573 (= Saṃ. 254) on FLEET's epoch, there was a solar eclipse on the pūrnimānta calculation in Vaiśākha. Savants will kindly see that there was no solar eclipse in Vaiśākha, on the Caitra or Pauṣa Śuklādi reckoning which according to Prof. Sen GUPTA and my humble self should form the basis of calculations, in Saṃ. 254 = A. D. 573 on FLEET's epoch, or within a few years on one side or other of this date. We do not know why Prof. Sen GUPTA did not mention or verify this eclipse. This shows how unjust Prof. Sen GUPTA's remark 'It is hoped that further speculations as to this era would be considered inadmissible' really is. As the copy of the impression of the plate supplied by Mr. DISKALKAR was not published the correctness of the figure '7' or '4' could not be vouchsafed. After a good deal of correspondence by this humble writer the copy of Mr. DISKALKAR's impression was at last published in the *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XXIV, between pages 256 and 257, the original plate having been lost. But from

the impression as published neither Dr. BHANDARKAR nor Dr. D. C. SIRCAR of the Calcutta University could read the last figure as '7' or '4'. Hence the reading of Mr. DISKALKAR who had seen the impression some twelve years back must be accepted as true. Apart from astronomical considerations, the incorrectness of Dr. FLEET's epoch will be evident from the following:

In another inscription (the Wālā grant) of the same King Dharasena II dated Sam. 269 it is stated that Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati had a vihāra built through Dharasena's father Guhasena in c. Sam. 240 = A. D. 560 on Dr. FLEET's epoch; whereas Ācārya Sthiramati's Introduction to Mahāyānism ('Mahāyānāvātāraka Sūtra') was translated into Chinese about A. D. 400. 'Hence Sthiramati must have flourished before A. D. 400' (WATTERS, 'On Yuan Chwang,' Vol. II. p. 169). This shows that FLEET's epoch is in error by more than (560-400, or) 160 years and the epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era must be earlier than (320-160, or) 160 A. D. Now Sthiramati was the disciple of Ācārya Vasubandhu who was a contemporary in his last days to Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and also to his father 'Budhagupta Śrī-Vikramah'. The last coin date of Budhagupta is Sam. 180 (vide CUNNINGHAM, *ASIR.*, Vol. IX, p. 25f and Vol. X p. 112). The Damodarpur plate of Kumāragupta (II), son of Narasimhagupta, is dated Sam. 224. Thus Vasubandhu might have lived till c. Sam. 200 during the rule of Bālāditya; Sam. 200 = A. D. 520 on FLEET's epoch. But Kumārajīva (A. D. 383-412 in China) read the 'Śata Śāstra' of Vasubandhu and also wrote a Life of Vasubandhu. Hence Vasubandhu's date cannot be placed later than A. D. 360 (= Sam. 40 on Dr. FLEET's epoch) thus showing that it is in error by more than (200-40, or) 160 years.

Now, Vasubandhu was the disciple of Buddhamitra or Manoratha. As the death of Sthiramati's teacher Vasubandhu cannot be placed later than A. D. 360, Vasubandhu's master Buddhamitra evidently flourished in c. A. D. 320, i. e., the beginning of Gupta era, according to Dr. FLEET. Whereas from the Mankuwar inscription dated Sam. 129 = A. D. 449 on Dr. FLEET's epoch, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, we know

that Buddhmitra was so famous for his learning that no competent Brahmin scholar could venture to attack Buddhism. All this shows the utter incorrectness of Dr. FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era.

Again, a history of the Buddhist patriarchs down to Simha, the 23rd who was put to death by Mihirakula, was translated into Chinese in A. D. 472. The names of Vasubandhu, the 21st patriarch and of Mihirakula are also found in this work. From the Mandasor inscriptions of Yaśodharman, one undated and the other dated, in Mālavagaṇa year 589 we know that Mihirakula lived about this time. Now it is assumed by FLEET's followers that the Mālavagaṇa or Kṛta era is the same as the Vikrama era. Thus the above date is equivalent to A. D. 532 when Mihirakula flourished. But from the evidence of the date of the translation of the above work and also from the fact that Sthiramati's teacher Vasubandhu and his contemporary Bālāditya and therefore Mihirakula flourished before A. D. 360, the epoch of the Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa era must be at least (532-360, or) 172 years earlier than 58 B. C. the epoch of the Vikrama era.

There is another Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman dated in the Mālavagaṇa years 493 and 529 which Prof. Sen GUPTA intends to discuss in a separate paper which we are anxiously waiting to see. It should be remembered that in this inscription it is distinctly stated '*Kumāragupte pṛthivim prasāsati*'. On FLEET's epoch the first date, Mālavagaṇa year 493 = A. D. 436 = Gupta Sam. 116 which falls during Kumāra I's rule. But the second date Mālavagaṇa year 529 = A. D. 472 = Gupta Sam. 152 according to Dr. FLEET and falls after Skandagupta's reign, thus going against inscriptional evidence. We should remember that another Mandasor inscription dated in Mālavagaṇa year 524, mentions Candragupta II's son Govindagupta and also the fact that Indra (i. e. Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya) was suspicious of his brother Govinda's power, thus shewing clearly that Kumāragupta I was still ruling in Mālavagaṇa year 524. This date on FLEET's epoch is equivalent to A. D. 467, Gupta Sam 148 when Skandagupta was ruling, thus

showing clearly the incorrectness of the identity of the Mālavagana or Kṛta and the Vikrama eras. Thus only five years later in Mālavagana year 529 it was Kumāragupta I that was ruling as stated in the inscription and all speculations on the king ruling in the date resulting from FLEET'S theory will be found to be absurd.

Prof. Sen GUPTA in his paper takes up altogether eleven dates from inscriptions for the verification of the epoch of the of the Gupta era.

Of these, two, nos. (ii) and (iii) in his article, the two Veraval inscriptions, are distinctly dated in 'Śrīmad Valabhi Saṃvat 945 and 927' and it is useless to cite and verify these dates already in the Valabhi era in confirmation of the epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era assumed to be identical with the Valabhi era.

The first inscription taken up by Prof. Sen GUPTA is the Eran inscription of the time of Imperial Gupta monarch Budhagupta, dated in Saṃvat 165. On FLEET'S epoch this date has been calculated to be equivalent to Thursday, June 21, A. D. 484. Now from this inscription we learn that Mahārāja Mātrviṣṇu was Budhagupta's vassal at Eran. But from another stone Boar image inscription of the first year of the reign of Mahārāja Toramāṇa we learn that after Mātrviṣṇu's death his brother Dhanyaviṣṇu acknowledged the supremacy of Toramāṇa. This shows that Eran in the Savgor district in the Central Provinces passed from Budhagupta into the hands of Toramāṇa. We know that the silver hemidrachms of Toramāṇa are minutely imitated from those of the coins of Budhagupta. These coins of Toramāṇa are dated in the year 52 which evidently refers to the Śaka era and therefore equivalent to A. D. (52+78) 130 = Vikrama Saṃvat (130+58) 188. The last available silver coin date of Budhagupta is Saṃ. 180 (vide CUNNINGHAM, *ASIR*, Vol. IX, p. 25f and Vol. X, p. 113) after which he was succeeded by Gha-to-tka-ca-gupta (seems to have been wrongly rendered through copyist's error in Hiuen Chwang's Travels as 'Ta-ta-ka-ta-ku-ta') his brother probably because Narasimhagupta Balāditya was still a minor who ascended the throne about Saṃ.

185. The tradition preserved in the *Rājataranginī* (Bk. III) confirms the contemporaneity of Toramāṇa and Bālāditya. There it is stated that Toramāṇa forbade the currency of the coins with the name 'Bāla (āditya)' within his territory and largely circulated the dinara coined by himself. It is evident therefore that Toramāṇa ruled for a few years (c. Sam. 185-188) contemporaneously with Bālāditya. Hence Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula was clearly a contemporary of Budhagupta's son Narasimhagupta Bālāditya. The date 52 of Toramāṇa's coin has been shewn to be equivalent to Vikrama Sam. 188 which falling in the reign of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya (c. Sam. 185-200), it is evident that the Gupta Vikramāditya era and the Vikrama era of 58 B. C. are identical. The epoch of Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era being about 400 years earlier than the Gupta Vikrama era, the former is identical with the Śrī Harṣa era mentioned by Alberuni, the epoch of which is 458 B. C. Thus the Mandasor inscription of Rājā-dhirāja Yaśodharman who defeated Mihirakula, dated in Mālava-gaṇa year 589 is equivalent to Gupta Vikrama Sam. 189 which falls during Bālāditya's reign. Hence the credit of the victory over Mihirakula belongs to the paramount sovereign Bālāditya as stated by Hiuen Chwang. Again, we have already shewn that Bālāditya's contemporaries Mihirakula and Vasubandhu are mentioned in the History of the Buddhist Patriarchs translated into Chinese in A. D. 472 and that Ācārya Vasubandhu's death cannot be placed later than A. D. 360 which should be the latest possible date of Bālāditya. This shows that it is simply absurd to place the reign of Bālāditya's father Budhagupta some 125 years later than A. D. 360, that is, in A. D. 484 and also shews the incorrectness of Dr. FLEET's epoch (A. D. 319-20) of the Gupta era which cannot but be identical with the Vikrama era. Dr. Fitz Edward HALL with the help of Mm. Bapudeva SASTRI showed long ago that the date of Budhagupta is verified by referring it to the Vikrama era and taking Sam. 165 to be elapsed, he found the date correspond to Thursday, June 8, A. D. 108, on which day *Suklā dvādaśī* continued till 2h. 8m. P. M. Ujjayinī Civil Time.

We know from Buddhist literature that Āryadeva was the rector of Nālanda during the reign of the Gupta monarch Candragupta (II Vikramāditya). Referred to the Vikrama era his reign period, Sam. 60-93 = A. D. 2-35. Shaman Hwvi Li, the disciple of Hiuen Chwang, wrote the Life of Hiuen Chwang about A. D. 670 wherein he ascribes on the authority of his master, the foundation of the Nālanda monastery to Śakrāditya (Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya) some seven centuries before A. D. 670, up to which time 635 years had elapsed from Kumāragupta's reign (Sam. 93 = A. D. 35). Hiuen Chwang also states in another place that Mihirakula and consequently his contemporaries Bālāditya, Vasubandhu etc., flourished *several centuries* before his time (A. D. 635). Hiuen Chwang also states in another place that Vasubandhu and his master Manoratha (or Buddhmitra) flourished between A. D. 50 and 150. The Mankuwar inscription dated Sam. 129 mentions Buddhmitra. Referred to the Vikrama era this date is equivalent to A. D. (129-58, or) 71. Narasimhagupta's reign (c. Sam. 185-210) referred to the same era is equivalent to A. D. 127-152 when Vasubandhu lived. Thus Hiuen Chwang's statement is nicely verified. A vast number of evidence exists to prove the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras. I would request Prof. Sen GUPTA to examine these carefully in the interest of truth and express his frank opinion on the correctness or otherwise of Dr. FLEET's epoch (A. D. 319-20) of the Gupta era.

Now we come to the Morbi grant of Jainka dated in Gupta Sam. 585 expired (atite), (the month of) Phālguna solar (or Saura-Su) day (-di-dina) 5, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Prof. Sen GUPTA on Dr. FLEET's epoch, takes the eclipse occurring on Nov. 10, A. D. 904, some three months prior to February 12, A. D. 905, the resulting date of the inscription. Whereas Dr. FLEET preferred the eclipse occurring some three months later or May 7, A. D. 905. It should be remembered that none of these are verifications at all, inasmuch as both assumed that the charter was perhaps dated some months before or after the eclipse, an assumption quite indefensible. From what has been said and shewn above, the futility

of trying to verify astronomical details on Dr. FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era is evident. Palaeographically also, this Morbi grant of Jainka is much anterior to the Dhiniki grant of Jaikadeva of Saurāṣṭra issued from Bhūmilikā or Bhumli dated in Vikrama Sam. 794 = A. D. 738 which is about the time when the Jethvas made Bhumli their new capital, their ancient capital being Morbi (*Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I. Pt. I. pp. 136-37). From the Makara fish emblem in the charter and the locality where it was found, it is evident that it belongs to the Jethvas. Hence this Morbi grant must be much earlier than A. D. 738. That is the epoch of the Gupta era must be more than (905-738, or) 167 years earlier than A. D. 319. Palaeographically, this Morbi grant closely resembles the Horiuzi palm leaves of about A. D. 520. On the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras, the date in the Morbi grant is equivalent to A. D. 529, January 25, on which day there was a total solar eclipse on the 5th day of solar Phālguna, exactly as in the charter. This date, A. D. 529, is very close to the date of the Horiuzi palm leaves of about A. D. 520 and is about (738-529, or) 209 years prior to the date of the Dhiniki grant, thus supporting palaeographic considerations nicely. Prof. Sen GUPTA should remember that the actual reading in the inscription is *Phālguna Su* (Saura-solar) *di* (dina day) 5, and not *Phālguna Śu* (Śukla-bright) *di* 5 i. e., the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, which Dr. FLEET tried to read after correction. It is regrettable that Prof. Sen GUPTA reads '*Su di*' in the Kaira grant of Sam. 330 and the Veraval inscription of Valabhi Sam. 927, in both of which the actual reading is '*S'u di*'. In fact the Morbi grant simply intended to state that the eclipse occurred on the 5th day of solar Phālguna. It is to be hoped that Prof. Sen GUPTA will take into consideration all the various types of evidence available in determining the true epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas and not base his conclusion on astronomical calculations alone.

The 'Tenth instance of Gupta Inscription Date' cited by Prof. Sen GUPTA is the Nepāla inscription of Mānadeva dated Samvat 386 which he, following Dr. FLEET, verifies on

the assumption of the epoch of the Gupta era to be A. D. 319 and therefore equivalent to A. D. 705. It is deplorable that Professor Sen GUPTA comes forward with this inscription in support of the correctness of Dr. FLEET's epoch. I would only cite here the remarks of Dr. R. G. BASAK in his '*History of North-Eastern India*' (pp. 275 ff). "It is very unfortunate again that a veteran palaeographer like the late Dr. FLEET should have committed the blunder of referring all the longer dates in the early Nepal epigraphs to the Gupta era (A. D. 319) by overlooking the nature of their scripts belonging to different periods of history and misled himself into thinking that the date of the characters used, for example, in Mānadeva's inscription No. 1 (dated Saṃvat 386) which must belong to to the Imperial Gupta period (i. e. about the 4th Cent. A. D.) should be pushed forward, more than three centuries (i. e. about A. D. 700). It is time that this *astounding error* of the late doctor was rectified in the interest of the true adjustment of the chronology of the early rulers of Nepal and scholars gave their best considerations to and accepted the view so cautiously and conclusively put forward ...by BHAGWANLAL that the longer dates belonged to the Vikrama era commencing 57 B. C. After a very careful comparison of the letters used in the inscriptions of all the first three or four Imperial Gupta emperors...we cannot but persuade ourselves to accept as true the view that the larger dates in the epigraphs of the early Nepal kings...should be referred to the Vikrama era. This view is in keeping with the tradition current in Nepal that Vikramāditya...is said to have pushed his conquering arms into this mountainous country in the remote past and ruled it by introducing the Saṃvat era there. Hence, following BHAGWANLAL and BÜHLER, Mr. C. V. VAIDYA also thinks that there is not the least doubt that the Vikrama era has been in use in Nepal since a very long time'. But the late Dr. FLEET totally rejected the statement of the Nepal Vamśāvalī with regard to the visit of the traditional Vikramāditya to Nepal and the establishment of his era and thought that such a statement must only have been a reminiscence of the conquest of the country by Harṣa-

vārdhana of Kanauj and the adoption of the Harṣa era as the result..... We have no doubt that the larger dates hitherto discovered up to Vasantadeva's time must be referred to the Vikrama era, *if palaeography is to be relied upon*. The dates in Mānadeva's inscription must be referred to this era and *never by any stretch of imagination to the Gupta era (of A. D. 319) as done by FLEET*. Moreover, some of the political, social and religious thoughts and ideas prevailing in the Gupta period in Magadha and other North Eastern provinces are clearly found reflected in the early Nepal records of Mānadeva's time. This also supports the theory of the use of the early Vikrama era. In fact there is a large number of inscriptions belonging to the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. dated in the so-called Harṣa era. From a comparison of the palaeography of these inscriptions with those of Mānadeva (dated Saṃ. 386 etc.) and others, it is evident that the latter must be much anterior to the former ones. (The conquest of Nepal by Harṣavardhana is a pure and simple myth unsupported by any evidence. The epoch of the so-called Harṣa era has been conclusively shewn by this humble writer to be really Śaka year 500 with omitted hundreds in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III. October 1940, to which the attention of savants is drawn). That the inscription of Mānadeva dated Saṃvat 386 refers to the Vikrama era will be evident from another Nepāla inscription (Sylvain LEVI, No. VI) dated Saṃvat 449, Śuklā daśamī of the prathama (intercalary) Āṣāḍha. This inscription belongs to Mānadeva's grandson Vasantadeva (or the latter's son). The Dūtaka in this inscription is the same Ravigupta who was the dūtaka of Vasantadeva's inscription dated Saṃ. 435. Prof. Sen GUPTA will kindly see that the month of Āṣāḍha was intercalary in Vikrama Saṃ. 449 = A. D. 391. On FLEET's epoch Saṃ. 449 = A. D. 768, in which year there was no intercalary Āṣāḍha, thus proving conclusively that these dates should be referred to the Vikrama era. Referred to the Vikrama era Saṃ. 386 = A. D. 328, in which year the astronomical phenomena mentioned in the inscription, Jyaiṣṭha Śuklā pratipad, Rohiṇī nakṣatra and Abhijit muhūrta, work out nicely on April 27. Dr. BÜHLER in his 'On the

Origin of the Gupta Valabhi Era' has shown that according to the calculation of Dr. SCHRAM, a great astronomer of Vienna, the details of Mānadeva's inscription dated Sam. 386 work out nicely in the Vikrama Era on April, 27 A. D. 328 or on May 5, A. D. 330. It is to be hoped that Prof. Sen GUPTA will go through all relevant later works by other scholars before proceeding to dogmatise on the correctness of Dr. FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era.

Prof. Sen GUPTA cites the inscriptions of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas Hastin and his son Saṁkṣobha specifically mentioning the Jovian years as instances of dates in the Gupta era. But this is a far fetched assertion for which there is no definite proof. Even Dr. FLEET admitted 'But there is nothing in the expression tending to give the era the name of the Gupta era.' (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 95). The expressions in these inscriptions stand like these: 'Ṣaṭpañcāśottare abdaśate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya bhuktāu' 'in the year 156 (or so and so) while the Gupta kings were ruling'. If the Gupta era was really intended, the expression could have been written as 'Gupta-nṛpa rājya bhuktāu Ṣaṭpañcāśottare abdaśate.' Dr. FLEET's grounds for accepting these dates as belonging to the Gupta era are the following: 'The date is directly connected with an expression which shows that at the time mentioned, the Gupta sovereignty was still enduring, and consequently, since the figures of the years are naturally referable to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the records of the early Guptas themselves, and since the palaeography of the inscriptions is entirely in favour of such a reference-which shews also that the dates are recorded in the identical era that was used by the early Gupta kings.' (*Gupta Ins.* Intro. p. 101). So one should not be too much confident about the Gupta era having been used in these inscriptions. At the utmost, one may say, that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is nearly identical with the epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramādityas. The Vikrama era began from March, 58 B. C. (Caitrādi reckoning) (59 B. C. with the Kārttikādi reckoning which began from Sept. some six months earlier). Accepting the identity of the Gupta and

the Vikrama eras I have calculated the data given in the inscriptions on the mean sign system which was the method actually followed in Hindu astronomical treatises (as also admitted by the late S. B. DIKSHIT), and also on the heliacal system. With Dr. FLEET's epoch S. B. DIKSHIT could not get the name of the Jovian year correspond to the supposed equivalent date of the Gupta era on the mean sign system. He then went over to the unequal space divisions of the Nakṣatras combined with the heliacal rising system. But even then, as admitted by Prof. Sen GUPTA, 'DIKSHIT however, appears to have followed the *Brhat Saṁhitā* rules and was led to *conflicting* results on the zero year of the Gupta era as varying between 240-242 of the Śaka years'. Prof. Sen GUPTA, however, while verifying the Jovian Saṁvatsaras on the heliacal system follows the *Sūrya Siddhānta* rules given in Ch. XIV, 16-17. In no Hindu astronomical treatise this method is actually followed in calculating Jovian years. It was this humble writer who for the first time showed in his article on 'The Gupta Era' (*JIH*, XX, Apr. 1941) that, provided the heliacal system was really intended, this method might have been applied in calculating the Jovian years and verified the data on this system also. But Prof. Sen GUPTA has not a word to say on this poor writer and gives his own verifications, following the method indicated in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, an air of originality in his article on page 56. Prof. Sen GUPTA verified these dates from the position of the new moon sun previous to the heliacal rising of Jupiter. It is regrettable, in one instance, Example No. XI in his article, he took the new moon sun succeeding the heliacal rising. If he had followed consistently in taking the position of the new moon sun previous to the heliacal rising he could not have verified the inscription, thus giving him food for serious consideration. It has already been shewn in brief that the epoch of the 'Gupta' Vikramāditya era is much anterior to A. D. 319. Hence it is useless to try to verify these Jovian dates on Dr. FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era.

It is gratifying to note that Prof. Sen GUPTA, following other inquirers into Hindu astronomy, admits that prior to

A. D. 499 (= Śaka year 421) the year beginning was different from what it was after A. D. 499. His conclusions come to this that previous to A. D. 499 the initial day of solar Vaiśākha began when the Sun coincided with the point of the ecliptic 180° distant from Citrā (Virginis) i. e. more than three degrees to the east of ζ Piscium (the Junction star of Revatī). Whereas after A. D. 499 the initial point was shifted more than two degrees to the west when it coincided with the point about 1° degrees to the east of ζ Piscium. I have also reached practically the same conclusion but in a different way. The epoch of the Kali yuga era (3102 B. C. 18.00 February) is universally adopted by all Hindu astronomers in calculating the initial day of Hindu Solar year. Calculating with this epoch we get, say for example, for 501 B. C. (astronomical year-500) the initial day of solar Vaiśākha to be 12. 53 March. The apparent longitude of the sun on 12.53 March in the year -500 was 345.0 and the longitude of ζ Piscium (the later Junction star of Revatī) in -500 was $345^{\circ}.1$. Thus the date, 12. 53 Mr. -500, calculated from the Kali yuga epoch was the initial day of apparent solar Vaiśākha, the apparent sun coinciding with ζ Piscium. Hence mean solar Vaiśākha began 2.17 days (the Śodhya) later. Similarly, calculating for the year A. D. 500 we find the initial day of solar Vaiśākha to be 20. 78 March. The mean longitude of the Sun on 20. 78 March, A. D. 500, was $359^{\circ}.0$ and the longitude of ζ Piscium in A. D. 500 was $358^{\circ}.9$. So that in A. D. 500 mean solar Vaiśākha began on 20, 78 March, the mean Sun coinciding with ζ Piscium. Thus apparent solar Vaiśākha began 2. 17 days earlier on 18. 61 March, the apparent Sun coinciding with ζ Piscium. Thus we find that prior to about A. D. 500, the initial day of the year found from the epoch of the Kali yuga era was the initial day of apparent solar Vaiśākha. Whereas from after A. D. 500 the initial day of the year calculated from the said epoch was the initial day of mean solar Vaiśākha. The apparent solar Vaiśākha was calculated by subtracting 2.17 days (the *sodhya*) from the date found above. This shows that the initial point was shifted some time about A. D. 500 more than two degrees to the west of the former initial point. Prof. Sen Gupta's finding is that the initial point was 180°

distant on the ecliptic from Citrā Virginis) i. e. more than three degrees to the east of ζ Piscium, prior to A.D. 500, after which it was taken to be from the vernal equinoctial point of that year which was 1° to the east of ζ Piscium. So that Prof. Sen GUPTA also finds that from about A. D. 500 the initial point of solar Vaiśākha was shifted more two degrees to the west of the former initial point. Let us take, for example, the case of A. D. 317 already worked by Prof. Sen GUPTA. He finds Dec. 20, A. D. 317 to be the day of the winter solstice which according to him also follows as the initial day of solar Māgha (the same as the last day of solar Pauṣa). Now calculating from the epoch of the Kali yuga era (3102 B. C. 18.00 Feb.) we find that the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in A. D. 317 was March 19.4289 d (*Sūrya Siddhānta*). Now the number of days from the initial moment of solar Vaiśākha to the initial moment of solar Māgha amounts to 275. 6369 d. Thus we reach (Mar. 19. 4289 d+275. 6369 d or) Dec. 20. 0658 d, A. D. 317 for the initial day of apparent solar Māgha (calculating similarly the initial day of mean solar Māgha comes out to be 20.54 Dec. A. D. 317). We thus get the same result as Prof. Sen GUPTA's. Calculating by this method it is found that all verifiable dates from the 1st century B. C. to the 6th century A. D. belonging to the Guptas, the Kuṣāṇas and others work out nicely which have been shewn in my verifications of astronomical data in *Indian Culture* (Vol. I, pp. 277-79) and in the *Journal of Indian History* (Vol. XX, pts. 1 and 2).

Prof. Sen GUPTA will kindly see that in the 'Ninth example of Gupta inscription date' cited by him dated in the year 209, the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Caitra, there is another detail at the end of the inscription *Sam. 209, Caitra di 29* (not noticed by him). Dr. FLEET assumed the lunar months to end with full moon. Thus he was unsuccessful to show that '*Caitra S'ukla trayodaśī*' was the 29th day of lunar Caitra. He then wanted to read '27' in place of '29'. But even then he could not get 27 solar days on the date calculated by him (Mar. 19, A. D. 528). As *Caitra S'u. 13* was the 28th *tithi* beginning from full moon, Dr. FLEET

remarked, 'I think that the value of the second numerical symbol must be corrected once more and *no matter what may be suggested at first sight by the value of similar symbols elsewhere must be finally fixed at 8*, i. e. the civil day 28', which is really deplorable. I have shown in my papers, as Prof. Sen GUPTA also admits, that these lunar months ended with new moon. Thus '*Caitra di 29*' (after '*Caitra S'uklā trayodaśī*') can only mean that it was the 29th day of solar Caitra. It has been shown in my paper that on the identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama eras the date is equivalent to Mar. 17, A.D. 151 which was the *S'uklā trayodaśī* day and also the 29th day of solar Caitra, thus exactly verifying the date in the inscription. It is for Prof. Sen GUPTA to admit that this date (*Caitra di 29*) in the inscription cannot be verified on his or Dr. FLEET's supposed date (March 19, A. D. 528 resulting from Dr. FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era), thus proving its incorrectness.

The Ganjam plate of the time of Mahārājādhirāja Śasānka dated in current Gupta year 300 mentions a grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse. From the description of the river Śālimā there, it is evident that rivers attain this condition when the first monsoon sets in, which occurred about that time towards the end of solar Āṣāḍha. Now, in current Gupta Vikrama Saṁ. 300 = A. D. 242, there occurred a total eclipse visible from India on June 15 which was towards the end of solar Āṣāḍha. Whereas on Dr. FLEET's epoch in current G. E. 300 = A. D. 619 there was no solar eclipse till the end of Āśvina (September 14), towards the end of autumn when those hilly streams are calm and almost dried up. I hope Prof. Sen GUPTA will take into consideration all these facts in the interest of the correct determination of the epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era.

The newly discovered copper-plate grant of Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍarāja, son of the Gujarat Caulukya king Mūlarāja is dated in Gupta year 1033, the month of Āgrahāyana on Saturday the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight ('*Yāte Guptasamā sate daśagūṇe sāgre trayastriṁśatā Mārge māsi tamisra-pakṣa navamim Sūryātmaṇe bhūñjati*') (*Bhāratīya Vidyā*—Hindi Gujarātī Quarterly Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 73-100 and plate). The

grant is edited by Muni Śrī JINA VIJAYAJI. We have three inscriptions of Mūlarāja dated Sam. 1030, 1043 and 1051 which have already been worked out astronomically. The first one is dated *Vikrama* Sam. 1030, Bhādrapada Śudi 5, Monday and is equivalent to Monday, 24th August, A. D. 974. The second one, the Kaḍi plate is dated Samvat 1043, Māgha vadi 15 *Ravau, Sūrya-grahaṇa-parvāni* (on the occasion of a solar eclipse). This date is equivalent to Sunday, 2nd January, A. D. 987 when there was a total solar eclipse. The third one is dated Sam. 1051, *Māgha Ś'udi 15, Soma-grahaṇa-parvāni* (on the occasion of a lunar eclipse) and is equivalent to Saturday, 19th January, A. D. 995 when there was a lunar eclipse visible in India. As Mūlarāja's dates 1030 to 1051 are expressly in the *Vikrama* era, *Gupta* Sam. 1033 of his son Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍarāja is identical with the *Vikrama* Sam. and the date is equivalent to Saturday, November 18, A. D. 976. Thus there remains not the least shadow of doubt on the identity of the Gupta and the *Vikrama* Sam.

The Gokak plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dejja Mahārāja is dated when 845 years from the reckoning of the Gupta kings (*ā-Guptāyikānām rājñām*) had expired. *Ā-Guptāyikānām*, is *ā-Guptānvayikānām* and is similar to *Guptānvayānām* of other Gupta inscriptions. Palaeographically the inscription belongs to about the 8th century A. D. On Dr. FLEET's epoch the resulting date is (845+320, or) 1165 A. D. which is too late. The editor of the inscription has shown that even when referred to Maurya Candragupta's accession the resulting date (845-313, or) A. D. 532 is too early. When referred to the (Gupta) Vikramāditya era the resulting date is A. D. (845-57, or) 788 which suits exactly the palaeographic considerations and this date of Dejja falls exactly within the period, A. D. 757 to A. D. 812 proposed for Jejja, his brother, by KIELHORN, while editing Rāṣṭrakūṭa Jejja's grandson Parabala's inscription dated *Vikrama* Sam. 917 (= A. D. 861). Phonetically also Dejja and Jejja are identical, compare 'Daśaratha = Jasaratha', Yuvarāja = Duvarāja (Dravidian), Dampati = Jampati etc. Thus this Gokak plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dejja (= Jejja) Mahārāja also proves the identity

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of the Gupta and the Vikrama Samvat. The Udayagīri Amrita Cave inscription dated in Vikrama Sam. 1093 records the restoration by king Kanha of a dilapidated temple of Viṣṇu first built by Candragupta after which the reign of Vikramāditya (the great of 58 B. C.) began. Evidently the temple was built by Candragupta I while on his mission of *digvijaya* after the completion of which he assumed the title 'Vikramāditya'. Alberuni also states the name of the great Vikramāditya of 58 B. C. to be 'Candravija' evidently Candravirya (= Vikrama) i. e., Candra (gupta) Vikramāditya. Alberuni's statement regarding the Guptas 'and as after they (the Guptas) perished it (the Gupta era) was dated by them (the people)' is true of the (Gupta) Vikrama era. This would be possible in their memory if the Guptas were pious (not wicked) and strong which we know to be the fact from history. Alberuni's other statement 'and the era of the Lord of Valabhi *which it was* (alladhi huwa aidan) Gupta Kal 712' was evidently meant to state 'and the era of the Lord of Valabhi *who used the Gupta era* 712'. This means that upto Alberuni's Gauge-year 712 years of the Valabhi era had elapsed and that the Valabhi rules used the Gupta era (not the Valabhi era) which we know to be true from inscriptional evidence. Alberuni's statement must not be understood to mean that the Valabhi era is identical with the Gupta era. This will be evident from Cāmuṇḍarāja's grant dated only 56 years prior to Alberuni's date of his Indian visit.

There are such a vast number of epigraphic, palaeographic, numismatic, astronomical and Indian, Chinese and Tibetan literary evidence that when these are studied together, they cannot but convince Prof. Sen GUPTA and other scholars regarding the incorrectness of Dr. FLEET's epoch and the correctness of the identity of the Gupta Vikramāditya era with the Vikramāditya era of 58 B. C.

VESYĀ

SYNONYMS AND APHORISMS

By

Dr. Sternbach Ludwik, (Poland)

143. RŪPADĀSĪ—*rūpa** (beauty) + **dāsī* (a female slave). A female servant of beauty, a prostitute.

K. (124/19) lays down that, as opposed to capital punishment for the killing of a *gaṇikā* the highest fine (*uttamassāhasadaṇḍa*) must be imposed, for the killing of a *rūpadāsī*, *mātrkā*, and *duhitṛkā*. Therefore the *rūpadāsī* has to be considered as a prostitute of an inferior sort.

144. RŪPĀJIVĀ—*rūpa** (beauty) + **ājīvā* (living).

A woman who lives on her beauty, a woman who makes a profession of her beauty, a woman living on prostitution, a prostitute.

The word *rūpājivā* has two meanings; one—a general meaning of a prostitute (as for instance *veśyā*), the other—a special meaning *i. e.* of a special kind of the *veśyā*. I met the word *rūpājivā* in the first meaning in two contradictory quotations in K. (125/12 and 243/11). According to the first quotation *rūpājivā bhogadvayagunaṃ māsam dadyuh*. “*Rūpājivā* shall pay twice the amount of their wages (*bhoga*) (to the government as taxes)”, however according to the second quotation “*Kuśilavā rūpājivāśca vetanārvaṃ dadyuh*”. *Kuśilavā* and *rūpājivā* shall pay half of their wages (*vetana*). It is also obvious from Kām. (363/21, 22) that *kumbhadāsī*, *paricārikā*, *kulaṭā*, *svairiṇī*, *naṭī*, *śilpakārikā* and *prakāśavinaṣṭā* are also considered as *rūpājivā*.¹ On the other hand Kām. (363/13-14) quoting nine kinds of *veśyā* enumerates *rūpājivā* after *kumbhadāsī*, *paricārikā*, *kulaṭā*, *svairiṇī*, *naṭī*, *śilpakārikā*, *prakāśavinaṣṭā* and before *gaṇikā*. Milind. p. 331 (cited in Daṇḍin’s *Daśakumāracarita* transl. by J. J. MEYER, Leipzig) considers *kumbhadāsī* as well as *rūpājivā*, *gaṇikā*, *lāsikā*, *vārastrī* and *veśyā* as an ornament of the city (*nagaramaṇḍana*) treating them all as a kind of prostitutes. However, in another quotation of Kām. (363/15-16) the following words: *kumbhadāsī*, *gaṇikā* and *rūpājivā* are understood to mean the term *sāmānyā*. *Loke sāmānyāstrayaḥ*

* Continued from Vol. IV, page 168.

1 Not six but seven persons are considered as *rūpājivā* (According to the Sanskrit text six persons only).

prasiddhāh; kumbhadāsī gaṇikā rūpājīvā ceti. Kām., explains that the term *veśyā* may be understood as *gaṇikā* and *rūpājīvā*, as well as *kumbhadāsī*. It has to be pointed out that *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* (V-114) distinguishes three kinds of prostitutes i. e. *rūpājīvā*, *vilāsini* and *gaṇikā*.

According to the lexicographers the word *rūpājīvā* has the following synonyms: *veśyā* (Hem. 532/533, Amar. ed. COLEBROOKE 1807, *Nṛvarga* 19a p. 44/3 and Hal. II-335), *gaṇikā* (Hem. 532/533, Amar. op. cit., Hal. II-335), *paṇyāṅganā* (Hem. 532/533, Hal. II-335), *paṇāṅganā* (Hem. 532/533, Hal. II-335), *sādhāraṇastrī* (Hem. 532/533), *vārastrī* (Amar. op. cit.), *bhujīṣyā* (Hem. 532/533), *lañjikā* (Hem. 532/533), *kṣudrā* (Hal. II-335). It is remarkable that K. (234/11) speaking of the violation of prostitutes by one or more men makes use of nearly the same words as Y. (II-291), but for the word prostitute we find in K. the word *rūpājīvā* (K. 234/11), whilst Y. makes use of the word *dāsī*. That can also show that the words *rūpājīvā* and *dāsī* can be regarded as synonyms as far as the meaning of a prostitute is concerned.

Such a *rūpājīvā* wears ornaments on all parts of her body, arranges the house in a beautiful manner and provides the house with expensive utensils for she earns much (Kām. 347/24). The *rūpājīvā* has a position similar to a *gaṇikā* and is rather a courtesan.

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**145. LAṆKĀ—a lascivious, a wanton woman, a prostitute.

Jaṭādhara cited in Śabd. (at *puṁścalī*) identifies the word *laṅkā* with the words *puṁścalī*, *niśācarī* and *trapāraṇḍā*. See Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* (2, 16a).

As a synonym of the word *puṁścalī* the word *laṅkā* may have in some exceptional cases the meaning of a prostitute.

146. LAÑJIKĀ—from *lañjā* (adulteress).

A woman guilty of adultery, a prostitute (who is a married woman).

Śabdamaḷā cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) identifies the word *lañjikā* with the words *veśyā* (identically Hem. in Śabd. at *lañjikā*, *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Manuṣyavarga* 5 p. 24/14-15), *bandhurā*, *kumbhā*, *kāmarekhā*, *varvatī* (*barbatī*). *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Manuṣyavarga* 5 p. 24/14-15) identifies it with the words *kalatūlikā*, *veśyā*, *śulā*, *vāravānī*, and *jharjharā* and Hem. (533a) with the words *sādhāraṇastrī*, *gaṇikā*, *paṇyāṅganā*, *paṇāṅganā*, *bhujīṣyā*, and *rūpājīvā*.

147. LAṬAKĀ—from *laṭ* (beautiful).

A fallen girl, a maid, a prostitute.

Cited in Hemacandra's *Dhātupāṭha* (Vienna-Bombay 1901).
See 1-210.

148. LAṬĀ—from *laṭ* (beautiful).

A fallen girl, a maid, a prostitute.

Identical to No. 147.

**149. LĀṆḌHANĪ—an unfaithful woman, a prostitute.

Hem. (ad 529a) identifies the word *lāṅghanī* with the words *kulaṭā*, *bandhudā*, *kalakūṅikā*, *dharṣaṇī*, *khaṇḍaśīlā*, *madana-nālikā*, *trilocanā*, and *manohārī*.

In some cases the word *laṅghanī* can have the meaning of a prostitute.

**150. LĀSIKĀ—from *las* (to give oneself up to joy, to shine, to dance).

A dancer, a prostitute.

The original meaning of the word *lāsikā* is a dancer (Amar. in Śabd. at *lāsikā*), however Milind. 331 (according to Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, uebers. von J. J. MEYER, Leipzig, Preface) quotes *gaṇikā*, *lāsikā*, and *kumbhadāsī* side by side. That the word *lāsikā*, however, can have the meaning of a prostitute (courtesan) is clear from *Kathāsaritsāgara* in the "Story of the Merchant's Son, the Courtesan and the wonder Ape Āla" where an alternative use of the words *veśyā* and *lāsikā* is made.

151. LILĀVATĪ—from *lilā*° (amusement, flirtation).

A flirting woman, a prostitute.

In *Bhartrhari* (ed. by BOHLEN 1, 78, cited in BOEHLINGK'S *Indische Sprueche* 5857/2673) there is mentioned a *lilāvati* in the meaning of a prostitute. *Lilāvatinām sahaja lilāsastā eva muḍhasya hṛdi sphuranti*.

V.

*152. VADABĀ—Used alternatively with the word *vaḍavā*. See No. 153.

*153. VADAVĀ—a mare, a prostitute.

Hem. (ad 534a) identifies the word *vaḍavā* with the word *kumbhadāsī*, and *Mitāksarā* (268, 15 cited in BOEHLINGK'S and ROTH'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch*) identifies the word *vaḍavā* with the word *veśyā*.

**154. VĀṆDHUKĪ = *bandhukī*.

A woman who has intercourse with many persons, a wanton woman, a prostitute.

See No. 118.

*155. VARASURATĪ—*vara*° from *var*° (to request, to desire) + *surata* (voluptuousness, sexual intercourse).

A voluptuous woman, a woman who likes to have sexual intercourse, a prostitute.

I met the word *varasuratā* in the last sense in *Hitopadeśa* (ed. by SCHLEGEL, II-64, cited in BOEHTLINGK'S *Indische Sprüche* 5737).

156. VARṆADĀSĪ—(*vaṇṇadāsī*). from *varṇa*° + °*dāsī*.

A courtesan.

I did not meet this word in any text. However, I suppose that such a word must have existed as we find the word *vaṇṇadāsī* in the sense of a prostitute (courtesan) in Pāli. I met the word *vaṇṇadāsī* in the meaning of "a courtesan" in the following *Jātakas* (14, 92, 276, 318, 419, 423, 425, 487).

157. VARVATĪ = *varvatī* = *barbatī*. See No. 121.

158. VARṢAṆĪ = *dharṣaṇī*.

See Hem. (ad. 528, 48), 48 Calc. ed. B. p. 345. See No. 81.

- **159. VĀṆCHINĪ—from *vāñch* (to desire).

Desirous, dissolute, a wanton woman.

Trikāṇḍadeśa (*Maṇuśyavarga* 5, p. 24/14-15) quotes the word *vāñchinī* as a synonym of the words *lañjikā* and *kalatūlikā*. In some cases the word *vāñchinī* can have the meaning of a prostitute.

160. VĀRAKANYAKĀ—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + °*ka*° (girl).

An unsteady girl, a girl at one's disposal, a prostitute.

Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* 78, 11 (109) quotes the word *vāraṅkanyakā* alternatively with the word *veśyā*.

161. VĀRAKANYĀ—identical with *vāraṅkanyakā*. See No. 160.

Cited by J. J. MEYER: *Das Altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben*, Leipzig (p. 193/20 sq.).

162. VARANĀRĪ—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + °*nārī* (woman).

An unsteady woman, a woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

I met the word *varanārī* in the latter meaning in *Kathāsarit-sāgara* Tar. 73 (137) and Tar. 122 (69).

163. VĀRABADHŪ—identical with *vāravadhū*.

Cited in Śabd. (at *vārabadhū*).

Wrong spelling of the word *vāravadhū*. See No. 167.

164. VĀRAMUKHYĀ—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + from °*mukh* (face, head).

A woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

Hal. (II-335) identifies the word *vāramukhyā* with the words: *veśyā*, *gapikā*, *rūpājīvā*, *vārastrī*, *ḥṣudrā* and *paṇyāṅganā*

(identically Hem. 532-533). Hem. (532-533) adds to this list the following words: *pañāṅganā*, *sādhāraṇāstrī*, *vāravadhū*, *bhujisṣyā*, and *lañjikā*. *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *varavānī*) identifies the word *vāramukhyā* with *vāravānī*. This word is often used. See MBh. (Calcutta edition 1834-III-100020, V-3054 and other), Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (66, 45), Amar. (ed. by COLEBROOKE Calcutta 1807, *Nṛvarga* 19b p. 44/4). *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* etc. See Appendix VII/23.

165. VĀRAYUVATĪ—*vāra** (treasure, frequently, rank) + **yuvatī* (a young girl).

An unsteady young woman, a young woman at one's disposal, a young prostitute.

This word is met in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (59. 13, according to BOEHTLINGK's and ROTH's *Sanskrit Woerterbuch*).

166. VĀRAYOṢIT—*vāra** (treasure, frequently, rank) + **yoṣit* (woman).

An unsteady woman, a woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

I met this word in *Kathāsaritsāgara* Tar. 23 (79). Cited also in *Raghuvamśa* (ed. by STENZLER 3, 19), *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (ed. by BURNOUF 10, 75, 15) and Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (ed. by WILSON 76, 8). (See BOEHTLINGK's and ROTH's—*Sanskrit Woerterbuch*).

167. VĀRAVADHŪ—*vāra** (treasure, frequently, rank) + **vadhū* (woman).

An unsteady woman, a woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

Hem. (532b) considers the word *vāravadhū* as a synonym of the words *veśyā*, *gaṇikā*, *rūpājivā*, *sādhāraṇāstrī*, *pañyāṅganā*, *pañāṅganā*, *bhujisṣyā*, *lañjikā*, and *vāramukhyā*.

168. VĀRAVANITĀ—*vāra** (treasure, frequently, rank) + **vanitā* (sweetheart).

An unsteady woman, a woman at one's disposal, a courtesan.

I met this word several times in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 61), where the author makes use of this word alternatively with the word *gaṇikā* (170a, 177b). The question of entering the house of courtesans (*gaṇikāgrhe*) is twice mentioned there.

169. VĀRAVANI—*vāravānī*—*vāra** (treasure, frequently, rank) + **va** from **van* to want.

A wanted woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

Śabdaratnāvalī cited in Śabd. (according to BOEHTLINGK's and ROTH's *Sanskrit Woerterbuch*) quotes the word *vāravānī* in the sense of a prostitute.

See No. 170, 171, 172.

170. VĀRAVAṆĪ—*vāra** (treasure, frequently, rank) + **va** from **van* to want.

A wanted woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

Trikāṇḍaśeṣa (ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Manusya-varga* 5 p. 24/14-15) cites the word *vāravāṇi* as a synonym of the words: *veśyā*, *śūlā*, *jharjharā* (identically *Śabdartnāvalī* cited in Śabd. at *veśyā*), *lañjikā* and *kalatūlikā*. *Śabdartnāvalī* (cited in Śabd. at *veśyā*) adds also as synonyms the words: *vāravilāsinī* and *bhaṇḍahāsinī*. The word *vāravāṇi* is also cited in *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (*Svargavarga* 124, p. 11/3-4). See No. 169, 171, 172.

171. VĀRAVĀṆĪ—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + °*va*° from °*van* to want.

A wanton woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

Śabdartnāvalī cited in Śabd. (at *vāravāṇi*) considers the word *vāravāṇi* as a synonym of the word *vāramukhyā*. See No. 169, 170, 172.

172. VĀRAVĀṆĪ—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + °*va*° from °*van* to want.

A wanton woman at one's disposal. A prostitute.

Cited in this meaning in Śabd. (according to BOEHTLINGK's and ROTH's *Sanskrit Woerterbuch*). See No. 169, 170, 171.

173. VĀRAVILĀSINĪ—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + °*vilāsinī* (sweetheart, woman).

An unsteady woman, a woman at one's disposal a prostitute.

Śabdartnāvalī cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) identifies the word *vāravilāsinī* with the words *veśyā* (see *Kathāsaritsāgara* Tar. 38-160a), *jharjharā*, *śūlā* and *bhaṇḍahāsinī*. The author of *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 38) uses alternatively the word *vāravilāsinī*, *veśyā*, *gaṇikā* and *vilāsinī*. I also met this word in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 12) in the story about Rūpaṇikā as well as in *Śukasaptati* (t. o. LV) and also in *Hitopadeśa* (cited in BOEHTLINGK's *Indische Sprueche* 6818/3167).

174. VĀRASUNDARĪ—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + °*sundarī* (a beautiful, a woman).

An unsteady woman, a woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

The word *vārasundarī* is cited in Hār. (ed. COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807-144b p. 12) along with *mañjikā*, to describe persons who act according to their feelings. In the sense of a prostitute this word is quoted in R. FISCHER's and K. GELDNER's *Vedische Studien* (Stuttgart 1889 pp. 308-309).

175. VĀRASTRĪ—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + °*strī* (woman).

An unsteady woman, a woman at one's disposal a prostitute.

Amar. (ed. by COLEBROOKE 1807, *Nṛvarga* 19a p. 44/3), Hal.

(II-335) and Milind. (331 cited in J. J. MEYER'S *Daśakumāra-carita*, Preface) considers the word *vārastrī* as identical with the words *veśyā*, *gaṇikā*, and *rūpājivā*. Hal. (II-335) also adds the following words: *paṇyāṅganā*, *ksudrā*, and *vāramukhyā*.

I met the word *vārastrī* in the sense of a prostitute in *Subhāṣitārṇava* (265 a, cited in BOETHLINGK'S *Indische Sprueche* 4909).

- *176. VĀRĀ—from *vāra* (treasure).

A courtesan, a maid.

The word *vārā* is cited in this sense in MBh. (6, 5766) according to BOETHLINGK'S and ROTH'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch*.

177. VĀRĀṄGANĀ—*vāra** (treasure, frequently, rank) + **āṅganā* (woman).

An unsteady woman, a woman at one's disposal, a prostitute.

The word *vārāṅganā* is very often quoted in literature in the sense of a courtesan or of a prostitute.

I met this word several times. I quote only the most important places *i. c.* *Hitopadeśa* (Book II, *Kathā* 9 p. 80/183-Bombay 1906), *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 1, 124), *Bhartṛhari* (2, 39). Instead of the word *vārāṅganā* other text books make also use of the word *veśyāṅganā*. See also J. J. MEYER'S *Das Altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben*-Leipzig (p. 193/23).

- **178. VIDAGDHANĀRĪ—*vidagdha** (skilled, agile, sharp) + **nārī* (woman).

A skilled, a sharp woman, a harlot.

Uddhavādūta cited in Śabd. (at *nagarī*) identifies the word *vilagdhanārī* with the word *nagarī*. See No. 88.

- *179. VILĀSINĪ—from *vilāsa* (charm, attraction, liveliness).

A girl who excites, a prostitute.

Dhanañjaya cited in Śabd. (at *vilāsini*) considers the word *vilāsini* as a synonym of the word *veśyā*. *Śukasaptati* (45) mentions as synonyms the following words: *vilāsini*, *gaṇikā*, *rūpājivā*, *arthavṛttikā*, and *dārikā*. *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 38) makes use alternatively of the following words: *veśyā*, *gaṇikā*, and *vāravilāsini*; however Tar. 61 makes alternatively use of the following words: *gaṇikā*, *vāravāṇī*, and *vilāsini*. *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhūbharāṇa* (V-114) distinguishes three kinds of prostitutes *i. c.* *vilāsini*, *rūpājivā*, and *gaṇikā*. I met the word *vilāsini* in the sense of a prostitute in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (6, 53, 58 and 93), as well as in *Bhartṛhari* (ed. by BOHLEN III, 1, 18). See also *Pañcatantra* (ed. by KOSEGARTEN III-122) and MBh. (III-1830 and IV 401).

- **180. VIVASTRANĀRĪ—*vi** (without) + **vastra** (dress) + **nārī* (woman).

An undressed woman, a naked woman, a lascivious woman, a wanton woman, a prostitute.

Śabd. (at *nagnā*) considers the word *nagnā* as identical with the word *vivastranārī*. (The word *vivastranārī* is rather a description for the word *nagnā*). See No. 90.

- **181. VIŠAKANYĀ—*viṣa*° (poison) + **kanyā* (girl).

A girl poisoner.

R. SCHMIDT—*Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, (Berlin 1904—§ 6, "Prostitution") refers to prostitutes as girls preparing poison (*viṣakanyā*, *viṣāṅganā*).

In *Kathāsaritsāgara* the author expressly declares that *panyavilāsini* are being sent as *viṣakanyā* (poison girls) into the hostile camp (19, 82a). Also in *Mudrārākṣasa* there is a reference to girl poisons in this sense.

- **182. VIŠĀṄGANĀ—*viṣa*° (poison) + **aṅganā* (girl).

A girl poisoner.

R. SCHMIDT—*Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien* (Berlin 1904—§ 6, "Prostitution") refers to prostitutes as girls preparing poison (*viṣakanyā*, *viṣāṅganā*).

Also in *Mudrārākṣasa* there is a reference to girl poisoners in this sense.

- **183. VṚṢĀLA—from *vṛṣan* (?) (a man, the male of an animal, stallion) a vulgar man, a prostitute.

Saṃkṣiptasāroṇadivṛtti cited in Śabd. (at *dharṣaṇi*) identifies the word *vṛṣala* with the words *bandhakī* and *dharṣaṇi*. See also Hem. *Anekārthasaṃgraha* (Vienna—Bombay 1893, 2, 569a).

Probably wrong spelling of the word *vṛṣalī*. See No. 184.

- *184. VṚṢĀLĪ—from *vṛṣan* (?) (a man, the male of an animal, a stallion).

A vulgar woman, a prostitute.

The word *vṛṣalī* is cited in *Brahmavaivarta—Purāṇa, Prakṛti Khaṇḍa*, where the *vṛṣalī* is considered as a woman who has three lovers. *Vṛṣalī* is there cited after the *kulaṭā*.

185. VEŠAKULA—*veśa*° (brothel, prostitution) + **kula* (crowd, swarm, multitude).

The crowd from the brothel, prostitutes.

Daṇḍin's *Daśakamāracarita* (82, 6, ed. by WILSON), cited in BOEHLTLINGK's and ROTH's *Sanskrit-Woerterbuch* uses the word *veśakula* in the sense of prostitutes.

186. VEŠANĀRĪ—*veśa*° (brothel, prostitution) + **nārī* (woman).

A woman from the brothel. A harlot.

The word *veśanārī* is cited in the last sense, in Lakṣman Rāmacandra Vaidya's Standard Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1889.

187. VEŚAYUVATĪ—*veśā*° (brothel, prostitution) + °*yuvatī* (woman).

A woman from the brothel, a prostitute.

The word *veśayuvatī* is cited in the last sense in BOEHTLINGK'S and ROTH'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* (*Bhar. Nātrjaś.* 18, 48).

188. VEŚAYOṢĪTĪ—*veśā*° (brothel, prostitution) + °*yoṣit* (woman).

A woman from the brothel, a prostitute.

The word *veśayosit* is cited in the last sense, in *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (12, 91) and *Harivaṁśa* (Gild. Bibl. 122) (8309) (according to BOEHTLINGK'S and ROTH'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch*).

189. VEŚAVADHŪ—*veśā*° (brothel, prostitution) + °*vadhū* (woman).

A woman from the brothel, a prostitute.

I met this word used alternatively with the word *veśāṅganā* in the commentary to the Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (ed. by J. J. MEYER Leipzig).

190. VEŚAVANITĀ—*veśā*° (brothel, prostitution) + °*vanitā* (woman).

A woman from the brothel, a prostitute.

The word *veśavanitā* is cited in the last sense, in Lakṣman Rāmacandra Vaidya's Standard Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1889.

191. VEŚĀSTRĪ—*veśā*° (brothel, prostitution) + °*strī* (woman).

A woman from the brothel, a prostitute.

I met this word in MBh. (V-30, 38) where Yudhiṣṭhira orders to ask "how another nice decorated, beautiful dressed, nice smelling, pleasant, happy, delightful *veśāstrī* whose glance and talk are soaring lightly..." (See J. J. MEYER: *Das Weib im altindischem Epos*, Leipzig 1915, ch. IX). The word *veśāstrī* is also cited in the same sense in BOEHTLINGK'S *Indische Sprueche* II-2942).

192. VEŚĀṅGANĀ—*veśā*° (brothel, prostitution) + °*aṅganā* (woman).

A woman from a brothel, a prostitute.

I met this word in the commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (catalogued *sub* No. 167 in WILSON'S A. Catal. No. 250, *ad* Act I p. 22) in the sense of a prostitute. The word *veśāṅganā* is also cited alternatively with the word *veśavadhū* in the commentary on Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*.

193. VEŚĪKĀ—from *veśu* (brothel).

A woman from a brothel, a prostitute.

I met this word in the commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (catalogued *sub* No. 167 in WILSON'S A. Catal. No. 250, *ad* Act I,

p. 22) in the sense of a prostitute. The word *veśikā* is also quoted in the commentary on Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*.

194. VEŚMASTRĪ, Probably erroneously, instead of *veśastrī* or *veśyāstrī*. See MBh. V-904.

195. VEŚYĀ, A prostitute, a harlot.

This is the most frequently used word to describe a prostitute in the Sanskrit nomenclature. All the above and below mentioned words are, strictly speaking, synonyms of the word *veśyā*. The largest number of synonyms of the word *veśyā* are to be found in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) i. e. 25 synonyms. However, I am attempting to show that there exist 235 synonyms of this word.

Kām. (363, 13-14) is of the opinion that there are 9 kinds of *veśyā*: *kumbhadāsī paricārīkā kulatū seairiṇī naṭī śilpakārīkā prakāśavināṣṭā rūpājīvē gaṇīkā ceti veśyāvīśeṣāḥ*. Another classification is to be found in the *Jayamaṅgalū's* commentary on Kām. (341/25). According to this classification there are *veśyā* who have intercourse permanently either with one man, or with several men, or any men (have "no permanent intercourse with men"). *Trividhā veśyā—ekaparīgrahā anekaparīgrahā aparīgrahā ceti*.

The word *veśyā* is the main word for the meaning "prostitute".

196. VEŚYĀṄGANĀ—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **aṅganā* (woman).

A prostitute, a harlot.

I met this word in Bhartḥhari's *Nṛti* and *Vairāgya-Śatakas* (Gopal Narayan, Bombay 1923) *Nṛtiśataka* 47. See also *Hitopadeśa* (ed. by SCHLEGEL II-174).

197. VEŚYĀJANA—*veśyā (prostitute) + **jana* (family, race, people).

A harlot family, a harlot.

The word *veśyājana* is used in the last sense in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (J. J. MEYER'S Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* p. 150).

198. VEŚYĀYOṢIT or VEŚYĀYOṢĀ—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **yoṣit* (woman).

A prostitute, a harlot.

I met the word *veśyāyoṣit* in the sense of a prostitute in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 58), "Story of the king Vikramasimha, the Courtesan and the young Brāhman" (54a).

199. VEŚYĀSTRĪ—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **strī* (woman).

A prostitute, a harlot.

I met the word *veśyāstrī* in the sense of a prostitute in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 58. 56). See BOEHTLINGER'S-*Indische Sprueche*, 2942.

- *200. VAISĪKA—A prostitute, a woman maintaining herself on prostitution, a prostitute, a harlot.

I met the word *vaiśika* in the sense of "a woman maintaining her subsistence from prostitution" in Gautamiya-Dharmasūtra (XXII-27) where we read: *vaiśikena kiñcīt* (for killing a woman maintaining herself on prostitution no punishment is established). See Appendix I 6.

- **201. VOṬĀ—A female servant, a prostitute.

Hem. (534) and Hal. (II-237) consider the word *voṭā* as a synonym of the word *dāsī*, *poṭā*, *voṭī* and *kuttahārikā*. In some exceptional cases the word *voṭā* as a synonym of the word *dāsī* can be used in the sense of a prostitute.

202. VYANĠĀ—A disfigured woman, a stained woman, a prostitute.

Amar. cited in Śabd. (at *kṣudrā*) identifies the word *vyanḡā* with the words *veśyā*, *kṣudrā* and *naṭī*.

- *203. VYABHĪCĀRIṆĪ—from *vyabhicārin* (dissolute, unfaithful).

A wanton woman, a prostitute.

Amar. cited in Śabd. (at *svairiṇī*) identifies the word *vyabhicāriṇī* with the word *svairiṇī*.

S'.

204. ŚĀLABHAṆĠIKĀ—A courtesan.

Jaṭādhara cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā* and at *śalabhaṅḡikā*) considers the word *śalabhaṅḡikā* as a synonym of the words *veśyā*, and *kṣudrā*.

205. ŚĪLPAKĀRIKĀ—*śilpa*° (handicraft) + from °*kṛ*° (to do).

A working woman, a workman's wife, a prostitute of an inferior sort.

Kām. (363/13-14) quoting 9 kinds of *veśyā* mentions *śilpakārikā* in the 6th place after *kumbhadāsī*, *paricārikā*, *kulaṭā*, *svairiṇī*, and *naṭī* and before *prakāśavinastā*, *rūpājīvā*, and *gaṇikā*. *Jayamaṅgalā* in the commentary on Kām. (363/20) gives the definition of the *śilpakārikā*: *Śilpakārikā rajakatantuvāyabhāryā*. *Śilpakārikā* is a wife of a washerman (or) weaver i. e. she is a wife of a workman; actors, singers, dancers, players on musical instruments, buffoons, mimic players, rope dancers, jugglers, wondering bards etc. live on their intrigues i. e. live on the earnings of their own wives. (See K. 125/9, Mn. III-362, Kām. 263/22-33 etc). Another explanation of the word *śilpakārikā* is given in Amar. (ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Nṛvarga* 18a, p. 44/2): *Sairimdhriparaveśmāsthāsvaveśāśilpakārikā*. *Śilpakārikā* is a maiden servant (an independent female artizan working in another person's house, *sairimdhri*

or *sairandhrī*) coming to another person's house, or living in her own brothel.

**206. ŚILPAKĀRĪ—*śilpa*° (handicraft) + from **kr*° (to do).

A working woman, a workman's wife, a prostitute of an inferior sort.

Identical with *śilpakārikā*. See No. 205.

207. ŚŪLĀ—from *śūla* (spear, a sharp pile, a stinging pain).

A woman who causes pain, a prostitute.

Śabdaratnāvalī cited in *Śabd.* (at *veśyā*) considers the word *śūlā* as a synonym of the words *veśyā* (identically *Viśva* in *Śabd.* at *śūlā*, and *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Manuṣyavarga* 5 p. 24/14-15), *jharjharā* (identically *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Manuṣyavarga* 5 p. 24/14-15), *bhaṇḍahāsinī*, *vāravilāsinī*, *vāravadhū*. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Manuṣyavarga* 5 p. 24/14-15) adds also the words *vāravanī*, *lañjikā*, *kalatūlikā* etc.

S.

208. SARVASĀDHARAṆĪ—*sarva*° (whole, entire, everybody) + **sādhāraṇā* (*sādhāraṇī*) (common).

A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot; (general meaning).

Identical with *sādhāraṇī*. See No. 214, 209,

209. SARVASĀDHARAṆĪ—Identical with *sarvasādhāraṇā*. See No. 208.

210. SARVASĀMĀNYĀ—*sarva*° (whole, entire, everybody) + **sāmānyā* (common).

A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot; (general meaning).

Identical with *sāmānyā*. See BOENTLINGK's *Indische Sprueche* II-7206, See No. 217.

211. SARVĀṄGANĀ—*sarva*° (whole, entire, everybody), + **aṅganā* (woman).

A woman belonging to everybody, a common woman, a prostitute, a harlot; (general meaning).

The word *sarvāṅganā* is used alternatively with the words *sādhāraṇī*, *sāmānyā* and *sāmānyavanitū*.

I met this word in RUDRĀṬA's *Kāvya-lamkāra* (39/40): *Sārvāṅganā tu veśyā samyag asau lipsate dhanam kāmāt nirgunaguṇinos tasyāḥ na dveṣyo na priyaḥ kaścit.* (The woman belonging to everybody, the prostitute who tries to gain money by love in the usual way from licentious or rich men; no one is her hateful or love-worthy).

212. SĀDHĀRAṆĀSTRĪ—*sādhāraṇā*° (common)° + *strī* (woman).

A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot.

Hem. (532-533) considers the word *sādhāraṇāstrī*, as a synonym of the words: *paṇyāṅganā*, *panāṅganā*, *gaṇikā*, *veśyā*, *bhujīṣyā*, *lañjikā*, *rūpājīvā*, *vāravadhū*, and *vāramukhyā*.

- I met the word *sādhāraṇāstrī* in the sense of a prostitute in various Kāmasūtras used alternatively with the word *sāmānyā* (see also Hem. 1472a). In these Kāmasūtras the *sādhāraṇāstrī* is divided into *svakīyā* (*svā*, *svīyā*), *parakīyā* and *sādhāraṇāstrī* (*sāmānyā*). See *Daśarūpaka* (II-21, 22, II-15), *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (96), RUDRATA'S *Kāvyaḷamkāra* (XII-16) RUDRATA'S *S'ṛṅgāratilaka* (I-46), *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* (V-112, 113), VĀGBHATA'S *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (p. 63), *Rasaratnahāra* (p. 121/8), *Rasamañjarī* (fol. 5a), etc.

213. SĀDHĀRAṆĀ—from *sādhāraṇa* (common).

A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot; (general meaning).

Identical with *sādhāraṇī*. See No. 214.

214. SĀDHĀRAṆĪ—from *sādhāraṇa* (common).

A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot; (general meaning).

The word *sādhāraṇī* is used alternatively with the words *sāmānyā*, *sāmānyavanitā*, and *sarvāṅganā* for designating a prostitute. For instance *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (p. 63) uses the word *sādhāraṇī* in the sense of a prostitute "...*sādhāraṇī*, *gaṇikā*, *sāmānyā*."

I met this word also in Rv. I-167, 4 where the reference to Marut appears. *Parā śubharayavyā sādhāraṇyeva maruto mīmīksuḥ*. (The radiant, evermoving Maruts have mingled with [their] associate, [lightning], like [youths] with common women). See also Hem. 1472a.

215. SĀMĀNYANĀYIKĀ—*sāmānyā*° (common)° + *nāyikā* (sweetheart, woman).

A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot.

I met this word in the general sense in *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (111) where it is used side by side with the word *veśyā*. Here the author describes the distinguishing feature of the *sāmānyanāyikā* as a prostitute.

216. SĀMĀNYAVANITĀ—*sāmānyā*° (common)° + *vanitā* (sweetheart, woman).

.. A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot;

The word *sāmānyavanitā* is used alternatively with the words *sādhārāṇī*, *sarvāṅganā*, and *sāmānyā*. In the sense of a prostitute the word *sāmānyavanitā* is used in *Rasamañjarī* (fol. 5a). A good description of *sāmānyavanitā* is to be found in *Rasamañjarī* (fol. 31b): The *sāmānyavanitā* shows affection to every man for the sake of earning money. Another description is to be found in RUDRATA'S *S'ṛṅgāratilaka* (I-120 sqq.): *sāmānyavanitā veśyā sū vittāni param icchati. Sāmānyavanitā is a veśyā; she desires other people's money. A similar sentence is to be found in Vāgbhaṭālakṣṇa (V-15-16): Sāmānyavanitā veśyā bhavet kupaṭapāṇḍitānahikaścit priyas tasyā dātāram nāyakam vinā sarvaprakāśaṁ evaiśa yāti nāyakam ulldhatā. (The sāmānyavanitā, the prostitute is skilful in tricks, for nobody is dear to her but the lover who is generous. She freely has intercourse with the lover—full of wantonness).*

217. SĀMĀNYĀ—from *sāmānya* (equal, similar, common).

A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot; (general meaning).

I met the word *sāmānyā* in the sense of a prostitute in various Kāmasūtras used alternatively with the word *sādhāraṇāstrī* (see also Hem. 1472a). They are divided into *svakīyā* (*svā*, *svīyā*), *parikīyā* and *sādhāraṇāstrī* (*sāmānyā*). See *Daśarūpaka* (II-15, 21, 22), *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, RUDRATA'S *Kāvya-lakṣṇa*, RUDRATA'S *S'ṛṅgāratilaka*, *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana*, VĀGBHATA'S *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, *Rasaratnahāra* etc. According to Kām. (363/16-17) the word *sāmānyā* marks three kinds of prostitutes: *kumbhadāsī*, *ganikā*, and *rūpājīvā*. Besides this Kām. (62/13, 63/1) makes use of this word as an epithet of the word *veśyā*, (*veśyāsāmānyā*, i. e. a *veśyā* who belongs to everybody).

218. SURAYUVATĪ—*sura*° (God, divine) + **yuvatī* (woman).

A woman of the Gods, a divine courtesan, an *Apsaras*.

The word *surayuvatī* is often to be found in the literature in the sense of an *Apsaras*. See Nos. 6, 219-225, 229-233.

219. SURAYOṢIT—*sura*° (God, divine) + **yoṣit* (woman).

A woman of the Gods, a divine courtesan, an *Apsaras*.

This word *surayoṣit* is often to be found in the literature in the sense of an *Apsaras*. See Nos. 6, 218, 220-225, 229-233.

220. SURALOKASUNDARĪ—*sura*° (God, divine) + **loka*° (place, world) + *sundarī*—a beautiful (woman), a woman.

A woman of the world of the gods, a divine courtesan, an *Apsaras*.

I met the word *suralokasundarī* in *Vikramorvaśīya* 21 (ed. by BOLLENSSEN) in the sense of a divine courtesan. See Nos. 6, 218, 219, 221-225, 229-233.

221. SURAVADHŪ—*sura** (God, divine) + **vadhū* (woman).

• A woman of the Gods, a divine courtesan, an *Apsaras*.

The word *suravadhū* is often to be found in literature in the sense of an *Apsaras*. See Nos. 6, 218-220, 222-225, 229-233.

222. SURAVANITĀ—*sura** (God, divine) + **vanitā* (woman).

A woman of the Gods, a divine courtesan, an *Apsaras*.

The word *suravanitā* is often to be found in literature in the sense of an *Apsaras*. See Nos. 218-221, 223-225, 229-233.

223. SURAVILĀSINĪ—*sura** (God, divine) + **vilāsini* (sweetheart, wanton woman).

A woman of the Gods, a divine courtesan, an *Apsaras*.

I met the word *suravilāsini* in *Dhūrtasamāgama* (in LASSEN'S *Anthologie* p. 82 v. 4-5). See Nos. 6, 218-222, 224, 225, 229-233.

224. SURASUNDARĪ—*sura** (God, divine) + **sundarī* (a beautiful woman, a woman).

A woman of the Gods, a divine courtesan, an *Apsaras*.

I met the word *surasundarī* in *Kathāsaritāsāgara* (Tar. 28/55). See Nos. 6, 218-223, 225, 229-233.

225. SURASTRĪ—*sura** (God, divine) + **strī* (woman).

A woman of the Gods, a divine courtesan, an *Apsaras*.

The word *surastrī* in the above meaning is being quoted in Hem. (ad 183a) along with the words *apsaras* and *svargastrī*. See Nos. 6, 218-224, 229-233.

**226. SAIRANDHRĪ—(or *sairāndhrī*, or *sairimdhri*).

An independent female artizan working in another person's house, a maiden servant, a prostitute.

The word *sairandhrī* is identified in Amar. (ed. by COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Nṛvarga* 18a p. 44/2) with *śilpakārikā* and by Hal. (II-337) with *gamadhakārikā*. See No. 205.

227. STRISĀMĀNYĀ—*strī** (woman) + **sāmānyā* (common).

A common woman, a woman belonging to everybody, a prostitute, a harlot.

I met the word *strisāmānyā* in this sense in *Rājanighaṅṭu* cited in Śabd. (at *kāminī*) See also No. 214, 215, 216.

228. SMARAVĪTHIKĀ—*smara*° (love) + °*vīthikā* (street).

A street lover, a courtesan.

Rājanighaṅṭu cited in Śabd. (at *veśyā*) identifies the word *smaravīthikā* with the words *veśyā* and *bhogyā*.

229. SVARGAVEŚYĀ—*svarga*° (heaven) + °*veśyā* (prostitute).

A heaven prostitute, an *Apsaras*.

I met the word *svargaveśyā* in this meaning in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (ed. by TROYER, Calc. edition 1835, 5-8). See Nos. 6, 218-225, 230-233.

230. SVARGAVADHŪ—*svarga*° (heaven) + °*vadhū* (woman).

A heavenly woman, a heavenly prostitute, an *Apsaras*.

The word *svargavadhū* is quoted in this sense in Hem. 183 (according to BOEHLINGK'S and ROTH'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* VII-p. 1450). See Nos. 6, 218-225, 229, 231-233.

231. SVARGISTRĪ or *svargastrī*—*svarga*° (heaven) + °*strī* (woman).

A heavenly woman, a heavenly prostitute, an *Apsaras*.

The word *svargistrī* is cited in this meaning in the commentary on Hem. (ad 183a) along with the words *apsaras* and *surastri*. See Nos. 6, 218-225, 229, 230, 232, 233.

232. SVARVADHŪ—*svar*° (from *svarga*-heaven) + °*vadhū* (woman).

A heavenly woman, a heavenly prostitute, an *Apsaras*.

The word *svarvadhū* is cited in this sense in Hem. 183, and in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tar. 17, 27, 52, 121). (According to BOEHLINGK'S and ROTH'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* VII-p. 1450). See Nos. 6, 218-225, 229-231, 233.

233. SVARVEŚYĀ—*svar*° (from *svarga*-heaven) + °*veśyā* (prostitute).

A heavenly prostitute, an *Apsaras*.

I met the word *svarveśyā* in the sense of a heavenly prostitute in *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* (Allahabad 1920, *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa* XXVII-28), Amar. (Benares 1934, *Svargavarga* 52 p. 18/5-2) and in Hem. (183a) along with the *apsaras* and the *Urvaśī*. See Nos. 6, 218-225, 229-232.

234. SVAIRINĪ—a wanton woman, a prostitute.

Kām. (363/13-14) quoting nine kinds of *veśyā* mentions *svairiṇī* after *kumbhadāsī*, *paricārikā* and *kulaṭā* and before *naṭī*, *śilpakārikā*, *prakāsavinaṣṭā*, *rūpājivā* and *gaṇikā*. In Nār. (XII-48 to 52) we find the definition of five kinds of the *svairiṇī*. It is obvious especially from the definition of the third kind of the *svairiṇī* that the *svairiṇī* was a prostitute, moreover that N. XII-53 declares that each of the preceding ones is inferior to the next in order and each following one is

superior to the one preceding her. Therefore R. SCHMIDT'S opinion that "*Svairiṇī bildet den Uebergang zu den Hetaeren; sie bleibt es schlimm genug ohne aber oeffentliches Frauenzimmer, Gemeingut zu sein*" (*Beitraege zur Indischeu Erotik* p. 150) is in my opinion not right. In N. XII-49 to 52 we find the following sentences: "When a woman, no matter whether she have children or not, goes to live with another man through love, her husband being alive, she is the first *svairiṇī*, (XII-49). "When a woman, after the death of her husband, rejects her brother-in-law or other (relations) who have come to her, and unites herself with a stranger through love, she is called the second *svairiṇī*" (N. XII-50). "One who, having come from a (foreign) country, or having been purchased with money, or being oppressed with hunger or thirst, gives herself up to a man saying: 'I am thine',—is declared to be the third *svairiṇī*" (N. XII-51). "When a woman, after having been given in marriage by her spiritual guides, in a manner corresponding with the usages of her country, (is afterwards married) to another by force, she is called the last *svairiṇī*" (N. XII-52). According to Y. (I-67) the *svairiṇī* was a woman who abandoned her husband and went to another man of the same caste. *Svairiṇī yā patiṁ hitvā savarṇa kāmataḥ śrayet*. On the other hand Kām. (363/19) says that *svairiṇī* is such a woman who leaving his husband, has sexual intercourse in his own house or in the house of another man. *Svairiṇī yā patiṁ tiraskṛtya svagrhe anyagrhe vā samprayujyate*.

The word *svairiṇī* is used in the sense of a prostitute in *Pañcatantra* (ed. by KIELHORN, Bombay Sanskrit Series IV-3; II-4 p. 118) etc.

The word *svairiṇī* is considered as a synonym of the words *pāṁśulū* (according to Hem. 528-529, Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* 4, 2636, Hal. II-341, Amar. *Nṛvraṅga* 11a p. 43/10), *pūṁścalī*, *avinītā*, *itvarī* and *kūlaṭa* (according to Hem. 528-529, Hal. II-341), *bandhakī*, *carṣanī* (according to Hem. 528-529), *asatī*, *abhisārikū*, *dharṣaṇī* and *vandhukī* (according to Hal. II-341) and *punarbhū* (according to *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* V-112-113).

H.

**235. HASTINĪ—from *hasta* (trunk of an elephant).

A she-elephant, a prostitute, a courtesan.

Jaṭādhara quoted in Śabd. (at *gaṇikā*) identifies the word *hastinī* with the word *gaṇikā*.

A she-elephant is sometimes identified with a courtesan.

APPENDIX I.
PROSTITUTION

1. VĀRASEVĀ—(from *vāra* "multitude, treasure") + **sevā* (to visit, to inhabit).
A multitude of women who pay visits to men, harlotry, prostitution.
The word *vārasevā* is quoted in the last meaning by *Jaṭodhāra* cited in Śabd. (at *vārasevā*).
- **2. VEŚĀ—(from *viś*).
The acts of prostitutes, harlotry, prostitution.
The main meaning brothel.
Kām. (363/12) uses the word *veśā* in the meaning of harlotry.
- **3. VEŚABHĀVA—The acts of prostitutes, harlotry.
I met the word *veśabhāva* in this meaning in *Mṛcchakaṭīka* (III-56/199).
4. VEŚĪKA—erroneously *veśikā*.
See BOETLINGK'S and ROTH'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* at *veśikā*.
5. VEŚĪKĀ—being in relation to harlotry, harlotry, prostitution.
I met the word *veśikā* in *Mṛcchakaṭīka* (I-22) and Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita* (Commentary ad Ch. 4.).
6. VAIŚĪKĀ—being in relation to harlotry, harlotry, prostitution.
The typical, the commonest and the most general term for the expression "prostitution".
I met the word *vaiśikā* very often. In Kām. the whole chapter concerning harlotry is entitled: "*vaiśikā*". (See Kām. 5/14, 42/9, 364/6, 125/13 sqq.).

APPENDIX II.

MULTITUDE OF COURTEZANS

1. GAṆĪKĀNĀ—(from *gaṇikā*-courtezan).
An assembly of courtezans. A multitude of courtezans.
Hem. (1420a) uses the word *gaṇikānā* as a synonym of the word *gaṇikyā*.
2. GAṆĪKYĀ—(from *gaṇikā*-courtezan).
An assembly of courtezans. A multitude of courtezans.
Hem. (1420a) uses the word *gaṇikyā* as a synonym of the word *gaṇikānā*. See Hal. (II-336) and Amar. (ed. by P. Shastri Waze, Bombay 1194; 1118).
3. VEŚĀ—A Community of prostitutes.
The word *veśā* is used in this meaning in K. (IV. ch. 4 §. 79).

4. VEŚĀGAṆA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **gaṇa* (multitude).
 A multitude of prostitutes. An assembly of prostitutes.
 Śabd. (at *veśyāgaṇā*) identifies the word *veśyāgaṇā* with the word *veśyāsamūha* and *Śabdamāla* cited in Śabd. (at *veśyāgaṇa*) identifies the word *veśyāgaṇa* with the word *veśyāvāra*.
5. VEŚYĀJANA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **jana* (people, multitude).
 * A multitude of prostitutes, an assembly of prostitutes.
 See DAṆḌIN'S *Daśakumāracarita* (ed. J. J. MEYER, p. 150) See No. 197.
6. VEŚYĀVĀRA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **vāra* (multitude).
 A multitude of prostitutes, an assembly of prostitutes.
Śabdamāla cited in Śabd. (at *veśyāgaṇa*) identifies the word *veśyāvāra* with the word *veśyāgaṇa*.
7. VEŚYĀSAMŪHA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **samūha* (multitude).
 A multitude of prostitutes, an assembly of prostitutes.
 In Śabd. (at *veśyāgaṇa*) the word *veśyāsamūha* is explained along with the word *veśyāgaṇa*.

APPENDIX III.

GUARDIAN OF PROSTITUTES

1. ASATĪPOṢAKA—*asatī** (prostitute) + **poṣ** (to chastise).
 He who chastises prostitutes. Guardian of prostitutes.
 I met the word *asatīpoṣaka* in this sense in Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* (III-111).
2. GAṆĪKĀYA—(from *gaṇikā*—courtezan).
 He who occupies himself with courtezans. Guardian of courtezans.
 The word *gaṇikāya* is quoted in this sense in K. 124/6. The word *gaṇikāpoṣaka* is used in K. 241/16-18 alternatively with the word *yonipoṣaka*. The *gaṇikāya* is the king's officer dealing with the financial affairs of courtezans who are the property of the king. *Bhogam dāyamāvyayamāyatim ca gaṇikāyāḥ nibandhayet* (K. 124/6).
3. BANDHAKĪPOṢAKA—*bandhakī** (wanton woman, prostitute) + **poṣ** (to chastise).
 He who chastises prostitutes, guardian of prostitutes.
 The word *bandhakīpoṣaka* is often used in this sense in K. K. (24/16) explains the duties of the *bandhakīpoṣaka*. According to K. (378/1) the *bandhakīpoṣaka* is used also as an *agent-provocateur*. Identically K. 382/7. See K. 241/16.
4. BANDHAKĪPOṢAṆA—*bandhakī** (wanton woman, prostitute) + **poṣ** (to chastise).

He who chastises prostitutes, guardian of prostitutes.

The word *bandhakīpoṣaṇa* is sometimes used in K. instead of the word *bandhakīpoṣaka*.

5. YONIPOṢAKA—*yoni** (*vulva*) + *poṣ* (to chastise).

An attendant of a *yoni*. Guardian of prostitutes.

I met the word *yoniṣaka* in K. (241/18) where it is identified with the word *bandhakīpoṣaka*. See Appendix VII/19.

APPENDIX IV.

PROSTITUTE'S SALARY

1. GAṆIKĀBHṚTI—*gaṇikā** (courtesan) + *bhṛti* (fee, salary).

Courtesan's salary.

I met the word *gaṇikābhṛti* in Hem. (363a) where it is identified with the word *bhoga*.

2. BHOGA—Prostitute's salary.

Hem. (363a) identifies the word *bhoga* with the word *gaṇikābhṛti*. Śabd. (at *bhoga*) considers the word *bhoga* as fee of a *paṇyastri*. The word *bhoga* is used very often in the sense of a prostitute's salary in K. (124/6, 125/3, 127/7, /8, /12, 184/10, 230/8 etc.).

3. LĀBHA—Profit, income.

The chapter V of the VI book of Kām. is entitled *lābhavīśeṣa* and refers to the prostitute's salary.

4. LĀBHĀTĪŚAYA—*lābha** (profite, income) + *atīśaya* (prominent, more).

Special income obtained through prostitution.

The word *lābhātīśaya* is very often used in this sense in Kām. (See Kām. 342/11, 342/23, 347/6, 348/3, /16 etc.).

5. VETANA—The price, the fee, prostitute's salary.

I met the word *vetana* in this sense in K. 241/11 etc.

6. VEŚYĀBHṚTI—*veśyā** (prostitute) + *bhṛti* (fee).

Prostitute's salary.

The word *veśyābhṛti* is used in BOEHLINGER's and ROTH's *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* as a synonym of the word *bhoga*. See *gaṇikābhṛti*.

7. VEŚYĀLĀYA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + *lāya* (fall).

Prostitute's salary.

In Hem. cited in Śabd. (at *Veśyājanasamāśraya*) the word *veśyājanasamāśraya* is expressed by the word *veśyālāya*. (See Appendix VI/19).

APPENDIX V.

LOVER OF PROSTITUTES

1. KUMBHA—The lover of a prostitute.
A word *kumbha* is quoted in Hemacandra's *Anekārthasamigraha* (Vienna-Bombay 1893, 2, 301a). See BOEHTLINGK's and ROTH's *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* at *kumbha*. See No. 6.
2. KUMBHAKA—from *kumbha*.
A lover of a prostitute.
The word *kumbhaka* is quoted in this meaning in BOEHTLINGK's and ROTH's *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* at *kumbhaka*.
3. GAṆIKĀPATI—*gaṇikā*° (courtezan) + °*pati* (man lover).
A lover of a courtesan.
Hem. (519a) identifies the word *gaṇikāpati* with the word *bhujāṅga*.
4. BANDHULA—An attendant in the chamber of a harlot.
The word *bandhula* is quoted in this sense by Lakshman's Ramcandra Vaidya (Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Bombay 1889). See Amar. (*Nṛvarga* 26a p. 44/13).
5. BHUJĀṅGA or *bhujāṅga*—(from *bhuj*—to enjoy).
A lover of a prostitute.
Hem. (519a) identifies the word *bhujāṅga* with the word *gaṇikāpati*. See Hal. II-227 (identically).
6. VEŚYĀPATI—*veśyā*° (prostitute) + °*pati* (man, lover).
A lover of a prostitute.
Hemacandra's *Anekārthasamigraha* (Vienna-Bombay 1893) identifies the word *veśyāpati* with the word *kumbha* (2, 301a).
7. VAISĪKA—(from *veśyā*—prostitute).
A lover of a prostitute.
I met the word *vaiśika* in *Rasamañjarī* (fol. 67 sqq.) where lovers are divided into *pati*, *upapati*, and *vaiśika*.

APPENDIX VI.

BROTHEL

1. GAṆIKĀKUṬUMBA—*gaṇikā*° (courtesan) + °*kuṭumba* (household, establishment).
An establishment of courtesans, a brothel.
I did not meet this word in the Sanskrit texts. From K. 123/10, II. it is obvious that it is used in this sense. The word is cited in this sense in J. J. MEYER'S *Das altindische Buch des Welt-und Staatsleben*, (Leipzig p. 193/17).
2. GAṆIKĀGRHA—*gaṇikā*° (courtesan) + °*grha* (habitation, house).

A habitation of a courtesan, a brothel.

The word *gaṇikāgr̥ha* is identified in Hemacandra's *Anekārthasamgraha* (Bombay 1893; 2, 372 b) with the word *veśyam*. It is cited also in Pali (*gaṇikāghare, gaṇikāyaghare; Jātaka* 481 etc.).

3. PURA—A castle, a residence, a brothel.
Hem. (11003) identifies the word *pura* with the words *veśa* and *veśyāśraya*.
4. RATIGR̥HA—*ratī** (lust, lewdness, carnal desire) + **gr̥ha* (house).
A house of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *ratigr̥ha* in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (53, 16) where it is used alternatively with the word *ratibhavana*.
5. RATIBHAVANA—*ratī** (lust, lewdness, carnal desire) + **bhavana* (habitation, house).
A house of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *ratibhavana* in Varahamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (53, 14) where it is used alternatively with the word *ratigr̥ha*.
6. LĪLĀGĀRA—*līlā** (play, charm, gallantry, lewdness) + from **gar* (to watch, to guard).
A place of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *līlāgāra* in this sense in *Raghuvamśa* (ed. by F. STENZLER VIII-92).
7. LĪLĀGR̥HA—*līlā** (play, charm, gallantry, lewdness) + **gr̥ha* (habitation, house).
A place of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *līlāgr̥ha* in this sense in *Kathāraritsāgara* (ed. by BROCKHAUS; I-64).
8. LĪLĀGEHA—*līlā** (play, charm, gallantry, lewdness) + **geha* (habitation, house).
A place of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *līlāgeha* in this sense in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ed. by BROCKHAUS; CXIV-51).
9. LĪLĀVEŚMAN—*līlā** (play, charm, gallantry, lewdness) + **veśman* (habitation, place).
A place of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *līlāveśman* in this sense in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (ed. by TROYER; I-328) where it is used alternatively with the word *vilāsabhavana*.
10. VILĀSABHAVANA—*vilāsa** (charm, flirt, lewdness) + **bhavana* (habitation, house).
A house of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *vilāsabhavana* in this sense in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (ed. by TROYER; I-192) where it used alternatively with the word *līlāveśman*.

11. **VILĀSAMANDIRA**—*vilāsa* (charm, flirt, lewdness) + **mandira* (habitation, house).
A house of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *vilāsamandira* in this sense in Śabd. (See BOEHLINGK'S and ROTH'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* VI-p. 1167 referring to WILSON).
12. **VILĀSAVEŚMAN**—*vilāsa** (charm, flirt, lewdness) + **veśman* (habitation, house).
A house of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *vilāsaveśman* in this sense in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ed. by BROCKHAUS; 94-6).
13. **VILĀSAŚAYYĀ**—*vilāsa** (charm, flirt, lewdness) + **śayyā* (camp, place, house).
A house of lewdness, a brothel.
I met the word *vilāsaśayyā* in this sense in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ed. by BROCKHAUS; 103-211).
14. **VEŚĀ**—A place of prostitutes, a district in a town for prostitutes, a brothel.
Amar. cited in Śabd. (at *veśyājanasamāśraya*) identifies the word *veśa* with the words *pura*, *veśyāśraya*, and *veśyālaya* (see also Hem. 1003a), and *Medini* (cited in Śabd. at *veśa*) with *veśyāgrha*. See Amar. (ed. COLEBROOKE. Calcutta 1807: p. 24/4). I very often met the word *veśa* in the sense of a brothel (Mn. IV-85, IX-264, *Mr̥cchakatika*-Act IV (p. 107), Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita* 228/111 etc.). See also Hemacandra's *Anekārtahasamgraha* (Vienna-Bombay 1893; 2, 541).
15. **VEŚĀNA**—An entrance, a brothel.
I met the word *veśana* in the sense of a brothel in K. XXXVI. See J. J. MEYER'S *Das altincische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben* (Leipzig; p. 231/15).
16. **VEŚĀVĀSA**—*veśa** (prostitution) + **vāsa* (habitation).
A house of prostitution, a brothel.
I met the word *veśāvāsa* in the sense of a brothel in *Mr̥cchakatika* (act I-p. 26/26).
17. **VEŚYAM**—(from *veśyā*-prostitute).
A brothel.
Hem. and *Jatādhara* cited in Śabd. (at *veśyājanasamāśraya*) identify the word *veśyam* with the words *veśyājanasamāśraya*, (identically *Medini* cited in Śabd. at *veśyam*), *veśyāśraya*, *pura*, and *veśa*.
18. **VEŚYĀGRHA**—*veśyā** (prostitute), + **grha* (house).
A house of a prostitute, a brothel.

Hemacandra in *Anekārthasamāgraha* (Vienna-Bombay 1893; 2, 541) quotes the word *veśyāgr̥ha* along with the word *veśa*. I also met the word *veśyāgr̥ha* in the meaning of a brothel in *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (ed. Calcutta; 3, 3, 432).

19. VEŚYĀJANASAMĀŚRAYA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **jana** (people) + *samāśraya* (dwelling-place).

A habitation of a multitude of prostitutes, a brothel.

Amar. cited in Śabd. (at *veśyājanasamāśraya*) and *Jaṭādhara* (cited *ibid.*) identify the word *veśyājanasamāśraya* with the words *veśyālaya*, *veśa*, *veśyāśraya*, *pura*, and *veśyam*. I met the word *veśyājanasamāśraya* in the sense of a brothel in the commentary on *Mṛcchakatika* (cited by REGNAULT, catalogued *sub* No. 167 by WILSON, 1822; *ad* Act I-121 referring to Amar. and *ad* act VIII-p. 60). See Amar. (ed. by COLEBROOKE Calcutta 1807, *Puravarga* 2a p. 24/4).

20. VEŚYĀNIVEŚA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **veśa* (house).

A house of a prostitute, a brothel.

I met the word *veśyaniveśa* in the sense of a brothel in *Raghuvamśa*. See J. J. MEYER'S edition of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (Leipzig; p. 150).

21. VEŚYĀLAYA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **laya* (place of rest).

A place of rest for prostitutes, a brothel.

Śabd. quotes *veśyālaya* (cited at *veśyājanasamāśraya* and at *veśyam* referring to *Medini*) along with the words *veśyājanasamāśraya* and *veśyam*.

22. VEŚYĀVĪTHĪ—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **vīthī* (street).

A street of prostitutes. A part of a town, or district of a town for brothels.

I met the word *veśyāvīthī* in this sense in *Bhojaprabandha* (ed. Jib. Viyāsāgara p. 93, cited in J. J. MEYER'S edition of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, Leipzig).

23. VEŚYĀVEŚMAN—*veśyā** (prostitute) + **veśman* (habitation, house).

A house of a prostitute, a brothel.

I met the word *veśyāveśman* in the sense of a brothel in *Rājatarāṅginī* (ed. by TROYER V-235) and in *Prabodhacandrodaya* (ed. by BROKHAUS 19-12).

24. VEŚYĀŚRAYA—*veśyā** (prostitute) + *āśraya* (habitation, house).

A house of a prostitute, a brothel.

Hem. and *Jaṭādhara* cited in Śabd. (at *veśyājanasamāśraya*) identify the word *veśyāśraya* with the words *veśyājanasamāśraya*, *veśyālaya*, *veśyam*, *pura* and *veśa*. (See Hem. 1003a).

APPENDIX VII.

PROCURESS

1. ARJUNĪ or *arjjunī*—(from *arj*—to procure).

A woman who procures, a procuress.

Jatōdhara cited in Śabd. (at *kuttanī*) identifies the word *arjjunī* with the words *mādhavī*, *raṅgamātar* and *kuttanī*.
Identically *Viśvamedinī* cited in Śabd. (at *arjjunī*).

2. KUṬĪ—(from *kuṭi*—crookedness).

A crooked woman, a procuress.

The word *kuṭī* is quoted in the sense of a procuress in Lakṣman Ramcandra Vaidya's Standard Sanscrit-English Dictionary (at *kuṭī*), (Bombay 1889).

3. KUṬUNĪ—(from *kuṭi*—crookedness).

A crooked woman, a procuress.

Tattikā cited in Śabd. (at *kuttanī*) identifies the word *kuṭunī* with the words *kuttanī* and *sambhalī*.

The word *kuṭunī* is probably incorrectly considered in BOEHTLINGK's and ROTH's *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* (at *kuṭunī*) as a wrong spelling of the word *kuttanī*.

4. KUṬṬANĪ—(form *kuṭi*—crookedness).

A crooked woman, a procuress.

The word *kuttanī* is the most frequently used word for the "procuress". The word *kuttanī* is often used alternatively with the word *kuttinī* (See *Hitopadeśa* II-85, etc.), Amar. (ed. COLEBROOKE'S, Calcutta 1807. *Nrvarga* 19 b p. 44/4) identifies the word *kuttanī* with the words *sambhalī* and *vāramukhyā*, *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *kumbhadāsī*) with the word *kumbhadāsī* and *Viśvamedinī* cited in Śabd. (at *arjjunī*) with the word *arjjunī*. See Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṅgraha* 345 a, 3-702 b, 3-703 a.

An interesting philological derivation of the word *kuttanī* is to be found in Kām. (59, 16-18).

Tā api (kalāvidagdā, muṇḍa, vṛṣalī and vṛddhagaṇikā) samdhivigrahayorjñāne karmani ca niyoktavayāh. Tāśca samdhivigrahārtham kuttanāccālanācca kuttanya ityucyante.

Usually the mother of a prostitute is called *kuttanī* (*Kathā-saritsāgara* etc.). See No. VII/5.

5. KUṬṬINĪ—(from *kuṭi*—crookedness,).

A crooked woman, a procuress.

The word *kuttinī* is like the word *kuttanī* one of the commonest words for "procuress". (See *Hitopadeśa* II-85 and other). Hal. (II-337) identifies the word *kuttinī* with the words

sambhalī and *cundī*, *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* cited in Śabd. (at *kuttinī*) adds the word *gaṇerukā*. See also Hemacandra's *Dhātupāṭha* (I-31) and *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (ed. COLEBROOKE, Calcutta 1807, *Manuṣyavarga* 5 p. 24/14-15). The mother of a prostitute is also called *kuttinī* (*Kathāsaritsāgara*, Tar. 57 and other). See No. VII/4.

6. KURNĪ—(from *kurī*-crookedness,).

A crooked woman, a procuress.

Bhāṣa cited in Śabd. (at *kuttanī*) describes *kuttanī* by the word *kurnī*.

7. KUMBHADĀSĪ—*kumbha*° (a cup, a goblet) + °*dāsī* (slave).

A slave of a cup, a girl who brings a cup, a prostitute, a procuress. (See No. 34).

The principal meaning of the word *kumbhadāsī* is "prostitute". I have very often met the word *kumbhadāsī* in this sense (Kām. etc.). However, the lexicographers quote this word also in the sense of a procuress. And, for instance: *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *kumbhadāsī*) identifies the word *kumbhadāsī* with the word *kuttanī*, and cited at *kuttanī* with the word *gaṇerukā*. (Identically Hem. ad 531 a).

8. GAṆIKĀMĀTAR—*gaṇikā*° (courtezan) + °*mātar* (mother).

Courtezan's mother, a procuress.

I met the word *gaṇikāmātar* sometimes in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. 2 *Apoḥāravarman's* Adventure), where the author describes the duties of a *gaṇikāmātar* towards her daughter. It is evident from this story that the mother of the courtezan was a "procuress". Probably such a *gaṇikāmātar* need not necessarily be the real mother of the courtezan but she could be a guardian of courtezans.

9. GAṆERUKĀ—(from *gaṇeru*-prostitute).

A prostitute, a procuress.

The main significance of the word *gaṇerukā* is a prostitute. The word *gaṇerukā*, however, may have also the meaning of a procuress. I met the word *gaṇerukā* in the sense of a procuress in *Śabdaratnāvalī* cited in Śabd. (at *kuttanī*) where it is identified with the word *kuttanī* and *kumbhadāsī*. See No 55.

10. CUNDĪ—(from *cund*°-to diminish, to reduce).

A procuress.

Hem. (533) identifies the word *cundī* with the words *kuttanī* and *sambhalī*.

11. DŪTAKĀ—(from *dūta*-messenger).

A messenger of love, a procuress.

The word *dūtakā* is cited in CAPPELLER'S *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* as identical with *dūtikā*. See No. 14.

12. DŪTĪ—(from *dūta*-messenger).

A messenger of love, a procurer, a procuress.

Śabd. (at *dūti*) identifies the word *dūti* with the words *dūtikā* and *dūtikā*. See No. VII/14.

13. DŪTIKĀ—(from *dūta*-messenger).

A messenger of love, a procuress.

Śabd. (at *dūti*) identifies the word *dūtikā* with the words *dūti*, *dūti*, and *dūtikā*. See No. VII/14.

14. DŪTĪ—(from *dūta*-messenger).

A messenger of love, a procuress.

This is the most typical designation for the word "messenger of love". Her duties and actions are very well described in Kām. (p. 46, 276, 288). (See R. SCHMIDT'S *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, Berlin 1904/6). I very often met the word *dūti* in ancient Indian literature as a designation for a messenger (female messenger of love), as well as for a procuress, because a messenger of love had to perform the duties of a procuress (see Kām. 276-288, *Hitopadeśa*, Book I-Story 7. p. 54. ed. by AUGUST BOLTZ, Leipzig 1868), etc. The word *dūti* is considered by lexicographers as a synonym for the words *dūti*, *dūtikā*, *dūtikā*, (according to *Śabdaratnavali* cited in Śabd. at *dūtikā* and at *dūti*) and *sañcārikā* (according to Amar. ed. by Dh. Parsharam Shastri-Waze, Bombay 1894; *Manusyaavarga* 1107, and Hal. II-336). As to who is suitable to be a *dūti* see Kām. (287), *Anaṅgarāṅga* (fol. 14a), *Pañcasāyaka* (IO 2526) *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (157), *Ratirahasya* (fol. 18a), *Smaradīpikā* (Rec. A. fol. 8b), etc.

15. DŪTIKĀ—(from *dūta*-messenger).

A messenger of love, a procuress.

According to *Śabdaratnavali* cited in Śabd. (at *dūti*) the word *dūtikā* is considered as a synonym of the words *dūti*, *dūti* and *dūtikā*.

*16. MĀTAR—A mother, a mother of a prostitute, a procuress.

The word *mātar* is often used instead of the word *gaṇikāmātar* or *rūpājivāmātar* etc. for the designation of a mother of a prostitute, which expression is often identical with the expression "procuress". I met the word *mātar* in the sense of a procuress in K. (123/12), Kām. (315/15 sqq., 320, 321), Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita* (chapter II. Apahāravarman's Adventure 205/78 etc.), *Śukasaptati* (t. o. VII, XXVII), *Pañcatantra* (*Tantrākhyāyikā*; *Die älteste Fassung des Pañ-*

catantra aus dem Sanskrit uebersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von JOHANNES HERTEL; Leipzig-Berlin 1909; Appendix), Mr̥cchakaṭīka (act VIII-56, IX-10), Kathāsarit-sāgara (Tar. 12; see also Tar. 57), etc. (See Jātaka 118).

17. **MĀTRKĀ**—mother (*deminutivum*); a mother of a prostitute, a procuress.
The word *matrkā* is often used instead of the word *gaṇi-kāmātar* or *rūpājīvāmātar* etc. for the designation of the mother of a prostitute which expression is often identical with the expression "procuress". I met the word *mātrkā* in the sense of a procuress in Kām. (315/5 sqq) and K. (123/6, 124/19, 113/18 etc.).
18. **MĀDHAVĪ**—(from *mādhu* sweet, charming).
A sweet woman, a procuress.
Jaṭadhara cited in Śabd. (at *kuttanī*) identifies the word *mādhavī* with the words *kuttanī*, *raṅgamātar*, *dūtī*, and *ajjunī*. See Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṅgraha* (3, 702 b).
19. **YONIPOṢAKĀ**—*yoni*° (*vulva*), + **poṣ*° (to chastise).
An attendant of a *yoni*, guardian of prostitutes, a procurer.
For the word *yonipoṣaka* (used in the sense of a "procurer" see J. J. MEYER'S *Das altindische Buch Welt-und Staatleben* (Leipzig; p. 375/25). See Appendix III/5.
20. **RAṄGAMĀTAR**—*raṅga*° (theatre) + **mātar* (mother).
A mother of an actress, or of a prostitute, a procuress.
Jaṭadhara cited in Śabd. (at *kuttanī*) identifies the word *raṅgamātar* with the words *kuttanī*, *mādhavī*, and *ajjunī*.
21. **RATATĀLĪ**—*rata*° (*coitus*) + **tā*° (tree).
A procuress.
Trikāṇḍaśeṣa cited in Śabd. (at *ratatālī*) identifies the word *ratatālī* with the word *kuttanī*.
22. **RŪPĀJĪVĀMĀTAR**—*rūpājīvā*° (prostitute) + **mātar* (mother).
Mother of a prostitute, a procuress.
I met the word *rūpājīvāmātar* in the sense of a procuress in K. (55/11).
23. **VĀRAMUKYĀ**—*vāra*° (treasure, frequently, rank) + from *mukha* (face, head).
A woman at the head of a rank, a prostitute, a procuress.
Only Amar. (ed. by Sahityāchārya Paṇḍit Śrī Haragovinda Miśra; Benares 1934, *Nṛvarga* 19 b p. 44/4) identifies the word *vāramukhyā* with the words *kuttanī* and *sambhalī*. See No 164.
24. **VEŚAVANT**—(from *veśa*-brothel).

A brothel, a keeper of a brothel, a procurer.

I met the word *veśavanti* in the sense of a procurer in *Kullūka's* commentary on Mn. IV-84.

25. ŚABDALĪ—A procuress.

I met the word *śabdālī* in the sense of a procuress in *Śukasaptatī* (ed. by R. SCHMIDT 63/13, See 26, 27).

26. ŚAMBHALĪ—A procuress.

The word *śambhalī* is identified with the words *cundī* and *kuttanī* (in Hem. 533b, and Hal. II-337), *kuttanī* (in Hem. 533b, and Amar. cited in Śabd. at *kuttanī*) and *kuttinī* (in Hal. II-337). See Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṃgraha* (3, 702b) (*kuttanī*).

27. ŚAMBHALĪYA—(from *śambhalī*)

A procuress. Identical with *śambhalī*. See No. VII/26.

I met the word *śambhalīya* in the sense of a procuress in *Naiṣadhacarita* (ed. Calcutta ; 6, 76).

28. SAṂCĀRIKĀ—OR SAṂCĀRIKĀ

A procuress.

Amar. cited in Śabd. (at *dūtī*) and Hal. (II-335) identify the word *saṃcārikā* with the word *dūtī*.

29. SAṂGHATĪKĀ—

A procuress.

I met the word *saṃghatīkā* in the sense of a procuress in *Trikāṇḍāśesa* (ed. Calcutta 3, 3, 48.).

30. SAṂBHALĪ OR SAṂBHALĪ

A procuress.

Tattīka cited in Śabd. (at *kuttanī*) identifies the word *śambhalī* with the word *kuttanī*.

SUPPLEMENT
TO
BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ
Miscellany

VEŚYĀ

SYNONYMS AND APHORISMS*

By

Dr. LUDWIK STERNBACH (Poland)

APHORISMS

“Love is a fire, whose flame is lust
Whose fuel is gallantry
Wherein our youth and riches must
Thus sacrificed be.”

So runs a proverb in *Mṛcchakatika*¹.

A better expression for this proverb, however, is to be found in *Bhartṛhari*²:

“A courtezan is the love God's flame supported by the fuel of beauty wherein the paramours sacrifice youth and riches.”

*

In ancient India the position of the courtezan was very high.

This is particularly evident from various epics. For example, king Virāṭa after having defeated his enemies with Pāṇḍavas' help in a bloody battle, gave orders to his envoys: “Go to the town and declare that we have obtained one great victory. Young girls shall adorn themselves and along with courtezans (गणिका) leave the city and come to meet the king.”³

In the same way the king after having received the news that his son had won a battle gave an order that his son should be greeted in the triumph march by young nice knights and courtezans.⁴

From Buddhist stories it is further evident what position courtezans enjoyed.

Courtezans were the only women who could enjoy and display their education. In dramatic works the courtezans, in contrast to other women, made use of the Sanskrit language and not of the Prakrit languages. The profession of a courtezan was not considered lowly. On the contrary it was estimable. A courtezan stood higher than a “faceless” woman, what appears from an aphorism of *Hitopadeśa*:⁵

* Continued from *Bhāratīya Vidyā* Vol. V, p. 143.

1 अयं च सुरतज्वालः कामाग्निः प्रणयेन्धनः ।

नरारणां यत्र ह्यन्ते यौवनानि धनानि च ॥

Mṛcch. 62 according to I. S. 3574. Transl.

by A. W. Ryder, publ. by Harvard University.

2 वेश्यासौ मदनज्वाला रूपेन्धनसमेधिता ।

कामिभिर्यत्र ह्यन्ते यौवनानि धनानि च ॥

Bhartṛ. I-90 ; I. S. 2897.

3 MBh. IV-34, 17, 18.

4 MBh. IV-68, 24, 26, 29.

5 वरं शन्या शाला न च खलु वरं दुष्टवृषभो वरं वेदया पत्नी न पुनरविनीता कुलवधुः ।

वरं वासोऽरण्ये न पुनरविवेकाधिपपुरे वरं प्राणस्त्रागो न पुनरभमानामुपगमः ॥

Hit. I-129. I. S. II 5953 (I-2730).

“Better an empty stable than the most beautiful but wild bull,
Better a courtozan (वेद्या) than a chaste but ill-bred woman,
Better to live in the forest than in the city of a stupid sovereign,
Better to give up life than to have intercourse with lower people.”

To courtezans honour had to be done and none was allowed to behave indecently towards them; this proceeds from an aphorism found in *Pañca-tantra*:¹ “A man who behaves indecently and brutally towards women, an enemy, a false friend, especially one who behaves in such a manner towards courtezans (पयस्त्री) should not live”.

*

It is understood that a courtezan must have possessed external virtues i. e. she had to be nice looking. That is contained in an aphorism of *Śādratna*:² “A dull Brahmin, an aged father of the family, a poor man being in love, a rich penitent, an ugly courtezan (वेद्या) and an avaricious sovereign,—are the six objects of mockery in the world”.³

However, so that her profession should be profitable the courtezan could not be bashful. This is expressed in an aphorism of *Vṛddhacāṅakya*:⁴

“Lost is a priest who does not possess frugality,
Lost is a sovereign who possesses it,
Lost is a courtezan (गणिका) when she has sense of shame,
Lost is a noble woman when she has not it”.

*

A courtezan who practises her profession in self interest or is engaged in a brothel or as a king's functionary concludes a contract with a male person according to which she has to receive the payment agreed on for sexual intercourse. When one of the parties does not observe the contract this one is obliged to pay twice the amount of the concluded payment.⁵ The male person is in a better position than the courtezan; he chooses a woman who pleases him while this choice is not available to the courtezan. An aphorism of *Mrccakatika* expresses that as follows:⁶

- 1 स्त्रीणां शत्रोः कुमित्रस्य पयस्त्रीणां विशेषतः ।
यो भवेदेकभावोत्र न स जीवति मानवः ॥
Pañc. Book III. Introduction 64, ed. by F. Kielhorn, Bombay 1896.
- 2 मूर्खो द्विजातिः सविरो गृहस्थः कामी दरिद्रो धनवांस्तपस्वी ।
वेद्या कुरूपा नृपतिः कदर्यो लोके षडेतामि विडम्बितानि ॥
Śādratna 3, l. S. 2224.
- 3 Compare a Russian aphorism : “Beauty of chaste is a virtue, that of a courtezan a quality”, according to “Racial Proverbs” by S. G. Champion—London—Russian 25. According to a Hindustani proverb. Fallon—Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs. “A woman with her hair down is a courtezan” (*Bane phire besud kholo phire besud*) (in Urdu).
- 4 *Vṛddhacān. Adh. VIII-18.*
- 5 गृहीतवैतना वेद्या नेच्छन्ती दिगुणं बहेद् ।
अगृहीते समं दाप्यः पुमानप्येवमेव च ॥
Y-II 292; see N. VI-18.
- 6 वाप्यां स्नाति विचक्षणो द्विजवरो मूर्खोऽपि वर्णाधमः
फुलां नान्यति वावसोऽपि हि स्त्र्यां या नामिता बहिष्णा ।

"The wisest Brahman and the meanest fool
 Bathe in the selfsame pool ;
 Beneath the peacock, flowering plants bend low,
 No less beneath the crow ;
 The Brahman, warrior, merchant, sail along
 With all the vulgar throng.
 You (*i. e.* courtezans) are the pool, the flowering plant, the boat ;
 And on your beauty every man may dote".

The same aphorism is expressed by *Vīta* in following words¹ :

"you (*i. e.* courtezans) are common as the flower

That grows beside the road ; in bitter truth,

Your body has its price ; your beauty's dower

Is his, who pays the market's current rate :

Then serve the man you love and him you hate"².

In another place of *Mṛcchakatīka* *Vīta* says to *Vasantasenā* :

"Did I not tell you to serve the man you love and him you hate"^{3,4}.

The courtezan must receive everybody for money ; it is evident from some aphorisms expressing contempt towards courtezans. We read in *Bharṭṛhari* :

Who, indeed, could be able to fall in love with courtezans (पण्यस्त्री),
 Who for a mere song offer their charming body to a man born blind,
 To a fool, to an infirm one...by old age, to a peasant,
 To a man of low family, to an afflicted one by a flowing leprosy,
 Who are the destroying knife for the wonder-plant of true perception⁵.

*

It was pointed out above that the courtezans as educated persons were esteemed and honoured. This, however, is to be found only in epics and in

ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशस्तरन्ति च यया नावा तथैवेतरे

त्वं वापीव लतेव नौरिव जनं वेद्याऽस्ति सर्वं भञ्ज ॥

Mṛcch. I. 32. ed. by M. R. Kale, p. 32. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

1 तरुणजनसहायश्चिन्त्यतां वेश्वामो विगणय गणिका त्वं मार्गजाता लतेव ।

वहसि हि धनहार्यं पण्यभूतं शरीरं सममुपचर भद्रे सुप्रियं चाप्रियं च ॥

Mṛcch. I. 31. ed. by M. P. Kale, p. 22. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

2 Courtezan.

3 ननूक्तमेव मया भवति प्रति—"सममुपचर भद्रे सुप्रियं चाप्रियं च".

4 *Mṛcch. VIII.* by M. R. Kale, p. 171. Transl. by A. W. Ryder. We find also a comparison between a courtezan and a plant by Catullus *XLI, 34* :

"*Ut tenax hedera huc et huc arborem implicat errans*".

5 जात्यन्धाय च दुर्मुखाय च जराजीर्णाखिलाङ्गाय च

ग्रामीणाय च दुष्कुलाय च गलत्कुष्ठाभिभूताय च ।

यच्छन्तीषु मनोहरं निजवपुर्लेक्ष्मीलवश्रद्धया

पण्यस्त्रीषु विवेककल्पलतिकाशस्त्रीषु रज्येत कः ॥

Bharṭr. I, 89, according to I. S. I. 967.

Langland in Piers Plowman : Lady Meed says about courtezans : "As common, as the pavement to every man who walked", and Shakespeare in "Much Ado about Nothing" : "A common Stale" (Act IV).

the literature which mentions idolised persons. In daily life the courtezans did not possess a high position which appears from the common literature.

Perhaps the best characteristic of a courtezan, a characteristic taken from life, is to be found in *Kathāsaritsāgara*:¹

“Providence created in this world the fair and frail type of woman, the courtezan, to steal the wealth and life of rich young men blinded with the intoxication of youth”.

In *Mṛcchakaṭīka Maitreya* gives another good characteristic of a courtezan during a talk with *Cārudatta*. He says:

“A courtezan is like a pebble in your shoe
It hurts before you get rid of it”.²

It was, however, well known that courtezans did not possess real feelings, that they did all for money, that they were cheats, that nobody could believe them and that, therefore, they had to be rather avoided than loved. We read in an aphorism of *Subhāsitasaṃdoha*:³

“As a thief of the wealth...

As a man-murdering pest, skilled in bringing all sufferings,

As a snare to catch the mad elephant called man,

The courtezan, the soleable woman (अननारी) was sent to earth by fate”.

Indeed, we read in *Mṛcchakaṭīka*⁴ that a courtezan was the personification of lust but this lust was of short duration. This appears from the following words which a procuress addressed to the courtezan named *Rūpanikā*:

“A courtezan who really loves someone is like the redness of the setting sun, both glitter but not for long” (*Kathāsaritsāgara*.⁵)

The same thought appears in *Rājataranṅinī*⁶ in other more beautiful words:

“The charm of the courtezan’s affection, the rainbow’s light, the sunflower’s colour and the even so ravishing chorus song, they all are momentary.”

Identical words we find in *Mṛcchakaṭīka*:⁷

- 1 रूपिणी कुसुतिः सृष्टा धनप्राणापहारिणी । आढ्यानां यौवनान्धानां वेश्या नामेह वैधसा ॥
तदर्पयासि कुट्टन्याः कस्याश्चिदमुमात्मजम् । वेश्याव्याजोपशिक्षार्थं येन ताभिर्न वद्मयते ॥
Kath. Tar. 57-57, 58 ; ed. by P. Durgaprasād & K. P. Parab ; Transl. by Tawney in “The Ocean of Story...” London 1924.
- 2 गणिका नाम पादुकान्तरप्रविष्टेव लेष्टुका दुःखेन पुनर्निराक्रियते
Mṛcch. VIII. ed. by M. R. Kāle, p. 114. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.
- 3 सर्वसौख्यदत्तपोधनचौरी सर्वदुःखनिपुणा जनमारी ।
मर्त्यमत्तकरिवन्धनवारी निर्मितात्र विधिनापणनारी ॥
Subh. XXIV-21.
- 4 Mṛcch. Act. IX.
- 5 सन्ध्या इव रागिणी वेश्या न चिरं पुत्रि दीप्यते, A story about Rūpanikā.
- 6 वेश्यानुरागस्य महेन्द्रचापधाम्नो हरिद्रारसरजनस्य ।
उपाङ्गगीतस्य च हारिणोऽपि सौन्दर्यमस्यैर्यहतप्रकर्षम् ॥
Raj. Tar. 5, 381. according to I. S. I. 5036.
- 7 समुद्रवीचीव चलस्वभावाः संध्याभ्रलेखेव मुहूर्तरागाः
Mṛcch. IV/15a. ed. by M. R. Kāle, p. 92. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

“As fickle as the billows of the sea
Glowing no longer than the evening sky.”

The same view, however, is expressed excellently in *Subhāṣitārṇava*.¹ The affection of a courtesan is there compared with a bubble. We read there :

“A cloud’s shadow, strawfire, a villain’s friendship, water on the ground, a courtesan’s affection and a bad friend,—these six are like a bubble.”

*

“Want of feeling and love is the reason why the affection of a courtesan is of short duration only.” According to *Mṛcchakatika*² the *gaṇikā Vasantasenā* takes a walk with *Cārudatta* in darkness because the latter has no candlesticks. *Cārudatta*’s friend *Maitreya* speaks then a sentence which is very fine and characteristic especially in the original text because of the pun लोह—oil and love. *Maitreya* remarks :

“These torches of ours are like courtezans, who despise their poor lovers. They won’t light up unless you feed them.”

A similar sentence is to be found in *Kathāsarisāgara*³ in a “Story about a Trader’s Son, a Courtesan and the wonderful Ape Ala.” Here *Iśvaravarma*, the son of the trader *Ratnavarman* was entrusted by his father to a procuress (कुट्टिनी) in order to be instructed by the latter in different tricks used by the courtezans. This procuress named *Yamajikvā* expresses the following axiom :

“Every-one is valued on account of wealth, a courtesan especially”.

And courtezans who fall in love do not obtain wealth, therefore, a courtesan should abandon passion.

“For rosy red love’s proper hue is the harbinger of eclipse to the courtesan as to the evening twilight”.

The courtesan does all with the purpose only to win money.

“If wealth is thine, the maid is thine,

For maids are won by gold”

says *Maitreya* in *Mṛcchakatika*.⁴

Mṛcch. uses, indeed, the word “स्त्री” and not वेद्या, but one can conclude from the many references about the same subject that these sentences refer to वेद्या.

अभ्रच्छाया तृणादग्निः खलप्रीतिः स्थले जलम् ।

वेद्यारागः कुमित्रं च षडेते बुद्बुदोपमाः ॥

1 अभ्रच्छाया तृणादग्निः खलप्रीतिः स्थले जलम् ।

वेद्यारागः कुमित्रं च षडेते बुद्बुदोपमाः ॥

Subhāṣ. 302b, according to I. S. II-516.

2 ताः खल्वस्माकं प्रदीपिका अपमानितनिर्धनकामुका इव गणिका निःलेहा इदानीं संवृत्ताः । *Mṛcch.* I. ed. by M. R. Kale, p. 40. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

3 धनेन पूज्यते पुत्रि सर्वो वेद्या विशेषतः । तच्च नास्त्वनुरागिण्या रागं वेद्या त्यजेदतः ॥

Kath., Tar. 57-61 ; ed. by P. Durgāprasād & K. P. Parab ; Transl. by Tawney in “The Ocean of Story...” London 1924.

4 यस्मार्थास्तस्य सा कान्ता धनहार्यो ह्यसौ जनः ।

Mṛcch. V/9 ed. by M. R. Kale p. 115. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

Therefore, avarice of courtezans became proverbial says also *Maitreya* in *Mṛcchakatika*:¹

“It is hard to find a lotus plant without a root, a merchant who never cheats, a goldsmith who never steals, a village gathering without a fight, and a courtezan without avarice”.

Possession of wealth is necessary for courtezans because

“science is the priests’ power, the kings’ power is the army; money is the courtezans’ power, the *Śūdras*’ power is obedience” says *Vṛddhacāṇakya*.²

The same sentence is to be found in several passages of the ancient Indian literature. As examples some of them are here cited. We read in *Pañcatantra*³ that a procuress after having perceived that her daughter lent some money to a young man addressed herself to her daughter as follows:

“Courtezans use the sexual connection with men only for money. For the highest lust is promoted by intoxication, love by lust, senses by eating, so all is promoted by money.⁴ All affairs develop by the stored money collected irrespectively from where it comes like honey from the flower-powder.⁵ Make yourself free. Relieve yourself, my daughter, of your passion and address yourself to persons who are proud of their wealth”.

An episode of the same kind is contained in *Kathāsārītsūgara* in the “Story about a Trader’s Son, a Courtezan and the wonderful Ape Ala” which ends with a following sentence:⁶

“So you see, king, that there never dwells in the minds of courtezans even an atom of truth unalloyed with treachery; so a man who desires prosperity should not take pleasure in them, as their society is only to be gained by the wealthy, any more than in uninhabited woods to be crossed only with a caravan”.

In *Mṛcchakatika Vāta* says:⁷

“Pride and tricks and lies and fraud
Are in your face;
False playground of the lustful god,
Such is your face;

1 सुष्ठु खलुच्यते—अकन्दसमुत्थिता पद्मिनी अवञ्चको वणिक् अचौरः सुवर्णकारः
अकलहो ग्रामसमागमः अलुब्धा गणिकेति दुष्करमेते संभाव्यन्ते ।
Mṛch. V., ed. by M. R. Kale p. 116. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

2 *Vṛddhacān. Adh.* II-16.

3 *Tantrākhyāyika. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit ueberetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von Johannes Hertel* p. 153-155.

4 *S’loka* 57.

5 *S’loka* 58.

6 एवं नरेश वनिताहृदये न जातु कृदादृते वसति सत्यकथालवोऽपि ।

तत्सार्धसाध्यगमनासु सदैव तासु शून्याटवीश्विव रमेत न भूतिकामः ॥

Kath. Tar. 57-174; ed. by P. Durgaprasād & K. P. Parab; Transl. by Tawney in
“The Ocean of Story...” London 1924.

7 साटोपकूटकपटानृतजन्मभूमेः शाठ्यात्मकस्य रतिकेलिकृतालयस्य ।

वेद्यापणस्य सुरतोत्सवसंग्रहस्य दाक्षिण्यपण्यमुखनिष्क्रयसिद्धिरस्तु ॥

Mṛch. V/36 ed. by M. R. Kale, p. 127. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

The wench's stock in trade, in fine,
 Epitome of joys divine,
 I mean your face—
 For sale! the price is courtesy.
 I trust you'll find a man to buy
 Your face”.

• She became proverbially false, which may be seen from the following aphorism from *Bhartṛhari's Vairāgya Śataka*:¹

“O my mind! Do not in thy solicitude think upon the goddess of fortune, for she is as uncertain as a courtesan, delighting to sport in the frown or smile of princes...”.

In a similar manner *Kṣemendra* in *Samayamātrkā* gives the following counsel:²

Courtezans hold fast the man endowed with property ; (should abandon a man) as long as his fortune is not consumed like a lamp-wick the end of which only gives light till it is continually moistened with some drops of oil.³

The procuresses propagate the principle—as it results from *Kathāsarisāgara*⁴—that

“the courtesan shall rather touch a dead body than a poor man”.

• Real love has no importance for a courtesan. Money only which is gained by her in a cunning manner is of value to her. This is clearly evident from a fine aphorism contained in *Subhāṣitasamidoḥa*.⁵

“She (the courtesan) frequently addresses hundreds of flattering words to a man who spends money though he comes of an unfine family; on the contrary she would put away even *Kāma*, if he should come to her but without money.”

Therefore, she is compared with a bird of prey which strips the tree of its leaves (*i. e.* deprives young men of their fortune). We find in *Mṛcchakaṭika*⁶ the following sentence:

- 1 चेतश्चिन्तय मारमां सकृदिमामस्यायिनीमास्थया भूपालभृकुटीकुटीरविहरव्यापारपण्याङ्गनाम् ।...
 Bhartṛ. *Vairāgya Śataka* Miscellaneous, 17. ed. by K. T. Telang, Transl. by Rev. B. Hale Wortham, London 1886.
- 2 संधारयेत्तं च विशेषवित्तं यावन्न निःशेषनत्वमेति ।
 पुनः पुनः स्नेहलवार्द्रवक्रा दीपं यथा दीपकदीपवर्तिः ॥
Kṣemendra's Samayamātrkā V-77, ed. by P. Durgāprasād & K. P. Parab, (Bombay 1925).
- 3 See Subh. XXIV. Especially 2, 10, 14, 16 and XXXI-23, Hit. II-23 according to I. S.-II, 484: अशुभैरर्थलाभाय पण्यस्त्रीभिरिव स्वयम् ।
 आत्मा संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्य परोपकरणीकृतः ॥
- 4 शवं स्पृशन्ति सृजना गणिका न तु निर्धनम्
Kath. Tar. 12/92 b, ed. by P. Durgāprasād & K. P. Parab.
- 5 या करोति बहुत्राडशतानि द्रव्यदातरि जनेऽप्यकुलीने ।
 निर्धनेन त्यजति काममपि स्त्री तां विशुद्धधिषणा न भजन्ति ॥
 Subh. XXIV-7.
- 6 Vṛddhacān. Adh. V, 6.

“A noble youth is like a goodly tree
His wealth, the fruit so fair,
The courtesan (वेद्या) is like a bird, for she
Picks him and leaves him bare”.

On account of her greediness for money she ruins every man especially a rich man. This appears from an aphorism from *Nītiśāstra*¹:

“A female slave ruins the man of honour, a courtesan (वेद्या) a rich man, a widow the duration of life, a strange wife (ruins) totally the man”.

That the courtesan continues the sexual connection with a man as long as he has money appears from *Mṛcchakāṭikā* where the following sentence is to be found:²

“A woman³ takes your gold, then leaves you free,
You're worthless, like cosmetics, when you're dry”.

The identical sentence is expressed in *Vṛddhacāṅkya* as follows:⁴

“The courtesan turns away from a man who has no more money, the people from the fallen sovereign, the bird leaves the tree without fruit and the guests the house after the ropast”.

In *Bhāgavata-Purāna* the following aphorism is contained:⁵

“The courtesans leave the men who became poor, as those who have finished their study leave the teacher”.

In still more drastic words this sentence is expressed in *Kṣemendra's Samayamātrkā*:⁶

When he (the paramour) became exhausted and ceased to do service, threw him away like a crushed piece of sugar-cane...

Nearly identical words are used in *Subhāṣitasamīdoha*⁷ i. e.:

“To a courtesan (गणिका) even a man of a fine family is dear only as long

1 दासी मानभनं हन्ति हन्ति वेद्या भनाधिकम् ।

आयुषि विधवा हन्ति सर्वे हन्ति पराङ्गना ॥

Nītiśāstra in Telugu characters, according to I. S. II-7540.

2 स्त्रियो द्वतार्थाः पुरुषं निरर्थं निष्पीडितालक्तकवस्यजन्ति ।

Mṛcch. IV/15 b. ed. by M. R. Kale, p. 92. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

3 See note 7 on p. 150/51.

4 *Vṛddhacān. Adh. II-17.*

5 निःस्त्वं त्यजन्ति गणिका अकरुषं नृपतिं प्रजाः ।

अधीतविद्या आचार्यमृत्विजो दत्तदक्षिणम् ॥

खगा वीतफलं वृक्षं भुक्त्वा चातिथयोगृहम् ।

दग्धं मृगास्तधारण्यं जारो भुक्त्वा रतां स्त्रियम् ॥

Bhāgavata Purāna, ausg. von Burnouf (10, 47, 7, 8). According to I. S. II-3787.

6 निष्पीतसारं विरतोपकारं क्षुण्णेश्चशक्तप्रतिभं त्यजेत्तम् ।

कृष्णाश्रिवासक्षयकारिशुष्कं पुष्पं त्यजत्येव हि केशपाशः ॥

Kṣemendra's Samayamātrkā ed. by P. Durgāprasād & K. P. Parab (Bombay 1925), V-78.

7 तावदेव दयितः कुलजोऽपि यावदर्पयति भूरिधनानि ।

येक्षुवत्यजति निर्गनसारं तत्र ही किमु सुखं गणिकायाम्

Subh. XXIV-12.

as he spends plenty of money and is thrown away by her like a pressed out sugar-cane of which the juice (money) is sipped".

*

The fortune earned by a courtesan, however, is considered as not permanent, due to her frivolity and the manner of its acquisition.

In *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* we find the following sentence:¹

"Riches of merchants gained by fraud, of goods confided to them, or courtesans gained by deceiving their paramours, of kings gained by tyranny— are not long lasting".

*

It is evident that the amount of wealth received in this way depends on the number of clients. Therefore, the courtesan had to endeavour to procure the largest possible number of clients. This may be seen from a quotation in *Pañcatantra*:²

"The courtesans may have sexual intercourse with many. One is coming in, another is going out, and the third is waiting at the door".

Therefore, she is compared to a large highway on which there are many persons. We read in *Subhāṣitārṇava*:³

"A widow is like an uneven way, another person's wife is like a hollow way, a courtesan is like a large highway and one's own wife is like an even way".

The courtesan has always to be watchful to catch clients. This principle is to be found in *Pañcatantra*⁴ too:

"During the whole night and during the whole day they are watching with prepared nets the king on his lands, physicians for patients, merchants for customers, wise persons for fools, thieves for careless persons, mendicants for landlords, courtesans for paramours (गणिकाम् कामिनाम्) and workmen for the whole world, because they live on them like fishes on fishes⁵".

It is understood that a courtesan makes no distinction as to the one with whom she has sexual intercourse. This is to be seen from the below

- 1 न्यायापहाराद्वणिजां वेद्यानां कामिवञ्चनात् ।
द्रोहान्बोधेनता राक्षामस्थिरा एव संपदः ॥
Rāj. Tar. 4, 480, according to I. S. I-1660.
- 2 *Tantrākhyāyika*—Die älteste Fassung des *Pañcatantra* aus dem Sanskrit uebersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von J. Hertel, Anhang p. 153-155.
- 3 विषया विषमः पन्थाः परस्त्री संकटो यथा ।
वेद्या महापथः प्रोक्ता निजनारी समो यथा ॥
Subhās. 256 ; according to I. S. II-6119.
- 4 देशानामुपरि क्षमाश्रुदातुराणां चिकित्सकाः । वणिजो ग्राहकाणां च मूढानामपि पण्डिताः ॥
प्रमादिनां तथा चौरा भिक्षुका गृहमेधिनाम् । गणिकाः कामिनां चैव सर्वलोकस्य शिल्पिनः ॥
सामाद्यैः सञ्जितैः पाशैः प्रतीक्षन्तै दिवानिशम् । उपजीवन्ति शक्त्या हि जलजा जलजानिव ॥
Pañc. I. Katha 3/171-173.
- 5 See similar sentences in MBh. V-1059 (प्रमदः कामयानेषु यजमानेषु याजकाः) and Hit. ed. by Schlegel III-34.

cited aphorisms by *Bhartrhari*¹ where we may read that

“for money they offer their charming bodies to a man born blind, to a dirty man, to a man tired by age, to a peasant, to a leprous man”.

They offer themselves to everyone and, of course, it is of no difference to them if the man is married or not, but according to *Vṛddhacāṅkya*² it is for a courtesan much more difficult to catch a man who is married. We read there:

“The mendicant is an enemy of an eager man, the teacher is an adversary of an idiot, the husband is an enemy of courtesans, the moon is an adversary of thieves”.

As the husband is an enemy of the courtezans, the courtesan is an enemy of the noble woman. This is seen from another sentence that we find in *Vṛddhacāṅkya*.³

“A learned man is the enemy of an idiot, a rich man is the enemy of a poor man, a harlot is the enemy of a noble woman, a handsome person is the enemy of an ugly-looking one.”

*

In order to get many clients the courtesan had to apply her tricks and to conduct herself as an actress. Many comparisons between courtezans and actresses are to be found. The reason for this comparison is to show that courtezans have to conduct themselves insincerely and falsely. We find, for instance, a very nice aphorism in *Kathāsaritsāgara* in the above mentioned “Story of the Merchant’s Son, the Courtesan and the wonderful Ape Ala”.⁴ We read there:⁵

“A properly trained courtesan should exhibit love without sincerity, like a well trained actress. With that she should gain a man’s affection... A courtesan, like a hermit, is the same to a young man as to a deformed man and so she always obtains the principal object of existence.”

Kathāsaritsāgara similarly expresses the same sentence in another passage i. e. in the “Story about Rūpanikā”.⁶ We read there:

“A courtesan like an actress should exhibit and assume affection in order to get wealth.”

1 जालन्धाय च दुर्मुखाय च जराजीर्णाखिलाङ्गाय च ग्रामीणाय च दुष्कुलाय च गलत्कुलामिभूताय च ।
यच्छन्तीषु मनोहरं निजवपुर्लक्ष्मीलवश्रद्धया पण्यस्त्रीषु विवेककल्पलतिकाशस्त्रीषु रज्येत कः ॥
Bhartṛ. 1, 89, according to I. S. 967.

2 Vṛdhacān. Adh. X-6.

3 Vṛdhacān. Adh. V-6.

4 Councils of the procuress (कुट्टिनी) Yamajikvā.

5 मिथ्यैव दर्शयेद्देश्या तं नटीव सुशिक्षिता ॥

रज्येतेन सा पूर्वं दुष्टाद्रक्तं ततो धनम् । दुग्धार्थं च त्यजेदन्ते प्राप्तार्थं पुनराहरेत् ॥

समो यूनि शिशौ वृद्धे विरूपे रूपवत्यपि । वेद्याजनो यो मुनिवत्स चार्थं परमशुभे ॥

Kath. Tar. 57-62, 63, 64; ed. by P. Durgāprasād & K. P. Parab; Transl. by Tawney in “The Ocean of Story...” London 1924.

6 नटीव कृत्रिमं प्रेम गणिकार्थाय दर्शयेत् ।...

Kath. ed. by P. Durgāprasād & K. P. Parab (Bombay 1888). Tar. 12, 94.a.

In other sources the false conduct of a courtesan is compared with the conduct of a king. We find relative aphorisms as well in *Bhartrhari's Śatakas*¹, as in *Pañcatantra*² and *Hitopadeśa*³. The aphorism of this last source has the following tenor:

“Now false, now true; now with harsh, now with agreeable words;
Now cruel, now merciful; at one time covetuous at another liberal;
Ever spending wealth and ever gaining large sums of money—
So is the policy of kings like the courtesan who has manifold appearances”.

Ancient Indian literature generally expresses the principle that no true feeling is to be found in courtezans because their only aim is to gain money from their paramours. The following aphorism is contained in *Subhāṣitasam̄doha*:⁴

“The courtesan (वेद्या)...does not trust a man...but raises confidence because she knows hypocrisy”.

*Pañcatantra*⁵ expresses it in a similar manner in a fine aphorism:

“At one time courtezans laugh, at another they weep for gold;
So they make men trust in them, though they themselves are full of falsehood.”⁶

*Mṛcchakaṭika*⁷ makes *Vasantasenā* express a sentence as follows:

“Courtezans meet so many kinds of men that they do learn a false courtesy”, because, as *Kathāsaritsāgara* asserts⁸

“never dwells in the minds of courtezans even an atom of truth”.

According to *Subhāṣitasam̄doha*⁹ the courtesan is

- 1 सत्यानृता च परुषा प्रियवादिनी च द्विजा दयालुरपि चार्थपरा वदान्या ।
नित्यव्यया प्रचुरनित्यधनागमा च वेद्याङ्गनेव नृपनीतिरनेकरूपा ॥
Bhartr. *Nītis'atakam* 47.
- 2 *idem. Pañcatantra herausgegeben von Kosegarten. Bombayer Ausgabe von Kielhorn und Buehler-I. 473. According to I. S.-IL 6739. See note 59.*
- 3 *Idem. Hitopades'a. Ausg. von Schlegel und Lassen; von Johnson; ed. Rodrigues; Bengalische Ausgabe. II-17 and Prasaṅgabh. according to I. S.-6739. See note 59.*
- 4 या न विश्वसिति जातु नरस्य प्रत्ययं तु कुरुते निकृतिज्ञा ।
नोपकारमपि वेत्ति कृतम्री दूरतस्त्वजत तां खलु वेद्याम् ॥
Subh. XXIV-18.
- 5 यता हसन्ति च रुदन्ति च वित्तहेतोर्विश्वासयन्ति पुरुषं न च विश्वसन्ति ।
तस्मान्नरेण कुलशीलसमन्वितेन वेद्याः इमंशानसुमना इव वर्जनीयाः ॥
Pañc. I. 206 t. o. 154 according to I. S. 575. Identically *Mṛcch. IV/14 ed. by M. R. Kale p. 91 & the Śatakas of Bhartrhari-Vairagya Ś'ataka, Miscellaneous, Ś'loka 9. See Eurypides: Dēlos' ōs gyné kakon méga (Hippol. 627); also “... hrēn gār állodeu potheubrotús pāidas teknūsthai, thēln d'uk éinai génos. Hátos án uk ēn uden anthrópois kakón” (Med. 573); Génos gār úte póntos utedē trései tóionde (Hec. 1181).*
- 7 हजे नानापुरुषसङ्गेन वेद्याजनोऽलीकदक्षिणो भवति
Mṛcch. ed. by M. R. Kale p. 84.
- 8 Kath. Tar. 57, 174. For text see note 6 on p. 150.
- 9 या विश्वविद्यकोटिनिष्ठामचर्मासनिरतातिनिकृष्टा ।
कोमला वचसि चेतसि दुष्टा तां भजन्ति गणिकां न विशिष्टाः ॥
Subh. XXIV-9.

“soft in speech and bad in heart”.

(The same aphorism is also known in the Konkani language)¹.

In order to excite love the courtesan has to apply her tricks but these tricks are innate to her, as it appears from one of the finest aphorisms relating to this theme. This aphorism is contained in *Bhartṛhari's Śātakas* and runs as follows:²

“To charming, nice-looking persons (*i. e.* to courtesans), enamoured features and other tricks are innate and these just light up the heart of idiots; the beautiful colour is natural to water-roses and the bee usually swarms there”.

*

As the courtesans are frivolous and insincere no faith can be given to them. They are unstable and unsteady in their feelings. Both these qualities *i. e.* the insincerity and want of attachment have justly become proverbial. This appears from an aphorism contained in *Kathāsaritsāgara* which has the following tenor:³

“The fortune of kings is unstable and unsteady even as a courtesan (वेद्या) is unstable and unsteady; on the contrary riches of merchants are stable like a virtuous wife; the latter does not go to another master.”

According to *Mṛcchakaṭīka's* opinion:⁴

“Those men are fools...⁵

Who trust to women⁶ or to gold;

For gold and girls 't is plain to see,

Are false as virgin' snakes and cold”.

That no faith must be had in courtesans appears also, for instance, from *Kathāsaritsāgara*,⁷ where the following sentence is to be found:

“Like courtesans (वेद्यास्त्री) no faith ought to be placed in women.”

An aphorism contained in *Pañcatantra* contains the following sentence:⁸

- 1 Compare two Konkani proverbs cited in “The Konkani Proverbs” by Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, Bombay” No. 235 and 237 :

‘Sweet in words but poison in the belly’ No. 235 (तोंडान बरो पोटांत विषाचो पोळो)

‘Loving words in the mouth but disease in the heart’ No. 237. (तोंडांत मोग काळजांत रोग)

- 2 लीलावतीनां सहजा विलासास्त एव मूढस्य हृदि स्फुरन्ति ।
रागो नलिन्या हि निसर्गसिद्धस्तत्र भ्रामत्येव मुधा षडङ्गिः ॥
Bhartṛ. 1, 78, according to I. S. 2673.
- 3 वेद्येव बलवद्भोग्या राजश्रीरतिचञ्चला । वाणिजां तु कुलस्त्रीव स्थिरा लक्ष्मीरनन्यगा ॥
Kath. Tar. 21-56; ed. by P. Durgāprasād & K. P. Parab.
- 4 अपण्डितास्ते पुरुषा मता मे ये स्त्रीषु च श्रेष्ठीषु च विश्वसन्ति ।
श्रियो हि कुर्वन्ति तथैव नार्यो भुजङ्गकन्यापरिसर्पणानि ॥
Mṛcch. IV/12 ed. by M. R. Kale p. 91. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.
- 5 “It seems to me” says Śarvilaka.
- 6 See note 7 on p. 150/51.
- 7 निरण्डीभ्यपि न भ्राष्ट्रो वेशस्त्रीष्विव सर्वदा ॥
Kath. Tar. 58-56; ed. by P. Durgāprasād and K. P. Parab.
- 8 अभिनवसेवकविनयैः प्रापुणकोकैर्विलासिनीरुदितैः
धूर्तजनवचननिकरैरिह कश्चिदवञ्चितो नास्ति ॥
Pañc. ed. Kosegarten III-122, according to I. S. 186.

“Nobody is here who would not have been taken in by the good behaviour of new servants, by the advices of a guest, by the tears of a courtesan (विलासिनी)” and by their voluble speech of flatteries.

The same idea appears also in a still clearer manner from an aphorism contained in *Kāvītamṛtak*:¹

“Whom does not deceive friend’s, villain’s and courtesan’s (गणिका) sideglances, the wry ones, the hypocritic friends, the dark persons, and persons who wish to be heard by others.”

It is in the nature of a courtesan that she can not be chaste and this is expressed in a fine aphorism of *Mṛcchakaṭīka*:²

“On mountain-tops no lotuses are grown;
The horse’s yoke no ass will ever bear;
Rice never springs from seeds of barley sown;
A courtesan is not an honest fair.”

A courtesan will never be attached to anyone. This is maintained in *Cāṅkyañītisāstra* in the following fine aphorism:³

“How can virtue be found in a thief?
How indulgence in a villain?
How attachment in courtesans (वेद्या)?
How truth in a lover?
How honour in those who left their country?
How happiness in a passionate man?
How faith in women?
How friendship in a bad man?”

She will also never be a faithful friend, as it appears from an aphorism known even now in *Ṣahpuri*. According to this aphorism:

“So many cannot be true friends—hope, dice, a courtesan, a robber, a cheat, a goldsmith, a doctor and a distiller”.⁴

Not only want of chastity is peculiar to a courtesan, but also she has no talent to understand others, because she has no feeling for anyone, but herself. This is evident from a fine aphorism contained in *Vṛddhacāṅkya*:⁵

“A king, a courtesan (वेद्या), Yāma, fire, a robber, a child, a beggar and, as eighth, a village-mayor—these all do not take notice of sufferings of neighbours”.

1 वक्राः कपटस्त्रिधा मलिनाः कर्णान्तिके प्रसज्जन्तः ।

कं वञ्चयन्ति न सखे खलाश्च गणिकाकटाक्षाश्च ॥

Kāvītamṛtakāpa 16b, according to I. S. 4962.

2 न पर्वताग्रे नलिनी प्ररोहति न गर्दभा वाजिधुरं वहन्ति ।

यवाः प्रकीर्णा न भवन्ति शालयो न वेशजाताः शुचयस्तथाऽङ्गनाः ॥

Mṛcch. IV/17 ed. by K. R. Kale p. 92. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.

3 तस्करस्य कुतो धर्मो दुर्जनस्य कुतः क्षमा । वेद्यानां च कुतः स्नेहः कुतः सत्यं च कामिनाम् ॥

प्रोषितस्य कुतो मानः कोपनस्य कुतः सुखम् । स्त्रीणां कुतः सतीत्वं च कुतो मैत्री खलस्य च ॥

Cāṅkyañītisāstra 60-61, according to I. S. 1007/8.

4 According to “*Racial Proverbs*” by S. G. Chapman, London.

5 *Vṛddhacāṅ. Adh.* XVII-19.

The courtesan, however, must not forget that she will arrive at the same destiny as every one *i. e.* death. This sentence is expressed in the following aphorism found in *Hitopadeśa*:¹

“To princes who are satisfied, to Brahmins who never are satisfied,
To ashamed courtezans, to noble women who are shameless—death is destined”.

Courtezans will never be faithful.

This principle is confirmed in *Subhāṣitārṇava*³ and *Vikramacarita*³ in two nearly identical aphorisms.

“No faith with courtesans (वेद्या), no stability with earthly possessions,
No correct opinion with stupid people, no transitoriness with works”,
According to an aphorism contained in *Subhāṣitasāṃdoha*⁴

“A courtesan takes one man to heart,
Invites the other one with special look
And makes love to someone who possesses money”.

The same sentence is expressed in *Mṛcchakaṭika*⁵ in a finer manner:

“One man perhaps may hold her⁶ heart in trust,
She lures another with coquettish eyes,
Sports with another in unseemly lust,
Another yet her body satisfies”^{7, 8}.

- 1 असंतुष्टा द्विजा नष्टाः संतुष्टाश्च महीभुजः । सलज्जा गणिका नष्टा निर्लज्जाश्च कुलस्त्रियः ॥
Hit. ed. by Nārayan Bālakṛṣṇa Godabole & Kāśinath Pāṇḍurang Parab, VI. edition, Bombay 1909, p. 96, s'l. 64.
Similarly *Cāṅkyaṅgītasāstra* 80, according to l. S. 227. The first part runs असंतुष्टा द्विजा नष्टाः संतुष्टा इव पार्थिवाः ।
- 2 सतीत्वं नास्ति वेद्यानां स्थिरता नास्ति संपदाम् ।
विवेको नास्ति मूर्खाणां विनाशो नास्ति कर्मणाम् ॥
Subhās. 101, according to l. S. II-6702.
- 3 सद्भावो नास्ति वेद्यानां स्थिरता नास्ति संपदाम् ।
विवेको नास्ति मूर्खाणां विनाशो नास्ति कर्मणाम् ॥
Vikramacarita, Manuscript, according to l. S. 3146.
- 4 संदधाति हृदयेऽन्यमनुष्यं यान्यमाह्वयति दृष्टिविशेषैः ।
अन्यमर्थिनमतो भजते तां को बुधः श्रयति पण्यपुरंध्रीम् ॥
Subh. XXIV-5.
- 5 अन्यं मनुष्यं हृदयेन कृत्वा अन्यं ततो दृष्टिभिराह्वयन्ति ।
अन्यत्र मुञ्चन्ति मदप्रसेकमन्यं शरीरेण च कामयन्ते ॥
Mṛcch. IV/16 ed. by M. R. Kale p. 92. Translated by A. W. Ryder.
- 6 See note 7 on p. 150/51.
- 7 Compare a characteristic of a courtesan in an English aphorism ;
“Wanton look and twinkling.
Laughing and tickling
Open breast and singing
These without lying
Are tokens of whoring”.
In W. C. Hazlitt, English Proverbs 447.
- 8 We find the same aphoriam in Burmese sources. We read for instance in *Dhammaniti* XIII, 167 :

A courtesan ought not to be loved. This admonition is expressed by *Sarvilaka* in *Mṛcchakatika*¹ as follows:

“Love not a woman,² if you ever do,

She mocks at you, and plays the gay deceiver.”

Therefore, no trust ought to be given to a courtesan because she is unstable. We read this sentence in *Bhartṛhari's Śatakas*:³

In consequence of her cunning, faithless and insincere conduct a courtesan cannot be trusted.

This thought is expressed in an excellent manner in an aphorism contained in *Subhāṣitasāṃdoha*⁴ too:

“One knows the quantity of sand in the ocean, a way through the centre of serpents, night and water and the whole circulation of planets too, but nobody knows the unstable mind of a courtesan (गणिका).”

The courtesan⁵ is also considered a forsaken person. We read in *Carr*:⁶

“Lost is a burnt-offering in a fire not glowing,
Lost is a girl by whose help one receives livelihood,
Lost is the cooking for the cook.”

*

This deceitful love of a courtesan, spiced by insincere feelings and inflamed by tricks known and proper to courtesans, often excite men. This is expressed in *Subhāṣitasāṃdoha*⁷ as follows:

“She (गणिका) produces like liquor redness (passion) in the eyes (of men), makes nervous and upsets the intellect, character, wealth and energy.”

“She (आपणयोषा) always burns (tortures) like a fire (flame), produces like liquor infatuation of the spirit and is skilled like a knife to tear the body to pieces.”

“Woman speaks with mother, sees another having an attachment for him thinks of another who is possessed of various advantages; who then can be called the darling of women such as these?”

In “Ancient proverbs and maxims from Burmese sources or the *Ni* Literature of Burma” by James Gray. London 1886.

1 स्त्रीषु न रागः कार्यो रक्तं पुरुषं स्त्रियः परिभवन्ति ।

Mṛcch. IV/13 ed. by K. R. Kale p. 91. Translated by A. W. Ryder.

2 See note 7, on p. 148/49.

3 *Bhartṛ. Vairāgyas'ataka*, Misc. 17. For text see note 1 on p. 151.

4 वारिराशिसिक्तापरिमाणं सर्परात्रिजलमध्यगमार्गः ।

हायते च निखिलं ग्रहचक्रं नो मनस्तु चपलं गणिकायाः

Subh. XXIV-15.

5 She who is in the brothel i. e. from whom he takes livelihood.

6 अदीप्तान्नौ हतो होमो हता मुक्तिरमाशिका । उपजीव्या हता कन्या स्वार्थे पाकक्रिया हता ॥
Carr. 371 according to I. S. II-7441.

7 रागमीक्षणयुगे तनुकम्प बुद्धिसन्वधनवीर्यविनाशम् ।

या करोति कुशला त्रिविधेन तां त्यजन्ति गणिकां मदिरां वा ॥

शोपतापनपराशिशिखेव चित्तमोहनकरी मदिरैव ।

देहदारणपटुभ्रुरिकैरिव तां भजन्ति कथमापणयोषाम् ॥

Subh. XXIV-19-20.

21 भा. वि.

Courtezans make even the boldest man shy, as we read in *Hitopadeśa*¹:

“In the presence of a sovereign, among scholars and on meetings with imprudent courtezans even an eloquent man is embarrassed for fear intimidates his heart.”

*

With regard to the above defects and faults the courtezan is considered, as *Subhāśitasāṁdoha* it expresses

“as home of faults, enemy of virtue, path to hell...” etc.²

In a very beautiful aphorism found in *Mṛcchakaṭīka*³ *Maitreya* says:

“A courtezan, an elephant, a scribe, a mendicant, a friar, a swindler, and an ass where these dwell, not even rogues are born”.

She was marked as the worst of the worst. This appears from an aphorism contained with very small variances in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*⁴, as well as in the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*⁵:

“One oil-press is as bad as ten slaughter-houses, one tavern as bad as ten oil-presses, one brothel as ten taverns, a king as bad as ten brothels.”⁶

In consequence several authors point out in various sentences that courtezans have to be avoided.

*Hitopadeśa*⁷ expresses this opinion as follows:

Learning displayed everywhere, purchased love, enjoyment and bread from the table of another person are the three things which make ridiculous”.

The following sentence is contained in *Subhāśitasāṁdoha*⁸:

- 1 राजनि विदुषां मध्ये वरसुरतानां समागमे स्त्रीणाम् ।
साध्वसदूषितहृदयो वाक्पटुरपि कातरो भवति ॥
Hit. II, 64, according to I. S. 2600.
- 2 श्रद्धवर्त्म सुरसन्नकपाटं यात्र मुक्तिसुखकाननवह्निः ।
तत्र दोषवसतौ गुणशत्रौ किं श्रयन्ति सुखमापणनार्याम् ॥
Subh. XXIV-22.
- 3 अपि च मो वयस्य गणिका हस्ती कायस्थो भिक्षुश्चाटो रासमश्च यत्रैते
निवसन्ति तत्र दृष्ट्वा अपि न जायन्ते ।
Mṛcch. V. ed. by K. R. Kale p. 114. Transl. by A. W. Ryder.
- 4 प्रतिग्रहे सनिचक्रिध्वजिवेद्यानराधिपाः । दुष्टा दशगुणं पूर्वात्पूर्वादिते यथाक्रमम् ॥
Y-I-141 ed. by F. Stenzler.
- 5 न राशः प्रतिगुलीयादराजन्यप्रसूतितः । सनाचक्रध्वजवतां वेधेणैव च जीवताम् ॥
दशसनासमं चक्रं दशचक्रसमो ध्वजः । दशध्वजसमो वेशो दशवेशसमो नृपः ॥
Mn. IV-84 and 85 Bombay 1886. See also MBh. XIII-125, 9.
The word “brothel” is used instead of “prostitute”.
- 6 Compare with the following aphorism (in Urdu) used even now in India ;
(*brāhman sānp randī aur Afghān kā bhī ā' toar nahim karnā cāye*)
“A Brahman, a snake, a harlot and an Afghan are all untrustworthy and it is only a matter of degree”. See also “Racial Proverbs” by S. G. Champion, London (Indian 21).
- 7 पल्लवग्राहि पाण्डित्यं क्रयक्रीतं च मैथुनम् । भोजनं च पराधीनं तिस्रः पुंसां विद्वेषनाः ॥
Hit. I-131, according to I. S. 1743.
- 8 तावदेव पुरुषो जनमान्यस्तावदाश्रयति चारुगुणश्रीः ।
तावदामनति धर्मैवचांसि यावदेति न वशं गणिकायाः ॥
Subh. XXIV-13.

“A man is only venerable to the people...as long as he acts according to the rules of law, as long as he does not fall under the power of a courtesan”.

Both the above sentences mention only the consequences of the non-observance of the warning that there should be not in intimate relations with courtezans.

In other passages of ancient Indian literature sentences are to be found explaining why courtezans have to be avoided. As a plentiful source of aphorisms of such a kind the Jainist *Subhāṣitasāmdoha* has to be considered.

The most remarkable ones are:

“Wise people do not go to that venal mistress (पण्यवनिता) who like a bitch for a gift, shows hundreds of favours, eats up dirt, causes sinful deeds and lives from fraud”¹.

• “Noble people have no intercourse with that courtesan (गणिका) who being grinded by millions of various jolly companions is bent upon intoxicating drinks and flesh, extremely depraved, is soft in speech but malicious at heart”².

“How then noble people shall search for that courtesan (गणिका) who is bent upon gain of money, exceedingly ground away from truth, purity, tranquillity of mind, and piety, is a store-home of all faults and is extremely depraved.”³.

They (the courtezans) destroy men *i. e.* destroy

“all the veracity, purity, tranquillity of mind, self respect, knowings, character, conduct, virtue, honour and shame”⁴,
and torment him, as it appears from Carr.⁵:

“A fly, a wind, a courtesan (वेद्या), a beggar, a mouse, a mayor. of a village and an astrologer—these seven are for the tormenting of others.”

Hence

“if virtue and a name are yours, then hold! Avoid her (courtesan-वेद्या) as you would a graveyard flower.”⁶

A similar sentence is to be found in another passage of *Vikramacarita*⁷:

- 1 या शुनीव बहुचाटुशतानि दानतो वितनुते मलभक्षा ।
पापकर्मजनिता कपटेष्टा यान्ति पण्यवनितां न बुधास्ताम् ॥
Subh. XXIV-16.
- 2 Subh. XXIV-9. For text see note 9 on p. 157.
- 3 यार्थसंग्रहपरातिनिघृष्टा सत्यशौचशमधर्मवहिःष्ठा ।
सर्वदोषनिलयातिनिकृष्टा तां श्रयन्ति गणिकां किमु श्लिष्टाः ॥
Subh. XXIV-10.
- 4 सत्यशौचशमसंयमविद्याशीलवृत्तगुणसत्कृतिलज्जाः ।
याः श्रयन्ति पुरुषस्य समस्तास्ता बुधः कथमिहेच्छति वेद्याः ॥
Subh. XXIV-1.
- 5 मक्षिका मारुतो वेद्या याचको मूषकस्तथा । ग्रामणीर्गणकश्चैव सप्तैते परवाधकाः ।
Carr. 443, according to l. S. II. 4850.
- 6 तस्मान्नरेण कुलशीलसमन्वितेन वेद्याः इमंज्ञानसुमना इव वर्जनीयाः ।
Mroch. IV/14b, ed. by M. R. Kale, Transl. by A. W. Ryder.
See also Pañc. I, 206. t. o. 154.
- 7 द्युतं मांसं सुरावेद्याखेटचौर्यपराङ्मनाः । महापापानि सप्तैव व्यसनानि त्यजेद्बुधः ॥

“Game of chance, use of meat and intoxicating drinks, intercourse with courtezans, hunting, theft, and contact with another’s wife—these vices, that are these seven great sins, are to be avoided by wise people.”

Courtezans have also to be avoided for the reason that their bodies are obscene. We learn it from an abominable sentence which is to be also found in *Subhāṣitārṇava*:¹

“A paramour smells like a dog, the courtesan’s (वरली) body which is a bad smelling one, skin covered mass of bones, full of urine, slime and other impurities...”

But the one who does not obey this warning and should continue intercourse with courtezans (वेद्या) will be as *Subhāṣitārṇava*² asserts, conceived in the hell by iron-glowing women.

Some of the authors, who in poems often express splendid sentences, represent even the point of view that a courtesan generally ought not to be kissed because her lips are unclean.

In a sentence of such a kind *Bhartṛhari*³ asks in the following manner:

“What respectable man kisses a courtesan’s (वेद्या) lip-buds though they should be charming? They are, indeed, a spitting box of spies, soldiers, thieves, slaves, actors, and debauchees”.

It is evident that a reply to this question must be negative. But the one who should kiss the lips of a courtesan becomes an outcaste.

This is expressed in *Subhāṣitasāndoha*⁴ in a fine aphorism in the following words:

“He who kisses the courtesan’s (गणिका) mouth which is soiled by spirits, meat and dirt and is an impure one and is adept in kissing the mouths of vulgar people, has not his equal in extraordinary depravity”.

It is pointed out that the mouth of a courtesan is fundamentally considered “soiled with dirt” because as *Subhāṣitasāndoha*⁵ expresses himself in another passage:

“In the mouth and in the lap of a courtesan (वेद्या) blamable men always empty blamable dirt like in a closet”⁶.

*

Vikramacaritā, Manuscript 267, according to I. S. 1262.

1 मूत्रश्लेष्मादिसंसक्तं चर्मैर्नद्धास्थिसंचयम् । दुर्गन्धं हि वरलीणां कामी जिघ्रति तु श्ववत् ॥
Subhas. 265a, according to I. S. II-4909.

2 वेद्यादिपरनारीषु सङ्गं कुर्वन्ति येऽधमाः । शब्दे लोहाग्निरामाभिस्तोषामालिङ्गनं भवेत् ॥
Subhas. 267; according to I. S. II. 6278.

3 कश्चुम्बति कुलपुरुषो वेद्याधरपल्लवं मनोश्मपि । चारभटचौरचेटकनटविटनिष्ठीवनशरावम् ॥
Bhartṛ. I-91; according to I. S. 620.

4 मद्यमांसमलदिग्धमशौचं नीचलोकमुखचुम्बनदक्षम् ।
यो हि चुम्बति मुखं गणिकाया नास्ति तस्य सदृशोऽतिनिष्कृष्टः ॥
Subh. XXIV-17.

5 वर्चः मदनवद्यस्या जल्पने जघने तथा । निक्षिपन्ति मलं निन्द्य निन्द्यनीया जनाः सदा ॥
Subh. XXXI-22. (See also XXXI-21, 23, 24).

6 Compare with a Scottish proverb:

“A whore in a fine dress, is like a dirty house with a clean door” in “Scottish Proverbs”, London 1818. A. 329.

Although the courtezans, according to the largest number of the aphorisms, are bad persons it must be pointed out that some of the ancient Indian authors¹ consider that courtezans, when they become aged are convert and even become devotees. This is to be read in Carr.²:

“A thief who has lost his vigour becomes a good man,
An ill-looking wife is faithful to her husband,
A patient is pious,
An aged courtezan (वेद्या) becomes a devotee”³.

In spite of all these above mentioned defects which find their expression in various aphorisms, there were also some sentences according to which intercourse with a courtezan had to be considered as a “virtue”.

It is true, it was not possible to find this sentence at any place in ancient Indian sources, but this tendency has been on the surface for a very long time and is expressed even this very day by courtezans in the following words:

“To have intercourse with a courtezan (वेद्या) is a virtue which takes away sin”.

Although this aphorism would not be authentic, nevertheless it is characteristic and noteworthy.

1 Most of the sources admit that old courtezans become procuresses (*Kathā-saritsāgara, Das'akumāracarita* etc.)

2 अशक्तस्तस्करः साधुः कुरूपा चैत्पतिव्रता । रोगी च देवताभक्तो वृद्धा वेद्या तपस्विनी ॥
Carr. 466. According to I. S.-7459.

3 In a Konkani proverb we find a question :

‘Can a courtezan be called a chaste woman, when she becomes aged?’

Chedis are a sect of people living in Cochin and Travancore speaking Konkani language. They are sometime called ‘devadāsīs’. They are connected with dancing etc., in the temples of the Goud Sarasvat community. Cited according to “The Konkani Proverbs” by Rao Saheb, Dr. V. P. Chavan, Bombay. (चेडी मंधारी जाळारी पतिव्रता ज्ञता? चेडी म्हातारी जाळ्यार पतिव्रता जाता?)

JAINISM AND MEAT-EATING

By Shri M. V. Shah

एवं खु नाणिणो सारं, जं न हिंसइ किञ्चणं ।

अहिंसा समयं चेव, एतावतं विभाणिभा ॥ सूयगडांग सूत्र.

It is an indisputable fact that the very root on which the edifice of Jainism stands is 'Ahimsā'. Coming across certain phrases or sentences in the Jain scriptures, some are led to believe that in the times gone by meat-eating was common among the Jains including the Jain monks. In old times some people used to think the same way and in modern times, too, the learned Prof. Hermann Jacobi and Prof. Hoernle followed the same wake of belief. Recently this controversy has been revived by a renowned student of Buddhism, Pandit Dharmānanda Kosambi. In his publication 'Bhagwāna Buddha' this learned writer has touched this subject, giving references of Jain Sūtras, that just as Lord Buddha and his disciples were used to meat-eating, Lord Mahāvira and his disciples were also used to the same thing.

Many scholars of Jainism have, before this, tried to refute this way of thinking, and this article, too, is nothing but an honest effort on my part to further expound this subject.

In three Jain scriptures we come across a few sentences in which are used the words अट्टिअं, मंसं and मच्छं;—this is the circumstance which has given rise to so much controversy, because the critics have interpreted such words in their own way and naturally the readers are led by the interpretations of these critics. But interpretations cannot be said to be infallible. Because it is almost the daily experience of a student of language that the same word admitting of different meanings can be construed in varied ways by different writers

and readers according to their own understanding and knowledge not only of the language but of the subject or Śāstras which they try to explain.

Though this subject has been dealt with in detail in 'जैनदर्शन अने मांसाहार' published in Gujarāti and Hindi by the writer of this article, an attempt has been made here to publish this article, in a concise form in English, with a view to draw the attention of Jain and Non-Jain scholars of 'Ardha-Māgadhī' and request them to evince interest in the subject and give their learned and well considered opinion on the interpretations given here.

Ācārāṅga, Daśavaikālika and Bhagavati are three of the old Jain Sūtras. The first two of these are virtually the authoritative Code of Ethics for the Jain monks. The words अट्टिअं, मंसं and मच्छं above referred to are used at certain places in these two Sūtras, in which the observance of certain conditions is imposed on the monks regarding their vigilance while going out for and receiving गोचरी (food from door to door). Need it be said that those were the days when killing of animals for sacrifices at altars and meat-eating were very common among the people. And in Bhagavati Sūtra a certain mention about the medicinal use of a certain food has been interpreted into meat-eating by some of the critics.

These interpretations, therefore, are open to discussion and require elucidation by the language experts.

भाष्यारंगसूत्र

से भिक्खु वा (२) जाव समाणे से जं पुण जाणेज्जा मंसं वा मच्छं वा भज्जिज्जमाणं पेहाए वेत्थपूयं वा आएसाए उवक्खड्ढिज्जमाणं पेहाए णो खदं खदं उवसं कमित्तु ओभासेज्जा । णदत्थं गिलाणणीसाए । (६१९)

Ācārāṅga Sūtra by Prof. Ravji Devrāj, page 131.

'Oh, monk or nun, know by this that if you come to know that at a certain house meat and fish are fried and cakes or buns are also cooked in oil for the entertainments of guests you need not, indiscriminately, go to such a house in a hurry and ask for alms. If it be unavoidably expedient to go, however, only for the sake of service to a sick monk, you can". (619).

This permission to go to such a house cannot in any way mean that the author of the Sūtra extends permission to receive meat in alms. The permission to go to such a house is only under exceptional and unavoidable circumstances of a sick monk, who may be in need of a light vegetarian food such as cakes and buns, which are not available at any other place. Under normal conditions, however, a monk or nun has to keep away from such places, even though they may be answering to certain of his or her requirements. This saves them from the blame to which, otherwise, they can be exposed by indiscriminate critics.

A household contains so many articles and things, the use of some of which may be permissible to the monks and nuns and that of the others not permissible. If a monk goes to such a place he goes only for the permissible ones. It is not fair and just, on the part of the critics, therefore, to put wrong construction and say that he goes and receives non-permissible things too.

2nd quotation under dispute :—

से भिक्खु वा (२) से जं पुण जाणेज्जा, बहु अट्टियं मंसं वा, मच्छं वा बहुकंटगं, अस्सि खलु पडिगाहितंस्सि अप्पे सिया भोयणजाए, बहुउज्झयधम्मिए तहप्पगारं बहुअट्टियं मंसं मच्छं वा बहुकंटगं लाभे संते जाव णो पडिगाहेज्जा (६२९)

से भिक्खु वा (२) जाव समाणे सिया णं परो बहुअट्टिएण मंसेण मच्छेण उवणिमंतेज्जा “आउसंतो समणा, अभिक्खसि बहुअट्टियं मंसं पडिगाहेत्तए”? एयप्पगारं णिग्घोसं सोच्चा णिसम्म से पुव्वामेव आलोएज्जा, “आउसो ति वा भइणि ति वा, णो खलु मे कप्पइ से बहुअट्टियं मंसं पडिगाहेत्तए । अभिक्खसि मे दाउं जावइयं तावइयं पोग्गलं दलयाहि, मा अट्टियाइं” से सेवं वदंतस्स परो अभिह अट्टतो पडिगहगंसि बहुअट्टियं मंसं परिभाएत्ता णिहट्टु दलएज्जा, तहप्पगारं पडिगहगं परिहत्थंसि वा परपायंसि वा अफासुयं अणेसणिज्जं लाभे संते जाव णो पडिगाहेज्जा । से आहच्च पडिगाहिए सिया, तं णो ‘हि’ ति वएज्जा, णो ‘अणहि’ ति वएज्जा सेत्तमायाए एगंतमवक्कमेज्जा । अवक्कमेत्ता अहे आरामंसि वा अहे उवस्सयंसि वा अप्पंडए जाव अप्पसंताणए मंसगं मच्छगं भोच्चा अट्टियाइं कंटए गहाय से त्तमायाए एगंतमवक्कमेज्जा अवक्कमेत्ता अहे ज्झामयंडिलंसि वा अट्टिरासिसि वा किट्टरासिसि वा लुसरासिसि वा गोमयरासिसि वा अण्णयरंसि थंडिलंसि पडिलेहिय २ पमज्जिय २ तओ संजयामेव पमज्जिय २ परिट्टवेज्जा । (६३०)

Ācārāṅga Sūtra by Prof. Ravji Devrāj, Page 134-135.

The interpretation of para 629 is this :—“A monk or a nun need not accept बहुअट्टियं मंसं वा मच्छं वा बहुकंटगं in his or her alms, only for the reason that such foods contain much of the non-eatable and very little of the eatable parts.

The same thing has been reiterated, with greater stress, in details, in the next para, which says that, if a monk or a nun happens to go to a certain house for alms and any inmate of the house asks him or her whether he or she will accept बहुअद्वियं मंसं he or she should say in reply that बहुअद्वियं मंसं is not acceptable to him or her. He or she can accept only पोगलं and not अद्वियाइं. In spite of this, if the host persistently puts बहु अद्वियं मंसं in his or her vessel against his or her will, the monk or nun should be tolerant, should go to an unfrequented place, where he or she should use मंसगं मच्छगं the eatable part and should put away अद्वियाइं कंटए the non-eatable part in a safe place such as burnt up ground, *heap of bones*, heap of scrape iron etc. which should be devoid of insects and other small creatures”.

In the first instance let me try to explain the meaning and use of the words, which I have used in the original untranslated form in the above paragraph, because most of the critics have taken their stand on these words and interpreting them in their own way, have gone so far as to say that meat-eating was common among the Jains of old.

It is quite evident that in the compound बहु अद्वियं the latter part is अद्वियं and not अद्वि, because in the same quotation its own derivatives अद्वियाइं and अद्विजेण are used (see footnote*).

अद्वि (सं. अस्थि.) = bone.

अद्विअ (सं अस्थिक.) = As hard as bone ; seed.

(Āpte's Sanskrit-Eng. Dictionary, page 103).

Jaināgama Śabda-Saṅgraha, page 36).

The original writers of the Sūtra are quite conscious of the difference in the meanings of अद्वि and अद्विअ and therefore in the first part of the quotation under discussion where the writer

* Footnote:—

Derivatives of अद्वि & अद्विअ.

		अद्वि				अद्विअ	
Case	Singular	Plural	Case	Singular	Plural	Plural	
प्रथमा.	अद्वि.	अद्वीणि, अद्वीइं, अद्वीइँ.	प्रथमा.	अद्विअ.	अद्विआणि, अद्विआइं, अद्विआइँ.		
द्वितीया.	”	” ” ”	द्वितीया.	”	” ” ”		
तृतीया.	अद्विणा.	अद्वीहि, अद्वीहिं, अद्वीहिँ.	तृतीया.	अद्विएण, अद्विएणं.	अद्विएहि, अद्विएहिं, अद्विएहिँ.		

intended to refer to *seed* the word अट्टिञ्ज is used i. e. बहुअट्टियं अट्टियाहं अट्टिञ्जेण and in the latter part where he intended to refer to *bone* the word अट्टि is used i. e. अट्टिरासिसि heap of *bones*.

The difference in the meanings of these two words, given in the above text, from the literary standpoint is much convincing to the common sense also, and these words are used in their respective meanings in scriptural quotations given below.

अट्टि = bone.

1. अट्टिमिज्ज पेमाणुरागरत्ता ।

One whose love for religion is as far deep rooted as the marrow of the *bones*.

(Bhagavati Sūtra, s. 2, Cha. 5th)

2. अट्टिचम्मावणद्धे ।

A skeleton of *bones* wrapped in skin.

(Jñātā Sūtra, Adhyayana 1st).

3. तओ पितियंगा पन्नता तं० अट्टिमिज्जाकेसमंसुरोमनहे ।

The following are the paternal contributions in the constitution of a child. *Bones*, marrow, hair and nails.

(Thānānga Sūtra, 3rd thānā).

अट्टिञ्ज = Stone of a fruit. 2. seed.

1. रुक्खा बुविहा पन्नता तं० एगट्टिया (एग+अट्टिया) य बहुवीया य

There are two kinds of trees yielding *fruits*, having one *seed* or many seeds.

(Jivābhigama Sūtra, page 45).

2. पोगगलं दलयाहि, मा अट्टियाहं

Give me the soft pulp of a fruit but not the *seeds*.

(Ācārānga Sūtra, 630).

3. सअट्टियं सक्कण्यं सवीयमं.

(Water) containing a *stone of a fruit*, a particle or a seed. (Ācārānga Sūtra, 599).

4. तत्थ से भुंजमाणस्स, अट्टिञ्जं कंटओ सिया । तणकट्टुसक्करं वावि, अञ्जं वावि तहाषिहं ॥ ८४ ॥

While taking his meal if a monk happens to feel in his morsel a *seed*, a thorn, a straw, a bit of wood, a small stone etc.

(Daśavaikālika Sūtra, Adhyayana 5th, gāthā 84).

As shown above अट्टिय means *seed* and बहुअट्टिय means having many seeds. The latter being adjective of मंसं, मंसं cannot mean flesh, because flesh does not contain seeds; but it means only the pulp or soft part of a fruit, and the use of मंस in this sense is well known.

मंस = (सं. मंस.) = 1. Flesh. 2. Fleishy part of a fruit.

(Āpte's S. E. Dictionary, page 753).

(Pāia-Sadda-Mahannavao, page 824 & 1274).

मंस in the sense of a pulp of a fruit has been used in the Sūtras, in English language, in Botany and even in the medical science as can be ascertained from the following authorities.

Sūtra. विंद मंस कणह एयाइं हवंति एगजीवस्स ॥

The stalk, the pulp and the skin (of a fruit) have one life.

(Pannvaṇā Sūtra, Chapter on Vegetation, gāthā 12th).

English. Flesh. Soft pulpy substance of fruit.

(Eng. Dic. by S. Ogilvie, page 292).

Botany. Fleishy part of a fruit.

Medical Science } खादु शीतं गुरु स्निग्धं मांसं मारुतपित्तजित्

While describing the properties of a Bijorā fruit the word मांस is used for the pulpy part of that fruit. (Suśruta Saṃhitā, page 327)

In this way बहुअट्टियं मंसं means 'the pulp of a fruit with many seeds.'

Now let us further examine the meaning of मच्छं वा बहु कंटगं which is used in the same sentence. In the sentence बहुअट्टियं मंसं वा, मच्छं वा बहुकंटगं, the word वा is twice used. The word वा, according to Āpte, can be used in two ways,

वा = (1) as an alternative conjunction meaning *or, and, also.*

(2) as a figurative attribute equivalent to वद् meaning *Like* (Āpte's S. E. Dic., page 839. Jain-āgama Śabda Sangraha, p. 680. Amarakośa, page 288, Śloka 248).

The following examples respectively show that वा is used in both the above senses in Jain scriptures.

(1) से भिक्खु वा भिक्खणि वा से जं पुण जाणेज्ज ।

Oh monk *or* nun, again know by this.

(Ācārāṅga Sūtra, 630).

नाहं रमे पक्खिणि पज्जरे वा

Like a bird shut up in a cage which does not feel happy.

(Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Adhyayana 14th, gāthā 41).

The said sentence बहु अद्वियं मंसं वा, मच्छं वा बहु कंटगं if arranged in syntactical order will run as follows:—मच्छं वा बहु कंटगं वा बहुअद्वियं मंसं (णो पडिगाहेज्जा) and which means (Do not accept) the soft pulp of a fruit containing many seeds *or* any thing hard *like* the fish bone.

Thus taking the first वा as a particle showing comparison and the second वा as a conjunction and making no change in the meaning of मच्छं and कंटग, we can derive from this sentence a meaning quite consistent with the fundamental principle of Jainism viz., 'Ahimsa'. It can be seen from the above statement that the above phrase refers to vegetarian food only and not to fish or meat-eating as is thought by the critics.

In the remaining part of the above quotation वा is used at some places and at others it is omitted. It is, therefore, more befitting to translate that part also by way of supplying the ellipsis.

In this sentence वा is used in its two different meanings in close proximity and this practice is not infrequent in the scriptures.

एवं बहुहिं कयपुव्वं, भोगत्थाए जेऽभियावन्ना ।

दासे भिइव पेसे वा, पसुभूतेव से ण वा केइ ॥

(Sūyagadāṅga Sūtra, 4th Adhyayana, 2nd Uddesā, 18th gāthā).

One, who is blind in love of a woman and who for the satisfaction of one's passions, does all the sinful actions, is *like* a slave, a deer, a menial, a dumb driven creature or the humblest of the humble.

Our contention is not about the use of the words, but the meanings or interpretation of the words used. It is only the etymology and syntactical rules, as well as the common practice or usage in language and last but not the least the context, which help us to arrive at the correct interpretation of a word.

The following few explanations will help a great deal in interpreting and understanding the texts of the quotation under discussion.

(1) A host when offering food to a monk uses the words मंस and मच्छ and the author of the text in permitting a food does not use the same words मंस and मच्छ, but their forms मंसगं and मच्छगं. What should be the motive in using this 'ग' ending? It is used to impart to it the idea of a simile, meaning thereby something similar to flesh or fish but not flesh or fish itself.

(2) The practice of giving the illustration of मत्स्य must have been frequently resorted to by writers in those days, as it is evident from the following:-

Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya and Vācaspati Mīśra in his Tātparya Mīmāṃsā make use of this illustration as follows :-

कश्चित् मांसार्थं मत्स्यान् शकलान् सकण्टकान् आहरति
नान्तरियकत्वात् स यावदादेयं तावदादाय शकलकण्टकानि उस्त्यजति ॥
(४-१-९२.)

(Mahābhāṣya by Patañjali).

तस्मान्मांसार्थं कण्टकान् उस्त्य मांसमश्नन्नानर्थं कण्टकजन्यमाप्रोतीत्येवं
प्रेक्षावान् दुःखमुद्धत्येन्द्रियादिसातं सुखं भोक्ष्यते ॥ (४-१-५४.)
(Tātparya-Mīmāṃsā by Vācaspati Mīśra).

A meat-eater brings fish with its scales and thorns as they are inseparable, but he eats only the flesh, the eatable part and throws off the scales and the thorns, the uneatable hard stuff.

3. Following are some of the many examples of vegetarian food which are acceptable to the Jain monks, and which answer to the properties as described in the text by the author e. g.

- (1) Cooked vegetables of * बोर, गुंदा, शींगोडा, सरणवो, etc.
- (2) Pickles of गुंदा, dates and mangoes.
- (3) Small pieces of sugar cane.
- (4) Slice of a mango or any such fruit with skin but without seed.
- (5) A piece of cocoanut with its shell attached to it.

Some of these contain seeds or uneatable hard parts and others have skin or hard shell.

(4) The author in the same quotation lays particular stress regarding the place where, the manner in which and the scrupulous care with which the seeds and the uneatable parts should be put away, so that even the humblest of the sensible life may not be hurt. It is quite incomprehensible and unbelievable, therefore, that the same author in the same quotation may allow a monk to accept as alms fish and fleshy food which unequivocally implies the killing of more useful lives.

दशवैकालिक सूत्र

बहुअद्वियं पुग्गलं, अणिसिं वा बहुकंटयं ।
 अत्थियं तिदुअं विळ्ळं, उच्छुखंडं व सिंवल्लिं ॥ ७३ ॥
 अप्पे सिया भोयणजाए, बहुउज्झियधम्मिए ।
 दित्थिअं पडिआइक्खे, न मे कप्पइ तारिसं ॥ ७४ ॥

(Daśavaikālika Sūtra, Adhyayana 5th, gāthā 73rd & 74th).

These verses belong to Daśavaikālika Sūtra and its subject matter is nothing but a re-echo of the precepts given in the Ācārāṅga and hence these also admit of the meanings given above. The words बहुअद्वियं and बहुकंटयं used in Daśavaikālika are the same as those used in the Ācārāṅga, but the

* बोर = Zizyphus Jujuba. गुंदा = Cordia-Latifolia, शींगोडा = Trapa bispinosa. सरणवो = Moringa Pterigo-sperma.

word अणिसि (सं. अणिसि = a creature without twinkling of eyes i. e. a fish. Āpte's S. E Dic. page 29. Pāia-Sadda-Mahannavo page 40) is a synonym of मच्छ and the word पुगलं is another Prākṛit form of पोगलं. The word पोगलं is used in the quotation of the Ācārāṅga as a synonym of मंस, and hence पुगलं in this quotation, too, can be, unhesitatingly interpreted as 'a soft pulp of a fruit'.

Taking it into this light the first line of the verse favours the interpretation of the soft pulpy part of the fruit containing many seeds and uneatable hard stuff like a fish; and in the second line of the same verse the author gives for the sake of clarification the names of such fruits viz., अस्थियं, तिन्दुअं, बिहं, उच्छुखंडं and सिबलि. All these fruits contain the soft pulp and seeds or uneatable hard stuff.

In spite of such a simple and straightforward meaning and the instances of fruits, given in support of the above meaning in the same verse and the preceding and the following verses of the same chapter dealing with vegetarian food, if a critic tries to misinterpret it into fish and meat food, it can only be attributed to his want of knowledge of the subject or his ignorance of the language.

Some of the Jain Ācāryas in their commentaries have taken बहुअस्थियं, बहुकंटगं, मच्छं, and अणिसि to be certain kinds of vegetable and have commented the word "भोज्जा" as 'used for external purposes' but apart from that, in this article the meanings of the same words have been given quite differently on the authority of dictionaries and their various uses in different places.

भगवती सूत्र.

The folloing is the text in connection with the medicinal use by Lord Mahāvīra of a certain preparation when he was suffering from bilious fever and profuse discharge of blood in stool.

“तथ णं रेवतीए गाहावतिणीए मम अट्टाए हुवे कवोयसरीरा उवक्खडिया
तेहिं नो अट्टो, अत्थि से अजे पारियासिए मज्जारकडए कुक्कुडमंसए तमाहराहि
एषणं अट्टो” ॥

Bhagavati Sūtra, s. 15, page 686.

Abhayadev Sūri one of the renowned and learned Jain Ācāryas, who has written commentaries on the nine अंगसूत्र (main or principal Sūtras) gives his comments as follows in respect of the above quotation.

“ततो गच्छ × × × × मदर्थं द्वे कूष्माण्डफलशरीरे उपस्कृते, न च ताभ्यां प्रयोजनं, तथाऽन्यदस्ति तद्गृहे परिवासितं मर्जारामिधानस्य वायोर्निवृत्तिकारकं कुक्कुटमांसकं बीजपूरक-कटाहमित्यर्थः, तदाहर, तेन नः प्रयोजनमिति” ॥

Thānānga, Sūtra 691, page 456-457.

The English version of it is “you go to Mendhika where a certain mistress named Revati has cooked two pumpkins into a certain preparation for my use. I cannot make use of that. However she has got the pulp of ‘Bijorā’ fruit which is used as a medicine for the disease of ‘Mārjāra Vāyu’. Go and get that for my use.”

There are three disputable words in the above quotation कपोत, मजार and कुक्कुटमांस. These words are used in connection which medicinal purpose and their meanings should, therefore, be determined with the aid of dictionaries of medical words and as these dictionaries are mostly written in Sanskrit, we should also try to know their Sanskrit equivalents.

कपोत = सं. कपोत.

कुक्कुट = सं. कुक्कुट.

मजार = सं. मर्जार.

मांस = सं. मांस.

कपोत = 1. A fruit named पारावत.

Suśruta Samhitā, page 338, Chapter on fruit.

2. कूष्माण्डफल—white pumpkin.

The commentator has preferred the latter meaning because the colour of the white pumpkin is similar to that of कपोत i. e. a pigeon and it has been a common practice with the writers to use the same word for an animal or a vegetable if the external appearance, properties or other qualities of both are almost similar, e. g

मत्स्यंढी = 1. Eggs of a fish,

2. Sugar (because its external appearance and the size of its crystals are similar to those of the eggs of a fish).

उंदरकर्णी = 1. Ears of a mouse.

2. A vegetable whose leaves resemble the ears of a mouse in shape.

मंडुकी, कोल, चिल्ल, कुहन and many more can be cited in support of the above practice.

So the commentator is right in taking कपोत as कूष्माण्डफल and that is the interpretation compatible with the words दुवे and सरीरा.

दुवे कबोयसरीरा = Two white pumpkin fruits.

मार्जार = (1) kind of a vegetable and it is used in that sense in the Sūtras also i. e.

(a) वत्थुलपोरगमज्जारपोइवल्लीयपालक्का.

(Paṇṇavaṇā Sūtra, Chapter on trees).

वत्थुलचोरगमज्जारपोइचिल्लिया.

(Bhagavatī Sūtra, Śataka 21st).

2. A plant named 'Ratna Chitraka'.

(Rāja Nighaṇṭu).

3. A cat.

4. White pumpkin or gourd. (Vaidyaka Śabda Sindhu, Page. 889.)

5. A kind of disease.

मज्जारकडए = सं. मार्जारकृत prepared or made from a vegetable named Mārjāra or treated with Mārjāra.

But कडए is found nowhere to have been used in the sense of killed in Ardha-Māgadhī as interpreted by the critics.

कुक्कुट. = 1. A vegetable having leaves with four petals.

(Vaidyaka-Śabda Sindhu, p. 259.)

2. Fruit of शाल्मलि tree (Vaidyaka Śabda Sindhu, p. 259.)

3. मातुलुङ्ग = Bijorā fruit = Citron.

मंस = soft pulp of a fruit (as aforesaid in this article.).

कुक्कुडमंसए = soft pulp of Bijorā fruit.

The reason for not adopting the first two meanings is evident as those vegetables have no medicinal use in such illness, but मातुलुङ्ग = Bijorā fruit pulp is used as a medicine for such a disease is therefore appropriate. Let us further see as

to why कुकुट is interpreted as Bijorā (Citron). The feminine form of कुकुट is कुकुटी and मधु कुकुटी or मधु कुकुटिका is derived from कुकुटी. If the adjectival prefix मधु be omitted कुकुट, कुकुटी and कुकुटिका become synonymous.

Now मधुकुकुटी and मधुकुकुटिका = Bijorā = Citron (Vaidyaka-Sabda-Sindhu, Rāja Vallabha, page 708.) and कुकुटी also mean Bijorā and, therefore, the commentator has adopted that meaning. When the synonymous words used in connection with the animal life are used in respect of vegetable life, they bear the same meaning e. g.

<i>Syn. Words.</i>	<i>Animal life.</i>	<i>Vegetable life.</i>
कुमारी & कन्या.	an unmarried girl	aloe plant
धूर्त & कितव.	a rouge, a cheat	Dhaturā plant
कुकुट, कुकुटी, & कुकुटिका.	cock or hen	Citron fruit

We have taken the disputable words as meaning vegetable plants and fruits on the authority of medical dictionaries, moreover they were useful because of their medicinal properties to cure the disease from which Lord Mahāvira was suffering.

Even a scholarly commentator like Abhayadeva-Sūri has understood the sentences to mean vegetable things, what objection can there be on our part to accept those interpretations? A great saint like Manu says "आर्षं संदधीत, न तु विघटयेत" that the words of great men should be carried on with a constructive bent of mind rather than destructive one. Accordingly we should also give interpretations which may maintain the fundamental principle of Jainism viz., Ahimsā.

Following are some additional arguments to support why the interpretations referring to animal life are not applicable in this case.

(1) Medical science does not advocate anywhere the use of animal flesh for the cure of such a disease.

(2) It is not only impossible but incredible that a person like Lord Mahāvira, who raised hue and cry against

animal killing would behave in a manner detrimental to the most beloved principle of his life, and it is equally incredible that he himself would resort to meat-eating against his preaching to his followers that meat-eating is leading to hell.

(3) Revati, a wise and discreet woman, was a wife of a rich man and a follower of Lord Mahāvīra. She gave this medicinal food as alms for Lord Mahāvīra and it is mentioned in Śāstras that this act of hers raised her to the position of Devagati and an exalted place among the Tirthamkaras of the cycle to come. Is it appealing to the common sense to believe that a woman of this type would cook stale meat, keep it overnight, give it as alms for the Lord and for all that she would attain to the eminent position mentioned above?

In this way I have attempted to give literally and logically clear explanations, in keeping with the scriptural spirit, of the disputable portions in Jain Śāstras which have given rise to frequent discussions and controversies.

Now I shall try to give the proofs on the authority of scriptures that Jainism strictly forbids meat-eating & drinking.

1. The following verse occurs in the Daśvaikālika Sūtra:-

“अमज्जमंसासि अमच्छरीआ, अभिवखणं निविगइं गया अ”

(Daś. Sūtra, Cūlikā 2nd, gāthā 7th).

The writer says here that not only does a monk completely abstain from drinking and meat-eating nor feel jealous to see the happiness of others but unnecessarily and without sufficient reasons to do so, he does not very often use for his personal comforts foods like milk, curds, ghee etc. which stimulate the passions. In the same way at certain places in Sūyagaḍāṅga, Praśna Vyākaraṇa and Daśavaikālika Sūtras the monks are addressed as ‘अमज्जमंसासिणो’ meaning one who abstains from drinking and meat-eating. How could this be justified if a monk were allowed to behave otherwise?

(2) It has been mentioned in Śāstras more often than not that

(1) undertakings on extensive scale, (2) attachment for worldly things, (3) killing of animals & (4) meat-eating drag a man to the lower world.

चउहिं ठणेहिं जीवा णेरइयत्ताए कम्मं पकरेंति तं जहा

(१) महारंभयाए (२) महापरिग्गहयाए (३) पंचिदियवहेणं (४) कुणि-
माहारेणं ॥

Thānāṅga, Bhagavati, Uvavāi and Uttarādhyayana.

(3) Out of the 12 Precepts (व्रत) in regard to the conduct of a Śrāvaka, the 7th enumerates the daily necessities of his life and occupation. No mention has been made in this about meat, eggs, wine etc. This goes to prove that Śrāvakas, too, abstained from these things. This statement is further confirmed by the fact narrated in Upāsakadaśāṅga Sūtra about the vows taken by Ānanda Śrāvaka in the presence of Lord Mahāvīra. In the same precept there are certain observances (अतिचार) prescribed.

अप्पोलिय-ओसहि-भक्खणयाए, दुप्पोलिय-ओसहि-भक्खणयाए.

(A Śrāvaka should not take corn-food half cooked or badly cooked). The word 'ओसहि' in this connotes the corn such as Bājari, Juwār and the like. (Jaināgama Śabda Saṅgraha, p. 218). This further confirms our notion that the Śrāvakas were corn-eaters and not meat-eaters. Is it possible, therefore, that the religious sect who are corn-eaters themselves, may have amongst them the Supreme Soul and monks who may be meat-eaters?

4. The first sermon delivered by every Tirthaṅkara after the attainment of Kevalajñāna runs as follows :- "The Tirthaṅkaras of the past, the present and the future all invariably say, "Keep away from killing सर्वप्राण, सर्वभूत, सर्वजीव and सर्वसत्त्व (any and everything coming under the category of a life) and forbid an act of domination over a life, of causing life mental or physical torment or of causing to sever body and soul etc." (Ācārāṅga Sūtra, Adhyayana 4th). It is equally impossible that such Tirthaṅkaras would ever resort to meat-eating themselves or would suffer their followers to be meat-eaters.

Other arguments of the Critics

(1) One of the arguments proffered in support of their statement is that in those days the Brahmins used to offer sacrifices of animals at the altars, the people at large used to offer the lives of animals for the propitiation of their deities, meat used to be publicly sold in the market, and vegetable food was not easily obtainable. On such grounds the critics draw their imaginary conclusion that the monks who had to live on alms used to accept meat-food (Bhagavāna Buddha, p. 107). Let us go deep into the propriety of this argument.

The animal sacrifices offered were from a religious standpoint and not with a view to their use as food. In the present days vegetable food and nuts are offered as sacrifice to gods and goddesses and it is then distributed among the inmates of the house and others as a sort of ऋषि. In those days the animal sacrifice used to be distributed in the same way. For feeding the Yajñāchārya, his assistants and other participants, however, delicious preparations of rice, other corns and vegetables, which were in abundance, were used.

(Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Adhyayana 12th.)

This supports our view that all the people in those days were not meat-eaters only because vegetable food was also available in abundance.

Even in our times we see that in the countries where meat-eating is in vogue on a wider scale, there are men, who live only on vegetable food. So the existence of religiously vegetarian monks in the old days is not inconceivable.

In an agricultural country like India, the harvest of corn was not only abundant, but was sold cheap also, as no transportation or exportation was necessary in those days. It is unimaginable, therefore, that the people would ever think of using in daily life animal food only, which evidently involved the killing of animals—animals which are the backbone of

their agricultural activities, —and did not make use of vegetarian food at all,—a circumstance which made it impossible for the monks, too, to get vegetarian food.

I may also make it clear that the monks, having got to maintain themselves by alms were allowed to accept acceptable alms from the richest to the poorest door, and so they had no difficulty in getting the vegetarian food.

In this way detailed explanations have been given of the disputable passages and it has been proved on good authority that those passages referred to vegetable food only, that is, no trace has been found in the Jain Āgamas to make us doubt that meat-eating was common among the Jain monks and the Jain sect of old, nor has it ever been known that meat-eating has been resorted to by any one of the many sects of Jains or any serious and sincere follower of Jainism in these days.

This proves beyond doubt that meat-eating was not at all prevalent among the Jains of old and is not so in these days too. Still if a researcher will be able to prove otherwise on the strength of his indisputable research, the question will certainly engage the attention of all for due consideration on that. It is, therefore, as futile as it is unnecessary to grope in the dark to find out a thing which does not exist at all.

My last request is that the interpretations suggested by me of the disputable passages and the reasonings and arguments given in support thereof, may be well thought over and their propriety or appropriateness may be considered from the various standpoints, of usage in language, grammer, their context with reference to allied passages in the Sūtras etc.

In the end I bring this chapter to a close with a request to the interested readers and critics to overlook and draw my attention to the drawbacks as no one can claim to be perfect and infallible.

A New Grant of Paramāra King Bhojadeva from Moḍāsā.

By

Prof. HARIPRASAD SHASTRI, M. A.

Moḍāsā (23°28' north 73°20' east) is a municipal town in the extreme north-east of Ahmedabad district in Bombay Presidency. It lies on the river Mājham, fifty-two miles north-east of Ahmedabad. The grant was discovered at this place¹.

The grant has been engraved on a set of two copper plates, each of which is 7.4" × 5.3" in size. The plates have one hole near the edge, intended for the ring for holding the plates together. The ring has not been preserved at present. The weight of both the plates is about 2½ lbs.

There are 15 lines on the first plate and 6 on the second.

The record is incised in the Nāgarī characters of eleventh century, which bear fair resemblance with those of the Ujjain Plates² of Vākpati II and Muñja, dated V. S. 1031 and 1074 respectively. The language of the record presumes to be Sanskrit, but it may be more correct to style it Sanskritised vernacular. The record teems with mistakes, especially of mis-spelt words such as daśaśu (l. 1) paramesvara (l. 3) Mohaḍavāśaka (l. 6), sampana (l. 8), bhūmī-seva (l. 10), Sāsanam

1 It was discovered by Prin. Ramanlal Soni of Modern High School. My colleague Mr. Bhogilal Sandesara, M. A., informed me that Mr. Soni wanted to have the grant read by me. At the end of last April, I went there for this purpose on behalf of the Research and Post-graduate Department, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, and prepared a transliterated copy of the grant. I am thankful to Mr. Soni for this help given to me.

2 I. A., Vol. VI p. 51 ff. and 53 ff.

(l. 10) śūtāya (l. 12) Vīpra (l. 12) sāksīṇāḥ (l. 16) likhyante (l. 16), śresthī (l. 17), etc. It is very difficult to ascertain who is responsible for these mistakes, but as regards the defective construction in lines 11-12, the draftsman seems to have committed errors in concord of cases.

The copper-plates record a grant of land (bhūmi-śāsana) made in the reign of king Bhojadeva, who bore three imperial titles, viz. Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara. He was preceded by P. M. P. Sindhurāja; Sindhurāja was preceded by P. M. P. Vākpatirāja; and Vākpatirāja was preceded by P. M. P. Siyakadeva. The actual grantor is however Vatsarāja (l. 7) or Vaccharāja (l. 20), styled Mahārājaputra, son of the king. He was entrusted with the Mohaḍavāsaka division, which consisted of 750 villages.

P. M. P. Bhojadeva of this grant is evidently king Bhoja of the Paramāra dynasty. All his grants begin the dynasty with Siyaka II, who was the real founder of the Parmāra kingdom, and the first imperial ruler of his family¹. His son and successor was Vākpati II, also known as Muñja. His execution is dated between 993 A. D. (his latest date known from 'Subhāṣita-ratna-sandoha')—and 998 A. D. (the date of Tailapa II's death)². Vākpati was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhurāja. We have not yet come across any dates of his reign. His son and successor was Bhoja. The earliest known date of his reign was V. S. 1076 (1020 A. D.)³. He was succeeded by Jayasimha, whose earliest date is known to be V. S. 1112 (1055 A. D.)⁴. But history knows of no prince named Vatsarāja as a successor of Bhoja. So he might have either predeceased Bhoja or been junior to Jayasimha.

The grant was issued on Sunday, the first lunar day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha, in the (Vikrama) year 1067. The day corresponds to May 6, 1011 A. D. The date supplied by this grant is very important. It now becomes the earliest

1 cf. Ganguly, History of the Parmār Dynasty p. 44.

2 cf. Ganguly, *ibid.* p. 62.

3 cf. Banswara plates E. I. Vol. XI. p. 182.

4 cf. Maṇḍhata plates E. I. Vol. III p. 46.

known date of Bhoja's time. Merutuṅga assigns him a reign of 'fifty-five years, seven months and three days.' According to this statement Bhoja's accession is to be dated as early as 999 A. D. since the earliest date of his successor is 1055 A. D. The date in this grant gives a more probability to this period, as it takes the upper limit of his reign nine years earlier than that given in the Bānswārā-grant.

The grantee of the record was a Brāhmaṇa named Dedda (l. 8) or Deddaka (l. 12), son of Gopāditya of the Upānasya gotra and an emigrant from Harṣapura. Some piece of land he donated was given in the village of Śayanapāṭa (ll. 8-9). It was situated in the district (Maṇḍala) of Mohaḍavāsaka.

Mohaḍavāsaka, the head-quarters of the district, is identified with modern Moḍāsā, where the plates were discovered. The two Harsol-grants⁸ issued by king Siyaka II in V. S. 1005 (949 A. D.) also record donations from the Mohaḍavāsaka district. This shows that the Paramāra continued to hold sway over this region, even upto the time of king Bhoja. Harṣapura is the same as Harsol in the Prāntij Mahāl of Ahmedabad District. It lies about 20 miles distant from Moḍāsā. Śayanpāṭa can be identified with Siṇavāḍ (or Senavāḍ) lying about 6 miles to the north of Moḍāsā. The identity is also confirmed by the vicinity of Kokāpur, the original⁹ findspot of the plates.

The lekhaka of the grant was Chaddaka, the son of Ambaka. The record also mentions a number of officers (rājādhyakṣas) and witnesses (Sākṣiṇas). One of the witnesses was a Mehara named Vallabharāja.

The grant is important in many respects—(1) It gives the earliest known date of king Bhoja's reign, (2) It refers to a new prince of Bhoja named Vatsarāja, (3) It shows that the Mohaḍavāsaka district was under the Paramāras even as late as the time of king Bhoja.

7 cf. Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 57.

8 E. I. Vol. XIX p. 236 ff.

9 The plates were formerly lying at Kokāpur and were subsequently brought to Moḍāsā.

TRANSCRIPT.

Plate 1

- 1 ॐ संवत्सरशतेषु दशशु सप्तषष्ठ्यधिकेषु ज्येष्ठशुक्लपक्ष प्रतिप
- 2 दायां संवत् १०६७ ज्येष्ठ शुदि १ रवावयेह समस्तवृ(वृ)हद्राजावली
- 3 पूर्व परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीसीयकदेवप[र]द[र]नुध्यात प
- 4 रमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवाक्पतिर[र]जदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्ट
- 5 रकमह[र]राज[र]धिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)र श्रीसिंधुराज देवप[र]दानुध्यात परमभट्टारकम
- 6 ह[र]राज[र]धिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)र श्रीभोजदेवराज्ये श्रीमोहडवाशकार्द्धाष्टममंडले
- 7 भोक्तारमहाराजपुत्रश्रीवत्सराजो इहैव वल्लोटकीयचातुर्जातकीय शुताध्य
- 8 यनसंपन(न्न)प्रवर ब्राह्मण देहस्य शयनपाट ग्रामे प्रदत्तहलद्र
- 9 यभु(भू)मीसासनं प्रयच्छयत्येवं यथा शयनपाटग्रामे कोद्रव-तिल-मुद्गा
- 10 व्रीहिकच्छिनादि क्षेत्रं भूमी स्वचतुराघट्टन संयत्या (युक्ता) तथा ग्राममध्ये गृहखल
- 11 धान्यसमेता अस्य ब्राह्मणस्य हर्षपुरविनिर्गताय उपानस्यसगोत्राय
- 12 गोपादित्यशु(सु)ताय चातुर्जातकीयवी(वि)प्रदेहाकस्य धर्मा(र्म)हेतवे सासनाचारेण प्रद
- 13 त्ता ॥ भूमी पारशिकालख्यत्ता(?)राजाध्यक्षाविदिता वल्लोटकीया ब्राह्मण तातनाद
- 14 ता(त)था वाहीय ब्राह्मण गोवर्द्धन केल[र]दित्य दंतिवर्मशु(सु)तठकुर राणक पट्ट
- 15 किलह्म्वाक लङ्गाक गोर्गकादिभि[ः] परिशकत्वा भूमी दशि(शि)ता

Plate 2

- 16 साक्षीणाः लीख्यंते ॥ यथा ॥ संकशकानामधिपति ठकुर केशवादित्य
- 17 तथा ताम्यालीक मेहरवल्लभराजः कपष्टिसुतश्रेष्ठि(ष्टि)जागुडि
- 18 कपष्टि शुत(सु)त भभ तथा च इव शुसुड वति संगमा कीलाशु(सु)त ठकु
- 19 र चंदिकादि समस्तजनप्रत्यक्षं शासनं ममु कीरितं लिखितं
- 20 चेतत् लिख्यका अम्बकशु(सु)तच्छदकेन ॥ इति ॥ श्रीवच्छराजस्व
- 21 मंगलं महाश्री ॥ ॐ ॐ ॥

VĪṆĀVĀSAVADATTAM

Act V

Edited By Dr. C. KUNHAN RAJA

In 1927 I prepared an edition of the first three Acts of this rare Drama, based on a modern transcript of it available in the Government Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras (No. R. 2784). The transcript ended with the third Act; there were only a few words of the next Act available at the end. Later, the Adyar Library acquired a palm-leaf manuscript containing the same portion (XXII-p. 24). On examination, I have reason to believe that this palm-leaf manuscript is the original from which the above transcript was prepared. After I handed over the press copy of the first three Acts to the editor of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras for publication, which he kindly did serially in that *Journal* as No. 2 in the Madras Oriental Series, I came across another much injured palm-leaf manuscript of the work, in which some leaves were missing and which contained many lacunae, and which, yet, contained all the Acts. I prepared an edition of the rest of the Drama, which was found to contain eight Acts and gave that also to the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. Only the fourth Act was published in it. At a later date, the *Journal* suspended publication. I am not able to trace the original palm-leaf manuscript from which I prepared the edition, nor am I in possession of the press copy that I prepared and handed over to that *Journal*. But I have another transcript made by a friend of mine from the same old palm-leaf manuscript. Here the details of the original, like the place where a page ends, the nature of the corrections and the

exact extent of the lacunae are not accurately noted. Yet that is the only source I have from which I can continue the edition. Here I continue where the publication broke off in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. All the stanzas in the Drama are available in another transcript available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (No. R. 4334). I have taken a copy of it myself. I had published all the verses for the fourth Act, at the end of the Act, in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. I am following more or less the same plan. Since this Act is much mutilated, many of the verses are missing. All of them are given at the end. The remaining Acts will appear in due course.

वीणावासवदत्तम् ।

पञ्चमोऽङ्कः¹ ।

(ततः प्रविशति नळागिर्यारूढो वत्सराजः²)

वत्स - अनेन तेजोनिधिना गजेन समीरणातीतजवोत्तमेन ।

शक्यं महासेनमचिन्तयित्वा यथेप्सितं स्थानमभिप्रयातुम् ॥ १ ॥

(परिक्रम्य) तथापि अपरिचितत्वादवशोऽयं मे हस्ती । गुरुनिगळपीडितचरण-
त्वादनासनक्षमोऽहम् । किन्तु³ अकृत्वा रिपोरपायमपगमनम⁴सामर्थ्यसूचकम् ।
न कश्चित् सुहृद्दृष्टः । ततो विनयव्याजेनेमं द्विरदं मद्रशीकृत्य सुहृद्भिः सह
संमन्त्रय-

आरुह्य वारणमिमं द्विरदप्रवीरं प्रद्योतराजतनयां युवति⁵प्रधानाम् ।

अक्षौहिणीः समभिभूय बलाद्धरिष्ये मन्युर्न शाम्यति कदाचिदतोऽन्यथा मे ॥२॥

(ततः प्रविशति उन्मत्तवेषो यौगन्धरायणः)

यौग - अळे वच्छराअ आणेहि दे णळागिरिम् । एक्केण दंडप्पहारेण शीशं
भज्जिस्सं । (अरे वत्सराज आनय ते नळागिरिम् । एकेन दण्डप्रहारेण शीर्षं भज्जिष्ये⁶)

वत्स (आत्मगतम्) - अये यौगन्धरायणः । हन्तेदानीं लब्धा वासवदत्ता ।

यौग - अळे वच्छराअ किं तुवं एकाइ त्ति चिंतेसि । एक्केण भेळिप्पहारेण मम
वदशा⁷ उम्मत्तआ अणेअवेशा पंचदशाणि आअच्छंति (अरे वत्सराज किं त्वं
एकाकी इति चिन्तयसि । एकेन भेरिप्रहारेण मम वदशा उन्मत्तका अनेकवेषाः पञ्चदशानि
आगच्छन्ति ।)

वत्स - जाने भवतो बहुपरिवारताम् ।

1 This Heading is not in the Ms. In the Ms. the Fourth Añka ends only a little further down. See note. below.

2 This stage direction too is not in the Ms.

3 कष्ट.

4 रापायरपगमन.

5 युवति.

6 The Sanskrit equivalents are added by me. They are not in the Ms.

7 There is वंशा which can be only वदशा.

यौग-अळे चोळजणा किं तुहे वि णाथ¹ उम्मत्त²शदिशं फणादि त्ति । णाहं उम्मत्तओ । तुहे उम्मत्तओ³ । तुह्माणं पुत्ता⁴ उम्मत्तआ । तुह्माणं पुत्त-पुत्ता उम्मत्तआ (अरे चोरजनाः किं यूयमपि-नाथ उम्मत्तसदृशं भणति इति । नाहमुम्मत्तकाः । यूयमुम्मत्तकाः । युष्माकं पुत्रा उम्मत्तकाः युष्माकं पुत्रपुत्रा उम्मत्तकाः)

वत्स (खगतम्)-अस्मिन् निश्चयानभिज्ञतया प्रयाणमेव रोचते यौगन्धरायणस्य । यौग-अळे वच्छराअ आअच्छ । दाणिं गच्छम्मो⁵ (अरे वत्सराज आगच्छ । इदानीं गच्छामः)

वत्स-आः अपसर तावत् । अतिक्रान्तोऽस्मि ।

यौग (आत्मगतम्)-किं नु खलु पश्चाद्यातुकामः स्वामी । अथवा को महतामभि-प्रायं ज्ञास्यति । भर्ता एवात्र⁶ प्रमाणम् (प्रकाशम्) अळे वच्छराअ उम्मत्ता शिपे शाहं शोळा⁷ × × × (अरे वत्सराज उम्मत्ता × ×)

वत्स-साधु अनुगृहीतोऽस्मि (परिक्रम्य)

इति यस्य सुहृज्जनः सदा प्रणयादव्यभिचारभक्तयः ।

भुवि तेन किमस्ति दुष्करं नयमार्गाप्रतिलोम⁸ कर्मणा ॥ ३ ॥ (निष्क्रान्तः)

यौग-अळे दाइआ किं तुहे मणह । अअच्छ । अह्माणं कच्चि णञ्चेहि त्ति । एशो णञ्चेमि (वृत्तन् आत्मगतम्) एष खलु स्वामी नळागिरिमाळाने बध्वावतीर्णः । तत्रभवता भरतरोहकेन भवनद्वारं प्रवेशितः । न युक्तमिदानीमिह स्था-तुम् (परिक्रम्य) आअदो मे कुळभट्टा । आ अच्छिअ पणमिदशं (निष्क्रान्तः)

(मिश्रविष्कम्भः⁹)

(ततः प्रविशति कन्दुकेन क्रीडन्ती चेटी)

चेटी-अम्मो परिस्संता ह्मि (परिक्रम्य) हळा कंचणमाले आअच्छ । कंदुपण कीळाहि । [अहो परिश्रान्तास्मि । हला काञ्चनमाले आगच्छ । कन्दुकेन क्रीडाव ।]

(प्रविश्य काञ्चनमाला)

1 तुङ्गेविणाय in Ms. not clear.

2 उम्मत्त in Ms.

3 उम्मत्ता in Ms.

4 पुत्तआ in Ms. Perhaps correct = पुत्रकाः.

5 गच्छामो in Ms.

6 भर्ता इवात्र in Ms.

7 Perhaps to read उम्मत्तअ एशो हं चोळ + + +.

8 नयमार्गप्रतिलोम in Ms.

9 After निष्क्रान्तः there is a small break and what follows is कः । It is at this place that in the वत्सराजप्रबन्ध the end of the fourth अङ्क is noted. So, this कः may be the end of चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ।

काञ्चन-हळा सुरभिए सुहिदाणं (?) णाम कीळा¹ । [हळा सुरभिके सुहिदाणं (?) नाम कीळा । × × × किं दुःखम् । × × × जानासि त्वम् ।]

चेटी-णहि (नहि)

काञ्चन-एसु दिअसेसु अह्माणं भट्टिदारिआ² × × सत्य³ × × (ळा) × × हळा⁴ णिव्वुदा होहि । अह्माणं भट्टिणीअं णिमित्तं पत्ति⁵ पेक्खिअ सहिभावणि-व्विसेसहिअआ वदी × × × एधं⁶ किच्च अणीए⁷ भणिदं [एषु दिवसेषु अस्माकं भर्तृदारिका × × सत्य × × ला × × × हला निर्वृता भव । अस्माकं भट्टिन्या निमित्तं पत्ति (?) प्रेक्ष्य सखिभावनिविशेषहृदा × × वती एधं (?) किच्चअणीए (?) भणितम् ।]

काञ्चन-किं त्ति (किमिति)

चेटी-मा सत्तप्प । अहं खु एकं विज्जाणामि⁸ । ता जाणे⁹ वच्छेण देवगिहं पविसिअ रत्ति एकं प¹⁰ × × × दी पेक्खिअ मम सरीरं पविट्ठं । एवं तुवं पविसिअ पुच्छ । सा तहिं कारणं कत्तव्वं च भविस्सदि त्ति । [मा संतप । अहं खलु एकं विज्जाणामि (?) ता जाणे (?) वत्सेन देवगृहं प्रविश्य रात्रौ एकं प × × तीं प्रेक्ष्य मम शरीरं प्रविष्टम् । एवं त्वं प्रविश्य पृच्छ । सा तहिं कारणं कर्तव्यं च भविष्यतीति ।]

काञ्चन-साहु । तदो तदो¹¹ [ततस्ततः]

चेटी-सा दारिणं जह उत्तं दे गिहं एवुत्ता भट्टिणीए वि सव्वो वुत्तंतो भट्टिणो भणिदो । [सा इदानीं इह उत्तं दे (?) गृहं प्रवृत्ता । भट्टिन्या अपि सर्वा वृत्तान्तः श्रेण भणितः]

काञ्चन-हळा सुणिअ भणा¹² [हला श्रुत्वा भण]

× × × × ×

1 सुहिदाण not clear. After कीळा there is a break with किं दुःखं in the middle.

2 This is at the end of the break. Perhaps किं दुःखं is in the words of the *Ceti* and जानासि तुवं is the end of Kāñcanamālā's words.

3 Here there is again a break.

4 With सत्य and again with what is conjectured as ल in the middle, हळा is at the end of the break. Perhaps here also, these are the words of Kāñcanamālā and the *Ceti*.

5 Not clear.

6 After हिअ there is a small break; then वदी एधं. not clear.

7 This must be a proper name.

8 Not clear.

9 Not clear.

10 Two letters missing. Read दी.

11 The repetition of तदो is shown by तदो with त following.

12 Here one folio in the original palm-leaf manuscript is missing.

समदुःखसुखे जने विभक्तो हृदयस्थो¹ विपुलः सुदुःखभारः² ।

लघुतां समभिप्रयाति कामं प्रविभज्येव वहद्भिरर्थभारः ॥ ४ ॥

वासवदत्ता-हंजे कर्हि णु हु भभवदी [हजे कुत्र नु खलु भगवती]

काञ्चन-भट्टिदारिए किं ण पेक्खसि उपविट्ठं णं [भर्तृदारिके किं न पश्यसि उपविष्टां ताम्]

वास-(विलोक्य) एसो खु से वेसो अपुरुवो [एष खलु तस्य वेष अपूर्वः]

काञ्च-भट्टिदारिए हंजाए किळ उवआरविहि । [भर्तृदारिके अम्बायै किल उपचारविधिः]

वास-(उपसृत्य) अंब वंदामि [अम्ब वन्दामि]

सांक्र-साअदं सहीए [खागतं सख्ये]

वास-हंजे किं णु हु आळावो विअ अपुरुवो [हजे किं नु खलु आलाप इव अपूर्वः]

काञ्च-भट्टिदारिए एक सहि त्ति उत्तेभअं होइ [भर्तृदारिके एका सखी इति उत्ते(?)
भअं भवति]

वास-हंजे तं सुमरिअ अस्सासिदा अहं । ए × × × ण³ वेवळ⁴ । [हजे तं स्मृत्वा
आश्वासिता अहम् । ए × × न वेवल (?) आअच्छदि वत्तिस्सामो । आगच्छति ।
वर्तिष्यामः]

काञ्च-भट्टिदारिए ण जुत्तं दे वंदणं परिहरि अ णिवत्तणं । [भर्तृदारिके न युक्तं ते
वन्दनं परिहृत्य निवर्तनम्]

वास-आअच्छ । तुवं मे अणाम⁵ [आगच्छ । त्वं मे अणाम (?)]

काञ्च-अजाणंतीए भट्टिदारिआए किं भणिस्सं [अजानन्त्यै भर्तृदारिकायै किं भणिष्ये]

वास-हंजे तर्हि णु खु भभवदी संकिञ्चाअणी पसुत्ता । [हजे तथा नु खलु भगवती
सांक्रुत्यायनी पसुत्ता (?)]

काञ्च-पिट्ठम्म उम्माणं⁶ । (?)

वास-(आत्मगतम्) (निःश्वस्य) हद्धि उक्कण्ठिदा मए । सुण्णो विय एसो पदेसो
[हा धिक् । उत्कण्ठिता मया । शून्य इव एष प्रदेशः]

काञ्च-भट्टिदारिए इदं तं देवउळं । पविसामो । [भर्तृदारिके इदं तद्देवकुलम् ।
प्रविशावः]

(उभे प्रविष्टकं सूचयतः)

सांक्रुत्य-(विलोक्य) (आत्मगतम्) अये वासवदत्ता प्राप्ता । दिष्ट्या इदानीमिमां
तावदा प्रथममाश्वासयामि⁷ । हा धिक् काञ्चनमालया समवलम्बित-
त्वात् तदप्यशक्यमिव । अथवा प्रकाशीकरणमे⁸ न्याय्यम् । विदि-

1 This is how the next folio begins. The beginning is with the letter सो.

2 Better read स दुःखभारः This is the reading in बत्सराजप्रबन्ध.

3 Three letters missing.

4 Not clear.

5 Not clear.

6 Passage not clear.

7 Read तावत् प्रथममाश्वासयामि.

8 Read प्रकाशीकरणमेव.

तरहस्यया सह निर्यन्त्रणं मन्त्रयन्त्या देव्याः संतापः शिथिलां¹ प्रयाति
तथाहि-

समदुःखसुखे जने विभक्तो हृदयस्थो विपुलः स दुःखभारः ।

लघुतां समभिप्रयाति, कामं प्रविभज्येव वहद्भिरर्थभारः² ॥ ४ ॥

कृतस्त्वया मद्गुहितुर्निमित्तं महाश्रमः शर्ममता³नुवृत्त्या ।

सात्यर्थमस्वास्थ्यमगादिदानीं तस्या भवान् व्यर्थपरिश्रमः किम् ॥ ५ ॥

भरतरो-देव अलं संतापेन । अवन्ध्यो हि भवतः शंभोः प्रसादः । इदं तत् देव-
गृहम् ।

(सर्वे प्रविशन्ति)

सां-कृत्या-अथे राजाप्यागतः ।

रा-(उपसृत्य) सुखे अर्घ्यं अर्घ्यं⁴ ।

भर-(निष्क्रम्य प्रविश्य) देव इदमर्घ्यम् ।

रा-भगवति गृह्यतामर्घ्यम् ।

सां-गृहीदो दाणिं महाराआणं बहुमाणो [गृहीत इदानीं महाराजस्य बहुमानः]

देवी-सच्चं एव आविष्टा भवदी (प्रकाशम्) भवदि वंदासि [सत्यमेव आविष्टा
भगवती । भगवति वन्दामि]

सां-साअदं बहुपुत्तिआए [स्वागतं बहुपुत्रिकायै]

रा-(आत्मगतम्) अनेनैवाभिधानेन स्वस्थमिव मे हृदयम् ।

देवी-महाराअ पुच्छ दाणिं तुणं⁵ [महाराज पृच्छ इदानीं त्वम्]

रा-स्वयमेव वक्ष्यति ननु भगवती ।

सां-विदिदो तुह्माणं अभिप्पाओ [विदितः गुष्मार्कं अभिप्रायः]

रा-कथमिध

सां-महाराअ एकदा वासवदत्ता वादाअणे उदअदं चंदं ओळोइअ ठिदा ।

तदा आआसे गच्छंतेण एक्केण गंधवेण दिट्ठा [महाराज एकदा वासवदत्ता
वातायने उद्यन्तं चन्द्रमालोक्य स्थिता । तदा आकाशे गच्छता एकेन गन्धर्वेण दृष्टा ।

1 Read शिथिलां.

2 Here this verse, which has already appeared once is seen again; only the portion not found there (up to हृदय). Perhaps this is the place for the verse. The rest appears here.

3 There is a break. Only from नुवृत्त्या available. Evidently the Scene has changed in the break. This verse must be in a new Scene. Perhaps only the statement that the king and Queen and Bharatarohaka enter.

4 This repetition of अर्घ्यं is indicated by writing अर्घ्यं and then the letter न्न after that.

5 Perhaps to read तुवं.

रा-किं गन्धर्वेण दृष्टा ।

देवी-हृद्धि [हा धिक्]

भरत-भगवति ततस्ततः ।

सां-तेण से हिअअं मोहीअदि । तदो संमोहिदा संवुत्ता । [तेन तस्या हृदयं मुह्यते ।

ततः संमोहिता संवृत्ता]

रा-किमत्र प्राप्तकालम् ।

सां-महाराअ जहिं वच्छराओ पडिवस्सिदि¹ तहिं गंधवा वहहपठति² [म्हा-

राज यदा वत्सराजः प्रवेक्ष्यति (?) तदा गन्धर्वः अपवहति]

देवी-अहो अब्भुदं [अहो अद्भुतम्]

रा-भगवति किमत्र कारणम् ।

सां-सव्वगंधवाणं सो आआटिओ [सर्वगन्धर्वाणां स आराधितः]

रा-कथसि व ।

सां-सो खु चित्तरओ णाम गंधव्वराओ भअवदा तुंबुरुणा सत्तो मणुस्सउळे

उप्पण्णो होहि त्ति [स खलु चित्ररथो नाम गन्धर्वराजः भगवता तुम्बुरुणा शप्तः

मनुष्यकुले उत्पन्न इति]

रा-युक्तमेतत् ।

राजा च × × यमिदानीं तत्प्रसादेन पर³ × × × × ×

भर-देव काल इदानीं चित्तमण्टपं गन्तुम् ।

रा-यत् भवते रोचते ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

श्रुत्वा कथामुदयनस्य महाप्रभावां

तां देवतानिगदितां प्रभवप्रवृत्तिम् ।

श्लोकं तमेव हृदये भगवान् प्रकृत्य

तं (किं⁴) प्रोक्तवानिति विनिश्चितवानिदानीम् ॥ ६ ॥

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

इति पञ्चमोऽङ्कः

(1) अनेन तेजोनिधिना (see verse 1).

(2) आरुह्य वारणममुम् (see verse 2).

(3) इति यस्य सुहृज्जनः (see verse 3).

The वत्सराजप्रबन्ध gives these as from Act IV.

1 Not clear ; must mean "marries."

2 Also not clear ; must mean गन्धर्वोऽप्यपवहति or some such thing.

3 A disjoined line here.

4 तं (किं) is what is found in Ms.

In this Act, there must be the following verses as found in the वत्सराजप्रबन्ध.

- (4) गवाक्षजालान्तरतः प्रभास्वराः
 प्रविष्टवन्तः सवितुर्मरीचयः ।
 स्थितिं तदन्वेषतुं (तदान्वेषयितुं) गृहोदरे
 प्रवेशिताङ्गुल्य इवांशुमालिना ॥
 (missing)
- (5) दृढकनेतराङ्गो (दृढकठिनतराङ्गो ?) दुःखलक्ष्मी(क्षयी)कृतात्मा
 मदनहुतवहेगां भस्मतां (हुतवहेऽगाद्भस्मतां) शूर्पकोऽपि ।
 नरपतितनयायां नित्यसौख्योचितायां
 कुवलयदलमालाकोमलायां कथा का ॥
 (missing)
- (6) प्रविहाय या स्वराज्यं
 लक्ष्मीं प्रियया(मा)युर्मदगर्वितं यशश्च गतवान् ।
 परभृत्यतां स्वयं यः
 स कथं तामनवाप्तवान् भ्रियेत ॥ (missing)
- (7) इति स्थिते संप्रति सर्वथाहं यायामुपेक्षामित (क्षान्वित) मासन
 (नस) त्वम् त्रयं विनश्येदचिरादहं च जीवेयमेषां विरहैक्यनर (?)
 (missing)
- (8) स्नेहार्द्रयोः सभयमर्धनिरीक्षितं यद्यद्दृष्टनप्रहसितं दशनग्रगेनरम्
 (?) । लज्जा प्रगल्भ+(म) समाप्तपदं वचो यत्तन्मन्मथ प्रियतरं
 +++ प्रशस्यम् ॥ (missing)
- (9) समदुःखसुखे (see verse 4). This is repeated in the
 Ms. of the Drama.
- (10) कृतस्त्वया (see verse 5).
- (11) तथा प्रवृत्ते सति वत्सराजो
 वार्तामिमां स्यादपि बुद्धवान् सः ।
 वीणोपदेशेन जनैरवाच्यो
 भवेदशङ्क्यः स्तुतिकारणत्वात् ॥
- (12) श्रुत्वा परामुदयनस्य (see verse 6).

वीणावासवदत्तम् ।

षष्ठोऽङ्कः

(ततः प्रविशति वत्सराजः)

वत्स (निःश्वस्य)-भोः मुक्तोऽप्यहं अमुक्त इव संवृत्तः । कुतः-

बद्धः पुरा चरणयोः परिगृह्य नील-
नागच्छलेन विपुलायसशृङ्खलाभिः ।
बद्धोऽस्मि साम्प्रतमहं हृदि राजपुत्र्या
स्नेहप्रहर्षनिगलैः सुदृढैस्ततोऽपि^१ ॥ १ ॥

अतीव खल्वहं प्रद्योतेन सत्कृतः । प्रतिदिवसं च मया सह संकथया
संप्रीयते^२ । किंनु खलु सत्कृत्यमेव प्रेमप्रवृत्तिमूलं^३ स्यात् । आहोस्वित् पुत्राणां
नलागिरेश्च शिक्षाहेतोः बन्धकीवृत्ति^४मनुतिष्ठति । अहो नु खलु भाग्यानां
वैचित्र्यम्-

मम प्रसादाभिमुखाः सदाभवन्
नरेश्वरा भृत्यवदेव भूयसः ।
परप्रसादार्थितयाहमन्वितः
किमन्यदस्मादधरोत्तरं भवेत् ॥ २ ॥

(विचिन्त्य वासवदत्तामुद्दिश्य)

नैतदाश्चर्यम् । कुतः-

कर्णान्ताश्रितकोटिना कुवलयश्रीस्पर्धिना चक्षुषा
पार्श्वान्चुम्बिततारकेण पृथुना भूतोमरभ्राजिना ।
दृष्टोऽहं यदि नाम मन्मथशरप्रख्येन भूयस्तया^५

1 Only स्नेहप्रहर्षः सुदृढैस्ततोऽपि.

2 संप्रतीयते.

3 मूलः for मूलं.

4 To read बन्धकीवृत्ति?

5 The transcript notes this as भू(यस्तया). Perhaps the three syllables
are missing in the Ms. and are guessed.

सर्वोऽप्युत्सव एव मे परिभवो नन्वेव कामं भवेत्¹ ॥ ३ ॥

× × × × ×

विदू-××× देण² कत्तव्वं एव पप्पालवप्पदो³ (?) भविस्सदि त्ति । कोसंबी
मए अक्कहाअ × × पविञ्जाअ वआ अप्पे⁴ कत्तव्वं पदि सामिपादं एव्व
पमाणं त्ति [× × तेन कर्तव्यमेव पप्पालव(?)प्रदो भविष्यति इति । कोशाम्बी माया
अक्कहाय × × पविञ्जाअ वआ अप्पे (?) कर्तव्यं प्रति खामिपाद एव प्रमाणमिति]

राजा⁵-अहो तु⁶ खलु आरट्टणे (?)⁷ दारुणता । भवतु ।

विलसदसि सहस्रे दन्तिदन्ताग्रशुभ्रे

प्रचुररुचिरधारे व्याप्तनाराचजाले ।

रणशिरसि करिष्ये वैरभारावतारं

ससचिवसखि बन्धोरायुषा⁸ तस्य सार्धम् ॥ ४ ॥

ततस्ततः ।

विदू-तदो वसुवर्मणा साळंकाभणेण अ साहु अणुरूवं भणिदं निउत्तं (?)

[ततो वसुवर्मणा शालङ्कायनेन च साधु अनुरूपं भणितं निरुक्तम् (?)]

राजा-ततः प्रद्योतेन किमुक्तम् ।

विदू-सहसिदं भरदरोहओ ओळाइदो (?) [सहसितं भरतरोहकः ओळाइतः (?)]

राजा-सखे कथमिव तत्र दृश्यते ।

विदू-किमञ्जं⁹ । भवदो गुणविधे (?) सो [किमन्यत् । भवतो गुणविधे (?)सः]

राजा-न हि तस्यानुकम्पे पुंस्यानुकम्पता (?)

(प्रविश्य दौवारिकः)

दौवा-जेडु भट्टा । एसो खु अंओ भरदरोहओ दुआरे ठिदो (जयतु भर्ता । एष
खलु आर्यो भरतरोहकः द्वारे स्थितः)

राजा-विजयक¹⁰ प्रवेशयैनम् ।

दौवा-जं भट्टा आणवेदि (यद्भर्ता आज्ञापयति) (निष्कम्य भरतरोहकेन सहाविश्य)

एसो भट्टा । उपसण्णु अंओ (निष्कान्तः) [एष भर्ता । उपसर्पतु आर्य]

भर (उपसृत्य)-जयतु देवः ।

1 Also transcribed as का(मं भवेत्) for the same reason probably. Here one folio missing.

2 After the break, it begins देण. It must be the word of विदूषक. So I put विदू.

3 Not clear.

4 Passage not clear.

5 This राजा must be वत्सराजः.

6 अहे तु.

7 This is how it is in the transcript; not clear.

8 रायुषा.

9 किं मञ्जं.

10 विजयके.

राजा-स्वामित्मार्याय । एतदासनम् । अत्र स्वीयताम् ॥

भर (उपविश्य) देव-

या शेते कौस्तुभस्य द्युतिकिसलयिते शारदव्योमनीले
विष्णोर्वक्षस्युदारे रजनिकरकराकारहारोपहारे ।

साभ्येत्यालिङ्गतु त्वा प्रशिथिलगलितेनोत्तरीयेण लक्ष्मी-
हर्षादापीडयन्ती नवकमलरजोरोचनाभ्यां कराभ्याम्¹ ॥ ५ ॥

The following verses from this Act are seen in the
घत्सराजप्रबन्ध ।

(1) बद्धः पुरा (see verse 1)

(2) मम प्रसादाभिमुखाः (see verse 2)

(3) कर्णान्ताश्रित (see verse 3)

(4) आकुमारमभिहन्तुममर्षा-

द्वद्धवान् सुदढनश्वय (?) कक्ष्याम् ।

स प्रविश्य हृदयं मम साक्षात्

ताममोचयत वासवदत्ता ॥

(5) पतितवति खरे भृशं मयि

व्यसनमहामकराकरोदरे ।

अविरतमभिमुञ्चते शरान्

वृषसुताला (?) लिताम्बुपायिनः ॥

(6) खङ्गा(ङ्गी) रक्षाविधाने रविरवि(रपि) × × × रे (तिमिरे) कार्य-

भारेषु धुर्यां दीपो मन्दान्धकारे सुरगुरुविनये सङ्कमो व्यापदोधे ।

उत्कण्ठायां समाजौ (जो) गतिरनवसरे चन्दनं शोकतापे

संक्षेपान्मानुषा मोहितशिव सुखदो दिव्यचिन्तामणिर्मे ॥

(7) विलसदसि (see verse 4)

(8) या शेते कौस्तुभस्य (see verse 5)

(9) आकृष्यमाणेव नरेन्द्रवीची

संदृश्यते वाजिवरैः खुराप्रैः ।

लेखीकृतालेखगवाक्षकुड्या

व्यपेतरन्ध्रा इव वैश्वमालाः ॥

(10) विविधमणिसमुज्ज्वले विमाने

पतति लसज्ज(?)सिवाकेरश्मिजालम् ।

कनकमयविशालसालभङ्गा

विलसति गायति नृत्यतीव वलयः ॥

1 जनाभ्याम्. Here there is again a break and the next portion available
is in the next Act.

